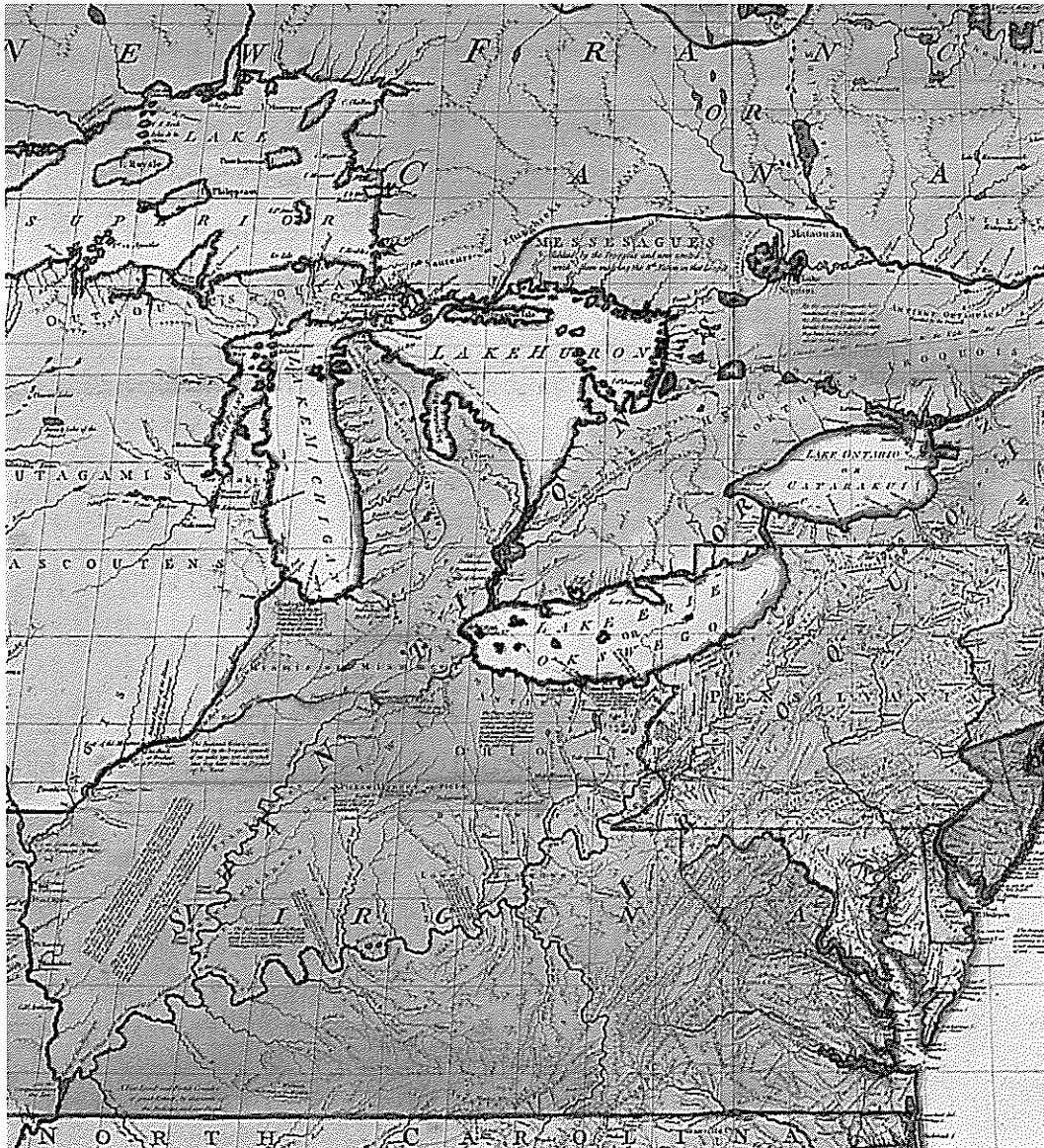




**Becoming Americans**  
*Our Struggle to Be Both Free and Equal*

# TAKING POSSESSION STORYLINE



**Resource Book**

## TAKING POSSESSION RESOURCE MANUAL

I.	Introduction/Key Points	i
	Introductory Essay	x
II.	America's First People	
	Powhatan Indian Way of Life in 1607	1
	The Powhatan and the English: A Case of Multiple Conflicting Agendas	18
	Treaty of Peace with Necotowance, King of the Indians	39
	Treaty at Middle Plantation with Tributary Indians after Bacon's Rebellion	42
	Robert Beverley's Observations of the Powhatans at the end of the 17 <sup>th</sup> c.	47
	John Fontaine Travels to Fort Christanna	52
	Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Observations of the Cherokee	55
	Indians in Williamsburg, 1751-1777	58
	The Brafferton Experiment	72
	Short Histories of the Iroquois Confederacy and Other Indian Groups	76
III.	European Settlement of Virginia: A Century of Growth	
	Edward Bland's <i>The Discovery of New Brittain</i>	95
	The Expedition of Batts and Fallam	96
	The Beginning of Bacon's Rebellion, 1675-1676	100
	Land Hunting to Germanna with John Fontaine, 1715	102
	John Fontaine Travels over the Blue Ridge	103
	Spotswood Concludes Peace with Iroquois at Albany	106
	William Byrd II: A Progress to the Mines in the Year 1732	110
	William Byrd: A Journey to the Land of Eden, Anno 1733	112
	Land Policy and Settlement in the Northern Shenandoah Valley	115
	Farm Routine at Colonel Landon Carter's Sabine Hall, 1757	132
IV.	Survey & Mapping	
	Surveying and Surveyors	139
	Maps are More Than Lines on Paper	153
	Indians as Geographers and Map Makers	166
	Crown Versus Council in a Contest to Control Virginia Land	167
	Thomas Lewis Surveys the Fairfax Proprietary Boundary Line, 1746	175
	A Young George Washington Surveys Beyond the Blue Ridge in 1748	180

V. Virginia's Changing Landscape

An Account of the Development of Middle Plantation and the Early Days Of Williamsburg	182
The Topographic Evolution of Williamsburg over Three Centuries	189
Early Garden Developments in Colonial Williamsburg Virginia	192
Eyewitness Accounts of Williamsburg in the 18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> Centuries	200

VI. Contest for the Ohio Country

The First Settlers in the Ohio Country	213
A Virginia Frontiersman Travels Down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers 1742.	231
Governor Gooch, with the Approval of Council, Grants 1,9500,000 Acres on Western Rivers	233
The French Renew Their Long-Held Claim to the Ohio Country in 1749	235
1750: Dr. Thomas Walker Leads a Party of Five Through Southwest Virginia, Across the Cumberland Gap and Back	239
Christopher Gist Scouts out Land for the Ohio Company 1750	248
A Short History of the Loyal Company	257
Unrealized Goods: The Sad History of the Ohio Company	263
Major George Washington Delivers Governor Dinwiddie's Letter to the French in the Ohio Country 1753	266
The Experienced Backwoodsman, Christopher Gist, Accompanied Major Washington, 1753	271
The Story of Mary Draper Ingles' Capture and Escape from The Shawnee	273
Col. George Washington Receives his Commission and his Marching Orders from Governor Dinwiddie, 1755	277
Col. George Washington Briefs Council President John Blair on the Colony's State of Affairs	280
Col. James Smith Remembers his Life as a Captive with the Ohio Country Indians 1757-1758	282
Gov. Francis Fauquier Reports on the State of the Colony, 1763	290
Royal Proclamations of 1763: Establishing New Governments and, Incidentally, Limiting Settlement West of the Mountains	292
Gov. Fauquier Expresses Concern about Patents west of the 1763 Proclamation Line	296
The Royal Proclamation of 1763: Its Effect Upon Virginia Land Companies	297
Lord Botetourt Learns about Frontier Unrest	300
Treaty of Hard Labor with Cherokees	302
Treaty of Fort Stanwix	304
Memorial of House of Burgesses about Western Land Boundaries	305
George Washington Informs Governor Botetourt about the 1 <sup>st</sup> Virginia Veterans' Land Claims	306

VII.	Growing Tensions	
	The Extention of his Majesties Dominions: The Virginia Backcountry And the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers	309
	Clash of Cultures in the Ohio Country	327
	Journal of Proceedings at the Treaty of Lochaber	344
	Some Land Concerns Before the Governor's Council, June 14, 1769- June 16, 1774	347
	George Washington Goes Land Hunting in the Ohio Country, 1770	355
	Unsettling News from the Backcountry 1773-1774	360
	Lord Dunmore and the Pennsylvania-Virginia Boundary Dispute	365
	Gov. Dunmore Informs the Earl of Dartmouth of the Clash of Virginia and Pennsylvania Interests in West Augusta	372
	In No Uncertain Terms, the Earl of Dunmore Warns Gov. Dunmore Not to Encourage Settlement Beyond the Cherokee-Virginia Boundary	375
	Some First-Hand Accounts of Dunmore's War	376
	Dunmore Receives a Hero's Welcome Home	380
	Logan's Speech	381
	Nicholas Cresswell Describes the Shawnee Hostages who were on Their Way to Williamsburg, December 1774	382
	Governor Dunmore Attempts to Justify his Actions in the Backcountry To the Earl of Dartmouth	383
	Dunmore's War: An Interpretation	399
VIII.	Eve of the Revolution	
	New Worlds for All: Indian America by 1775	410
	Captain James Wood, Jr. Travels Through the Ohio Country Inviting Indians to a Council of Peace	422
	John Connolly's Account of his Plans to Invade Virginia, Spring 1776	428
	Banishment from an Early Home and Exile on Virginia Frontier on Account of War	430
	Daniel Trabue's Martial Introduction to the Kentucky Wilderness 1778	433
IX.	Legacy: Revolution and its Aftermath	
	Instructions of Colonel Clark	439
	Daniel Trabue Remembers Disruptive Indian Incursions 1778	440
	George Roger Clark's Story of the Capture of Old Vincennes 1779	444
	Governor Hamilton's Report of the Capture of Vincennes and his Captivity in Williamsburg 1779	447
	The Tragedy at Gnadenhutten, Spring 1782	452
	Dr. Knight Recalls the Capture and Execution of Colonel William Crawford, Spring 1782	454

	Treaty Done at Greenville, in the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, August 3, 1795	457
	The Peace that Brought no Peace	459
	If the Men will Take the Labor of the Earth from the Women	469
X.	Bibliography	471
	Further Reading	477

## TAKING POSSESSION

*The Taking Possession story line examines the colonist's quests for land and the wealth that ownership would bring. The quest brought about fundamental changes to the Native Americans and other European settlers in the New World. As a result fundamental American values were developed.*

### **Key Points**

#### Cross Cultural Interactions:

- Settlers to the new world perceived land as available and justified their taking possession of the land because they did not recognize or value the Native Americans' view of land use and ownership.
- In the midst of claiming land the various cultural groups (Europeans, Native Americans, Africans) began to form a range of opinions and stereotypes regarding each other as well as attempting to secure their own interests through trade, negotiation or armed conflict.

#### Land Acquisition:

- The colonists exploration, mapping, acquisition, and utilization of land evolved from European cultural and legal precedents and consumed much of their time and resources. Legal precedent included headrights, land grants, patents, outright purchase, and inheritance.
- Indian groups began to recognize this system and made claims. In the process, imperial forces eventually came to recognize Indian claims to the land and sought formal land cession

#### Williamsburg's Central Role:

- As the capital of a vast territory, Williamsburg was the center of shifting networks of political, economic, diplomatic, and military relationship linking colonial Virginians, European powers, Native American groups, and other colonies.
- Because Williamsburg was a commercial, administrative, horticultural, and communication hub, it was home to many institutions and activities - the passage of laws, the licensing of surveyors, the recording of transactions, the spread of horticultural knowledge, and the negotiation and adjudication of disputes - that shaped Virginians' relationship to the land and other peoples.

#### Legacy:

- In the process of taking possession of the land for themselves colonial Virginians altered the environment and began to develop an exploitative land-use ideology.
- The emergence of a large freeholding population fostered Americans' belief in freedom, egalitarianism, autonomy, and ideal of individual ownership of land that is not fully extended to Americans from all cultural, social, and economic backgrounds.

## *Background and Thesis*

Thomas Jefferson and his political allies idealized the yeoman farmer as a republican citizen and a stalwart defender of liberty. While Jefferson undoubtedly overstated the moral virtues of the average Virginia freeholder, he did not exaggerate the importance of land ownership to most freeborn Virginia men and their families. The story of "Taking Possession" tells how three interrelated forces—the attraction of private ownership of land for Virginians, Native Americans' desire to retain control of their ancestral homes, and developing imperial policies—played out during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Competition for the possession of land and resources changed both Europeans and Indians and led to the formation of a number of fundamental American values.

From the earliest years of English settlement the promise of land ownership lured a steady stream of European immigrants to the colony. That inducement only increased in the opening years of the eighteenth century. The quest for new land to cultivate fueled the spread of colonial settlement from the Tidewater first to the Piedmont and then into the Southside. Settlers from Pennsylvania moved into the Shenandoah Valley. Finally, Virginians pushed into the Ohio River Valley and Kentucky. During the seventeenth century Virginians developed a means to acquire land that they repeated again and again as they settled further westward. It began with the development of a foothold, a fort or trading post, from which to begin the exploration and mapping of the new land and resources. As a first step in taking possession, settlers often abandoned Indian names in favor of their own. Next, a system of acquisition developed that legalized land ownership both for individuals planning to farm and for land companies. The land was surveyed and divided into plots. Plat maps showing boundary lines brought order to the landscape. Land thus became a commodity that could be sold to anyone who had money to buy it. For those who did not, land ownership remained a dream. As colonists pushed westward, land in the settled areas continued to be worked for maximum profit at the expense of African labor. In the process the environment and economy were forever altered for the economic benefit of the individual freeholders.

In their eagerness to claim the land, Virginians repeatedly came into contact, and frequently into conflict with the native inhabitants who expressed an equally powerful desire to hold onto it. For the native peoples, the land and its traditional uses were at the center of their cultural identities. For colonists, land ownership was vital to their economic independence and the social advancement of their families. As settlement spread to new areas and the two groups confronted each other, their relationship usually passed through several stages. Initially, small numbers of colonists co-existed peacefully with their Indian neighbors. As exploration of the environment continued and knowledge of native groups increased, accommodations for trade evolved and expanded. Continuing settlement and growth of the European population required the negotiation of formalized rules of conduct and behavior to minimize conflicts. Often these efforts failed, hostilities developed, and confrontations deteriorated into armed conflict. Finally, sometimes after years of resistance, native inhabitants, such as some Tidewater Indians in the 1660s, chose to live on reservations set up for them on marginal land, marginal areas or they moved farther west onto lands beyond the control of Europeans.

The developing process for land acquisitions and the evolving relationships with the native populations were shaped by unfolding policies of both imperial and colonial governments. Beginning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, European empires expressed their rationales for colonization of the new world, legitimized their land claims

based on exploration, the church, and conquest; and set goals for settling their new land. Each European power (Spain, France, Netherlands, Great Britain) provided varying degrees of support for these efforts and established its own system of administrative control. As the commercial and strategic value of the colonies grew, Europeans perceived a greater need to protect their interests so changes occurred in the areas of law and bureaucracy. Imperial governments also had to cope with a number of conflicting interests—those of the mother country, the colonists, and the Indians. Boundary disputes between colonies and the conflicting land claims that resulted had to be resolved. Finally, the rivalry between imperial powers over claims in the New World had to be settled. This usually necessitated the use of military force. After the British acquired French territory by conquest in 1763, the trans-Appalachian area was opened up to colonial settlement.

Virginia's colonial government based in Williamsburg acted to support the interests of both the mother country and the colony in land acquisition and relationships with Indians. Although the governor was the Crown's representative, he was also the advocate for the colony. He had to mediate among the various local interest groups as well as push his own agenda. Assisting in these multiple roles was the Council. The House of Burgesses and the courts legalized the system to protect public and private property, provided a way to work out differences, and oversaw public investment in economic development.

### *Cross-Cultural Interaction*

When the first Englishmen stepped ashore in Virginia, they entered an intentionally managed landscape but, because it bore little resemblance to what they had left behind, they failed to recognize it. As farmers, Indians throughout Virginia centered life, in part, around their cleared fields; as hunters, they also ranged widely across their land in search of game. Indians jealously guarded the land they considered theirs, yet no one owned it. The land was thought to be alive spiritually. It could be used, but not possessed, by humans. The English settlers of Virginia were also an agrarian people for whom the land was just as important. Through husbandry, the land would yield its fruits. Yet for the English, the land had an intrinsic value beyond what it produced. It was a commodity to be owned and exploited, and its accumulation conveyed wealth and status on its owner. Although most Africans who came to Virginia could not own land legally, like the Indians, they found English concepts of land ownership unfamiliar; they were accustomed to a different legal system and held land communally. Nevertheless, Africans did take possession of the land in a very real sense. With the labor they invested by working it and by creating meaningful landmarks, Africans reassembled a recognizable landscape as a stabilizing constant in their lives.

Much of the tension inherent in the relationship between Indians and the English stemmed from their different concepts of land ownership. Indians never internalized the European concept, and, where they were numerous enough to enforce the rules of their own culture, they simply refused to acknowledge it. At first, the English colonists equated Indians and their nonproprietary views with squatters who occupied the land but had no real claim to it. Because the Indians did not farm as they did, the English saw mostly an empty land fairly begging to be "properly" cultivated. In time Virginians and British officials came to recognize Indians' claims to the land and sought formal land cessions from them, yet Virginians never abandoned their view that Indians occupied territory intended for English settlement.



The Powhatan Indians warily tolerated the presence of the first English who arrived in Virginia. Perhaps the Powhatans hoped to gain an advantage over their Indian neighbors through trade or military alliance with the European intruders. However, their unease grew as increasing numbers of colonists began to settle permanently in Virginia. Apprehension quickly turned to alarm when they appropriated the cleared fields upon which the Indians' agriculture depended. Sporadic violence gave way to open warfare in the early 1620s as the Powhatans attempted to repel the invaders who threatened their way of life. Although the Powhatans inflicted heavy casualties on the settlers, the Native Americans were unable to drive them away. The Indians lost, but they were a resilient people who adjusted to the expansion of settlement by withdrawing to areas still free of colonists. There, with a bitter knowledge of English intentions, they re-established their traditional way of life. This pattern--the expansion of colonists into Indian territory, followed by violent confrontation and the withdrawal of the Indians--was repeated several times throughout Virginia's colonial history.

Many intercultural encounters were peaceful initially. Trade was the central element of their often mutually beneficial relationship. Through their encounters, Indians and colonists constructed a "middle ground" of shared cultural meanings where they could communicate and work together, at least for a time. Many Indians and Europeans circulated in this middle ground acting as mediators and go-betweens. They included the métis who became an interpreter, the Indian convert leading a prayer service, the European trader intent upon making a profit, the white captive adoptee who preferred Indian society to his own, and the black seeking a degree of freedom outside the effective reach of colonial authority. Yet even on this common ground few, if any, achieved complete understanding of the other's culture. Indians and colonists continued to view each other warily, and conflict frequently lurked just beneath the surface of apparent harmony. Conflicting claims to the land often brought latent hostilities into the open. Unfortunately violence frequently resulted. Leaders on both sides tried to diffuse and limit disturbances through formal treaties, but neither Englishmen nor Indians had much success in binding their people to such agreements for long. The extreme xenophobia each group felt toward the other and, especially the enmity frontier colonists displayed toward Indians doomed most treaties to failure. In the end, Europeans turned to the provincial and British military to regulate colonial settlement and then to suppress Indian resistance.

### *Land Acquisition*

As Indians slowly withdrew from the Tidewater or retreated into the few reservations allotted them, the colonists gained possession of a vast territory east of the Blue Ridge free of native opposition. The richness and abundance of the land attracted the attention of acquisitive settlers, and the system of individual land acquisition established by colonial officials was well suited to fulfill the desires of the most aggressive land seeker. The Virginia land patent system in the seventeenth century was based on the headright, which rewarded those who imported labor to work the tobacco fields with grants of land. The use of treasury rights to claim land in the eighteenth century was even better suited for expansive land acquisition.

The method by which Virginia colonists took possession of the land once the Indians were forced to relinquish their claims to it was institutionalized in the "Charters, Laws and Custom of Virginia". The land grant process with its surveys, plats, and patents imposed a semblance of order on the scramble to find new, fresh land to cultivate. Once a

title was conveyed, marked trees set forth the metes and bounds of the property for other colonists to respect. The regular processioning sponsored by Anglican parishes renewed the boundary marks and reconfirmed their location in the memory of the neighborhood. Boundary disputes were to be resolved first by an appeal to neighbors. If that failed, the parties could argue their case before the county court. The application of English common law, combined with circumstances peculiar to Virginia like the more equitable distribution of land among heirs, highlighted the central importance of land and built formidable protections for the claims of Virginia landowners.

The resale of patented tracts made for an active land market throughout the colonial period. Even in the mid-eighteenth century, land trading never completely stopped in the long-settled Tidewater. However, since planters could not continue to sub-divide their land into ever-smaller plots and still maintain a viable, profitable plantation, the availability of cheap land diminished over time. Consequently, land seekers turned their attention to the west and southwest Virginia where speculators with vast tracts of land often clashed with land-hungry frontier settlers. Yet these confrontations failed to slow colonial expansion and by the 1750s Virginians were again encountering powerful native groups who contested colonists' claims to the land. The seeming freedom with which land could be acquired created the expectation that most freeborn Virginians could own land. In fact, after a century and a half of experience, they had come to believe that land ownership was a right that could not be abridged.

As white Virginians moved westward, they took their slaves with them. Africans who could not participate in the promise of land ownership did make the land their own. Beneath the ordered landscape that freeholding Virginians created, African-Virginians imposed a far different structure on the land. Paths through the woods and fields hidden from view, rather than roads to church and court, linked slave quarters and helped maintain economic and familial slave networks. Slaves knew deep ravines and inaccessible swamps--useless to land-seeking whites--as welcome refuges for those seeking escape. Woods preserved by free planters for fuel and timber became, at night, the source of game that supplemented meager slave rations. Quiet glades and glens became social gathering spots. African-Virginians invested the physical world with rich, often deeply spiritual, meaning.

At the end of seventeenth century, English officials had grown alarmed at the rampant corruption in Virginia's land grant system and instituted reforms to correct the worst of the abuses that had so benefited the colony's largest planters. Yet imperial neglect and the intransigence of Virginia's elite rendered reforms ineffectual. Except for occasional complaints about shortfalls in royal revenues, imperial administrators did not seriously re-examine Virginia's land policies until the mid-eighteenth century, and until the 1760s, the system for acquiring land in the colony clearly favored those Virginians whose wealth enabled them to claim thousands of acres at a time. Since the gentry also monopolized Virginia's high political offices, they were often in the best position to claim the choicest land.

In an effort to profit from their investments, speculators divided their holdings into smaller tracts that they willingly offered for sale to new arrivals. Although the number of large scale speculators increased during the eighteenth century, many colonists of more modest means continued to claim smaller grants for western lands. However, landless tenants became a permanent feature of the social landscape in the older, longer-settled region of the colony. Most were poor whites and free blacks who could not afford to move to where the land was still relatively cheap.

During much of the seventeenth century England and France paid scant attention to the territorial aspirations of their migrating nationals. Each nation maintained its

sovereign claims to the New World, but focused its imperial concerns on colonial trade. As the colonies grew and expanded, the issue of imperial sovereignty over the new world, especially the trans-Appalachian West, came to the fore. When victory in the Seven Years' War resolved the issue in Great Britain's favor, the mother country had to balance Indian interests, the desires of provincial expansionists, and its own imperial goals as never before.

British authorities now faced aggressive land companies poised to exploit millions of acres west of the Appalachians, defiant Indians opposed to their intrusion, and the high cost of maintaining peace on the frontier. In 1763 they banned settlement west of the Appalachians until formal boundaries between the Indians and the colonies could be negotiated. Even after a boundary line was drawn, Virginians still were prohibited from taking up land in the ceded territory. Finally, in 1774, Great Britain ordered the implementation of a radical, new land grant system to replace the one Virginia had employed since the early seventeenth century. These actions added to the large scale speculators' grievances against the British ministry but did little to hold back the flood of small farmers lured west by the promise of "open" land.

### *Williamsburg's Central Role*

Beginning with Jamestown, the capital of Virginia played a key role in the acquisition of land and in the relationships between Virginians and Native Americans. Laws dealing with land acquisition, Indian trade, and internal defense were debated and passed in the House of Burgesses and the Council. When the colony's capital was moved to Williamsburg, the newly created capital in 1699, English settlement had yet to penetrate into the Piedmont. The hundreds of Indians still living in the Tidewater no longer troubled the Virginia colonists.

Although Virginians had barely begun to claim their portion of the New World by 1700, the colony's ancient charter did encompass a vast territory extending to the Ohio River Valley and beyond. Within its far-flung borders awaited large and powerful native groups undergoing stressful reorganization. In addition, the French in Canada acted to increase their influence south into the Ohio Country. Western Virginia was to become a contested area. As Virginians pushed into it, Williamsburg, the colonial capital, became the nerve center in which policies were developed and implemented to insure orderly expansion. Governmental officials in Williamsburg directed diplomatic initiatives toward the Saponis and Nottoways in the 1710s and 1720s, the Catawbas and Cherokees in the 1750s and 1760s, the Delawares and Shawnees in the 1760s and 1770s, and, throughout the period, the Iroquois. And it was in Williamsburg that the governor - as the crown's representative - attempted to balance his own and imperial goals toward western lands against the special provincial interests of the colony's powerful elite and yeomanry. Governors Spotswood, Dinwiddle, Fauquier, Botetourt, and Dunmore all took active roles in westward expansion and treated with numerous Indian diplomatic missions to Williamsburg.

Traces of the old palisade that passed through Williamsburg could still be seen in the eighteenth-century, reminding those who reflected upon it that Indians and Englishmen had very different understandings of what it meant to "own" land. The palisade was built in the early seventeenth century to bar Indians from the area of English settlement because the Indians refused to acknowledge they were trespassing when they hunted on land "owned" by the English. The remnant of the palisade trench confirmed that, for colonists, land was meant to be confined within boundaries and fences. The Cherokee delegation that crossed

the old palisade line on their way to meet with Lord Botetourt in August 1770 had thoroughly learned the language of European property ownership. As they negotiated the location of a fixed boundary between Cherokee and English settlement, they assumed that any English found beyond the line would be "trespassing" on Indian land and could be forced to leave.

News of the frontier arrived often in the capital. Traders, interpreters, land speculators, and surveyors met in Williamsburg and discussed various issues of importance to Virginia's expansionism. Christopher Gist, commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie to act as an agent for the Ohio Company to the Indian Treaty held at Logstown in 1752, explored much of the Ohio Country and visited Williamsburg to report on his travels. Burgesses for the western counties debated issues of expansionism with the more conservative members from the Tidewater counties. One such burgess, Thomas Walker from Albemarle, was an explorer, a member of the Loyal Land Company, and a colonial agent who had numerous dealings with the Indians. County surveyors were licensed at the College of William and Mary. Many colonists claiming unpatented land had to go to the land office in Williamsburg to have their claim officially recorded. William Parks printed the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744; twelve years later William Hunter published the treaty between a Virginia delegation commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie and the Catawba and Cherokee.

Numerous Indians visited or even lived for awhile in Williamsburg during the eighteenth century. Indian delegations met with the governor, councillors, and other leading citizens at the Palace and Capitol. They held ceremonies on Market Square where Mattaponi and Pamunkeys sold wild fowl and pottery on Market Days. Beginning in the early eighteenth century a steady number of Indian youngsters enrolled in the Brafferton School at the College of William and Mary. Their teachers hoped to "enlighten" them about English ways so that they could return to their homes and help "civilize" their people. Few fulfilled the faculty's expectations, and many returned to their traditional ways once they went home. Some, like Catawba John Nettles, put their English schooling to good use and became successful interpreters and mediators between the Indians and the colonists. Nettles' William and Mary education helped the Catawba maintain their cultural autonomy in what for them was a hostile world. Similarly, John Montour, the son of métis interpreter Andrew Montour, followed in his father's footsteps after his years at the college.

When Lord Dunmore arrived in Virginia, he quickly allied himself with the colony's expansion-minded elite. Acting with the advice of his council, he sparred with Pennsylvania over control of the Monongahela River Valley. However his great ambition was to force a cession of the Kentucky territory from the Shawnee and other Ohio Country Indians. Through the spring and early summer of 1774, Dunmore eagerly awaited news from the frontier. A reported raid by Logan, an Ohio Iroquois, to revenge his family's murder was just the pretense Dunmore needed to mount a massive invasion of the Ohio Country. Plans for the operation, which he personally would lead, so preoccupied his thoughts that he paid little attention to the pending First Virginia Convention. He had left town when it met in Williamsburg in August.

Dunmore was not so distracted, however, that he failed to attend the Council's June meetings at which caveats received in the past year were reviewed. Caveats put a stop to the granting of a land patent until rival claims to the same tract could be heard. The caveat court held in Williamsburg was just a part of the elaborate land system that had developed by the 1770s to regulate and protect the rights of landowners.

Dunmore's war ended in victory. During the resulting treaty negotiations Logan's address to Dunmore signaled his reluctant acceptance of defeat. When the governor and

four young Shawnee hostages returned to Williamsburg in December, they were greeted with loud public acclaim. The hostages returned to the Ohio Country in June 1775, carrying with them news of the political disarray among the Virginians.

By the time Logan's speech was published in the *Virginia Gazette* in early 1775, it had already been circulating in Williamsburg for several weeks. The speech was a topic of conversation among gentlemen gathered at the city's taverns, and students were instructed to copy it as an exercise. Jefferson, and many others, who read the speech in Williamsburg, admired its eloquence. Like Jefferson some saw the speech as evidence of the Indians' nobility. But other voices were also heard. Graphic and sensational stories of Indian atrocities against western settlers circulated among city residents whenever frontier news reached the governor or was published in the newspapers. Nevertheless, Logan's speech touched a nerve. His tale of one Indian's efforts at accommodation, his angry reaction to betrayal by whites, and his ultimate loss of family, land, and spirit captured the essence of the encounter of Indians and colonists. The continuing nineteenth-century popularity of Logan's speech may have come from its appeal to those uneasy with the human cost of America's unceasing march westward.

### *Legacy*

Although most landowning colonial Virginians who owned their land acquired it in routine ways - by patent, purchase, or inheritance - the memory of violent struggles to wrest control of the land from the Indians, coupled with reports of the bloody contest in the west in the 1760s and 1770s, transformed the actual settlement and expansion of the colony into an epic story on the eve of the American Revolution. For many Virginians the first colonists, and by extension current ones, attained heroic stature as they struggled against great odds to establish a society in a hostile and dangerous New World. That they succeeded in creating what many colonial Virginians described as a republic of freeholders only enhanced the significance and defining power of the story. An inevitable consequence of this interpretation was that it linked the continued success of the republican experiment to the continuing expansion of freehold settlements. While this "manifest destiny", as it developed in the nineteenth century, did celebrate democratic republicanism, it necessarily placed those already living in the west who resisted its imperative in the role of outcasts who deserved to be swept aside.

The colonists' relentless pursuit of new lands to settle obviously worked to the disadvantage of the Indians who were forced to retreat. But it would be a mistake to see the Indians as merely the broken victims of the inevitable march of history. Until the French were forced to abandon their claim to Canada and the trans-Appalachian west in 1763, Indians, most notably the Iroquois, skillfully played the imperial powers off against each other to enhance the Native Americans' importance. Others, such as the Leni-Lenape (or Delaware) in the seventeenth century and the Cherokee in the eighteenth century, masterfully exploited the rivalries between colonies to their own advantage. Even retreat was not always a prelude to a tribe's cultural collapse. The several small Carolina coastal tribes who regrouped in the Carolina uplands with the Catawbas in the early eighteenth century, the scattered Shawnee who reassembled in the Ohio Country in the 1760s, and the Delaware who relocated there from eastern Pennsylvania, all experienced a cultural resurgence in their new homes that made them vigorous opponents of colonial expansion.

Indians remained powerful in the Ohio Country until after the American Revolution. With the end of the war, the United States could turn its attention to resolving

lingering land disputes between Virginia and its neighbors and removing the Indians from the Ohio Territory. After the Ohio Indians were defeated at Fallen Timbers (1794) this vast land could be settled according to the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that established the pattern of settlement for all western lands. While the cycle of conflict, broken treaties, warfare, and eventual removal continued throughout the nineteenth century, Native Americans remained culturally resilient. One of the legacies of the broken treaties has been a number of court cases in the late twentieth century to redress these grievances. Today Indian tribes maintain a special relationship to the federal government to the frustration of state and local governments.

With the opening of the Ohio Country to American settlement, the issue of free trade down the Mississippi through New Orleans took on new importance and relations with Spain became a significant part of our foreign policy. Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase (1803) opened vast new land for settlement. Later in the nineteenth century wars with Mexico and Spain added additional land to America. After the settlement of the continental United States, America continued to struggle to maintain a special interest in the Philippines, Mexico, and other Latin American countries, and the Caribbean Islands in the twentieth century. As a result of this expansionism the Philippines became an independent nation, Alaska and Hawaii joined the United States and the debate over the admittance of Puerto Rico as the fifty-first state continues.

The ideal of a republic of freeholders and the conviction that it was America's "manifest destiny" to cover the entire continent fostered the belief that land and resources were unlimited. Mythic frontier values of freedom, equalitarianism, autonomy, and the ideal of individual land ownership reinforced European ideals of individualism and became part of our American heritage. The dream of owning one's home is seen today as the entitlement of all Americans, although many find it a difficult dream to reach. A final irony resulted from the linking freedom to land. Some Americans equated the right to own property of all types with the right to own slaves. In fact, slavery was permitted south of the Ohio. But other Americans strongly disagreed with the concept of slavery and its continued expansion into new southwestern territories. The question would not be settled until a bloody civil war was fought during the mid-nineteenth century.

## **"TAKING POSSESSION" AND THE "BECOMING AMERICANS" THEME**

### *Diverse People*

The protagonists of the "Taking Possession" story were the diverse native inhabitants of eastern North America, the several European states (principally England, France, and Spain) who asserted imperial sovereignty over the continent, and the settlers of European background and the Africans they forcibly brought to the colony who actually took up residence in colonial Virginia. An evolving cast of characters first featured Englishmen (and a few women), Powhatans, and Africans of West Indian background. Later, French Huguenots, Ulster Irish, Germans, Scots, and Africans joined with colonial-born Virginians, white and black, as they all encountered Iroquois, Catawba, Delaware, Cherokee, and Shawnee and other tribes on the eve of independence.

### *Clashing Interests*

Each group invested the land they occupied with meaning, which in turn shaped their behavior toward it. For the Indian the land was to be used for the common good and its control guaranteed Indian cultural identity and autonomy. For the European settlers the land was to be made productive and valuable and its ownership meant economic and social security. For African-Virginians the land was given secretly a reassuring presence that helped them rebuild their lives. For European powers, overseas colonies enhanced national prestige and added to a country's wealth. So different in fundamental ways, these various interests coexisted uneasily. White Virginians judged the Indians' use of the land as wasteful and unproductive. Indians condemned the whites' use of the land as selfish and destructive. African-Virginians simply ignored those boundary markers their masters imposed on the land that did not conform to their mental landscape. European nations regularly challenged each others' claims to new world territory. These tensions often gave way to violence.

### *Shared Values*

Although the huge land holdings amassed by rich and powerful Virginians forced many poorer colonists to resort to speculators, to patent less desirable land, or to remain tenants, the seemingly limitless land free for the taking in the New World instilled in nearly all free Virginians, white and black, the goal of becoming freeholders. Even the majority of African-Virginians, who by necessity had to view the land only as the place where they lived and labored, understood that the land they occupied was a commodity to be bought and sold with little regard for their opinion. By the mid-eighteenth century, Indians were using the language of land ownership to defend their claims to lands beyond the edge of Virginia settlement. Yet the Indians never internalized the concept of private land ownership as had the colonial settlers of European, and, to a lesser extent African, backgrounds. Their open disdain of this ideal effectively distanced Indians from whites. Furthermore, Great Britain, where land ownership was equally a goal, failed to understand how the achievement of a freehold by a relatively large number of freemen in British terms worked to undermine colonialism.

### *Formative Institutions*

The friction caused by the incessant quest for land was regulated in many formal and informal arenas. A wide variety of informal contacts frequently centered around trade brought Native Americans and European and African colonists together. Although such encounters often produced misunderstandings that heightened tensions, they also created a middle ground where conversations (if not accommodations) could occur. In addition, Indian leaders and English government officials engaged in formal negotiations to resolve disputes over trade and land and to set standards for behavior. The land claims of individual Virginians were also settled through formal and informal means. Land patents were recorded in the colony's land office, courts adjudicated challenges to land titles, and neighbors walked around each other's lands to reestablished their boundaries. Although in general the haves were favored over the have-nots, Virginia's formal and informal institutions did help to guard the sanctity of private property. Even Great Britain's centuries-long and finally victorious defense of its New World claims legitimized individual British colonists' pursuit of land. Unfortunately for Great Britain, their victory also planted the seeds of Virginia's eventual independence.

### *Partial Freedoms*

Only hindsight allows the conquest of the Indians to seem inevitable since, the final outcome was frequently in doubt. In fact, the Indians' fierce defense of their homelands caused white Virginians to cast their struggle with the Indians in heroic terms: "Their [Virginians'] own blood was spilt in acquiring lands for their settlement...For themselves they fought, for themselves they conquered, and for themselves alone they have right to hold" (Thomas Jefferson). The system developed for acquiring and owning land that held sway until the 1770s clearly benefited the wealthy colonists. Their wealth enabled them to patent thousands of the choicest acres at a time. Furthermore, the legal system protected the landowner from the land seeker. The system was hardly a closed one, however from an Old World perspective, it was a fairly open; thousands of Virginia freemen who might never have hoped to own land in England or Europe became freeholders in the colony. In the older, longer settled counties, landless tenants—mostly poor whites and free blacks—become a common fixture of society. Even there, however, the promise of an eventual freehold camouflaged the dismal prospects of the landless.

### *Revolutionary Promise*

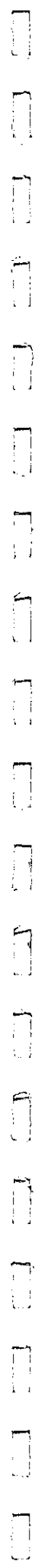
The abundance of land in the heart of the new nation served as a magnet to Europe's and Asia's poor. Lured by the promise of a better life, wave after wave of immigrants from such places as Ireland, Germany, Poland, Russia, Italy, China, and Japan arrived in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many died in urban tenements or work camps without realizing their dreams, but enough settled on farms or found productive work to keep the dream alive. As the tens of thousands of immigrants set about creating a new life for themselves, the reality of their accomplishments transformed the republic into a democracy. In their wake grew hopefulness and optimism that seemed to confirm the nation's destiny as a land of freedom and opportunity, but it should not be forgotten that it came at a high cost. Those Americans who failed to become sturdy, independent yeomen were often wrongly stigmatized as weak and morally inferior. The



Indians and the Spanish of the Southwest who rightly protested their prior claim to North America's lands were viewed with contempt by many Americans. When these "outsiders" resisted the takeover of their homes, they were frequently suppressed brutally. On balance, however, the promise of self-reliance and self-sufficiency that came along with land ownership transcended these wrongs and, over time, extended to all Americans.

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**AMERICA'S  
FIRST  
PEOPLE**



## THE POWHATAN INDIAN WAY OF LIFE IN 1607

In the following selections from her Pocahontas's People, Helen Rountree described the Powhatan culture, society, and government on the eve of English contact. She also explores the Powhatan's contacts with other Europeans before the English came in 1607.

### Prologue

Before we embark upon a comprehensive history of the Algonquian-speaking Indians in Virginia (hereinafter collectively called "Powhatan Indians"), we need to describe their way of life so that their actions through history will make better sense. The English colonists at Jamestown left a few moderately comprehensive descriptions of this way of life, though not nearly so comprehensive as an anthropologist would wish. The English writers lived in an era before the advent of any of the social sciences. Full and objective descriptions of alien cultures were not even conceived of back then. The colonists were also male, with all that that meant in early Jacobean England and they came to Virginia not to observe Indians but to explore the territory and to make their fortunes. Their descriptions of Indian lifeways are therefore spotty and essentially incidental to the records they left about their colonizing enterprise. Nonetheless, we can reconstruct the skeleton of Powhatan culture, and I have done so at length in another book. For our purposes here, I will summarize the culture briefly, laying emphasis upon the parts of it that are most relevant to Powhatan-English relations. As we shall see, the Powhatans were closely involved with and limited by their territory; they had a sophisticated government (though it was not a confederacy, as the older history books call it); and they viewed ownership of land and the relations between men and women very differently from the way the English did.

The Powhatans occupied a region that corresponds handily to the coastal plain of modern Virginia, extending about one hundred miles from east to west (including both shores of the Chesapeake Bay) and one hundred miles from north to south. The six thousand square miles of land available were occupied by at least fourteen thousand Algonquian speakers in 1607-1608. There had probably been many more people than that a century earlier, before European contact brought new diseases to North America.

The Powhatans' eastern boundary was the Atlantic Ocean. Their western boundary, which they contested with the Siouan-speaking Monacans and Mannahoacs, was approximately at the "fall line," where the rivers cease to be navigable. Their southern boundary, which they usually shared peacefully with the Algonquian-speaking Pamlicos and Chowanocs, was roughly where the Virginia-North Carolina border is, though the Iroquoian-speaking Nottoways and Meherrins peacefully inhabited the inner coastal plain south of the James River. And their northern boundary was approximately the Virginia-Maryland line on the Eastern Shore and, on the western shore, the Potomac River, down which marauding Iroquoians called Massawomecks came from time to time. The man Powhatan, father of Pocahontas, claimed to dominate all of this region, though the claim was exaggerated.

The territory that was-and still is-home to the Powhatans is a coastal plain that tilts gently eastward into the Atlantic. It is a well-watered plain (average annual rainfall: forty-six inches) crossed by more water in the form of rivers and partially covered by still more water from the Atlantic. The Chesapeake Bay, which is in fact the drowned lower valley of the Susquehanna River, has the Potomac, the Rappahannock, and the York as major tributaries from the northwest; the James, parallel to them, now flows into the bay but in Ice Age times had its own separate path between the Virginia Capes. All four of these southeastward-

flowing rivers are genuine rivers, carrying massive amounts of fresh water annually to the Chesapeake from the piedmont (Rappahannock and York) and the Appalachian Mountains (Potomac and James). But because the coastline is drowned by the ocean, the rivers gradually become estuaries to the eastward, first brackish and then salty.

Eastern Virginia is riddled with navigable waters, a fact that was lost on neither the Indians nor the English. Large boats can (and still do) penetrate more than one hundred miles inland. The Chesapeake varies between twelve and twenty-two miles wide in its Virginia reaches, and its parent stream, the Susquehanna, is navigable far up into Pennsylvania. All of the four major rivers of the Powhatan region are wide: at least half a mile wide in their middle reaches as they cross the coastal plain, and anywhere from two miles (the York) to seven miles (the Potomac) wide at their junction with the bay. All of them have sizable tributaries, some of the tributaries have sizable tributaries of their own, and most of these again have branches or swamps at their heads. (The same is true of the western edge of the Delmarva Peninsula, whose "creeks" are tributaries to the bay.) It is therefore possible, in a canoe, to get almost anywhere in the region by water. And it is not surprising that the Powhatans—and the English, until the advent of paved roads for motorcars—chose most often to travel by water. (There were also footpaths on land, allowing rapid communication with some neighbors.) The variety in size, salinity, and tidal impulse in all these watercourses is phenomenal, with a corresponding variety in the plants and animals that live in or near them.

The climate of eastern Virginia is mild one. Real winter lasts only three months at most, and berries and fruits and nuts are available fresh for some seven months of the year. Most of the land supports a cover of deciduous trees mixed with pines and cedars. Many of the deciduous trees are nut bearers (hickory, walnut, chestnut, chinquapin, beech), while a wide variety of berry bushes grows in the forest's understory along with native fruit trees such as the persimmon. All of these, in addition to the marine foods available year round, support raccoons, opossums, muskrats, beavers, wild turkeys, and (now making a comeback) brown bears. In the freshwater marshes there are plants such as arrow arum, with a root (tuckahow) that human ingenuity can make edible, as well as reeds for mat making. Meadows, manmade or natural, provide a number of wild greens. And the grasses there and the tender leaves of the understory feed the Indians' favorite prey, the Virginia white-tailed deer, which was hunted by individual men year-round and by whole tribes in communal hunts in the late fall. The only domesticated-or domesticable-animal the Powhatans had was the dog.

Given these conditions, Indians in Virginia after the end of the last Ice Age lived very well by hunting, gathering, and fishing, in spite of the extinctions that carried off the mammoths and mastodons. The Powhatans of the early seventeenth century kept up all these ancient skills. The English colonists called it "living from hand to mouth," but it was precisely these skills that were needed in the spring and early summer, when the previous year's supplies ran out and the crops were not yet ripe, or when a summer drought—no uncommon occurrence in Virginia—blighted the (nonnative) crops.

The Powhatans kept up their foraging skills, but they were by no means nomadic. They were a farming people, accustomed to a settled life with an orderly government. Unfortunately, their farming was done in a manner that the English observers were hardly able to appreciate. All of the farming work except the clearing of fields was done by the women, assisted by children. That was a standard Woodland Indian practice, and being food producers as well as food preparers seems to have given Powhatan women a higher status in their society than English women had in theirs. For their part, Powhatan men had their

hands full being hunters and fishers; yet the English persisted for centuries in viewing them as lazy because they did not do the farming.

Powhatan fields also looked less smooth and, because of their smallness, produced less food than expected by the English, with their intensive plow agriculture. Indian fields were cleared by the slash-and-burn method, which left tree stumps behind. Lacking draft animals as well as plows, the Powhatans had no need for meticulously smoothed fields, and their digging-stick horticulture was time consuming enough that most women did not plant really big fields. The crops planted—maize, beans and squash—grew handsomely and were nourishing. But the women planted them amongst one another (a practice called intercropping), so that by midsummer Indian fields looked overgrown with vegetation. In years with normal rainfall, fresh garden vegetables were available from July (early August for corn) through October.

The Powhatans, like other coastal Algonquians, used no fertilizer on their fields, and after a few years they would leave some fallow and move on to others. Land was “owned” strictly by usufruct; deserted fields could be cleared again later by anyone who wanted to use them. Ultimate ownership remained with the tribe or, once he had established supremacy, with the *mamanatowick*, or paramount chief. Most Powhatan towns had a dispersed settlement pattern in which the houses were scattered randomly among the gardens. Since dwellings were made of perishable materials (see below), women found it expedient to build new houses near their new fields. Thus a whole town would gradually move, amoeba-like, to another location after a couple of decades. The new town would be called by the name of its new location, although the residents remained the same. The English eventually used this Indian practice of “abandonment” to their own advantage, while the Powhatans remained woefully uncomprehending of fallowings and land sales that became “for ever.” Even after the Powhatans had learned the English system of land tenure, white neighbors sometimes forced them to leave.

The Powhatans divided up their territory in a way different from the English or modern American one. Like their fellow Algonquians up and down the Atlantic Coast, they saw watercourses as centers of districts, not boundaries. Waterways were major sources of food and avenues of transportation, and if a waterway was narrow enough (a mile or less), the people in a tribe would build their towns on both sides of it in much the same way that we build on both sides of our major highways. Werowocomoco, the capital of the paramount chiefdom, comprised houses built on two points between three small intersecting creeks. Many subject tribes (e.g., Nansemond and Pamunkey) lived on both sides of the rivers that were named after them, and the Rappahanocks and the Weyanocks claimed territory on both sides of the big rivers they lived on (the Rappahannock and the James, respectively). The English would choose to ignore this custom in a law of 1705, to gain more Indian land.

Waterways, which provided fish, shellfish, migratory birds, and marshes, where reeds and edible plants grew and muskrats lived, made up the center of tribal territories and even, at times, of major Indian towns. The houses of towns and satellite villages alike were always located fairly close to the shore, usually on or near a point commanding a view of the water and the people (including enemies) traveling upon it. With the dispersed pattern that was used, a small village might stretch along a mile of waterfront. “Town center” was wherever the weroance’s (chief’s) house stood. All houses were barrel-vaulted frameworks of saplings, with coverings of mats (doubled in winter) or, for those of higher status, bark slabs. Weroances’ houses and the temples, which were usually built outside the towns, differed from other buildings only in their greater length and in their multiple rooms.

Beyond the villages lay a zone of forest cleared of underbrush, used both for sanitation and for firewood gathering. Beyond that lay the forest proper, where men went hunting and warring, and women and children went foraging for nuts, berries, greens, and fiber for cordage. Landward boundaries among the Powhatans appear to have been inexact, one tribe's hunting territory shading gradually into the next tribe's. A man who merely wounded a deer expected to be able to chase it down, no matter where the chase took him—a fact lost upon the boundary-conscious English settlers of a later date.

The English found much to deprecate in the simplicity of Indian field clearing and house building, but in fact the Powhatans' ability to elaborate their material culture was severely limited by the nature of their cutting tools. Before European iron became available in the late sixteenth century, the Powhatans were a Stone Age people faced, in many areas, with a shortage of stone. On the coastal plain, where the bedrock is covered with up to 2,300 feet of sediment, stones are available only in occasional exposures along shorelines and river cliffs, unless the plow brings them up. These cobbles are rarely the kind of fine-grained stone needed for elaborate knapping into razor-sharp edges. Smooth stone axes with reasonable cutting edges were made by chipping and then laborious grinding. Well-crafted stone knives and arrowheads were made, but sometimes hunters had to substitute mussel shells or sharpened reeds for the knives and shaped oyster shells or wild-turkey spurs for the arrowheads. Scraping of wooden surfaces was usually done with beaver incisors for small jobs and with clamshells (after burning the surface) for big jobs such as canoe making. It is no wonder, then, that the Indians were reluctant, in the early days of the Virginia colony, to see their canoes burned by threatening Englishmen. It is even less wonder that in 1607 the Powhatans were already fiercely eager to obtain English iron tools; the men wanted hatchets and the women wanted knives and "paring irons" (digging sticks). The men's desire for firearms came soon afterward. However, Indian house-building methods remained the same for more than 150 years after iron tools came into use. Flimsy as Powhatan houses may have seemed to the English, they were better adapted than English ones to the hot Virginia summers, when a smoky but partially ventilated house meant sleeping coolly and mosquito free, and to the cold winters, when the extra mats or bark and the roaring central fires made them as "warmed as stoves."

Wealth among the Powhatans consisted mainly in things, many of them perishable, that were available to all people if they made the effort. People could work extra hard to get large quantities of foodstuffs, especially high-status venison for generous feasts, and maize for making cornbread at all seasons of the year. They could also aspire to wear many deer hides, nicely tanned and made into long, fringed, and decorated mantles; or strings of pearls from freshwater mussels; or strings of smooth-edged tubular beads called *peak*, the white variety made from the inner column of the whelk's shell, the more rare purple ("blue") kind made from the small purple area on the quahog clam's shell. (Roanoke, made from disk-shaped pieces of various shells strung on thread, was mentioned only later in the century.) There was also a glittering antimony ore, used mixed with body paint, which was excavated in Patowomeck territory and traded widely. A highly prized face and body paint was made from puccoon. The *mamanatowick* Powhatan exacted tribute comprised of all these things, but some were retained by ordinary folk.

The only item of high value found outside the Powhatan area was nearly pure copper ore, which was cold-hammered into "long linckes" or other forms. Powhatan held a monopoly on it and used it as gifts and as payment to weroances of his subject tribes for military services. The English rapidly discovered that copper rings, bracelets, and bells were

excellent trade goods to bring; glass beads, especially blue ones (analogous to the more valuable "blue" peak), were also in high demand.

On most days, the Powhatans did not appear to pay attention to social status, as the English did. All men, even ruling ones, could and did go hunting fishing, and warring, often taking their sons along in the first two activities. For these they wore the basic men's garb: buckskin breechclout, leggings, moccasins. They also wore a hairstyle they believed had been given them by one of their gods: long hair in a knot on the left, a roach along the crown, with head shaved on the right to avoid the tangling of hair in bowstrings. All women and girls spent most of their time producing food, preparing food, making pottery, making and repairing houses and mats and baskets, and caring for the younger children. (The English practice of "fostering out" their own children and rearing other people's seems to have appalled the Indians.) For this work they wore the basic women's garb: buckskin apron and, in the forest, leggings and moccasins. Their hair was worn loose, or in a single long braid with bangs in front, or cut short all around the head. Prepubescent girls went naked and wore their heads shaved except for a long braid at the back. Both sexes wore buckskin mantles ("matchcoats") for warmth in winter. Because the men's world and the women's world did not meet often, and because the women did a great deal of outdoor work, the patriarchal English assumed that women had a very inferior status.

But appearances were deceiving. Women did, in fact, control their family's food supply and their own bodies, both before and after marriage. They were choosy about husbands and insisted that the men provide economic and military security. A man who was a good provider could therefore have more than one wife, and the women appear to have been willing to join such polygynous households. Romance could be found, usually with a husband's permission, in the arms of a lover. Inheritance among the ruling families was matrilineal; it may have been matrilineal or bilateral among the common folk.

Social differences between families became apparent on dress-up occasions, such as feasts for visiting dignitaries. Chiefs and the "better sort" in general had long, fringed buckskin mantles to wear for such events, along with multiple necklaces of pearls and copper and shell beads. They also had immense quantities of high-status food such as venison and cornmeal to dispense at all seasons of the year. The Powhatan status system was even more evident in the people's behavior toward one another. Ruling families, men and women alike were paid great deference. They expected to give orders at home, for they had servitors to cook and serve their food and help them dress. High-ranking women, such as Pocahontas, were expected to travel with an escort, although not necessarily with a relative.

Chiefs, called weroances, "commanders," could be male or female (weroansqua) and were creatures set apart. They kept and traveled with large retinues. They received elaborate welcomes when they reached their destinations, the welcomes including feasting, dancing, oratory, and, for the men, young female bedmates for the night. Chiefs had the power to punish disobedience with a quick death by knocking out the brains. They presided at the execution of thieves and murderers, who were bound and thrown into a fire to burn to death. ("Theft" referred only to stealing from one's own people; Europeans were fair game.) Weroances knew how to procure their own food, but they normally had huntsmen to bring in game and whole towns to plant fields of crops specially for them. They also collected "tribute," which consisted of tanned deerskins, pearls and peak, and maize. (Apparently, wild plant foods were not "taxable," which may have been another incentive for people to keep up their foraging skills.) Only weroances, along with the priests, were allowed inside the holiest temples on a regular basis. When they died, they received special burials, and



they and the priests were believed to be the only people who had an afterlife. Male weroances, with their greater incomes, were able to pay the bridewealth to acquire more wives than ordinary men; more wives working in the fields meant still more income, which could be used to acquire yet more wives. The mamanatowick Powhatan had more than one hundred wives in his lifetime and kept more than a dozen at any one time. He had only one child by each wife, so that his children were all half-siblings to one another.

Weroances acquired their positions most often by matrilineal inheritance. Thus it was rare that any of the children by all those wives became weroances themselves, though Powhatan did appoint several of his sons to govern subject tribes. A ruling position passed from a female ancestor to her sons in order of age, thence to the daughters in order of age, and thence to the sons and then daughters of the eldest daughter. Powhatan's successor was therefore his next brother, Opitchapam, a lame and unimpressive man who was overshadowed in his lifetime by his more able and charismatic brother and successor, Opechancanough. There were also two sisters who would have become paramount chiefs had they lived long enough.

It was the sensible practice of Virginia weroances to make their successors viceroys while they lived. Thus, Opitchapam, Opechancanough, and a third brother, Kekataugh, jointly ruled the powerful Pamunkey tribe for their brother. The doughty Opussunoquonuske acted as weroansqua of a satellite town for her brother, the weroance of the Appamattuck tribe and a subject in turn of Powhatan, while Iopassus (Japazaws), the Indian collaborator in the capture of Pocahontas in 1613, ruled the satellite town of Passapatanzy for his brother, the weroance of Patawomeck.

Most of the Indians of eastern Virginia were organized into chiefdoms in the late protohistoric period, judging by what William Strachey heard about the Kecoughtan "chief" who was conquered by Powhatan in the 1590s. The only exception was the Chickahominies, who deliberately remained on a tribal level. It was not until very late in the protohistoric period that a paramount chief (Powhatan) emerged. The reason for the development of chiefdoms and, later, a paramount chiefdom may have been a "natural" movement toward more complex political organizations in an ecologically rich area, although nearly all of the riches of the Virginia coastal plain are so widely available that the economic specialization which Elman Service sees as a major factor in the rise of many chiefdoms was not in operation there. I feel, instead, that though the chiefdoms may have been a "natural" development, a major factor in the rise of a paramount chiefdom in eastern Virginia was the increased military threat the people of the region felt from Europeans and other Indians alike, possibly coupled with social disruption caused by epidemics. Internal pressures with external causes have been known to open the door to political takeovers elsewhere.

Powhatan claimed to rule nearly all of eastern Virginia. He had inherited six chiefdoms (Powhatan, Arrohatock, Appamattuck, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Chiskiack) and had then gathered more tribes into his fold, either by warfare or by intimidation. He had added the Kecoughtans to his collection in 1597 or 1598; he had exterminated the Chesapeakes, who would not join him, by the summer of 1608. By 1608, then, Powhatan had received at least a nominal submission, if not full subjection, from all the surviving Algonquian-speaking chiefdoms of the coastal plain. The Chickahominies were an exception. This populous tribe persisted in governing itself by a council of elders, while holding Powhatan at bay with a large population of warriors and by making judicious payments to him.

The Algonquian-speaking ethnic groups of the James, the York, and probably the Rappahannock river basins were chiefdoms fully integrated into Powhatan's "empire"—which

was not a "confederacy." The chiefdoms of the southern shore of the Potomac and of the Eastern Shore were, according to Powhatan's accounts and occasionally to their own, officially part of the "empire," but in fact they were a "fringe" on the new ethnic group that the paramount chief was trying to create. That fringe was the first part of Powhatan's empire to be detached through English influence.

Powhatan's organization was in three levels, with his viceroys being the tribes' veroances, and their viceroys in turn being the petty veroances of satellite towns. The proper term to apply to Powhatan's organization is "paramount chiefdom" rather than "empire," since Powhatan himself did not exert enough coercive force for his organization to be called a monarchical "state." He either could not or did not control his subject tribes rigidly. Tribes occasionally fought among themselves, as did the Weyanocks and Paspaheghs on the James and the Rappahannocks and Moraughtacunds on the Rappahannock in 1607-1608. They also negotiated on their own with the English, until Powhatan decided that the newcomers were important enough to deal with himself, and even then the tribes were allowed great latitude in their behavior. But Powhatan expected obedience to his wishes and he was prepared to punish disobedience with annihilation, which he inflicted upon the Piankatanks in an ambush in 1608. Peripheral peoples, such as the Accomacs and Occohannocks on the Eastern Shore and the Patawomecks and Onawmanients on the Potomac, paid him lip service as often as real obedience.

There was no "state" religion among the Powhatans. Varying beliefs about the creation of the world and life after death were recorded by the English colonists. All accounts agree, however, that the Powhatans believed in multiple gods, with an anthropomorphic male tutelary deity ("okeus," or kwiokos) in each town to whom the temples were dedicated. The latter god was served by full-time (or nearly so) priests, who wore special garb but were allowed to marry; one priest, Uttamatomakkin, married a daughter of Powhatan.

Priests had functions other than sacerdotal ones. They communicated with gods, so they could make rain and cure disease. They could foretell the future, so they became extremely influential in councils of war. They were able to determine secret things and were therefore called upon to identify criminals and intuit the motives of foreigners, as they tried to do with John Smith. The priests' powers made them highly sought after both by veroances and by the mamanatowick. Although these rulers were free to make final decisions for themselves, the priests were said to have "the final voice" in council meetings, where everyone's opinion was consulted. Given their connection with the source of temporal power, it is not surprising that Powhatan priests became as unalterably opposed to English settlement, once that intention was revealed to them, as were the hereditary chiefs.

Warfare was endemic to eastern Virginia when the English arrived. There were genuinely lethal Indian enemies to the west and northwest and before long in the English colony in the Indians' midst. War against such outsiders probably helped Powhatan to impose his "empire" upon Woodland Indian people, who had not previously had such a polity, by directing their resentment outward. And war still gave an ambitious man not born into a ruling family a chance to earn prestige. The Powhatans knew how to fight in massed formations, but most of their warfare took the form of small-scale raids and ambushes, in which feats of individual bravery were easy to observe.

All men, except possibly the priests, were trained from infancy to be hunters of animals or of people. Babies were washed daily in cold water to make them hardy, a practice that both sexes followed throughout life. Boys were not fed their breakfast by their mothers until they had hit targets their mothers tossed for them. Boys were expected to increase

their hunting exploits over time, receiving new personal names denoting their achievements; grown men, even brothers of Powhatan, did the same thing in war and politics throughout their lives. Boys heard about and occasionally saw the fate of male war captives (women, children, and "royals" were adopted), who were slowly tortured to death by townspeople of both sexes. Some time before puberty, boys were expected to go through a harrowing ordeal of several months' duration called the huskanaw, in which they were ceremonially "killed," isolated, and fed a "decoction" that sent them mad and gave them amnesia, and then were "reborn" and retrained by men, away from women's influence. Some boys did not survive. The effects on those who did were incalculably deep.

Powhatan men were "real he-men," ever ready for war and councils of war, ever ready to gain honor in going against foreigners and in taking revenge for perceived slights, ever prepared to meet stoically a death by torture, and in the meantime ever ready to prove themselves as great deer hunters in order to acquire wives. Men and women alike expected this role of men; the women's role (which included farming) was complementary and separate. Indian men literally hated to be shamed, to be "made a derision of," and public shame could come easily in a culture in which a man's very name told what he had or had not done lately. The women would not marry any man who did not measure up. The men had no respect for other men who did not measure up-including most of the Englishmen they met, except for John Smith.

Such men and women did not suffer gladly the English attitude of cultural superiority-not when those Englishmen proved repeatedly that they could not even feed themselves. And as we shall see, such men and women did not change their roles willingly, even after a century of defeat and decline.

As Powhatan built up his paramount chiefdom, he was, in fact, attempting to build a new ethnic group out of chiefdoms that spoke closely related languages and possessed closely similar cultures. Many ethnic groups are known to have formed originally because of a commonality of interest-especially a political interest-in opposition to some other people's interest. A forceful personality may or may not be present to hurry the process. The United States is a case in point, the opposition having been to the mother country. The interest that bound Powhatan's organization together was defense against enemies-Siouan, Iroquoian, and European. By 1607 the territory occupied by the coalescing ethnic group had a name: Tsenacomacoh. If its inhabitants had a collective name for themselves, the English did not record it. (Modern scholars' use of the term "Powhatan" for these Virginia Algonquians is primarily for our own convenience.) If the paramount chiefdom had remained untampered with by Europeans, it would have become a full-fledged ethnic group in a few more decades.

Powhatan's new polity was not a monolithic affair. Tribal identities such as "Pamunkey" and "Appamattuck" remained very strong, even in the loyal core of the organization. That is nothing unusual. The same was true for at least a century in counties like Burgundy and Gascony after their incorporation into the French state, and many developing countries today are forging "national" identities in the attempt to dominate all the tribal identities within their (European-drawn) boundaries. Powhatan's organization did not complete the process. When it came to a premature end in 1646, the older tribal identities remained, but by that time the people had long since come to see themselves as "Indians" (a supratribal ethnicity that did not presuppose a single polity) as a collective way of distinguishing themselves from the English.

Even if Powhatan's new ethnic group had lasted, it still would not have been monolithic, with neatly defined boundaries. Even modern nation-state ethnic groups (e.g.,

Portugal), with their lists of citizens to be taxed, do not have conveniently demarcated boundaries except on paper. All ethnic groups actually have an easily recognized core surrounded by a fringe that contains people who are less recognizable and less intensely involved. Fringe status embraces a great variety of relationships to the core. In modern nation-states, with their carefully recorded censuses, it can include expatriate, formerly core people; in-married foreigners; tax-paying expatriates from other countries, nationalized or not; persons with dual citizenship; members of separatist movements; and some of the more disaffected and non-tax-paying poor. This list shows another characteristic of many fringe people: they belong to two or more ethnic groups and feel some loyalty to both.

Fringes change as cultures change over time. This book describes not only the history and the changing culture of the Powhatan core people but also what the Powhatan fringe people were like. In Powhatan's paramount chiefdom in 1607, the fringe consisted of the more distant and less loyal groups such as the Patawomecks, as well as the autonomous but peaceful Chickahominies in the chiefdom's midst. In the same chiefdom of Opechancanough's time, some of the geographical fringe groups had been wooed away by the English and a new fringe of partially Anglicized Indians was forming. That fringe remained a major source of culture change on Virginia Indian reservations until the core Indian people were almost entirely Anglicized. After that, the tribes' fringes consisted of people who were simply not as actively involved or as fully accepted (e.g., white spouses) as core people were.

Ethnic groups are always complicated entities, and the Powhatans have always been no exception. People are capable of a wide variety of responses to the world around them. All but the most repressively conformist ethnic group (e.g., Old Order Amish) will show a considerable spectrum of such responses at any one time. As the centuries pass, the groups that survive use the parts of the spectrum that work for them in dealing with outsiders, and thus they retain or change the customs they consider to be "normal" and uniquely "theirs." After making many adaptive changes, they may scarcely resemble their ancestors, but their group identity will still exist. The following chapters document and explain the ethnic survival process for the Powhatan Indians of eastern Virginia.

## **Chapter 1 - Before the English Came**

Human occupation in Virginia goes back at least ten thousand years. However, the Algonquian-speaking Indians collectively called "Powhatans" in this book had a tradition of arriving in the Tidewater only "300 years" earlier, a tradition that has yet to be borne out by archaeology. As far as the excavations tell us, the Powhatans were the in situ result of at least fifteen hundred years of Woodland Indian adaptation to life in the Chesapeake Bay region. As such, they were the end-product of a long process of development, not the pitiable practitioners of a static and unproductive society that the English and Spanish thought them to be.

Europeans made sporadic visits to the eastern coast of North America for six centuries before they began serious attempts at settlement. However, it appears that the earliest visitor to the Chesapeake was Giovanni da Verrazzano, who in 1524 probably sailed past the Virginia Capes. In 1546 a storm forced an English ship into a "very good bay" in "the land of La Florida in 37°," according to the cabin boy's account made to the Spanish in 1559. While that ship rode at anchor, "over thirty canoes in each of which were fifteen to twenty persons" came alongside to trade. The bay may well have been the Chesapeake; the thirty seventh parallel runs through its entrance.

The first documented contact of Europeans with a Powhatan Indian occurred between 1559 and 1561, when a Spanish exploratory party picked up an Indian who was visiting to the south of his homeland. This man, who was later baptized with the name of his sponsor, Don Luis de Velasco, was probably a youth at the time. European explorers made a practice of kidnapping adolescents, who could learn a new language quickly while retaining their own and thus become useful as interpreters. The Indian youth was taken to Mexico, where he was baptized and educated by Dominicans. He was then taken to Spain, where the Jesuits who met him described him as the "son of a petty chief" and a "self-styled 'big chief' and a 'big talker.'" He remained in Spain for two years, during which time he met King Philip II and "received many favors" from him. Lastly, he went to Havana with some Dominicans, whom he eventually persuaded to found a mission to the "heathen" in his homeland, which he called Ajacan.

In 1566 the governor in Havana sent Don Luis with two friars and thirty soldiers to carry out that mission, but the expedition aborted when Don Luis failed to find the Virginia Capes. Meanwhile, the Jesuits in Cuba had become discouraged with their conversion rate and were ready to try a mission farther north. Thus, in August 1570 a second expedition, consisting of Don Luis, eight Jesuits, and one young novice named Alonso de Lara, set out for Chesapeake Bay.<sup>13</sup> One historian has suggested that Don Luis may have pretended to fail to find the Chesapeake in 1566 because of the expedition's preponderance of soldiers over priests; the 1570 roster was entirely religious and Don Luis had no trouble finding his homeland.

The Jesuit mission arrived in Tidewater Virginia on September 10, 1570, and sailed up the river later called the James, judging from the testimony of the ship's captain, they landed at College Creek, five miles east of James-town Island. Then, for reasons unknown, they crossed the Peninsula by way of creeks until they reached the mouth of either Kings or Queens Creek on the York River. There they settled, in a spot that was on another river entirely from their intended debarkation place.

The timing of the mission was poor: the region was enduring a famine, so that the Indians they wanted to convert had already dispersed to go foraging for the winter. The location of the mission was also unfortunate. The people at the debarkation place, possibly those later known to the English as Paspahoghs (or perhaps Chickahomines; see below), had welcomed Don Luis back as a relative. But the missionaries settled, perhaps inadvertently, among people of another group, later known as the Chiskiacks. No Spanish writer mentions the nature of relations, peaceful or hostile, between the two groups. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that Don Luis "lived with the Fathers but two nights and not over five nights in the village" before going off to live among his own people. It is also understandable that at a distance from the mission his eagerness to help the Jesuits faded, especially when his younger brother, now the ruler of his people, offered his own position to Don Luis. Don Luis declined the offer and decided to live with an uncle who ruled another (unidentified) group, also some distance away from the mission. As a privileged member of a ranking family, Don Luis soon succumbed to the temptation to live well in the Indian fashion, which, to the Jesuits' horror, included taking several wives.

The Jesuits, left behind at their camp, were soon in dire straits. They had brought few supplies from Cuba because they counted on the services of an interpreter and expected to be supported by new converts, a standard practice in Jesuit missionary work at the time. When their supplies ran out, they had to sell many of their tools to Indian neighbors and eke out an existence by foraging. Their messages to Don Luis, imploring him to return, went unanswered. Finally, in early February 1571, three missionaries sought out the "apostate" in

his uncle's household and put direct pressure on him. That was their final mistake. Don Luis seems already to have felt caught between loyalty to his own people and loyalty to the missionaries who had brought him home; whatever he did, he would be publicly criticized and shamed by somebody, a terrible fate for one brought up in the Powhatan world. But the Jesuits were more ready than his own people to blame him for disloyalty just then, and the missionaries were few in number. Therefore, the solution Don Luis chose was to eliminate the Jesuits. "

The three men from the mission were killed in the woods as soon as they started back. Later, on the morning of February 9, Don Luis and a party of warriors arrived at the mission, offering to work with the mission's axes. As soon as they had the axes, however, the Indian party used them to kill the remaining five missionaries, after which they looted the camp. Only young Alonso was spared, in keeping with Powhatan warfare practices. Don Luis, knowing his Europeans, advised his people to kill the boy before he could talk to the Spanish punitive force that was sure to come later, but two tribal rulers in succession insisted on keeping him alive.

A Spanish relief ship did indeed come looking for the missionaries later that year. The ship's master became suspicious when he saw none of the prearranged signals for guiding him to the Jesuits' camp. Instead he saw Indians walking on the beach wearing Jesuit cassocks and beckoning him ashore, and when he approached the shore, his men were ready for the canoes of attacking warriors. In the fray that followed, three Indians were captured, one of whom was successfully carried to Cuba. There the man told his captors what had happened and that Alonso was still alive.

Thus, in August 1572, after several delays, the punitive force that Don Luis feared arrived in the Chesapeake and anchored in Hampton Roads. Its commander was the governor of Cuba himself. A boat bearing the Indian captive was sent up College Creek to the Jesuits' debarkation place, where, after some deliberately friendly trading, the Spanish suddenly took more captives. That at least some of the captured Indians had played a part in murdering the Jesuits was apparent because one of them had met the Spanish wearing a silver patch from the mission. Carrying the captives, the boat then returned to the creek's mouth. There the people agreed to fetch Alonso from the place where he was being kept, two day's journey away, in what was later known as Kecoughtan territory. However, when no Alonso was forthcoming, the frustrated Indians tried to ambush the boat's occupants before the Spanish reacted violently to the delay. The boatmen beat off the attempt and waited one more day for Alonso. When the boy was not delivered, they approached the shore and fired arquebuses into the midst of the warriors gathered there, killing many of them. Ironically, Alonso's host had sent him directly to the Spanish ship in Hampton Roads, where the boat's occupants found him on their return from the shore.

The Spanish commander, Menendez, now sent one of the Indian captives upriver with orders to bring back Don Luis within five days or he would punish the other captives in Don Luis' place. Meanwhile, he held an inquest, with Alonso serving as interpreter. Five Indian captives were declared innocent and released, but when Don Luis was not brought in the time allotted, the others were hanged from the ship's rigging. The Spanish then went home. Alonso lived to be interviewed by Jesuit Writers. In later decades, Indians and English colonists alike still dreaded a return of the vengeful Spanish.

The Powhatans learned from the Spanish Jesuit mission and its aftermath that Europeans expected to have their own way and were willing to wreak vengeance on people who thwarted them. It is unlikely that the Powhatans recognized either the same qualities in themselves or that their own violence was a contributing cause to Spanish violence. Instead,

the people who had lost warriors merely hated the Spanish. One group, the Chickahominy, was particularly outspoken about it to the English in later years, which may indicate that the occupants of the debarkation place in 1570 were not the Paspaheghs but the Chickahominies. However, the Indians' understanding of Europeans' true intentions for New World people, as well as for their land, depended upon how much they heard from Don Luis (who probably told them plenty) and how much of his talk they believed. Judging from Indian behavior in the first years of the English colony (see chapter 2), they believed little.

No European ever seems to have learned what Don Luis' eventual fate was among his own people. However, rumors about alleged non-Virginian origins of Powhatan rulers circulated for more than a century in the English colony (their Indian sources were not recorded), making some scholars wonder whether one of these rulers was the returned Don Luis living under an Algonquian name. One rumor from the early seventeenth century stated that the Chickahominies hated the Spanish because the Indian emperor "Powhatans father was driven by them from the West-Indies into" Virginia; but Powhatan and Don Luis were probably contemporaries, not father and son. The other rumor, from the early eighteenth century, based itself on a foreign origin to account for the undying hostility of Opechancanough, Powhatan's brother, to Europeans: Robert Beverley claimed that the Powhatan Indians of his time denied the brotherhood of Opechancanough and the more pacific Powhatan ("They say he was a Prince of a Foreign nation, and came to them a great way from the South-West; And by their Accounts, we suppose him to have come from the Spanish Indians, somewhere near Mexico."). Yet Thomas Rolf, Pocahontas's son and a grandson of Powhatan, specifically claimed Opechancanough as a relative whom he wanted to visit in 1641. And all the early English accounts agree that Opechancanough was indeed a brother of Powhatan. The late-seventeenth-century Powhatans may only have been trying to disassociate themselves from a leader the English still detested.

Some modern historians, notably Carl Bridenbaugh, have speculated that Opechancanough and Don Luis were the same person. Indeed, Bridenbaugh has written a composite life history of them as though they were one, saying only parenthetically that the idea cannot actually be proved. I think there is little likelihood of their being the same, as do some of the authorities on the Spanish Jesuit mission. My reasons are both historical and cultural. Don Luis and Opechancanough were approximately contemporaries, since Don Luis and Powhatan were contemporaries. But Don Luis had only a younger full brother, as far as the Spanish accounts show, while Opechancanough had two older full brothers who became *mamanatowick* ahead of him. That means there were different sets of people in their immediate families. Additionally, Don Luis came from a territory somewhere around the mouth of the Chickahominy River in 1559-1561. Powhatan and, by extension, Opechancanough came from a territory that included tribes up near the fall line of the James and York rivers. In 1559-1561, when Powhatan was at best only newly installed as a ruler, it is possible, yet unlikely, that his dominion already extended down to the Chickahominy's mouth; his immediate family and Don Luis's would therefore have been different, though perhaps related.

Bridenbaugh notes that in 1621 Opechancanough disclosed some knowledge of astronomy (i.e., that the Big Dipper revolved around the North Star and was called the "Great Bear"); this he takes as persuasive evidence of a European-bred sophistication. Yet astronomical knowledge of that basic sort (revolving heavens, naming of constellations) is easily arrived at after only a few years of casual observation, and anthropologists have found that most peoples in the world have at least that much knowledge. The Great Bear's

Powhatan name, "Manguahaian," is Algonquian (though it is possibly Opechancanough's impromptu translation of the European name), and the correspondence of Powhatan and European names for the constellation is probably coincidental, since bears are among the animals native to both continents. On the other hand, there is Opechancanough's recorded deep fascination with English gadgets, such as the lock on the door of his English house in 1621 (which he is said to have spent hours playing with). That fact seems to argue a lack of experience with European technology, though it could have been a show for the English missionary who had the house built for him. Had he been Don Luis, he would not really have felt such a fascination, because the gadgets would have been familiar to him already.

But most convincingly, Opechancanough showed himself to be non-Europeanized in a truly essential matter and at a time when Don Luis would not have pretended for anyone's benefit: when Opechancanough tried to drive the English out of Virginia in 1622 and again in 1644, he did not follow up on his initial victory, a failure that gave the English time to regroup. In Indian-style warfare, vicious "hints" such as that were enough to make the survivors withdraw, at least for a time, until they could bear (or adopt) and rear more warriors. Opechancanough was confident that one strike was enough, as he told the Potomac River tribes. But Europeans in colonies the size of Jamestown did not take "hints" of that sort: they usually stayed in their well-established forts and sent home to their densely populated mother countries for reinforcements. A follow-up was definitely needed in 1622 to make the English even think about abandoning their colony; Don Luis would have known that, after spending a decade among the Spanish. He had been Europeanized enough to want to kill the boy Alonso and complete the job in 1571. Had he led the attack of 1622, he would almost certainly have come back to finish that job, too. Opechancanough was deadly serious in his aim of routing the English from Virginia, but his methods show him to be woefully unacquainted with the nature of Europeans. We must therefore conclude that Opechancanough was not Don Luis. No one knows what became of the Jesuits' erstwhile convert.

The 1570s and 1580s saw several European expeditions visit the mid-Atlantic Coast; the Powhatans met some of their members firsthand. One of the Roanoke Colony's ships may have entered Chesapeake Bay and encountered a hostile reception in 1584, though the Englishman who described that trip was vague about it. The Spanish sailed along the coast a number of times, and in 1588 they sailed up the bay as far as the mouth of the Potomac River. There they seized an Indian youth and carried him away, along with another boy from the Eastern Shore. The former soon died of grief, while the latter lived to reach Santo Domingo, where he converted to Christianity and subsequently died of smallpox.

One pre-Jamestown English expedition is known beyond question to have spent time with the Chesapeake Indians, who occupied what are now the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Chesapeake, and Virginia Beach. It is a pity that the Chesapeakes did not survive to tell the Jamestown colonists about their visitors and that the English records of the trip were subsequently made classified information and then lost. That expedition, which included the scientist Thomas Hariot and the artist John White, came from the first "Virginia" colony on Roanoke Island and spent some months, probably the early and middle winter of 1585-1586, with the "Chesepians". The location of that group's capital town, where Lane's party presumably stayed, is uncertain. John White's map shows it as "Skicoak," rumored to be Virginia's "greatest citie," on what is now the south branch of the Elizabeth River; two other villages, one named Apasus, are shown between two branches of Lynnhaven Bay. John Smith's map shows a "king's house" called "Chesapeake" at approximately the location of White's "Skicoake." Given the difference in time of



compilation, both maps may give the name of the capital correctly. The Chesapeakes may have concentrated all their population on the more protected Elizabeth River after Europeans began visiting the region frequently.

That winter Hariot and White collected information about the lower Chesapeake Bay. Their superior, Ralph Lane, also heard later from the Chowanocs about a rich ruler to their north whose main stronghold, an island, answered to the description of Old Point Comfort, in Kecoughtan territory. While based with the Chesapeakes, the English party was visited by members of several other tribal groups, most of which cannot be identified (one, the Mangoags, may have been the Nottoways or Meherrins). Significantly, no visitors from the James River tribes came; in 1607 they told the Jamestown colonists that they were enemies of the Chesapeakes. The richness of the bay region and the cordiality with which the Roanoke party was received caused the English to decide to move their colonial enterprise northward. It was only the stubbornness of a ship's pilot bent on privateering that placed the third (and later "lost") colony back on Roanoke Island.

It is likely that some of the "lost colonists" went northward as refugees in 1587 and stayed among the Chesapeakes, while others moved (or were abducted) westward to the Carolina mainland. David B. Quinn believes strongly in the idea and has constructed a scenario of the northern refugees' gradual assimilation with the Indians. I agree that this is likely. As Quinn notes, the Chesapeakes had been friendly two years earlier and the colonists knew that any later English attempts at settlement would be directed north of the Carolina Sounds. In addition, I would point out that the Indians who assaulted the English at Cape Henry in April 1607 showed a suspicious lack of panic when faced with English firearms, as though they were familiar with those firearms' limitations. However, the fate of any English people among the Chesapeakes can only be guessed at, for as we shall see, the Chesapeakes were exterminated by Powhatan before the Jamestown colonists could interview them. Archaeological excavations have yet to turn up solid evidence of an English presence in Chesapeake territory before the 1630s.

Quinn further suggests that some Roanoke refugees survived until sometime just before the Jamestown colonists' arrival, at which time Powhatan's forces exterminated the Chesapeake Indians as well as the English and half-English people living among them. After that, Quinn says that Powhatan and his people systematically kept their "crime" a secret by attacking the English at the first landing at Cape Henry and then by deflecting the English explorations away from that area. Quinn's evidence is William Strachey's statement that King James had been told by 1609 that although the Roanoke colonists had lived for "20 and od yeares" outside his dominions, Powhatan had killed them. In fact, "the slaughter at [of] Roanoke" had happened "at what time this our Colony, (under the conduct of Capt. Newport) landed within the Chesapeake Bay." King James may have heard this news from John Smith, for according to Samuel Purchas, who talked with Smith, Powhatan admitted to Smith during his captivity that he had killed, "those at [from] Roanoke."

I find the evidence for this part of the story circumstantial, not to say dubious. The refugees may have been killed at the time Quinn suggests, just before the English arrived at Chesapeake Bay in April 1607, but I think that if any such attack occurred, it was on the Carolina mainland. John Smith himself never wrote that Powhatan had killed any Roanoke colonists; only Purchas did, and he wrote it in 1625 as part of an anti-Indian polemic titled "Virginia's Verger." William Strachey accused Powhatan directly, but he did so in a passage exhorting Englishmen to settle in Virginia and convert the "heathen." The context of both charges is biased, so the charges themselves are flimsy. The Virginia Company's instructions to Sir Thomas Gates in 1609 speak of "the slaughter of [by] Powhaton of Roanocke

(colonists], upon the first arrivall of our colonie" (i.e., in 1607; the partial copying here by Strachey is plain), but there is no mention of where it was thought to have happened. In addition, Strachey wrote of the "Roanoke" murder and of the extermination of the Chesapeakes by Powhatan in entirely different places; at no point in his book does he indicate any connection between the Roanoke colonists and the obliterated Chesapeakes. It seems that Strachey expected most, if not all, Roanoke survivors to have taken refuge among the Carolina tribes, and that is where the leaders at Jamestown did, in fact, send emissaries to look for them.

As for the Jamestown colonists' being systematically kept away from the Chesapeakes' old territory, that is questionable. The attack they experienced at Cape Henry did not deter them from an initial exploration of the Lynhaven area, which they found apparently deserted. (A reason for that desertion has already been advanced.) Instead, the colonists do not seem to have been interested in the Chesapeakes' territory—for any reason—until the summer of 1608, and then merely as a matter of curiosity. Before John Smith's captivity of December 1607-January 1608, they were far too eager to find a "Northwest Passage" up the major rivers of the region, and at other times their hunger drove them to concentrate on trading for corn with tribes nearer to Jamestown. If Smith learned of any "guilt" of Powhatan's during his captivity, a subsequent confirmatory expedition of some sort would have been logical, considering that the English already distrusted Powhatan and were unaware that word of their other explorations had reached him. But the Jamestown colonists made no such move. They did not sail up the Elizabeth River until several months later, and then only at the end of an expedition that had traveled freely (though not unmolested) over the entire Chesapeake Bay region. It seems doubtful that Smith heard anything about any English being among the Chesapeake Indians or about the Jamestown colonists being discouraged by anyone from going there.

I suspect that the extermination of the Chesapeakes took place shortly after Jamestown was founded but that few, if any, of the English refugees among them survived long enough to be killed by Powhatan's men. Adult male English refugees probably did not live very long among the Chesapeakes. Englishmen had already demonstrated their ability to antagonize most of their Indian neighbors in the Roanoke region: the English and the Indians of that time were both apt to be arrogant and touchy. Even Englishmen from a peaceful, non-military colony were ethnocentric enough to be perceived by Indians as abrasive, given long enough contact; sixteenth-century Europeans were quick to give advice to "barbarians," by whose standards such advice was probably insufferably rude and aggressive. If they offended the Chesapeakes, the men would have been eliminated by their Indian hosts, who might later have attacked the newly arriving English at Cape Henry before the English, as the Indians expected, attacked them in reprisal. The female and young male Roanoke refugees would have been spared, adopted, and resocialized. But mortality was high, by modern standards, for both sexes and all ages among both the Indians and the English of that era. It is entirely possible that only half-blood children would have remained by 1607; those children would have been considered Indians, not English, by Powhatan's raiders, and therefore not worthy of notice.

One person, possibly half-English, was actually observed by the Jamestown colonists. He was "a Saluage Boy about the age of ten yeeres [in 1607], which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow and a reasonable white skinne . . . This boy, who would have been born around 1597, was observed living in Arrohateck territory, near the falls of the James, in the core of Powhatan's territory; there is no mention in the account of his being a captive from another tribe, Chesapeake or Carolina Algonquian. No English account mentions any

questions being asked about him, either, although the Indians there were exceedingly friendly. But he may well have been the child of a "lost colonist."

Neither the Jamestown settlers nor any other English ever went searching to Croatoan (now Hatteras Island), where the "lost colonists" message found by John White in 1590 had indicated they were going. Instead, the Jamestown English made inquiries among the Powhatan groups, who invariably suggested the North Carolina mainland. In December 1607, Opechancanough told the captive John Smith about Europeans in "Ocanahonan," which may have been the town of Ohanoak on the lower Chowan River that was visited by a party from the first Roanoke colony. In the spring of 1608 the ruler of Paspahegh offered to take an English party to "Panawicke beyond Roonok," but the offer proved to be fraudulent. Both towns were described to William Strachey in 1610-1611 as having two-story houses of stone and people who bred tame turkeys and hunted "apes" in the mountains. Strachey also heard about a place called Ritanoe, where the king of "Eyanoco" (possibly Eno, a Siouan-speaking group) kept four English men, two boys, and a young girl as servants. However, the only expeditions to search so far afield for "lost colonists" were the ones sent to the Chowanocs and to the Nottoways; both took place in the spring of 1609 and both failed to hear news. Thus, the ultimate fate of the "lost colonists" remains a mystery only archaeology may solve.

On July 26, 1603, an English ship captained by Bartholomew Gilbert was driven into what may have been Chesapeake Bay (Quinn believes the bay was Delaware Bay) by foul weather. Already low on food, water, and firewood, the ship was in desperate straits by July 29, so a landing party was sent ashore. Without warning the party was attacked and five men were killed, including Captain Gilbert. The ship thereupon weighed anchor and sailed to England, still short of supplies. The reason for the Indians' hostility was never discovered, but it may have had something to do with earlier Spanish movements in the area.

Another European ship visited the Chesapeake either "the yeare before" or "some two or three yeeres before" the settling of the Jamestown colony in 1607. The nationality of the crew was unknown to the Indians who told the story of its visit, but Quinn has suggested that it may have been an English ship captained by Samuel Mace, a companion ship to Gilbert's which had become separated. It may, in turn, have been Mace's ship that brought to England the Indians who are documented in 1603 as giving a canoe-handling demonstration on the Thames River.

All these connections are tenuous, given the scanty surviving records. Whatever its nationality, the ship visited Powhatan himself first and got a cordial reception, after which it went exploring in the Rappahannock River area. There the Rappahannock ruler made the crew welcome, but suddenly the Europeans turned on the Indians, killed their ruler, kidnapped some of the people, and sailed away. That, of course, is the Indian view, which acknowledged no culpability in creating a misunderstanding. The Powhatans appear not to have held that stealing from Europeans was "theft," since unpleasant incidents arising from thefts were common in the early days of the Jamestown colony; so it is likely that Rappahannock behavior played some part in causing the Europeans' violence. Nevertheless, the Rappahannocks still felt deeply offended in 1607, and for that reason John Smith was taken to them during his captivity in the winter of 1607-1608. He was exonerated because he was too short to have been the "great man" who captained the European ship.

In the decades before 1607, then, the Algonquian-speaking Indians of Virginia met a number of Europeans and heard about more. They must have had mixed impressions, for both their firsthand experiences and those related by neighbors were with Europeans who could be either friendly or violently angry. Spanish and English visits to the Chesapeake Bay

area must have caused unease. Stories of the repeated attempts to settle Roanoke Island may have been downright alarming, though the Powhatans would naturally not confess such a thing to the Jamestown settlers whose records we must use. There is also evidence that Iroquoian-speakers expanded their territory in the protohistoric period, and that their ritual torture of male captives was a means of further terrorizing other Woodland groups. The Massawomecks who so frightened some Powhatan groups may have been the Eries, moving down the Potomac valley in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The probability is high, therefore, that the Indians of eastern Virginia felt more threatened militarily at the end of the sixteenth century than they had ever felt before.

There may also have been serious epidemics of European diseases in eastern Virginia. Epidemics devastated other regions where the native people had no immunity, and in the Pamlico region the Roanoke colonists noted that dreadful diseases causing high mortality afflicted any Indian groups who offended the English (i.e., most Indian groups) a few days after the English left. That the Indians in Virginia experienced epidemics is indicated by Powhatan's statement to John Smith that he had "seene the death of all [his] people thrice" and by John Smith's hearing of mass deaths after the exhumation of two children's bodies at Accomac. Archaeological proof has yet to surface in the form of mass graves for the victims, but the likelihood of epidemics having occurred is still high. Severe epidemics can cause great social disruption, as Europeans had found out in their experiences with the Black Death. If such had been the case in late-sixteenth-century Virginia, an ambitious chief who wanted to become a paramount chief would have found circumstances aiding him.

Powhatan began his career as a paramount chief on a small scale sometime between the 1550s and the 1580s. From one or both of his parents, about whom nothing else is known, he inherited the chiefdoms of Powhatan, Arrohatock, and Appamattuck near the falls of the James River and the chiefdoms of Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Youghtanund in the upper York River drainage. He then expanded his holdings, either by intimidation or by outright military conquest, until by 1607 he claimed all the peoples of the coastal plain except the Chickahominies as his.

Powhatan added Kecoughtan to his collection in 1596 or 1597, conquering it after its chief died. Until that time the Kecoughtans had been strong enough to refuse to join the growing paramount chiefdom, and enmity had existed between the two peoples; only when a new and weaker chief reigned could Powhatan move in. His warriors killed the new chief and "most of" the people, according to Strachey, and the survivors were borne away in captivity, their territory being occupied by loyalists under one of Powhatan's sons.

The Chesapeake chiefdom also held out against Powhatan's expansionist aims. Apparently, a massive effort was required to conquer the Chesapeakes, and Powhatan made that effort after hearing a prophecy from his priests to the effect that his empire would be eclipsed by a nation coming from the Chesapeake Bay. Powhatan took this to mean his enemies the Chesapeakes, and accordingly he completely obliterated that people with a thoroughness unusual in Virginia Algonquian warfare. Their territory was then resettled, probably by the neighboring Nansemonds.

The date at which the Chesapeakes were bludgeoned into extinction is unknown and therefore open to speculation. Quinn, as mentioned above, believes it to have been just before the English arrived. There is evidence for his view in Smith's statement, written in the spring of 1608, that the Indians who attacked the English at Cape Henry, in Chesapeake territory, in April 1607 were Nansemonds: "the river of Nausamd, [Nansemond], a proud

warlike Nation, as well as may testifie, [by what happened] at our first arrivall at Chesapiack . . . an "injury" which the English avenged in the spring of 1608.

However, the timing may have been different. Smith's later accounts do not repeat his assertion of 1608. William Strachey, the sole source for our knowledge of the Chesapeakes' demise, interviewed Indian informants far more carefully than Smith did, and his statements leave the timing uncertain. Strachey never mentions an attack on the English at Cape Henry, and he is deliberately vague about the identity of the people who occupied the area after the Chesapeakes, calling them "such new Inhabitants that now people Chessapeak." Strachey said the extermination occurred "not long synce," i.e., not long before 1612. The extermination was carried out also as part of a general assault on "all such who" might be meant in the prophecy, a movement that could include the otherwise unexplained attack on the small, apparently inoffensive Piankatank group in the fall of 1608. (That would mean that repercussions from the prophecy continued for a year and a half beyond the time of the English arrival.) Strachey's use of a prophecy to explain the massacre of the Chesapeakes does not prove that the event happened before Jamestown was founded. True, when the prophecy was made, with its seemingly obvious reference to people in the east, the English may not yet have been on the scene. Yet after the English did sail in from the east, Powhatan did not immediately apply the prophecy to them; instead he waited a long time, hoping to make them into allies, before he decided they were enemies. What is obvious to us (and was to William Strachey) was not obvious to him. On the other hand, if the English came before the prophecy was made, then Powhatan, upon hearing it, may have feared that the unpredictable strangers would make common cause with the Chesapeakes, who were definitely his enemies, thus creating a powerful bloc to the east. Elimination of those he knew to be enemies would now be a necessity, regardless of whether any Roanoke colonists survived among them. Thus, the Chesapeakes could have been obliterated after the English arrived.

And there is still that nagging point about the English firearms, which the attackers at Cape Henry "little respected," unlike Indian people upriver. The Chesapeakes were much more likely, given their geographical location, to know the limitations of European firearms than were the Nansemonds, with or without refugee colonists from Roanoke Island. Therefore, Smith may have been wrong about Nansemonds having assaulted the English at Cape Henry in 1607. I suspect, instead, that the attackers were men from a Chesapeake chiefdom that was not exterminated until after Jamestown was founded. However, neither Quinn's belief nor mine can be proved from the scanty evidence presently available.

Source: Helen C. Rountree. Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

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### **THE POWHATANS AND THE ENGLISH: A CASE OF MULTIPLE CONFLICTING AGENDAS**

In this essay, Helen Rountree examines the shifting character of Powhatan and English relationships to 1722. She notes that these associations were complicated by the fact that several factions existed in each group.

The Powhatan Indians and the English who invaded their country were both cosmopolitan, very complex people who henceforth would coexist in a multifaceted

relationship. Both groups were already accustomed to dealing with various "foreigners." Both groups, the Powhatans as warriors and the English as colonizers, were also highly ethnocentric, believing that their own ways were "right" and "human" and needed no explaining to anyone. Unfortunately, the major assumptions they made about themselves and the world around them did differ, and when these assumptions remained unexplained and yet were acted upon, trouble ensued. It was only in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Powhatans finally began to adopt many English social and religious practices, that the culturally based conflicts between them diminished.

In the first century and a half of dealing with one another, the Powhatans and the English held and acted upon divergent ideas about several important matters. First, they had entirely different ideas about the ownership and use of land. In the Powhatan world the land belonged to everyone, with the paramount chief apparently serving as steward and ultimate allocator. Most of the land in this system remained in common use as foraging territory. Individuals could only claim plots for temporary use, that use being the kind of horticulture that necessitated shifting to new fields and letting old ones go fallow. Fallow fields reverted to general Powhatan ownership and could be reallocated later on to other farmers. The Powhatans had no understanding of English ownership in fee simple, as practiced in Tudor and early Jacobean England, in which land was owned in perpetuity whether it was cultivated or not. Thus for many decades there were clashes between Indian foragers (male hunters and female gatherers) and English "owners."

There were further complications. The Powhatan population was relatively small, by European standards, and the political system organizing it was one which demanded more luxury goods than staples in taxes. Powhatan families supported themselves, paid their limited tribute, and did not look much farther toward making their land produce a surplus. The English, on the other hand, came from a world in which for millennia land had been used to support a much larger population than that of native Virginia and also to produce surpluses to pay tribute or taxes first to chiefs and later to kings. That meant in turn that the English could (and later did) pour into Virginia in greater numbers than the Powhatans could imagine. As agriculturalists using plows and draft animals, the English took up and cleared not only the waterfront lands where the Indians farmed but also the backcountry where they foraged. And thus, the English thought, the land would now be "fully used" as it should be. Coexistence between the two peoples became impossible as soon as the Virginia colony became an agricultural enterprise rather than a treasure-hunting project.

Powhatan and English people held very different views on what behavior and tasks were appropriate to men, women, and children. The Powhatans assumed that men and women were both breadwinners, producing complementary foods. Men provided the family with game and fish; women provided the garden vegetables (including corn) and wild plant foods (including nuts) that made up a very substantial part of the Indian diet. Since the work of both sexes was crucial to eating well, it followed that neither sex had great authority over the other within the family. Children were reared by their own parents and pressured only subtly into behaving properly and learning adult skills. The English, on the other hand, took their cue from the Old Testament and were patriarchal, with all the nuances of what that term means. In seventeenth-century England, women and children were legally the wards of their husbands/fathers, but such men were expected to be their sole economic support (farming was primarily men's work). Wives and children had a right to be supported, but they could not manage their own property unless special legal provision was made, and they

were expected to obey their husbands/fathers implicitly. (Widows had more independence, and women in the poorer classes had to work wherever they could to survive.) Men, being higher-ranking members of the family, had not only the right but also the duty to instruct their wives and children in how to behave; the recipients of the instruction, being subordinate members of the family, were expected to be deferential and grateful. Corporal punishment for slow learning, as well as for disobedience, was common. Servants were part of most families and occupied a position similar to that of children. In fact, servants were commonly other people's children, sent to learn from their social "betters," while the family's own children were similarly fostered out (or later sent to boarding schools), a practice standard among the English since at least 1500. In short, in the Powhatan world women and children were considered intelligent, autonomous human beings just as the men were; in the English world women and children were legally defined as chattels. With differences like these, it was inevitable that English efforts to draw Indian people into their society would be misunderstood, at the very least. The English of the early seventeenth century wanted to train Indians and ultimately make them adult English citizens. The Powhatans saw only the "unmanly" short-term servitude under harsh conditions and naturally feared to expose their children to it. Later in the century, though, there would be no misunderstanding: Englishmen did want to make Indians into lifelong servants. Ironically, by that time the Powhatans' had limited power to resist.

The two peoples also had completely different understandings about religion and the part that people played in it-and as luck would have it, both peoples lived in religion-dominated rather than secular worlds. It was not so much that the Powhatans were "devil-worshippers," as the English claimed; the Powhatan okeus was vengeful but not evil. Instead the Powhatans believed deeply and performed rituals often, but they usually did so as individuals and timed their devotions according to need. Nor were they in thrall to any one deity, or to any one theological system, a situation completely incomprehensible to the orthodoxy-obsessed English. Individuals were free, in native Virginia, to believe in and venerate a wide variety of deities; they were also free to disagree with one another over what deities existed and how they related to one another. Thus John Rolfe could write that they were "very inconstant [note the negative connotation] in all that they speake of their religion: one denying that which another affirmeth." And thus the priest Uttamatomakkin could advise Samuel Purchas, before he realized how dogmatic English clergymen really were, to try to convert Indians other than himself; he assumed that adding one more god to the Powhatan pantheon would still mean tolerance for his own beliefs. The Powhatans probably found the English religion rigid and intolerant, both in times of worship and in dogma. The English definitely found the Powhatan religion formless and antibiblical, in urgent need of "enlightenment." That, combined with their penchant for lecturing "inferiors," inevitably made them act in ways offensive to Indian sensibilities.

Finally, both the Powhatans and the Virginia English lived in political situations that were somewhat decentralized, allowing people considerable latitude in their dealings with foreigners. The English did not intend it this way, of course. They came from a society already far along the road to centralization, so that their sponsors in London had high expectations of obedience and conformity from colonists living on the other side of an ocean. But reality intervened so that the expectations often went astray. In the first years, poor supply lines and ignorance of local conditions made compliance with edicts from London difficult and, when the edicts demanded subjugation of the still-powerful natives, downright hazardous. All through the period, the distance over which orders from London and requests from Jamestown had to travel meant that London was often belatedly informed

of conditions in the colony. The same thing prevailed as English settlements spread throughout eastern Virginia, where roads were poor and travel by water slow. The Powhatans, on the other hand, had less exalted expectations of subjects' behavior. They had a chiefdom organization whose leaders were moderately powerful, primarily in military matters. Individual Indians had always been reasonably free to conduct their own business with outsiders according to their own interests. It was this decentralization of the two peoples that created the differing behavior toward foreigners among the various segments of both their populations.

Therefore we may say that the Powhatans and the English each had several agendas in relation to one another at any point in their history, and often these agendas were in conflict. There were conflicts between the overall aims of the two peoples, of course. But there were also internal conflicts within both peoples over how the foreigners should be treated. The result, when one examines the documents of the period, is a complex and sometimes confusing web of interrelationships between the Powhatans and the English. Both peoples seem inconsistent in their dealings with each other if we only consider two groups: Powhatan and English. But when we break them apart into factions and trace the attitudes and behavior of these, the picture makes sense.

The following pages trace the agendas of various Powhatan and English factions and the ways in which they rubbed against each other up to 1722, when the Powhatans last appeared as named actors (even subordinate ones) in a treaty with foreigners. This is not a narrative history of Powhatan- English relations; for that readers may turn to Pocahontas's People. Instead I focus on reconstructing the attitudes and aims, i.e., the agendas, that lay behind the actors' behavior. The periods I use are a reconstruction of those perceived by the Powhatans, since the English always had much broader interests and therefore paid less careful attention to the Powhatans than the Powhatans paid to them.

### **Early Contact (1585-1610)**

During this period the Powhatans were very much in the ascendant and the English were novices, living poorly and on sufferance. This was also the period in which the agendas of the various Powhatan factions came closest to being alike, especially in the beginning. Powhatan attitudes toward the English at this time may be summed up as follows: the newcomers were visitors who were potentially useful and potentially dangerous because of the firearms they wielded. There was little about the English that any of the Powhatans found palatable, starting with their reluctance to bathe and finishing with their tendency to preach from the moment of meeting Indians. No one in the Indian world wanted at this point to join English society; even Pocahontas did not think of it until after her capture and internment in 1613. But the English did possess things that various Indian people found desirable.

"Things" is the operative word here, for the desirables were all tangible objects that could easily be incorporated into Indian lifeways with a minimum of cultural repercussions. Some of the items were tools that ordinary people, Powhatan commoners, could immediately put to use. These included shovels, much desired by the Indian women who did the farming; hatchets and axes, which women could use in cutting saplings for building houses and men could use in making canoes and in felling trees when clearing new fields; and swords, which would have been used like machetes in clearing old, overgrown fields. And then there were the English firearms, initially mysterious but obviously useful in hunting game and human enemies.

As for the "trinkets" and "trash" the English had, they were desirable, too, because



they corresponded well with the rare or hard-to-make things that had long been a sign of wealth and power in Powhatan society. Glass beads were analogous to pearls and shell beads in Indian eyes. Pearls are not common in the mollusks of eastern Virginia; shell is hard to work even with steel tools, and harder yet with stone ones. Shell beads were usually white or whitish since they were made from mussel (roanoke) or conch and clam shells (peak). Blue beads were more rare, being made from the place on a clam shell where the muscle attaches. Thus it is no surprise that the Powhatans preferred blue glass beads to those of any other color, or that for many years Indian people were kept in ignorance of how easily glass beads of any color could be made. The other trade goods brought by the English were bells, scissors, and the like. The Powhatans coveted them, not because of the cutting power or the noise made, but because they were made of metal. Metal of any kind was scarce in the Powhatan world and consisted solely of ornaments made of soft native copper, which occurred outside the Powhatan area and had to be imported. Over much of the Eastern Woodlands during early contacts with Europeans, metal in things other than hatchets and the like was too precious to be used in the European fashion. Cooper kettles were promptly cut up into pieces, and the pieces were worn.

Powhatan people, wanting English weapons and trade goods, went about getting them in various ways, depending upon their geographical location and their position in Indian society. The leaders, whether situated close to Jamestown or not, aimed initially at making the English into allies, so that exchanges of gifts would take place frequently. As time went on, however, it was the chiefs who were geographically farther from Jamestown who pursued this strategy. Those closer in became fed up with foreigners who insisted on their own superiority while simultaneously depending on Indian farmers and hunters for food. When the English began trying to establish outlying settlements in the summer of 1609, the reaction of the chiefs in those areas was understandably hostile. Consequently, within a few months of the founding of Jamestown, the tribes nearest the English were alternately trading with them and sniping at them; fallen Englishmen were dispossessed of their weapons or tools, but no trophies were taken at this point. After January 1609 the paramount chief sanctioned raiding by anyone who wanted to do it, and the people of Nansemond and of Powhatan town did it with a will the next summer when English parties tried to move in on them. Meanwhile the Eastern Shore and Rappahannock and Potomac River tribes were still using the English as allies. The difference was not solely geographical, either; it was also political. The friendly tribes comprised the "fringe" of Powhatan's paramount chiefdom, the outer area over which his control, more recently established, was weaker. Having the English as allies gave these peoples leverage in regaining their autonomy.

The commoners among the Powhatans were reasonably free to make their own way with the English, even when they lived close to Jamestown. Since they produced food that the English needed badly from time to time, they had the means to barter for desirable English goods, especially in the late summer through late winter when they had the most corn at their disposal. When the English would not sell, these folk did not hesitate to steal what they wanted, for after all, the English were not their kinsmen (and therefore not "human") and theft from them was not a crime. This kind of mixed behavior, alternately trading and purloining, went on even in times when the Paspahugh chief and the Chickahominy elders were unremittingly hostile to the English.

The entire male populace of Nansemond and Powhatan appear heartily to have joined their chiefs in opposing the abortive new English settlements in 1609. Those settlements would-as the later ones did-take up prime Indian farmland. That farmland was also waterfront property, which therefore connected the two other major zones, forest and

waterways, in which Indian people made their living. Loss of the farmland meant real danger from trigger-happy settlers as the Indians moved from zone to zone. Englishmen establishing new settlements therefore posed a double-barreled threat to the economic well being of all Powhatans, chiefs and commoners, men and women. Settlement attempts were therefore immediately and strongly opposed by commoners as well as chiefs.

The agendas of Englishmen changed during the early Contact period. Before 1609 (when the second charter was issued in London) and mid-1610 (when the new governor under it reached Virginia), the English people who came to the Chesapeake region did so mainly to explore for exportable wealth (mines, timber, etc.), to find "the passage to the Other Sea," and-for the more idealistic among them-to convert the Indians to "Civilitie." This was true of both the Roanoke colony's expedition to the Chesapeakes in 1585-86 and the Jamestown colony in its first years. The English were concerned with the Powhatans mainly as people who could help or hinder the more important goals they had in mind.

The people of the Roanoke expedition seem to have intended-for the time being-to live as guests of the Chesapeakes. They would therefore have experienced little conflict between their ultimate aim of claiming the area and their current dependent status. But the Jamestown colonists, who came to take immediate possession, soon found that it was the local Indians, not themselves, who were really in charge, and it must have caused much heart-burning among people who looked down on "savages." Supplies were always slow in coming from England, so starvation repeatedly stared the colony in the face.

Under the second charter the Jamestown colony was much better supplied and more tightly run. The aim back in London, now that Virginia was known to have neither gold nor a northwest passage, was to produce profitable things like clapboard to send home, while raising enough food to be self-sustaining. The second charter has many detailed clauses about establishing a colony in Virginia, but the few clauses mentioning Indians are general and short. Thus while converting the natives was described as "the most pious and noble end of this plantacon," it would seem in reality that the missionary impulse behind Virginia's colonization was weak. More to the point, colonists were urged to make the Indians tributaries of the English rather than of their native leadership. This, of course, was more easily said than done. But London showed some comprehension of local realities in telling the colonists to cultivate tribes which were more distant from, and thus more friendly to, their settlements. Finally, the Jamestown English were to work at civilizing the Indians, especially the children whose youth would make them more amenable.

A three-way difference in English attitudes surfaced very soon after Jamestown was founded, a difference that would be echoed in all subsequent periods. The London sponsors knew little of the real conditions in Virginia, and their agenda remained entirely that of making a profit from the colony with or without Powhatan cooperation. The Jamestown leadership had two conflicting agendas: they somehow had to carry out London's orders, which would be distasteful to Indian minds, and also to keep their people alive, which necessitated keeping on decent terms with those same Indians. Most of the early leaders at Jamestown failed; Captain Ratcliffe lost his life in the process. The only near-success was John Smith, whose strong-arm methods offended the natives but whose canniness in negotiating kept things fairly peaceful until January 1609. Then, the colony being desperate for food, Smith abandoned all pretense of being the paramount chief's ally and raided his capital. As for the other, less important English colonists, their agenda before very long was simply to survive in any way they could. Henry Spelman, later the colony's best interpreter, originally went to live among the Indians in the fall of 1609 because food was so scarce at Jamestown. Others the previous fall had traded away all their metal tools for food.

Bargaining of that sort yielded ever less food, for the arrival of each English ship meant a new wave of "mariners" buying and selling with the Indians and debasing the value of trade goods.

The attitudes of the Jamestown English toward the Powhatans were expectably various. For all the English, the Powhatans were a source of food in time of need. Everyone conceded that the native people knew infinitely more about surviving in the countryside than the English did. In times of hunger, those with less of a stake in the success of the colony saw the Indians as a refuge from starvation, and they "ran away to the Indians" accordingly. English leaders, with a greater stake in the colony, aimed at extracting both food and knowledge and using it for the continued existence of the colony as a whole. Their methods, however, differed somewhat in accordance with their attitudes. George Percy, brother of the ninth earl of Northumberland, invariably saw Indians as "savages," "infidels," and "mortal enemies." John Smith saw Indians as "savages" who yet were human and who could therefore be negotiated with somehow. "They are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keep. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous of copper, beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger and so malicious, that they seldome forget an injury." And William Strachey, secretary of the colony after mid-1610, took a fairly sympathetic view of all Indians except the priests, whom his superiors had branded "murherers of Soules." But none of these men really comprehended that their supercilious siting-down upon Indian lands and their dogmatic preaching about English superiority might lead to war, rather than just localized hostility.

### **First Anglo-Powhatan War (1610-13)**

When war came, the English scarcely perceived that it had. Diplomatic relations between Jamestown and the paramount chief soured after Lord De La Warre's assumption of the governorship. They ceased altogether after English forces raided Paspahugh and committed the double atrocity (by Powhatan standards) of killing chiefly persons who were also women and children. Thereafter, the English did not hesitate to spread out onto Indian lands in the James River valley, and the Indians affected did not hesitate to strike back. However, their response was made in terms of traditional Powhatan warfare, which emphasized small-scale raiding over massive assaults. These raids were not perceived as "real" war by the English, and consequently the invaders remained unaware of the actual depth of Indian hostility for many years to come. The "intestine warr," as the perceptive Ralph Hamor put it, did not cease until the paramount chief's daughter Pocahontas was captured and held as a hostage.

The Powhatan's agendas in relation to the English varied more during this period than in the previous one. The fringe-area people continued to want English tools, weapons, and "trinkets," and since they felt little direct threat from settlers, they could afford to be guardedly friendly. The Patawomecks had given refuge to Henry Spelman in 1608, when Powhatan's favor toward the boy evaporated. But they made no effort to return him to his people, and Samuel Argall, notified of his whereabouts in December 1610 by neighboring Potomac River people, had to ask specifically for him. It was also the Patawomecks who betrayed Powhatan's daughter to Argall in 1613, and again Argall had to pressure them into cooperating. Nonetheless, the Patawomecks and their neighbors were a dependable source of traded corn for the colony.

For the Powhatans living closer to the expanding English settlements, it was another matter. They all continued to desire English weapons and so on, and to that extent the

English presence was welcome. But they also wanted to continue living in their accustomed ways, with their mixed economy of horticulture and foraging, and that put them directly into conflict with the English. When the English forcibly took up waterfront lands either because there was no town currently situated on them or (as at the new settlement at Bermuda Hundred in 1611) because the town that was there had previously attacked Englishmen, the native people saw it as unjustified aggression and responded accordingly. The Indians conveniently ignored the fact of the Appamattucks' 1610 attack on Englishmen; the English had asked for it when they came probing up the river beginning in 1607. It is hard to know how far back to look for the original wrong under such circumstances.

The main agendas of the English were still economic ones. Now that the colony was better organized and supplied, yet still concentrated geographically, both London and Jamestown could agree on aiming to extend English settlements up and down the James River valley. Indian cooperation was still hoped for by some, but Indian hostility was expected by nearly all, and a stronger colony need not consider it very threatening in the form it was taking. The laws compiled for the colony in 1612 said little about Indians, other than urging individual colonists not to rob them or burn their houses. Apparently some trading was going on between individual Indians and Englishmen. And there were also still occasional English "runaways," possibly hostages who decided to stay, like the one that Ralph Hamor retrieved in 1614. Powhatan society was still prosperous enough that it would be enticing to someone fed up with English rigidity of thought.

#### **Power behind the Throne (1613-22)**

Once Pocahontas was captured, the power of her father began seriously to wane and the stock of his second-younger brother, Opechancanough, began to rise. By 1614 this astute politician had "the commaund of all the people." He ruled in fact though not in name in his aging brother's last days and throughout the reign of his next-older brother, Otiotan (formerly Opitchapam); he would finish his days as paramount chief at last, and still "in commaund." In the period of 1613-22, Opechancanough's doings were well known to the Indians and only hazily recognized by the English.

The English introduced the headright system that encouraged so much immigration, and they were steadily expanding their settlements up and down the James. By 1621 they were scattered along the river from the falls to its mouth, with the exception of the south bank from the Nansemond River seaward. In other words, they took over about half of the core area of Powhatan's paramount chiefdom. This rapid movement had been spurred by the discovery around 1616 that Orinoco tobacco could be profitably grown in the colony as a cash crop. By 1617 there was a frenzy to grow the stuff, and the very streets of Jamestown were planted with it. There was, in fact, a boom on, causing more Englishmen to migrate to the colony and take up Indian farmlands willy-nilly. It was the wrong time for the Indians' official leader to wish to retire; thus the rise of Opechancanough.

The new and unofficial Powhatan leadership apparently spent the period quietly preparing a mass attack on the English, while taking care to lull them into further complacency. Accordingly, some Englishmen perceived this time as a golden age of Powhatan-English relations. For them the awakening in March 1622 was the more shocking when it came.

Ordinary Indians in the Powhatan core area traded freely with the English, when they were not sniping at settlers moving onto their lands. Indian men who were especially friendly to the English were taught to use firearms in 1616, before a new governor cracked down on the practice. After that, less friendly men would steal English arms whenever they

could. Indian people came and went freely in the new settlements, and some of them, like "Pace's Indian," went to work for planters. However, their interest seems mainly to have been the acquisition of English tools and trade goods. Few Powhatan commoners had any interest in learning the English way of life; few of them would remain among the English after March 1622. Even those who had spent considerable time in English households and who liked their employers well enough personally to warn them of the coming attack, like Chauco and "Pace's Indian," would not demonstrate total loyalty to the English in general. "Pace's Indian" dithered for some time about whether to warn his employer; Chauco gave his warning and then returned to his people. Most other Powhatan commoners kept more aloof. Though they were willing to trade and appear cooperative, they steadfastly refused to let the English have any of their children to rear. They did not warn anyone about the coming attack. When the call came to move against the English in 1622, all the tribes of the James and York rivers apparently answered it without hesitation.

The unofficial Powhatan leadership went out of its way to act cordially toward the English on the surface. Never, since the very first days when Powhatan tried to make allies of the English, had an Indian leader made statements so flattering to English sensibilities. Opechancanough agreed that Indian families with children should be sent to English households; he even offered to "appoint" certain families to make the move. But no families turned up. Either they would not cooperate with Opechancanough, or more likely his promise had been empty from the beginning. In late 1621 he actually sent for the Reverend George Thorpe, asking him for another conference about the superiority of the English religion. This request was especially duplicitous in the light of the report he had received in 1617 from Uttamatomakkin, a high-ranking priest who had accompanied Pocahontas to England and willingly undergone extensive interviews by English clergymen, including Samuel Purchas. Realizing to the full the intolerance that Englishmen felt for any religious system other than their own, he had become violently anti-English and reported back to his superiors accordingly. The English leadership in Virginia tried to discount this report, but it is likely that he was believed. When Nemattanew, an outstanding warrior, was killed by Englishmen (in revenge for his having killed one of their number), Opechancanough swore that it didn't matter to him; Nemattanew was out of favor at the time and alliance with the English meant more to him. In fact, he gave orders that all his people were to treat the English as friends.

Encouraging English complacency was only half of the agenda pursued by Opechancanough and his advisers; orchestrating a mass assault by the people throughout the paramount chiefdom was the other half. This was a process that took several years. Opechancanough was not officially the paramount chief; he was the paramount's brother and the district chief of Youghtanund on the upper Pamunkey River. It was also no simple matter to negotiate the cooperation of all the component parts of his brother's organization. Powhatan chiefs had the power to levy warriors, according to the early English observers, but their power may not have been absolute. A paramount chief would have to choose an enemy that the district chiefs also disliked or else offer to pay them so well that they could not resist.

Neither persuasion worked well with the Powhatan fringe areas in the years just before 1622. The districts on the south bank of the Potomac and on the Eastern Shore were profiting nicely from trade with the English, who were too busy raising tobacco during the boom to raise food for themselves. The English threat was not yet evident to the people in these areas. Consequently, the English observed some mystifying behavior on the Patowomecks' part in 1619, when the chief's brother visited Jamestown, invited the English

to trade for corn which, in the event, the people did not want to sell after all, and then asked for an English escort so that he could go home by an overland route that took him through the heart of Opechancanough's territory. The ruse seems clear enough with hindsight: the Patawomecks wanted to make an obvious show of comradeship with the English without having to sell any of their own foodstuffs. And the reason for the ruse was probably that Opechancanough was pressuring the Patawomecks to join with him in assaulting the English. We know for certain that Opechancanough solicited the Eastern Shore people for help, for they promptly turned around and alerted the English. That was in 1621, the year for which the attack was originally planned. The alerting of the English caused it to be postponed until the next year. There was, however, one major success that Opechancanough achieved: in 1616 he incited the Chickahominies to break their separate peace with the English and join-at last-in the paramount chiefdom of his brother. That consolidated the Powhatan heartland politically and militarily, a major coup.

The friendly gestures from Opechancanough gave the English a heady sense of success, when coupled with their actual success in expanding their settlements. It began to look as though the colony could live up to the directives from London. Englishmen were taking possession of Indian land, and the Indian leadership, which they assumed to be very powerful, was coming around to their way of thinking that such possession was a good and proper thing. Ignorance was bliss in this case. The English aims for Virginia, urged by London and endorsed by the Jamestown leadership, automatically brought the colony into armed clashes with the Powhatans. It would take two large-scale Indian wars (the Second and Third Anglo-Powhatan Wars) to make the English realize that they were giving out signals that were both contradictory and inflammatory.

One contradicting pair of English aims was the determination to acquire Indian land for cash-crop farming and the desire to convert Indian people both religiously and culturally. Both these aims were very actively pursued in this period, thanks to the boom in tobacco and to Opechancanough's deceptively encouraging messages to Jamestown. In English minds the two aims were complementary: convert the Indians to English-style farmers on small holdings surrounded by Englishmen. Yet people in any culture rarely comprehend that learning a different culture is exceedingly difficult and time consuming; even nowadays with anthropologists to explain and interpret cultural practices, most of us still think that others (immigrants, in the case of our country now) can adjust quickly to our own way of life. The English of the seventeenth century were the same only more so, given their belief that their culture was biblically based and therefore especially "right." Alden Vaughan has phrased it particularly well in the case of the New England English: "What the New England missionary offered was not an easy package: it involved learning to read ..., accepting a complicated theology, and drastically changing the patterns of everyday life. That is a lot to [expect] of anyone, especially those on the other side of the language barrier." Thus the ambitions of the Virginia English for quick conversions followed by coexistence, as fellow cash-crop farmers were completely unrealistic. They were also inflammatory to native people who valued their own culture and wanted to go on practicing it.

Another, more subtle contradiction in English aims, again unperceived by them but perceived by the Powhatans, lay in English attitudes toward Indians as human beings. The Powhatans received two messages, partially because there were several factions of Englishmen sending them and partially because some Englishmen had conflicting feelings within themselves. Purely "liberal" Englishmen, like the Reverend George Thorpe and like the officials of the Virginia Company who were safely distant in London, felt that the Indians were human beings worthy of being brought into English society. They regarded

their missionary efforts not only as a sacred duty but also as a compliment to the natives. They failed to see how infuriating such self-complacency was to people belonging to a different world. George Thorpe would be killed along with his fellow colonists in 1622.

Many of the English leaders, in both London and Virginia, had ambivalent, even contradictory, feelings about the Powhatans. The company's members, for instance, could prod the colonists into Christianizing the Indians but also staunchly refuse to recognize the Indians' genuine ownership of the land. It did not occur to them that their insistence on the colonists' possession of the natives' land, if obeyed, might alienate those natives and prevent them from cooperating. The company and the colony's leaders both had mixed feelings as well about the specific treatment of Indians during the conversion process. The company's instructions in 1621 show it clearly: "We pray you also to have especial care that no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against any of the natives of that country, whereby the present peace may be disturbed and ancient quarrels (now buried) might be revived. Provided nevertheless that the honor of our nation and safety of our people be still preserved and all manner of insolence committed by the natives be severely and sharply punished." Not only that, but Indian families who came to live among the English were to be put in segregated housing and carefully guarded.

Even these cautious instructions seemed dangerous to the Jamestown leadership. Three years earlier, upon receipt of similar messages, the Virginia Council had noted that those "who know well their dispositions, thinke it fitte to enjoinne ... neither utterly to reject them, nor yet to drawe them to come in." Therefore Jamestown would accept Indian volunteers but not seek for such among the "perfidious Savages," and those who came in would be segregated, etc. The scheme, if in fact presented to any Indians, was not appetizing enough to draw any customers. How could it, given Indian pride? It told the Powhatans they were good enough to be desired in English society at the same time that they were not good enough to live among the English for the present. And as to earning citizenship later, who could trust the English, given the way most of them acted?

The ordinary colonists living in Virginia in face-to-face relations with Indians took the simple route, so common in frontier situations: they had no use for Indians at all. Thorpe summarized their attitudes: "There is scarce any man amongst us that doth soe much as affoord them a good thought in his hart and most men wlh theire mouthes giue them nothings but maledictions and better [sic] execrations." Land grabs and forced trading were to be expected in such people, and that is what happened. There were a few exceptions, such as George White, who found the Indian world congenial and went to join it. But such defections were rare now, in the prosperous and expanding English colony.

Thus the self-righteous preaching of the "liberals," the guarded patronizing of the leaders, and the intolerant treatment by the average colonist made all the missionizing seem false to the Powhatans. Even if cultural conversion could have been a quick and easy thing, the Powhatans would have been repulsed from undertaking it.

### **Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622-32)**

In 1622 the English knew they were at war. On March 22 there was a massive assault on the English plantations on the James River. English trading vessels in the York River basin, and perhaps the Rappahannock area, were also attacked. About one-fourth of the English living in Virginia were killed on that day; at least another fourth died within the year from Indian sniping, from the famine caused by English inability to plant crops under Indian fire, and from the defensive concentration of surviving settlers in the Jamestown area, where the river water became especially polluted in summer. When the English had regrouped

their surviving forces, they launched simultaneous attacks on all the James River tribes. Thus a war of raiding and attrition began. No one really won it in the end; it simply wound down.

The Powhatan agendas in these years were predictably varied. The core leadership had an undying enmity for the invaders who dared to dispossess their people while lecturing to them. Although these leaders' fortunes fluctuated, their attitude remained unbending. Otiotan offered to betray his brother Opechancanough in 1623, but that may have been merely a ploy, added to the offer of releasing hostages, to get the English to send a ship to the Pamunkey River. The plan backfired, however, when the English came, proposed a toast with poisoned wine, and suddenly fired upon the assembled Indians, killing many and wounding Opechancanough. The climax of the war came in 1624 with a large-scale battle at Pamunkey, which the Powhatans lost. After that, raiding was resumed by both sides, the Powhatans doing it on a diminished scale. The Powhatans made one temporary peace with the English in 1628; the English planned from the outset to break it and did so in January 1629, but the Indian side may have had similar intentions. Peace finally came in 1632, negotiated separately by the Chickahominies and Pamunkeys (the latter group's territory being Opechancanough's headquarters). Given the fact that the English had begun settling on the York River five years before, it is doubtful that the enmity felt by the land's Indian owners, Otiotan and Opechancanough, had abated.

Meanwhile, the common Powhatans in the core area exhibited a mosaic of attitudes toward the English. Most of them, obviously, were anti-English and willing to act upon their opposition especially before the defeat of 1624. Others, like the Pamunkey man Chauco, knew and liked some Englishmen but kept their ultimate loyalty to Opechancanough. Chauco had warned an Englishman of the March 22 attack, but when he then returned home he became a follower of Opechancanough. In 1623 he was trusted enough to be made an emissary to the English. There were also commoners, especially in the later years, who "came in," sometimes to trade, sometimes to live, with the English.

The Powhatan fringe groups on the Potomac River and Eastern Shore remained generally uninvolved in the 1622 attack and friendly with the English thereafter (the Wiccocomicos did have to be pressured). They had, after all, a chance to profit from the very real hunger of the English, due first to the famine and later to the resumption of tobacco farming. The English were not always congenial allies, even when hungry, as the Patawomecks found out in late 1622. But in these years when they posed no direct threat to Indian lands, they were worth cultivating. Fringe people's sympathy with the English side was such that in 1627 they notified Jamestown of another general assault planned by the Powhatan side. The items they got from the English, in exchange for corn and information, included two new entries: cloth to make mantles and glass to make arrowheads. The iron and steel tools available from the English would still have been used in farming operations, and also in making shell beads, which remained a sort of currency among both the fringe and core Powhatans during much of the seventeenth century.

The English were outraged by the March 22 holocaust, especially because they had been deceived by Opechancanough's cordiality. Their uppermost feeling, in 1622 and subsequent years, was one of betrayal. They remembered their "kind usage" of the Indians and ignored their taking of Indian land and foodstuffs, since they still did not see a contradiction between the two. Believing themselves to be "superior" people knowledgeable in a "superior" way of life, they had assumed the parental attitude common in their culture and had expected the Indians to respond to their example and teaching like proper children, with deference and gratitude. When the Powhatans did no such thing, they violated some



basic English feelings about family relationships. Thus we see English writers spitting out verbiage that called the Indians "miserable wretches [to] have thus despised Gods great mercies so freely offered to them" and "so cursed a nation, ungratefull to all benefitts" that they should be extirpated from the land altogether. As it happened, the English colony was not strong enough to accomplish such extirpation, even over a ten-year period. More realistic Englishmen still considered Indians as subhuman animals, but they were willing to keep them alive in order to enslave them. The old aim of incorporating Indians as English citizens in an expanding English colony now changed. Henceforth, in the eyes of most Englishmen, either Indians were to make themselves useful as laborers on English plantations or they were to be driven away. It was not a promising attitude with which to embark upon peace.

### **Holding on and Rebuilding Resistance (1632-44)**

In the next dozen years the English colony expanded tremendously at the expense of the Powhatans. The rest of the James River valley below the falls was settled; the lower York was taken up; large chunks of the lower Eastern Shore became English; and in 1640 Englishmen began claiming and trying to settle on the richest farmlands along the Rappahannock and south bank of the Potomac. Now all Powhatans, core and fringe alike, friendly or hostile to the English, felt the presence of English people, English livestock (which liked to eat Indian crops), and English intolerance.

The agenda of the Powhatan leadership, except for that on the Eastern Shore, was to rebuild a military organization under the paramount chief and hurl it against the English in another attempt to halt the loss of territory. There may have been another motive for rebuilding as well. There are few surviving documents from this period to tell us, thanks to the destruction of records during the American Civil War, but as English settlements grew and prospered, the prestige of the English probably rose in the eyes of some younger Powhatans. A few of them are known to have joined English society during this time. After the defeat of 1624 and the nonvictorious peace of 1632, Opechancanough would have needed to rebuild his image as well as his forces. He appears to have succeeded admirably: all the surviving mainland Powhatan groups would join with him when the call finally came.

But the organizing of mass resistance, like the effort preceding 1622, was a slow process, and during that time Opechancanough had to lull the English once again. His aim, as before, was to induce complacency (complete trust being impossible) so that the assault would be a surprise. The strategy worked as well this time as it had before. Once more Opechancanough reassured English leaders that he bore no grudge against the English killer of one of his people; in fact he went so far as to ask that the man be pardoned (this was in 1641).

Powhatan commoners continued to want English goods without necessarily wanting to adopt the rest of English culture. The young people who joined English society were apparently not many. There was still enough Indian territory in Indian hands, especially in the upper York, the Rappahannock and Potomac River basins, and much of the Eastern Shore, that traditional Powhatan culture was not only viable but able to prosper there (if let alone). It was still hard for even young Powhatans to take up English lifeways permanently, and as yet there were few inducements on the home front to make them try. Those who worked for English farmers seem to have done so as temporary workers, with the goal of acquiring English goods. The goods now would have been primarily cloth and firearms, with the Indian demand and English caution being such that after 1632 the legal trade in English firearms opened and closed like a swing door.

The average English colonist was just as anti-Indian as ever, but he was also just as obsessed with raising tobacco and getting rich. The Virginia colony still did not raise enough foodstuffs to support itself, so that it had to buy food from the Indians and, as a new source, the Dutch. New waves of ambitious Englishmen began to flood into Virginia, taking up land if they were free or else working out the indentures that paid their passage and dreaming of taking up land. There was no governmental check in this period on the expansion into Indian lands. Quite the contrary: expansion was encouraged by the headright system that "gave" so many acres of "empty" (actually Powhatan) land to people who paid others' passage across the Atlantic. Thus the English monarchy managed to get people to undertake the financial burden of settling lands, at minimal expense to the government.

Most colonists taking up land seem to have paid little attention to Indian reactions unless those reactions were violent. On the Eastern Shore one man had to pay attention when the Indians took him to court and won. Unscrupulous dealings with the natives were common, according to the surviving records, though some individual Indians may not have been above shady dealings themselves (the records do not say so). It was usually left to the county or colonial government to keep the peace, sometimes by passing restraining laws after particularly awkward incidents and at other times by demanding that the Indians be recompensed for lands already taken; it was apparently impossible to get the lands returned. Colonists regarded Indians in the aggregate as a potential military threat, though the threat was rarely vivid enough in their minds to make them tone down their behavior. They regarded Indian individuals as potential laborers, probable thieves, and, if the individuals in question stood too strongly upon their dignity, a hindrance to "honest" Englishmen pursuing their "legitimate" business.

### **Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644-46)**

The next war was short and ended with the capture and death of Opechancanough. It began with a mass attack on English settlements on April 18, 1644; the fringe tribes on the Northern Neck were involved this time, though the Eastern Shore groups were not. The Rappahannocks were converted into English allies by February 1645.

All through the mainland, the Powhatan leadership knew in 1644 that it was threatened with being overrun by land-hungry Englishmen. Resistance appears to have been unanimous. No one sounded a warning to a favored English employer. There are not even any reports in the surviving records of Powhatan commoners "coming in" to trade at any time before the treaty of peace was made in October 1646.

About the same number of English people were killed as in 1622, but this time the total amounted only to about one-twelfth of the colonists. Once more the English were outraged, but at least this time they were not quite as surprised. The feeling of betrayal so plainly writ in the records of 1622-23 is missing in the few existing Virginia documents from this period. Instead there is merely a grim determination on the part of the government, backed by the grass roots, to fight back. With more people and better firepower, the English began lashing out in raids, culminating in a successful one on Opechancanough's fort on the upper Pamunkey River. They also succeeded in driving out most of the remaining James River tribes: the Chickahomines fled to Pamunkey Neck, the Weyanocks and some Nansemonds to the Blackwater River, and the Appamattucks and Powhatans (the inhabitants of the town) farther up their rivers. With the demise of the paramount chief, the other Powhatans' resistance as a concerted effort evaporated. English prisoners among the Indians were returned, according to the treaty. Indian prisoners were to become servants of the English; some of them, at least, were enslaved.

### **Fragmentation and Diminishing Autonomy (1646-1722)**

The Powhatans and the English made a treaty in 1646 that promised peaceful, cooperative behavior on both sides in military matters. The Powhatans were now clearly subjects of the English, obliged to pay an annual tribute in beaver skins. Their lands north of the York River were to be left to them, except the York's north bank in its lower reaches, which they could later reoccupy. That promise was broken immediately, in a law (passed in the same legislative session that ratified the treaty) that allowed all lands north of the York to be occupied by the English when their governor gave permission. Nothing was said in the treaty about the civil rights of Indians living in the English settlements which would soon engulf them or about missionizing anyone beyond an invitation to children of twelve and under to come and live in the English settlements. A new and docile paramount chief appeared in the records for a few years, after which district chiefs dealt directly with the English. The Powhatan paramount chiefdom was dead.

The English resumed their expansion into Indian territories in 1649. They also continued to receive a multitude of would-be tobacco farmers from home. Although there are no records, the Powhatans probably became a minority people in their own homeland early in this period. And since they preferred to live in small towns rather than a few large, consolidated ones (they grouped together only in times of dire necessity), each Indian town soon found itself awash in a sea of English plantations, with more English farmers doing their best to nibble away at the town's land base.

Let us examine the English agendas first this time, since it was they who were now firmly in charge. The English intentions toward the Powhatans after 1646 remained much the same as in previous periods. The boom in tobacco was long past, but raising the weed was still profitable enough that tens of thousands of English people now migrated across the Atlantic to try their luck. Once arrived, they spread out on their holdings, so easily accessible from the wealth of waterways in the region, rather than living in towns and commuting to their farms. Large plantations might have several dozen families working on them, but even these lived dispersed in "quarters." The contrast between their own small and scattered settlements and the exaggerated strength of the Indians living in towns made them feel vulnerable, at the same time that their expansion was offending those Indians. Thus the grass-roots Virginia English demanded an impossible combination: they wanted ever more land, whether the Indians cooperated or not; they insisted on living scattered out so that defense was difficult; and they demanded that they be able to do these things without danger of reprisals from the dispossessed Indians. The English leadership in London wanted the colony to turn a profit at as little expense to the mother country as possible. It fell to the Virginia governor and his council, all important landholders and entrepreneurs, to try to reconcile all these conflicting goals. Consequently they encouraged the expansion of settlements while trying hard to keep peace with the Powhatans, thereby engaging in a conflict of interest themselves. They succeeded in pleasing nobody.

All of this, coupled with pressures and dissensions within the Virginia English population, caused the eruption of Bacon's Rebellion in 1675-76. The Powhatans, who now became the scapegoat for some Englishmen's frustration, were attacked gratuitously. Once the rebellion collapsed, the English "pacified" the Powhatans and other Indians in the region with another treaty, in which their lands, now within more stringent limits, were still to be protected. So were their civil rights, which were to be equivalent to those of the English. This treaty is still in force today; the Pamunkeys and Mattaponis live under it on their reservations. But the rights stipulated in it were eroded away in the remainder of the seventeenth century.

The English only valued the Powhatans insofar as they were useful to English aims. The Powhatans had the same attitude toward the English, but it was the English who held the reins of power now. Before the 1680s there still seemed to be some utility in keeping the Powhatans as a buffer against foreign Indians along the frontier. While they were thus employed, it made sense to protect some of their civil rights to ensure their cooperation. There was even a move made, in a clause of the 1677 treaty, to reestablish the old paramount chief in the person of Cockacoeske, queen of Pamunkey. That effort soon failed due to the unwillingness of her Chickahominy and Rappahannock "subjects" to take her orders. However, in the early 1680s, as the Senecas made more unwelcome visits to the Virginia frontier and especially in 1683 when they successfully attacked several Indian towns on the upper Mattaponi River, the Powhatans' use as a buffer was exposed as a sham. Their usefulness to the English decreased sharply after that. They participated in a peace conference with the Iroquois in 1685; they tried to make their own peace with the "Tawittaways" in 1700 but were stopped by the English; they were only allowed to go as far as the boundary of Virginia to hold an English-supervised peace conference with the Iroquois in 1704; and they were heavily supervised as participants in making peace with the Shawnees and others in 1710 and with the Six Nations in 1722. By that time there were very few Powhatan reservations left, and the emphasis in the treaties on Virginia's tributary Indians lay with the Saponis and others. After 1722 the Powhatans took no further part in Virginia's formal dealings with either Indians or Europeans.

The other major potential use of the Powhatans to the English was economic in nature. The grass-roots English considered Powhatan people to be a source of easily exploitable labor—more easily kept in bondage than English indentured servants. This was the standard English attitude toward the natives throughout the South during the period. The Powhatans were not numerous, and some of them did not make good employees, so already in the 1670s they were being replaced by Africans. But there was still profit to be made from them, and once their military usefulness had vanished, they could be used with fewer qualms about their treaty rights.

The colonial government was charged with protecting those rights, but as the century ended it yielded increasingly to its own interests and those of its English constituents. Making Powhatan lands diminish further both added lands to English holdings and forced the straitened Indians to seek employment with English people. At last the English desire for both Indian land and Indian converts would be satisfied. Hence London ordered the strict observance of the 1677 treaty, while the governor and council quietly allowed the Pamunkeys to sell a large part of their reservation in 1701. In 1705 a law went into effect allowing Englishmen illegally seated across a stream from an Indian town, which technically owned both sides, to become the land's legal owners. And the behavior of prominent Englishmen sometimes did not bear scrutiny any better than that of the most prejudiced small farmer. In 1680 Nicholas Spencer wrote, "When we consider that Captain Byrd killed seven surrendered Indians and took away their wives and children as prisoners, on the mere suspicion that they were assassins of our people, we can hardly wonder at the failure of the treaty."

Consequently it is no surprise that Powhatan civil rights were abrogated by legislative acts from the 1670s onward. A few Powhatans had been enslaved in 1646 and in succeeding years. But in 1676 it became legal for anyone to enslave Indians caught in "hostile" acts, in 1676 it was made illegal for Indians and English people to marry, and in 1705 Indians (and other nonwhites) were barred from testifying in court in any cases whatsoever."

The cultural conversion of the Powhatans was all carried on piecemeal, by

landowning employers. The Virginia English made no formal efforts at missionizing or even educating the Powhatans or any other Indians they dealt with after 1646. Edward Andros wrote in 1697 that there had never been such an effort made in the colony. Alexander Spotswood went further, declaring that the Virginia English themselves were not very religious. The only serious attempts at Indian missions were sponsored by Englishmen on the other side of the Atlantic. One, Fort Christanna, does not concern us here, since its inhabitants were not Powhatans. The other, the Brafferton School at the College of William and Mary, was funded by the proceeds from invested monies left by Robert Boyle. Once a building was provided for Indian students at the college around 1700, it remained nearly empty for lack of pupils, so unwilling were Powhatan parents even at that late date to send their children away. Only when Lieutenant Governor Spotswood offered to remit their tribute in 1711 did they send children, and then only a couple from each tribe still possessing a reservation. Thus throughout the years up through 1722, the Powhatans were neither helped nor hindered nor even pressured by missionaries living among them. No orchestrated program of culture change was ever forced upon them. In that way, they were left pretty much to their own devices in adapting their way of life to the English takeover. It was painful, but not as excruciating as what some other Indian people have gone through.

There was one overriding Powhatan agenda after 1646: simple physical survival. That was a goal not easy to attain as the sea of English farmers washed in. The separate Indian towns, each now representing what was formerly a whole district chiefdom, now developed a new kind of core and fringe within their populations. The core people—mainly chiefly families and older people—had the greatest stake in clinging to the traditional way of life. The fringe people—mainly younger people, especially males—were those who had more contact with the English and who therefore learned more English ways. They might or might not adopt those ways permanently, however. The agendas of both sorts of people are not too hard to delineate from the surviving records; the emotions surrounding the agendas can be reconstructed through careful use of the writings of other peoples in parallel situations.

For the Powhatan core, being conquered by the English was a severe blow to their self-confidence. The men had been reared to be warriors, and pressured to be invincible warriors at that. Traditional Indian women egged their men on and took pride in their accomplishments. Being conquered by foreigners was a blow to both sexes. Now they faced the English government as overlord, the English settlers as increasingly near neighbors, and a bleak future.

During the remainder of the period, the Powhatans steadily lost their tribal lands. In the 1650s, before the House of Burgesses tried (with only moderate success) to rectify the situation, the land was lost very fast and the Indians were appalled. Settlers were “takeing away their land and forcing them into such narrow straights and places that they cannot subsist either by planting or hunting and for that it may be feared they may be justly driven to despaire & to attempt some desperate course for themselves.”

Losing the land meant a loss of income for the women in farmed and foraged food. Losing the land meant a double loss for men, for they faced not only poverty but also unemployment—unless they went to work for the conquerors. For independent-minded core men, that was a bitter pill indeed. For more malleable fringe people, it was less offensive, but when they went to work for Englishmen, the hold of the traditional leaders was weakened. Finally, losing the land meant the loss of many of the historical and sacred places, ignored in the English records, that gave the Indian world much of its meaning. That was a blow to the priests in particular. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Powhatan

traditionalists were listening more to their war captains than to their priests (a reversal of former practices) and were saying that their priests could predict the intentions of enemy Indians but not of the English.

Powhatan core people aimed not only at surviving but also at retaining their traditional lifeways as far as possible. In this they were partially successful up through the 1680s. Practicing the traditional Powhatan culture required two major elements, both of which were gradually gnawed away by the English. The first was having plenty of land on which to forage as well as to farm. The Powhatans had lost most of their tribal lands by the 1680s, but they could still eke out a subsistence thanks to the guarantees by law and treaty that they could forage freely along the waterways and also on lands that were patented by Englishmen but not yet fenced. The second requirement was having a stable, if not growing, population with a balanced sex ratio. This the Powhatans lacked, for the subsistence they eked out made many young people, especially males, seek employment outside the Indian communities. As the years went by, an increasing number of these people were lost to their kinfolk, either voluntarily or involuntarily. The Powhatan leadership, and often the English colonial and county governments as well, tried to keep the land and the youth from slipping away too fast, but it was essentially a rearguard action that they were fighting.

The younger Powhatans had various reactions to the conquest and subsequent stranding of their elders on small tribal "islands" of territory. For the first few years after 1646, it is probable that most of them shared their elders' aim of retaining the traditional culture and continuing to believe that Indians had the power of self-determination in the English colony. However, to the young people born in succeeding decades after 1677, those aims would have less and less relevance to the overwhelmingly colonizer-dominated world in which they were living. Those who decided to help retain the traditional life-style would be the ones temperamentally unsuited for employment among Englishmen, and also the ones who could be sufficiently awed by their elders. The Appamattuck elders kept their few remaining young men in line by hoarding a hunting medicine that was supposedly infallible.

Granted, those Indian people who went to work for the English earned a living, but they paid a price that was often heavy. The jobs they were given to do often paralleled the work they did back in their hometowns: men hunted and made canoes and fish weirs; women made pottery and did cooking and housecleaning. But the conditions under which the work (except for the hunting) was done meant close supervision by English people. It also meant eating and sleeping within the English farmsteads. Indian workers constantly ran up against English prejudice toward Indians-later, toward nonwhites all lumped together-which made it hard for them to keep a feeling of self-worth, always an important agenda for human beings.

Employees of the English were expected to know, or to learn, English ways; and English complacency being what it was, they were expected to admire those ways more than the ones that they had left at home. For an Indian this meant emulation of the conquerors and therefore involved some amount of deprecation of one's self and one's background and kinsmen. Employment also meant putting up with English stereotyping of Indians, which was often negative. Indian gravity and decorum, for instance, was often misunderstood as slowness of comprehension. Hugh Jones wrote patronizingly that "the Indians" (the colonized are always an "anonymous collectivity") were "ingenious in their way, and in things that they naturally know or have been taught; though at first they are very obstinate, and unwilling to apprehend or learn novelties, and seem stupid and silly to strangers." That attitude put the natives out of patience when they encountered it; sometimes they even showed their anger. More usually they simply refused to discuss the things the English

misunderstood, such as the Powhatan religion. If the stereotype was positive, e.g., that all Indian men were expert hunters, it was still "the result of a psychological or ethnical failing," e.g., because Indians were "primitives" or "children of nature." For people who know themselves to be intelligent adults, that kind of thing is unpleasant and may become unbearable when encountered day after day.

Employees of the English were expected to speak English. Few of the English bothered to learn to speak Powhatan or even to pronounce Powhatan personal names; Indian children bound out as indentured servants were promptly given English names. The necessity of dealing at close quarters with English people-at work, in trading, or in legal matters, meant that all Powhatans spoke some English by 1700. However, by then there were young Indian adults who spoke no Powhatan at all, indicating much time spent among the English. Giving up speaking one's native language, especially at the demand of conquerors who openly deride it as a series of "grunts," is hard on one's self-image. And an Indian who spoke no Indian language at all was truly caught in a no-man's-land. On one side were the Indian elders, with whom he or she could not converse and who therefore seemed foreign and possibly (if the brainwashing had gone far enough) "savage." On the other hand were the English, with whom he or she could communicate but who would not accept an Indian-looking person as one of themselves.

Powhatan youths who stayed long enough among the English could be expected to form attachments and sexual liaisons with the people they met. The English only recorded cases in which a female employee, Indian or otherwise and not a slave, was impregnated, thus wronging her employer. But from these few cases, we know that both men and women from the Powhatan towns did form liaisons. However, the English partners steadfastly refused to marry their Indian lovers. In fact, only three Powhatan-English marriages appear in all the seventeenth century, one of them being that of Pocahontas and John Rolfe. In 1691 such marriages became illegal. The Powhatans understood that the reluctance to wed sprang from unwillingness to admit Indians as equals, and it angered them greatly.

Working for the English therefore involved Powhatan people in a conflict of agendas: it was nearly impossible to reconcile earning a living with retaining a full measure of self-respect. It is easy for a person in that situation "to tire of the exorbitant price which he must pay and which he never finishes owing." Some managed the reconciliation better than others. Wincewack (a.k.a. James) managed it poorly and repeatedly ran away from his employer. James Revels adapted well enough to buy his own hogs and become an overseer, though he encountered resistance from English underlings when he gave orders. Robin, a Pamunkey youth trained as a shoemaker, wanted to stay badly enough that he got the governor's permission to flout the Pamunkey queen's demand in 1706 that he return home.

For native people living either in the Indian towns or the English settlements, the strain involved in surviving physically without completely giving in to English assimilation efforts and negative views of Indians was tremendous, and it led to some people to escape by drinking. The 1680s through early 1700s is the period in which Powhatan people show up as Indians with an alcohol problem. (Later in the eighteenth century, when they had come through massive culture change, they seem to have gotten over the problem.) Virginia Indians drank in the way that some other traditional Indian people still drink: they deliberately and "solemnly" imbibed large quantities quickly in order to get drunk fast, usually in groups in which one or more people would remain sober to look out for the others. There were parallels with traditional religious practices, but escapism was also involved. The alcohol released them from polite, decorous behavior and allowed them to blurt out what they really thought of the English. Aside from spouting profanities, they

derided the English for some of their "ridiculous" practices that differed from Powhatan ones—just as the English did so often to them. Most of the derision probably took place when they were among themselves, but a few Englishmen heard it from Indians who either trusted them (e.g., Robert Beverley) or who met them while drunk (e.g., John Clayton). The things derided were predictable: English men trying to be the sole support of their women; English men going out unarmed, when there might be animals to be shot for dinner; English people for sipping wine instead of slugging down rum and also for using small spoons that made one wear out one's arm during a meal. There were probably many more, all characteristic of a people still in culture shock, and all aimed at shoring up egos that were sagging under the burden of conquest and exploitation by foreigners in their own homeland.

### **Conclusion**

The history of Powhatan-English relations is a complex tale of conflicting agendas, which in turn caused conflicting behavior, both between the two ethnic groups and between factions within each group.

The Powhatans and the English were always at odds with one another about something. (The Powhatans and the Anglo-Virginians are still at odds today in a mild way.) In the early years the Indian desire for military alliance with the "visitors" (as John Smith told Powhatan they were) clashed with the English insistence on exploring Indian territory and asking nosy questions. Soon the contest became one over land, social relations, and religion: land for a mixed horticultural and foraging economy versus land for raising cash crops; relative autonomy for family members and chiefs' subjects versus highly coercive patriarchy and monarchy; and polytheistic heterodoxy versus monotheistic, evangelistic orthodoxy. With both sides believing they were correct, and with the English insisting on their right to take possession of land that was both "unused" and claimed by "infidels," coexistence was impossible. Once the Powhatans had lost the fight and become subjects of the English, the two ethnic groups found themselves in conflict over another issue: whether the Indians should (or could) retain their old cultural ways or be sucked into the English system. That issue was not settled in the period covered by this volume; it was partially resolved in the late eighteenth century by the Powhatans changing their culture while retaining their ethnic identity.

There were always factions among the Powhatans whose agendas did not agree. The Powhatans had two crosscutting divisions in the early seventeenth century: the difference between commoners and the hereditary leadership and the difference between the geographically central, loyal core peoples of Powhatan's paramount chiefdom and the more distant fringe peoples such as the Patowomecks. In dealing with the English in the early decades, the Powhatans usually demonstrated three agendas: the core leadership wanted an alliance with and later the departure of the English who invaded the territory they claimed. The core commoners vacillated between resenting the English intrusion and wanting the tools they brought. And the fringe people, whether leaders or commoners, were warily friendly with the English for what they could gain. No one in the Indian world had complete power to keep even subordinate people from bartering with the English. Thus the impression the English constantly received was of "Indians" in general whose "friendship" (meaning not only being willing to trade but also seeming amenable to adopting English culture) could be bought if the price was right. It took three Indian wars to teach them differently.

Once the Powhatans became a conquered people, each surviving Indian group (e.g., Pamunkey) had its own core of traditionalists and fringe of people more versed in English



ways. The agendas of these people often conflicted, too. Both factions intended to survive the aftermath of conquest, but they went about it in somewhat different ways. The core people fought to keep the way of life they knew best, which had supported them in the past but which meant poverty now. It was also a way of life openly disdained by the conquerors with whom these traditionalists occasionally had to deal. The fringe people went to work for English landowners, which paid them better but exacted its own price in humiliation. Those who could put up with the strain of constantly being lectured and stereotyped, and who lived for long periods among the English, found themselves at odds with their compatriots back in the towns. They may have supported themselves and some of their kin at home, but they also represented a siphoning-off of able-bodied people that the core groups needed badly.

There were always factions among the English, too, and their agendas did not often coincide. From the beginning of the Virginia colony there were three such factions: the English sponsors (and later the government) in London, the English leadership in the colony, and the ordinary colonists (later small farmers). The London faction usually held very high expectations of what the colony was supposed to accomplish, expectations that might be in conflict with one another. In the treasure-hunting days of the colony (before 1609), London expected its explorers to find wealth or the sea passage thereto, claim the countryside and make its people subjects, do all the above without angering those people, and (in their spare time?) raise crops to support themselves. Once the colony became an agricultural one, London replaced the first goal with a demand that the colony produce exports that would profit the mother country. Still an impossibly tall order.

The Virginia colony's leaders grappled with similar but not identical agendas. They wanted the colony to be profitable to both the mother country and the colonists, which after 1609 involved acquiring Indian land; and they wanted to keep peace with the natives, preferably by incorporating them into English society, which was the "correct" way to live. The two aims did not conflict in English eyes but they did in Indian eyes, which did not see English culture as the "correct" one. The result, unintended by the English, was a double-barreled insult to Powhatan people that they were still smarting from in the early 1700s. And given the Indians' refusal to adopt English economic practices until they had to, so that men resisted farming and people resisted giving up the extensive lands they needed to subsist, it was not possible for the English to take possession of Indian lands without causing resentment, if not violence. The Virginia English leadership tried regularly to prevent the violence. But since it had its own interest in profit making, it contributed massively to the problem when its own members claimed hundreds of thousands of acres of Powhatan lands.

The agenda of the grass-roots English, the third faction, was primarily to acquire land and make as much money from it as possible. Such people can hardly be said to have had pacifying of Indians as an agenda, given the clamorousness of their demands for the opening of Indian lands and their precipitance in settling in Indian territory. What they wanted instead was freedom from Indian resistance, which often meant getting rid of Indians, through cultural assimilation (the liberal end, such as it was, of the spectrum) or pushing out or extermination (unquestionably the hard-line end). These were the people who were the most vulnerable to violence from the Indians, and they were the ones who did the most to incite that violence. They were frequently at odds with their colonial leaders, especially the ones who preached moderation in dealings with Indians. To the Powhatans, these were the "real" English; the others were hypocrites.

The result of the interplay of all these factions, Indian and English, each acting upon its own agenda, was a very complex situation fraught with tension and misunderstanding.

The players inevitably found themselves in conflict with one another. Sometimes there was a violent explosion; the rest of the time things merely simmered. The behavior of all the participants was high-minded (in their own eyes), self-interested, and occasionally self-destructive. It was also utterly human.

Source: Helen C. Rountree. "The Powhatans and the English: A Case of Multiple Conflicting Agendas." Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722. Helen C. Rountree, editor. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

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## TREATY OF PEACE WITH NECOTOWANCE, KING OF THE INDIANS

ATT A

GRAND ASSEMBLY

BEGUNNE AT JAMES CITTIE THE 5<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER

1646.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, Knight Governour etc.

Capt. John West

Rich. Kempe, Secr.

Capt. Wm. Broccas,

Capt. Thomas Pettus

Capt. Tho. Willoughby, } Esquires

Capt. Wm. Bernard,

Capt. Hen. Browne,

Mr. Richard Bennett,

Geo. Ludlowe,

The Burgesses names of the severall countys:

Mr. Ambrose Harmer, Speaker,

Mr. Walter Chiles,

Capt. Robert Shepheard,

James Citty county { Mr. George Jordayne,

Mr. Thomas Lovinge,

Mr. Wm. Barrett.

Henrico county { Capt. Abra. Wood,

Mr. Wm. Cocke.

Charles Com.	{	Mr. Rice Hoe, Mr. Dan: Luellen.
Isle Wight	{	Mr. Geo. Fawdowne, Mr. Ja: Bagnall.
Elizabeth Citty	{	Mr. John Robbins, Mr. Hen: Ball,
Yorke	{	Mr. Hugh Gwin, Mr. Wm. Luddington
Warwicke	{	Mr. Tho. Taylor, Mr. Randall Crew, Mr. John Walker. Mr. Edw. Lloyd,
Lower Norff.	{	Mr. Tho. Meares, Mr. Robert Eyres.
Northampton	{	Mr. Edward Douglas, Mr. Thomas Johnson.
Nansimund	{	Mr. Edward Major, Mr. Sam Stoughton,

Art. 1. BE it enacted by this Grand Assembly, That the articles of peace following between the inhabitants of this collony, and Necotowance King of the Indians bee duely and inviolably observed upon the penaltie within mentioned as followeth:

Imp. That Necotowance do acknowledge to hold his kingdome from the King's Majestie of England, and that his successors be appointed or confirmed by the King's Governours from time to time, And on the other side, This Assembly on the behalfe of the collony, doth, undertake to protect him or them against any rebells or other enemies whatsoever, and as an acknowledgement and tribute for such protection, the said Necotowance and his successors are to pay unto the King's Governour the number of twenty beaver skins att the going away of Geese yearly.

Art. 2. That it shall be free for the said Necotowance and his people, to inhabit and hunt on the northside of Yorke River, without any interruption from the English. Provided that if hereafter, It shall be thought fitt by the Governor and Council to permitt any English to inhabitt from Poropotanke downewards, that first Necotowance be acquainted therewith.

Art. 3. That Necotowance and his people leave free that tract of land betweene Yorke river and James river, from the falls of both the rivers to Kequotan, to the English to inhabitt on, and that neither he the said Necotowance nor any Indians do repaire to or make any abode upon the said tract of land, upon paine of death, and it shall be lawfull for any

person to kill any such Indian, And in case any such Indian or Indians being seen upon the said tract of land shall make an escape, That the said Necotowance shall upon demand deliver the said Indian or Indians to the Englishmen, upon knowledge had of him or them, unles such Indian or Indians be sent upon a message from the said Necotowance.

And to the intent to avoid all injury to such a messenger, and that no ignorance may be pretended to such as shall offer any outrage, It is thought fitt and hereby enacted, That the badge worne by a messenger, or, in case there shall be more than one, by one of the company, be a coate of striped stuffe which is to be left by the messenger from time to time so often as he shall returne at the places appointed for coming in.

Art. 4. And it is further enacted, That in case any English shall repaire contrary to the articles agreed upon, to the said north side of Yorke river, such persons soe offending, being lawfully convicted, be adjudged as felons; Provided that this article shall not extend to such persons who by stresse of weather are forced upon the said land, Provided alsoe and it is agreed by the said Necotowance, that it may be lawfull for any Englishman to goe over to the said north side having occasion to fall timber trees or cut sedge, soe as the said persons have warrant for theyre soe doing under the hand of the Gov. Provided alsoe notwithstanding any thing in this act to the contrary, That it shall bee free and lawfull for any English whatsoever between this present day and the first of March next to kill and bring away what cattle or hoggs that they can be any meanes kill or take upon the said north side of the said river.

Art. 5. And it is further enacted that neither for the said Necotowance nor any of his people, do frequent come in to hunt or make any abode nearer the English plantations then the lymits of Yapin the black water, and from the head of the black water upon a strait line to the old Monakin Towne, upon such paine and penaltie as aforesaid.

Art. 6. And it is further ordered enacted that if any English do entertain any Indian or Indians or doe conceale any Indian or Indians that shall come within the said limits, such persons being lawfully convicted thereof shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy, excepted such as shall be authorized thereto be vertue of this act.

Art. 7. And it is further enacted that the said Necotowance and his people upon all occasions of message to the Governor for trade, doe repaire unto the Fort Royalle onely on the north side, at which place they are to receive the aforesaid badges, which shall shew them to be messengers, and therefore to be freed from all injury in their passage to the Governor, upon payne of death to any person or persons whatsoever that shall kill them, the badge being worn by one of the company, And in case of any other affront, the offence to be punished according to the quality thereof, and the trade admitted as aforesaid to the said Necotowance and his people with the commander of the said Fort onely on the north side.

Art. 8. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, that upon any occasion of message to the Governor or trade, The said Necotowance and his people the Indians doe repair to Forte Henery alias Appamattucke Forte, or to the house of Capt. John Floud, and to no other place or places of the south side of the river, att which places the aforesayd badges of striped stuffe are to be and remaine.

Art. 9. And it is further thought fitt and enacted, That Necotowance doe with all convenience bring in the English prisoners, And all such negroes and guns which are yet remaining either in the possession of himselfe or any Indians, and that here deliver upon

demand such Indian servants as have been taken prisoners and shall hereafter run away, In case such Indian or Indians shall be found within the limitts of his dominions; provided that such Indian or Indians be under the age of twelve years at their running away.

Art. 10. And it is further enacted and consented, That such Indian children shall or will freely and voluntarily come in and live with the English, may remain without breach of the articles of peace provided they be not above twelve yeares old.

Art. 11. And it is further thought fitt and enacted That the several commanders of the Forts and places as aforesaid unto which the said Indians as aforesaid are admitted to repaire, In case of trade or Message doe forthwith provide the said coats in manner striped as aforesaid.

Source: Alden T. Vaughan (General Editor). Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, Vol. IV, Virginia Treaties, 1607-1722. Edited by W. Stitt Robinson. Fredrick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1983. Pp. 67-70.

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**TREATY AT MIDDLE PLANTATION WITH TRIBUTARY INDIANS AFTER  
BACON'S REBELLION**

Articles of Peace between the most Mighty Prince, and our Dread Sovereign Lord CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. And the Several Indian Kings and Queens, etc. Assenters and Subscribers hereunto, made and concluded at the Camp at Middle Plantation the Twenty ninth day of May 1677. Being the day of the most happy Birth and Restauration of our said Sovereign Lord, and in the Nine and twentieth Year of His Majesties Reign, By the Right Honourable Herbert Jeffries Esquire, Lieutenant-Governour of his Majesties Colony of Virginia.

Present,

The Honourable Sir John Berry Knight,

&

Francis Morison Esq;

And

The Honourable Council of State of the said Colony.

His most Sacred Majesties

Commissioners Appointed

under the Great Seal of

England for the Affairs

of Virginia,

Whereas His most Sacred Majesty hath of His Own Royal Grace and meer Motion Intrusted to my Care and Endeavours the Reviewing, Management and Concluding a good Peace with the Neighbour Indians; In order whereunto (with the Advice and Assistance of the Honourable Sir John Berry Knight, and Francis Morison Esquire) I have caused to be drawn up these ensuing Articles and Overtures, for the firm Grounding, and sure Establishment of a good and just Peace with the said Indians. And that it may be a Secure

and Lasting one (founded upon the strong Pillars of Reciprocal Justice) by Confirming to them their Just Rights, and by Redress of their Wrongs and Injuries, That so the greae, and lover of Justice may uphold and prosper this our Mutual League and Amity, It is hereby Concluded, Consented to, and mutually Agreed, as followeth;

Artic. I.

That the respective Indian Kings and Queens do from henceforth acknowledge to have their immediate Dependency on, and own all Subjection to the Great King of England, our now Dread Sovereign, His Heirs and Successors, when they pay their Tribute to His Majesties Governour for the time being.

II.

That thereupon the said Indian Kings and Queens and their Subjects, shall hold their Lands, and have the same Confirmed to them and their Posterity, by Patent under the Seal of this His Majesties Colony, without any Fee, Gratuity or Reward for the same, in such sort, and in as free and firm manner as others His Majesties Subjects have and enjoy their Lands and Possessions, paying yearly for and in lieu of a Quit Rent, or Acknowledgment for the same, onely Three Indian Arrows.

III.

That all Indians who are in Amity with Us, and have not Land sufficient to Plant upon, be (upon Information) forthwith provided for, and Land laid out and Confirmed to them as aforesaid, never to be disturbed therein, or taken from them, so long as they own, keep and maintain their due Obedience and Subjection to His Majesty, His governour, and Government, and Amity and Friendship towards the English.

IV.

Whereas by the mutual Discontents, Complaints, Jealousies and Fears of English and Indians, occasioned by the Violent Intrusions of divers English into their Lands, forcing the Indians by way of Revenge, to kill the Cattel and Hogs of the English, whereby Offence and Injuries being given and done on both side, the Peace of this His Majesties Colony hath been much disturbed, and the late unhappy rebellion by this means (in a great measure) begun and fomented, which hath Involved this Countrey into so much Ruine and Misery: For prevention of which Injuries and evil consequences (as much as possibly we may) for time to come; It is hereby Concluded and Established, That no English shall Seat or Plant nearer than Three miles of any Indian Town; and whosoever hath made, or shall make any Incroachment upon their Lands, shall be removed from them thence, and proceeded against as by the former Peace made, when the Honourable Colonel Frances Morison was Governour, and the Act of Assembly grounded thereupon, is Provided and Enacted.

V.

That the said Indians be well Secured and Defended in their Persons, Goods and Properties, against all hurts and injuries of the English; and that upon any breach or violation, hereof the aggrieved Indians do in the first place repair and Address themselves to the Governour, acquainting him therewith (without rashly and suddenly betaking themselves to any Hostile course for Satisfaction) who will Inflict such Punishment on the wilful Infringers hereof, as the Laws of England or this Countrey permit, and as if such hurt or injury had been done to any Englishman; which is but just and reasonable, they owning

themselves to be under the Allegiance of His most Sacred Majesty.

VI.

That no Indian King or Queen be imprisoned without a special Warrant from His Majesties Governour and Two of the Council and that no other Indian be Imprisoned without a Warrant from a Justice of Peace, upon sufficient cause of Commitment.

VII.

That the said Indians have and enjoy their wonted conveniences of Oystering, Fishing, and gathering Tuchahoe, Curtenemons, Wild Oats, Rushes, Puckoone, and any thing else (for their natural support) not useful to the English, upon the English Dividends; Always provided they first repair to some Publick Magistrate of good Repute, and inform him of their number and business, who shall not refuse them a Certificate upon this or any other Lawful occasion, so that they make due return thereof when they come back, and go directly home about their business, without wearing or carrying any manner of Weapon, or lodging under any Englishmans Dwelling-house one night.

VIII.

That no Foreign Indians be suffered to come to any English Plantation without a friendly neighbour Indian in his company with such Certificate as aforesaid; and no Indian King is to refuse to send a safe Conduct with the Foreigner, upon any Lawful occasion of his coming in, and that no Indian do paint or disguise themselves when they come in.

IX.

That all Indian Kings and Queens Tributary to the English, having notice of any March of strange Indians near the English Quarters or Plantations, do forthwith repair to some one of the next Officers of the Militia, and acquaint him of their Nation, number, and design, and which way they bend their course.

X.

That if necessary, a convenient Party be presently sent out by the next Colonel of the Militia, to Aid, Strengthen and joyn with our friendly Indians against any Foreign Attempt, Incursion or Depredation upon the Indian Towns.

XI.

That every Indian fit to bear Arms, of the Neighbouring Nations in Peace with us, have such quantity of Powder and Shot allotted him, as the Right Honourable the Governour shall think sufficient on any occasion, and that such numbers of them be ready to go out with our Forces upon any March against the Enemy, and to receive such Pay for their good Services, as shall be thought fit.

XII.

That each Indian King and queen have equal Power to Govern their own People, and none to have greater Power then other, Except the Queen of Pamunkey, to whom several scattered Nations do now again own their ancient Subjection, and are agreed to come in and Plant themselves under her Power and Government; Who with her, are also hereby included into this present League and Treaty of Peace, and are to Keep and observe the same towards the said Queen in all things, as her Subjects, as well as towards the English.

XIII.

That no person whatsoever shall entertain to keep any Neighbouring Indian as Servant, or otherwise, but by Licence of the Governour, and to be upon Obligation for all Injuries and Damages by him or them happening to be done to any English.

XIV.

That no English harbour or entertain any Vagrant or Runaway Indian but convey him home by way of Pass, from Justice to Justice to his own Town, under Penalty of paying so much per day for harbouring him, as by the Law for entertaining of Runaways is recoverable.

XV.

That no Indian (of those in Amity with us) shall serve for any longer time then English of the like Ages should serve by Act of Assembly, and shall not be sold as Slaves.

XVI.

That every Indian King and Queen in the Month of March every year, with some of their Great men, shall tender their Obedience to the Right Honourable His Majesties Governour at the place of his Residence, wherever it shall be, and then and there pay the accustomed Tribute of Twenty Beaver Skins to the Governour, and also their Quit-Rent aforesaid, in acknowledgement they hold their Crowns and Lands of the Great King of England.

XVII.

That due care be had and taken that those Indian Kings and Queens, their Great Men and Attendants that come on any Publick Business to the Right Honourable the Governour, Council or Assembly, may be accommodated with Provisions and Houseroom at the Publick Charge, and that no English Subject shall abuse, revile, hurt, or wrong them at any time in word or deed.

XVIII.

That upon any Discord or Breach of Peace happening to arise between any of the Indians in Amity with the English, upon the first appearance and beginning thereof, and before they enter into any open Acts of Hostility or War one against another, they shall repair to His Majesties Governour, by whose Justice and Wisdom it is concluded such Difference shall be made up and decided, and to whose final Determination the said Indians shall submit and conform themselves.

XIX.

That for the preventing of frequent mischiefs and mistakes occasioned by unfaithful and corrupt Interpreters, and for the more safety, satisfaction, and advantage both of the Indians and English, That there be one of each Nation of our Neighbouring Indians that can already speak, or may become capable of speaking English, admitted together with those of the English, to be their own Interpreters.

XX.

That the several Indians concluded in this Peace, do forthwith restore to the



respective English Parents and Owners all such Children, Servants and Horses, which they have at any time taken from them, and are now remaining with them the said Indians, or which they can make discovery of.

XXI.

That the Trade with the said Indians be continued, limited, restrained or laid open, as shall make best for the Peace and Quiet of the Countrey; upon which Affair the Governour will consult with the Council and Assembly, and conclude thereon at their next meeting.

The Sign of the  
Queen of Pamunkey, on  
Behalf of her self and the several  
Indians under her Subjection.

The Sign of the  
Queen of Waonoke.  
The Sign of the King

The Sign of  
The King of  
The Nottoways

of the Nancymond Indians.

The Sign of Captain John West  
Son to the Queen of Pamunkey.

*Convenit cum Originali.*

Test. Tho. Ludwell Secreaty.

Memorandum the 29<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1677.

That this Instrument of Peace being Read and Expounded to the several Indian Kings and Queens then present (at the Court of Middle Plantation) by Interpreters Sworn truly to perform the same, the said Indian Kings and Queens Signed and delivered the Articles to the Honourable Governour upon their Knees, and received that other part, Signed and Delivered on behalf of the Kings Majesty, in the same posture of kneeling, of their own accords kissing the Paper as they Transferred it from hand to hand to each other, until every one had done the like Mark of Reverence to it, in sign of a most free and joyful acceptance of this Peace concluded with them. At the same time Pericuhtah King of the Appomatucks being then present, did earnestly desire to be admitted to the Signing this Peace with the rest; but he being suspected, and Complained of to have Committed by himself or Subject some Murthers on His Majesties Subjects of England, was not admitted or included into this League at that time, nor is to partake of the benefit of this Peace, before he shall have cleared himself of this Guilt imputed to him, and Committed since His Majesties Commissioners came into Virginia, as they were credibly informed: Which Exemption gave the English general satisfaction, to find there was so just Inquisition made of the Bloud of their Slaughtered Brethren.

John Berry,  
Francis Morison.

Source: Alden T. Vaughan (General Editor). Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws 1607-1789, Vol. IV, Virginia Treaties 1607-1722. W. Stitt Robinson, editor. Fredrick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1983. Pp. 82-87.

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## ROBERT BEVERLEY'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE POWHATAN AT THE END OF THE 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

### Of the Cookery and Food

...Their Food is Fish and Flesh of all sorts, and that which participates of both; as the Beavor, a small kind of Turtle, or Tarapins, (as we call them) and several Species of Snakes. They likewise eat Grubs, the Nymphae of Wasps, some kinds of Scarabaei, Cicadae, &c. These last are such as are sold in the Markets of Fess, and such as the Arabians, Lybians, Parthians, and Aethiopians commonly eat; so that these are not a new Dyet, tho a very slender one; and we are inform'd, that St. John was dyeted upon Locusts, and Wild Honey.

They make excellent Broth, of the Head and Umbles of a Deer, which they put into the Pot all Bloody. This seems to resemble the *jus nigrum* of the Spartans, made with the Blood and Bowels of a Hare. They eat not the Brains with the Head, but dry, and reserve them to dress their Leather with.

They eat all sorts of Peas, Beans, and other Pulse, both parched and boiled. They make their Bread of the Indian Corn, Wild Oats, or the Seed of the Sunflower. But when they eat their Bread, they eat it alone, and not with their Meat.

They have no Salt among them, but for seasoning, use the Ashes of Hicory, Stickweed, or some other Wood or Plant, affording a Salt ash.

They delight much to feed on Roasting-ears; that is, the Indian Corn, gathered green and milky, before it is grown to its full bigness, and roasted before the Fire, in the Ear. For the sake of this Dyet, which they love exceedingly, they are very careful to procure all the several sorts of Indian Corn before mentioned, by which means they contrive to prolong their Season. And indeed this is a very sweet and pleasing Food.

They have growing near their Towns, Peaches, Strawberries, Cushawes, Melons, Pompions, Macocks, &c. The Cushaws and Pompions they lay by, which will keep several months good after they are gather'd; the Peaches they save, by drying them in the Sun; they have likewise several sorts of the Phaseoli.

In the Woods, they gather Chincapins, Chesnuts, Hicories, and Walnuts. The Kernals of the Hicories they beat in a Mortar with Water, and make a White Liquor like Milk, from whence they call our Milk Hickory. Hazlenuts they will not meddle with, tho they make a shift with Acorns sometimes, and eat all the other Fruits mentioned before, but they never eat any sort of Herbs or Leaves.

They make Food of another Fruit call'd Cuttanimmons, the Fruit of a kind of Arum, growing in the Marshes: They are like Boy'd Peas, or Capers to look on, but of an insipid

earthy taste. Captain Smith in his History of Virginia calls them Ocoughtanannis, and Theod. de Bry in his Translation, Sacqueummener.

Out of the Ground they dig Trubbs, Earth-nuts, Wild Onions, and a Tuberos Root they call Tuckahoe, which while crude is a very hot and virulent quality: but they can manage it so as in case of necessity, to make Bread of it, just as the East Indians and those of Egypt, are said to do of Colocassia. It grows like a Flagg in the miry Marshes, having Roots of the magnitude and taste of Irish Potatoes, which are easy to be dug up.

Among all this variety of Food, Nature hath not taught them the use of any other Drink than Water; which tho they have in cool and pleasant Springs every where, yet they will not drink that, if they can get Pond Water, or such as has been warm'd by the Sun and Weather. Baron Lahontan tells of a sweet juice of the Maple, which the Indians to the Northward gave him, mingl'd with Water; but our Indians use no such Drink. For their Strong drink, they are altogether beholding to us, and are so greedy for it, that most of them will be drunk as often as they find an opportunity; notwithstanding which, it is a prevailing humour among them, not to taste any Strong drink at all, unless they can get enough to make them quite drunk, and then they go as solemnly about it, as if it were part of their Religion.

#### **Of the Travelling, Reception, and Entertainment of the Indians**

Their Travels they perform altogether on foot, the fatigue of which they endure to admiration. They make no other provision for their Journey, but their Gun or Bow, to supply them with Food for many hundreds miles together. If they carry any Flesh in their marches, they barbicue it, or rather dry it by degrees, at some distance, over the clear Coals of a Wood fire; just as the Charibees are said, to preserve the Bodies of their Kings and Great men from Corruption. Their Sauce to this dry Meat, (if they have any besides a good Stomach) is only a little Bears Oyl, or Oyl of Acorns; which last they force out, by boyling the Acorns in a strong Lye. Sometimes also in their Travels, each man takes with him a pint or quart of Rockahomonie, that is, the finest Indian Corn, parched, and beaten to powder. When they find their Stomach empty, (and cannot stay for the tedious Cookery of other things), they put about a spoonful of this into their Mouths, and drink a draught of Water upon it, which stays their Stomachs, and enables them to pursue their Journey without delay. But their main dependance is upon the Game they kill by the way, and the natural Fruits of the Earth. They take no care about Lodging in these Journeys; but content themselves with the shade of a Tree, or a little High Grass.

They have a peculiar way of receiving Strangers, distinguishing whether they come as Friends or Enemies; tho they do not understand each others Language: and that is by a singular method of smoaking Tobacco; in which these things are always observ'd. They take a Pipe much larger and bigger than the common Tobacco Pipe, expressly made for that purpose, with which all Towns are plentifully provided; they call them the Pipes of Peace.

2. This Pipe they always fill with Tobacco, before the Face of the Strangers, and light it.
3. The chief Man of the Indians, to whom the Strangers come, takes two or three Whiffs, and then hands it to the chief of the Strangers.
4. If the Stranger refuses to Smoke in it, 'tis a sign of War.

5. If it be Peace, the chief of the Strangers takes a Whiff or two in the Pipe, and presents it to the next Great Man of the Town, they come to visit; he, after taking two or three Whiffs, gives it back to the next of the Strangers, and so on alternately, until they have past all the persons of Note on each side, and then the Ceremony is ended.

After a little discourse, they march together in a friendly manner into the Town, and then proceed to explain the Business upon which they came. This Method is as general a Rule among all the Indians of those parts of America, as the Flag of Truce is among the Europeans. And tho the fashion of the Pipe differ, as well as the ornaments of it, according to the humour of the several Nations, yet 'tis a general Rule, to make these Pipes remarkably bigger, than those for common use, and to adorn them with beautiful Wings, and Feathers of Birds, as likewise with Peak, Beads, or other such Foppery.

### **Of the Laws, and Authority of the Indians among one another**

The Indians having no sort of Letters among them, as has been before observ'd. they can have no Written Laws; nor did the Constitution in which we found them seem to need many. Nature and their own convenience having taught them to obey one Chief, who is Arbiter of all things among them. They claim no property in Lands, but they are in Common to a whole Nation. Every one Hunts and Fishes, and gathers Fruits in all places. Their labour in tending Corn, Pompions, Melons, &c. is not so great, that they need quarrel for room, where the Land is so fertile, and where so much lyes uncultivated.

They bred no sort of Cattle, nor had any thing that could be call'd Riches. They valued Skins and Furs for use, and Peak and Roenoke for ornament.

The Indians never forget or forgive an Injury, till satisfaction be given, be it National, or Personal: but it becomes the business of their whole Lives, and even after that, the Revenge is entail'd upon their Posterity, till full reparation be made.

The Titles of Honour that I have observ'd among them peculiar to themselves, are only Cockarouse, and Werowance, besides that of the King, and Queen: but of late they have borrow'd some Titles from us, which they bestow among themselves. A Cockarouse is one that has the Honour to be of the King or Queens Council, with relation to the affairs of the Government, and has a great share in the Administration. A Werowance is a Military Officer, who of course takes upon him the command of all Parties, either of Hunting, Travelling, Warring, or the like, and the word signifies a War Captain.

The Priests and Conjurers are also of great Authority, the people having recourse to them for Counsel and Direction, upon all occasions; by which means, and by help of the First Fruits and frequent Offerings, they riot in the fat of the Land, and grow rich upon the spoils of their ignorant Country-men.

They have also people of a Rank inferior to the Commons, a sort of Servants among them. These are call'd Black Boys, and are attendant upon the Gentry, to do their servile Offices, which, in their state of Nature, are not many. For they live barely up to the present relief of their Necessities, and make all things easy and comfortable to themselves, by the indulgence of a kind Climate, without toiling and perplexing their mind for Riches, which

other people often trouble themselves to provide for uncertain and ungrateful Heirs. In short, they seem, as possessing nothing, and yet enjoying all things.

### **Of the Treasure or Riches of the Indians**

The Indians had nothing which they reckoned Riches, before the English went among them, except Peak, Roenoke, and such like trifles made out of the Cunk shell. These past with them instead of Gold and Silver, and serv'd them both for Money, and Ornament. It was the English alone that taught them first to put a value on their Skins and Furs, and to make a Trade of them.

Peak is of two sorts, or rather of two colours, for both are made of one Shell, tho of different parts; one is a dark Purple Cylinder, and the other a white; they are both made in size, and figure alike, and commonly much resembling the English Buglas, but not so transparent nor so brittle. They are wrought as smooth as Glass, being one third of an inch long, and about a quarter, diameter, strung by a hole drill'd thro the Center. The dark colour is the dearest, and distinguis'd by the name of Wampom Peak. The English men that are call'd Indian Traders, value the Wampom Peak at eighteen pence per Yard, and the white Peak at nine pence.

### **Of the Handicrafts of the Indians**

Under the disadvantage of such Tools they made a shift to fell vast great Trees, and clear the Land of Wood, in places where they had occasion.

They bring down a great Tree, by making a small Fire round the Root, and keeping the Flame from running upward, until they burn away so much of the basis, that the least puff of Wind throws it down. When it is prostrate, they burn it off to what length they would have it, and with their Stone Tomahawks break off all the Bark, which when the Sap runs, will easily strip, and at other times also, if it be well warm'd with Fire. When it is brought to a due length, they raise it upon a Bed of a convenient height for their working, and then begin by gentle Fires to hollow it, and with scrapers rake the Trunk, and turn away the Fire from one place to another, till they had deepen'd the Belly of it to their desire: Thus also they shape the ends, till they have made it a fit Vessel for crossing the Water, and this they call a Canoe, one of which I have seen thirty feet long.

When they wanted any Land to be clear'd of the Woods, they chopp'd a Notch round the Trees quite through the Bark with their Stone Hatchets, or Tomahawks, and that deaden'd the Trees, so that they spouted no more, but in a few years fell down. However, the Ground was plantable, and would produce immediately upon the withering of the Trees: but now for all these uses they employ Axes, and little Hatchets, which they buy of the English. The occasions aforementioned, and the building of their Cabbins, are still the greatest use they have for these Utensils, because they trouble not themselves with any other sort of Handicraft, to which such Tools are necessary. Their Houshold Utensils are Baskets made of Silk grass, Gourds, which grow to the shapes they desire them, and Earthen Pots to boil Victuals in, which they make of Clay.

The Indians of Virginia are almost wasted, but such Towns, or People as retain their Names, and live in Bodies, are hereunder set down; All which together can't raise five

hundred fighting men. They live poorly, and much in fear of the Neighbouring Indians. Each Town, by the Articles of Peace in 1677. pays 3 Indian Arrows for their Land, and 20 Beaver Skins for protection every year.

In Accomack are 8 Towns, viz.

Matamkin is much decreased of late by the Small Pox, that was carried thither.

Gingoteque. The few remains of this Town are joyn'd with a Nation of the Maryland Indians.

Kiequotank, is reduc'd to a very few Men.

Matchopungo, has a small number yet living.

Occahanock, has a small number yet living.

Pungoteque. Govern'd by a Queen, but a small Nation.

Oanancock, has but four or five Families.

Chiconessex, has very few, who just keep the name.

Nanduye. A Seat of the Empress. Not above 20 Families, but she hath all the Nations of this Shore under Tribute.

In Northampton. Gangascoe, which is almost as numerous as all the foregoing Nations put together.

In Prince George. Wyanoke, is almost wasted, and now gone to live among other Indians.

In Charles City. Appamattox. These Live in Collonel Byrd's Pasture, not being above seven Families.

In Surry. Nottawayes, which are about a hundred Bow men, of late a thriving and increasing People.

By Nansamond. Menheering, has about thirty Bow-men, who keep at a stand.

Nansamond. About thirty Bow-men: They have increased much of late.

In King Williams County, 2. Pamunkie, has about forty Bow-men, who decrease.

Chickahomnie, which had about sixteen Bow-men, but lately increas'd.

In Essex. Rappahannock, is reduc'd to a few Families, and live scatter'd upon the English Seats.

In Richmond. Port-Tabago, has [a]bout five Bow-men, but Wasting.

In Northumberland. Wiccocomoco, has but three men living, which yet keep up their Kingdom, and retain their Fashion; they live by themselves, separate from all other Indians, and from the English.

Thus I have given a succinct account of the Indians; happy, I think, in their simple State of Nature, and in their enjoyment of Plenty, without the Curse of Labour. They have on several accounts reason to lament the arrival of the Europeans, by whose means they

seem to have lost their Felicity, as well as their Innocence. The English have taken away great part of their Country, and consequently made every thing less plenty amongst them. They have introduc'd Drunkenness and Luxury amongst them, which have multiply'd their Wants, and put them upon desiring a thousand things, they never dreamt of before....

Source: Robert Beverley. The History and Present State of Virginia. Edited by Louis B. Wright, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. 178, 180-182, 185-187, 225-227, 229-230, 232-233.

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### JOHN FONTAINE TRAVELS TO FORT CHRISTANNA

April [13] 1716. Williamsburg. The first day. Governor Spotwood and I set out from Williamsburg about 8 of the clock in the morning and we went to James Town, in a four wheeled Chaise, which is situated close upon James River eight miles from Williamsburg...We left the chaise at Jamestown...and about 10 of the clock we were in the ferry boat and crossed the river...Then we mounted our horses and put on till we came to one Mr. Hicks his plantation upon one of the branches of Meherrin River called Herrin Creek. The man of the house was not at home, so we fared...indifferently. We made in all this day 65 miles.

April [14] 1716. The second day. In the morning we set out with a guide for Christiana. For this house is the most outward settlement on this side of Virginia which is the south side. We have no roads here to conduct us, nor inhabitants to direct the traveller...about twelve we came to Meherrin River opposite to Christianna Fort. We see this day several fine tracts of land and plains called Savannas which lie along by the river side, much like unto our low meadow lands in England. There is neither tree nor shrub that grows upon those plains, nothing but good grass...Those places are not miry, but good and firm ground. Those plains are subject to inundations after great rains and when the rivers overflow, but there is seldom about 6 or 8 inches water over them, which may be easily prevented by ditching it. In about half an hour after twelve we crossed the river in a canoe and went up to the fort which is built upon a rising ground. It is an inclosure of five sides, made only with pallisadoes, and instead of five bastions, there are five houses which defend the one the other – each side is about one hundred yards long. There are five cannon here, which fired to welcome the Governor....

April [15] 1716. The third day. Christianna Fort. About 9 in the morning we got up and breakfasted. Mr. Griffiths who is an Englishman, he is employed by the government to teach the Indian children and to bring them to Christianity. He remains in this place and teaches them to read the Bible and Common Prayers, as also to write, and the English tongue. He hath had good success amongst them. He hath now been a year amongst them. He told the Governor that the Indian Chiefs or Great Men, as they style themselves, were coming to the Fort to compliment him. These Indians are called Saponey Indians, and are always at peace with the English. They consist of about 200 persons, men, women and children and live within musket shot of this fort and are protected by the English, and under

covert of this fort from the insults of the other Indians, who are at difference with the English. Those Indians pay a tribute to the Governor every year to renew and confirm the peace and shew their submission...Those twelve men came to the Fort about 12 of the clock, and brought with them several skins, and as soon as they came to the Governor they laid them at his feet, and then all of them as one man made a bow to the Governor, and than desired an interpreter, saying they had something to represent to him. Notwithstanding some of them could speak good English, yet when they treat of any thing that concerns their nation, they will not treat but in their own language, and that by an interpreter, nor will not answer to any question made to them without it be in their own tongue. So the Governor got an interpreter, after which they stood silent for a while, and after they had spit several times upon the ground one of them began to speak and assured the Governor of the satisfaction they had of seeing him amongst them and assured him of the good will they had towards the English – and that some of the English had wronged them in some things which they would make appear, and desired he would get justice done to them, that they depended on him for it; which the Governor promised he would, and thanked them for the good opinion they had of his justice towards them...

About three of the clock came fifty of the young men with feathers in their hair, and run through their ears, and their faces painted with blue and vermilion, and their hair cut in many forms, Some left one side of their hair on, and others had their hair cut on both sides and on the upper part of the head, made it stand like a cock's comb, and they had blue and red blankets wrapped about them. They dress themselves after this manner when they go to war the one with the other so they call this their war dress, which really is very terrible and makes them look like so many furies. Those young men made no speeches, only walked up and down and seemed to be very proud of their most adominable dress.

After this came the young women. They have all long straight black hair which comes down to their waist. They had each of them a blanket tied about their waists, and it hung down about their legs like a petticoat. They have no shifts or any thing to cover them from their waists up, but go naked. Others of them there was that had two deerskins sewed together and they threw it over the shoulders like a mantle. They all of them grease their bodies and head with bear's oil, which with the smoke of the cabins gives them an ugly hue....

April 16, 1717. At Christiana. The fourth day. In the morning I rid out with the governor and some of the people of the fort to view the lands which were not yet taken up. We see several fine tracts of land, well watered and good places to make mills on. I had a mind to take some of it up, so I asked the Governor if he would permit me to take up 3000 acres of land. He gave me his promise for it. I went through the land I designed to take up and viewed it. It lies upon both sides of Meherrin River, and I design to have it in a long square, half one side and half the other, so that I shall have at least three miles of the river in the land...I gave ten shillings to Captain Hicks for his trouble of shewing me the land, and he promises me he will assist me in surveying of it....

[April 17, 1716] The fifth day. After breakfast I went down to the Saponey Indian town...This town lieth in a plain by the river side. I walked round the town to view it. The houses join all the one to the other and together make a circle. The walls of their houses are large pieces of timber, which are squared and being sharpened at the lower end, they are put above two feet in the ground and about seven feet above the ground. They laid them as close as they could the one to the other, and when these posts are all fixed after this manner



then they make a sort of a roof with rafters and cover the house with oak or hickory bark, which they strip off in great flakes, and lay it is closely that no rain can come in...There is three ways of coming into this town or circle of houses which are passages of about 6 feet wide between two of the houses. All the doors of the houses are on the inside of the ring and it is very level withinside which is common with all the people to divert themselves. There is also in the centre of the inside circle a great stump of a tree. I asked the reason they left that stand, and they informed me it was for one of their headmen to stand on when he had any thing of consequence to relate to them, that being raised, he may the better be heard.

The Indian women bind their children to a board that is cut after the shape of the child...The head or top of the board is round, and there is a hole through the top of it, through which there is a string so that when the women are tired holding of them or have a mind to work they hang the board on which the children are tied to the limb of a tree or to a pin in a post for that purpose, and there the children swing about and divert themselves and are out of the reach of any thing that may hurt them. They keep those children this way until they are almost two years old...They make their fires always in the middle of the houses. The chief of their household goods is a pot and wooden dishes and trays they make themselves. They seldom have any thing in their houses to sit upon, but sit commonly on the ground. They have small divisions in their houses to lie in. This is made with mats which they make of bullrushes. They also have bedsteads which raise them about two feet off the ground, upon which they lay bear and deer skins instead of a quilt. All the covering they have is a blanket....

Between the town and the river upon the river side there are several little huts built with wattles in form of an oven with a small door in one end of it. These wattles are plastered without side with clay very close, and they are big enough to hold a man. They call those houses sweating houses....

[April 19, 1716] The seventh day. Christiana. After breakfast we assembled ourselves, and read the Common Prayer. There was with us eight of the Indian boys who answered very well to the prayers and understand what is read....

April 20, 1716] The eighth day. Christiana. About ten in the morning there came to the fort ten of the Meherrin Indians to trade, laden with beaver, deer and bear skins, for our Indian Company have goods here for that purpose....

April 21, 1716] . Christiana. The ninth day. About seven in the morning we got a horseback and were just out of the fort when the cannon fired. We passed down by the Indian town, where they had notice that the Governor was returning, so they got twelve of the young men ready with their arms, and one of their old men at the head of them, and assured the governor they were sorry he would leave them, but that they would guard him safe to the Inhabitants...We were forced to ride easy that we [might] keep company with our Indian Guard, who accompanied us as far as a river called Nottoway river, which taketh its name from the Nottoway Indians, who formerly lived upon this river...Here we parted with our guard of Indians and the Governor ordered them to have a pound of powder, and shot in proportion, to each man. So they left us. We crossed this river and rid fifteen miles farther until we came to a poor planter's house, where we put up for that night. They had no beds in the house, so the Governor lay upon the ground and had his bear's skin under him. I lay upon a large table in my cloak, and this we fared until day which was welcome to us.

April [22] 1716. The tenth day. On our way to Williamsburg...about four of the clock we came to James River and took the ferry and about 6 of the clock we mounted our horses and went to Williamsburg, where we arrived about 8 of the clock....

Source: Edward Porter Alexander (ed.). The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia 1710-1719. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA. Distributed by The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1977. Pp. 90-91, 93-100.

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## LIEUT. HENRY TIMBERLAKE'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE CHEROKEE

Some days after, the headmen of each town were assembled in the town-house of Chote, the metropolis of the country, to hear the articles of peace read, whither the interpreter and I accompanied Ostenaco.

The town-house, in which are transacted all public business and diversions, is raised with wood, and covered over with earth, and has all the appearance of a small mountain at a little distance. It is built in the form of a sugar loaf, and large enough to contain 500 persons, but extremely dark, having, besides the door, which is so narrow that but one at a time can pass, and that after much winding and turning, but one small aperture to let the smoak out, which is so ill contrived, that most of it settles in the roof of the house. Within it has the appearance of an ancient amphi-theatre, the seats being raised one above another, leaving an area in the middle, in the center of which stands the fire; the seats of the head warriors are nearest it.

They all seemed highly satisfied with the articles. The peace-pipe was smoked...After smoking, the eatables were produced, consisting chiefly of wild meat; such as venison, bear, and buffalo; tho' I cannot much commend their cookery, every thing being greatly overdone: there were likewise potatoes, pumpkins, homminy, boiled corn, beans, and pease, served up in small flat baskets,...What contributed greatly to render this feast disgusting, was eating without knives and forks, and being obliged to grope from dish to dish in the dark. After the feast there was a dance;...

The country being situated between thirty-two and thirty-four degrees north latitude,...is temperate, inclining to heat during the summer-season, and so remarkably fertile, that the women alone do all the laborious tasks of agriculture, the soil requiring only a little stirring with a hoe, to produce whatever is required of it; yielding vast quantities of pease, beans, potatoes, cabbages, Indian corn pumpions, melons, and tobacco, not to mention a number of other vegetables imported from Europe, not so generally known amongst them, which flourish as much, or more here, than in their native climate;...

...The meadows or savannahs produce excellent grass; being watered by abundance of fine rivers, and brooks well stored with fish....

...There are likewise an incredible number of buffaloes, bears, deer, panthers, wolves, foxes, racoons, and opossums...the opossum, however, deserves some attention, as

I have never seen it properly described. It is about the size of a large cat, short and thick, and of a silver colour....

There are a vast number of lesser sort of game, such as rabbits, squirrels of several sorts, and many other animals, beside turkeys, geese, ducks of several kinds, partridges, pheasants, and an infinity of other birds, pursued only by the children, who, at eight or ten years old, are very expert at killing with a sar-bacan, or hollow cane, through which they blow a small dart,....

The Indians have now a numerous breed of horses, as also hogs, and other of our animals, but neither cows nor sheep;....

The Cherokees are of a middle stature, of an olive colour, tho' generally painted, and their skins stained with gun-powder, pricked into it in very pretty figures. The hair of their head is shaved...except a patch on the hinder part of the head, about twice the bigness of a crown-piece, which is ornamented with beads, feathers, wampum, stained deers hair, and such like baubles. Their ears are slit and stretched to an enormous size...The women wear the hair of their head, which is so long that it generally reached to the middle of their legs, and sometimes to the ground, club'd, and ornamented with ribbons of various colours;...The rest of their dress is now become very much like the Europeans; and indeed, that of the men is greatly altered. The old people still remember and praise the ancient days, before they were acquainted with the whites, when they had but little dress, except a bit of skin about their middles, mockasons, a mantle of buffaloe skin for the winter, and a lighter one of feathers for the summer....

They are of a very gentle and amicable disposition to those they think their friends, but as implacable in their enmity, their revenge being only completed in the entire destruction of their enemies...They are very hardy, bearing heat, cold, hunger, and thirst, in a surprizing manner; and yet no people are given to more excess in eating and drinking; when it is conveniently in their power: the follies, nay mischief they commit when inebriated, are entirely laid to the liquor; and no one will revenge any injury (murder excepted) received from one who is no more himself;...

They are particularly careful of the superannuated, but are not so till of a great age;....

They have many of them a good uncultivated genius, are fond of speaking well, as that paves the way to power in their councils;...Their language is not unpleasant but vastly aspirated, and the accents so many and various, you would often imagine them singing in their common discourse...They seldom turn their eyes on the person they speak of, or address themselves to, and are always suspicious when people's eyes are fixed on them. They speak so low, except in council, that they are often obliged to repeat what they were saying; yet should a person talk to any of them above their common pitch, they would immediately ask him, if he thought they were deaf?....

They have of late many tools among them, and, with a little instruction, would soon become proficient in the use of them, being great imitators of any thing they see done; and the curious manner in which they dress skins, point arrows, make earthen vessels, and basket-work, are proofs of their ingenuity, possessing them for a long time before the arrival of Europeans among them....

As to religion, every one is at liberty to think for himself; whence flows a diversity of

opinions amongst those that do think, but the major part do not give themselves that trouble. They generally concur, however, in the belief of one superior Being, who made them, and governs all things, and are therefore never discontent at any misfortune, because they say, the Man above would have it so....

They have few religious ceremonies, or stated times of general worship: the green corn dance seems to be the principal, which is, as I have been told, performed in a very solemn manner, in a large square before the town-house door: the motion here is very slow, and the song in which they offer thanks to God for the corn he has sent them, far from unpleasing. There is no kind of rites or ceremonies at marriage, courtship and all being, as I have already observed, concluded in half an hour, without any other celebration, and it is as little binding as ceremonious;....

When they part, the children go with, and are provided for, by the mother. As soon as a child is born, which is generally without help, it is dipped into cold water and washed, which is repeated every morning for two years afterward, by which the children acquire such strength, that no ricketty or deformed are found among them....

...the dead, having commonly their guns, tommahawkes, powder, lead, silver ware, wampum, and a little tobacco, buried with them; and as the persons who brings the corpse to the place of burial, immediately leave it, he is at liberty to dispose of all as he pleases, but must take care never to be found out...It is reckoned, ...the worst of thefts; yet there is no punishment for this, or any other crime, murder excepted, which is more properly revenged than punished.

This custom was probably introduced to prevent avarice, and, by preventing hereditary acquisitions, make merit the sole means of acquiring power, honour, and riches...On this account the wives generally have separate property, that no inconveniency may arise from death or separation.

Their government, if I may call it government, which has neither laws or power to support it, is a mixed aristocracy and democracy, the chiefs being chose according to their merit in war, or policy at home; these lead the warriors that chuse to go, for there is no laws or compulsion on those that refuse to follow, or punishment to those that forsake their chief: he strives, therefore, to inspire them with a sort of enthusiasm...These chiefs, or headmen, likewise compose the assemblies of the nation, into which the war-women are admitted....

The rest of the people are divided into two military classes, warriors and fighting men, which last are the plebeians, who have not distinguished themselves enough to be admitted to the rank of warriors. There are some other honorary titles among them, conferred in reward of great actions; the first of which is Outacity, of Man-killer; and the second Colona, or the Raven. Old warriors likewise, or war-women, who can no longer go to war, but have distinguished themselves in their younger days, have the title of Beloved. This is the only title females can enjoy; but it abundantly recompences them, by the power they acquire by it, which is so great, that they can, by the wave of a swan's wing, deliver a wretch condemned by the council, and already tied to the stake.

Their common names are given them by their parents; but this they can either change, or take another when they think proper; so that some of them have near half a dozen, which the English generally increase, by giving an English one,....

The English are now so nigh, and encroached daily so far upon them that they not only felt the bad effects of it in their hunting grounds, which were spoiled, but had all the reason in the world to apprehend being swallowed up, by so potent neighbours, or driven out of the country, inhabited by their fathers, in which they were born, and brought up, in fine, their native soil, for which all men have a particular tenderness and affection. The French lay farther off, and were not so powerful; from them, therefore, they had less to fear. The keeping these foreigners than more upon a footing, as a check upon one another, was providing for their own safety, and that of all America, since they foresaw, or the French took care to shew them, that should they be driven out, the English would in time extend themselves over all North America....

Source: Samuel C. Williams (ed.). The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake, 1756-1765. Continental Book Co., 1948. Pp. 58-59, 61, 68-69, 71-72, 75-81, 85, 87-95, 97-98.

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## INDIANS IN WILLIAMSBURG, 1751-1777

### At a Council held August the Ninth 1751.

At the Governors House

The President Acquainted the Board, that he Yesterday gave an Audience to the Chiefs of the Cherokee Indians.

*Maryland Gazette*. September 11, 1751.

[Williamsburg] August 16. On Thursday last his Honour the President gave an Audience to the Ambassador of the Cherrokee Nation, attended by his Nobles . . .

...President took them all by the Hand, wished them a good Journey home, and Prosperity to their Emperor and the Cherrokee Nation.

On Monday the President had a private Conversation with them, when he explain'd to them the Happiness and Advantages the Christians enjoy, in the Hopes and Assurance of a blessed Immortality; and from thence persuaded them to send some of their Children to be educated at the College, that by their Means they might be instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and be Partakers of the same Happiness with the English. They heartily thank'd his Hounour for this Instance of his affection, and assured him that his Offer was very agreeable to them; but that they could return no Answer without consulting their Emperor.

About a week before the Arrival of the Cherrokees, it was rumour'd, that the Nottaway Indians, being very inveterate against them, were determined to lie in Ambush and intercept them. This nation, 'twas said, was exasperated against the Cherrokees, for murdering, many Years ago, seven of their young Men, whom they had invited to hunt with them; and had resolved to embrace this favourable Opportunity of revenging themselves. The President being informed of this, and a Report prevailing, that they had cross'd James

River, and were on their March to the Westward, with an Intent to wait on the Road in Order to put their Design in Execution, ordered all the Cherrokees to be completely arm'd, that they might be able to defend themselves in Case of an Attack; and likewise issued a Proclamation, strictly requiring the Nottaways to desist from their bloody Design, and to repair immediately to their own Habitations to avoid the most rigorous Prosecution commanding also all Magistrates, Sheriffs, and others to be riding and assisting in preserving the Peace in their respective Counties.

But all these Precautions proved unnecessary, the Nottaways arriving in Town yesterday with a white Flag. The Cherrokees being inform'd of their Arrival, immediately gave the Signal of War, and were preparing for Battle, but several Gentlemen representing to them the friendly appearance of the Nottaways, advised them to march out, and meet them in the same friendly Manner. At first they were inflexible; but being no less prevail'd on, the hoisted a white Flag, and marching by Beat of Drum, met the Nottaways in the Market place, each Party singing the Song of Peace. After many of their accustomed Ceremonies, they join'd Hands and smok'd the Pipe of Peace together: But not being able to hold any Conference, the Crowd being very great, they repaired to the Court House; where the Nottaways being sensible that these were not the Indians who had done them the Injury they complain'd of, produced a Belt of Wampum, which they had receiv'd of the Cherrokees at their last Peace, and desired a Continuance of their Friendship. The Orator, who negotiates all their Treaties, receiv'd the Wampum, and rising up, made a long Speech to his Friends, telling them that he himself had many Years ago given this Belt as a Token of Peace; that he now found it intire, not a Bead amiss, and from thence concluded that these Hearts were strait, and their Friendship preserv'd intire: Afterwards, by the unanimous Consent of all his People, he made a Present of a Pipe of Peace, assuring them of his Friendship. All differences being thus adjusted to the Satisfaction of both Parties, they met in the evening at the Camp of the Cherrokees; where making a large Fire, they danced together round it, and concluded the Evening with Harmony and Chearfulness.

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#### At a Council held November 11<sup>th</sup> 1752.

The Governor acquainting the Board that the Emperor of the Cherokees, his Empress, Son, two Generals, and other Attendants, waited on him the 9<sup>th</sup> of this Instant, and told him they had come through many Briers, Thickets, and great Waters to see him; that he welcom'd them, and promised they should be entertained with great Civility during their Residence in this City, and desired to hear what induced them to take so long and fatiguing a Journey; ....

*Williamsburg Gazette*, November 17, 1752

[Williamsburg] November 17. Friday last, being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth-day, in the Evening, the whole City was illuminated. There was a Ball, and a very elegant entertainment, at the Palace, where were present, the Emperor and Emperess of the Cherokee Nation, with their Son the young Prince . . . several beautiful Fireworks were exhibited in Palace Street by Mr. Hallam, Manager of the Theatre in this City

*Maryland Gazette*, December 14, 1752

[Williamsburg] November 27 The Emperor of the Cherokee Nation with his Empress and their Son the young Prince, attended by several of his Warriors and great Men and their Ladies, were received at the Palace by His Honour the Governor...on Thursday the 9<sup>th</sup> Instant...and were that Evening entertained, at the Theatre, with the Play (the Tragedy of Othello) and a Phantomme Performance, which gave them great Surprize, as did the fighting with naked Swords on the Stage, which occasioned the Empress to order some about her to go and prevent their killing one another...They were dismissed with a handsome Present of fine Cloaks, Arms, and Ammunition; and expressed great Satisfaction in the Governor's kind Reception, and from several others; and left this Place this Morning.

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**At a Council held May 7<sup>th</sup> 1754.**

The Governor Delivered to Ensign Ward, the Indian from the Half King and the Interpreter being present, his Answer to the Speech of the Half King, and a Letter from [sic] Col: Washington.

Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Glen  
SIR:

Nov'r 16<sup>th</sup>, 1754

...You have been misinformed in regard to the Ind's that were lately here, belonging to the Catawbias and Cherokees, of their losing their Way, coming to Y'r Gov't and committing some outrages; it must be some other Ind's, for those that went from this, [place] got all safe Home with't any Misfortune.

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Brafferton School Students, 1754 and 1755. William Cooke, Gideon Langston, John Langston, John Montour, Charles Murphy, John Sampson, Thomas Sampson, William Squirrel. [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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*Maryland Gazette*, May 6, 1756

Williamsburg, April 16. Monday last came to Town Major Andrew Lewis, attended by a Chief and 14 Warriors of the Cherokee Nation . . . His Honour sent his Coach for the Chief of them, and they were received by the Militia of this City under Arms, attended by a great Concourse of People.

April 23...The Cherokees still continue in Town, and have had several Conferences with the governor and the Council; and we hear have agreed to proceed immediately to Winchester to join our Forces.

Yesterday came to Town several of the Nottoways, to renew their ancient League with their Brothers the Cherokees, which was done in the Market Place, by smoking the Pipe, &c. after which the Cherokee Warrior made a long Speech, desiring the Nottoways to go immediately to the Assistance of their Brothers the English . . . The Nottoways have agreed to go, and will set off in a few Days, together with the Cherokees.

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### At A Council held at the Capitol, March 18, 1757

This Day Keeraruftikee one of the principal Warriors of the Cherokee Nation with five Men and three Women who came into the Country in October last, and arrived in this City with Captain Paris a fortnight ago, were admitted into the Council Chamber, when, being seated, the Chief spoke thus

We are come back from a long and painful March, but unsuccessful in our Pursuit of the Enemy by Reason of the Severity of the Weather. We are now returning home in order to raise more Men to join us in assisting our good Brethren the English, to whom we shall forever continue firmly attached unless we meet the Swallow Warriour, whom we expect here with a great Number of our Nation, in which Case we determine to proceed with him immediately to War.

...The President answered, We were glad to see them returned in good Health and obliged to them for the Trouble they had undergone in our Service...He then added, We now present you with this Hatchet as our Commission, trusting that you will hold it fast and make use of it against the Enemies of King George, your and our gracious Sovereign and Father.

After embracing all the Council in an affectionate manner they withdrew highly satisfied with the kind Reception they had met with.

An Audience was likewise given to another party of Cherokees being fifteen in Number who came to this Government in February last, had marched two Leagues above Fort Du Quesne and returned on Monday last to this City with a French Prisoner and two Scalps. The Chief of them named the Second Yellow Bird said, They were now returned from War, and being weak in Number, were impatient of going back to their Country to strengthen themselves with more Men, being resolved to exert their Abilities in using the Hatchet they had cheerfully taken up to the Destruction of our Foes.

The President gave them Thanks for the good Services they had already done, assured them all their Wants should be supplied, as far as was in our power; that we were thoroughly persuaded of their sincere and steady Adherence to our Interest...

The Council being informed that the potent Warriour Hagler King of the Catawba Nation was arrived near Town with two of his great Men, Peter Randolph Esqr. By Desire of the Board withdrew and proceeded in a Coach to meet them, and having accompanied them to the Capitol, they were introduced into the Council Chamber with six and twenty more of the Catawbas, who came here the Wednesday before, and Robert Vaughan Interpreter; King Hagler, after he and his Attendants had taken all the Council by the Hand, and their Seats, expressed himself to the following Purpose

Tho I am grown old, my Heart is so affected by the Relation of the horrid Murders and Depredations committed upon my Brethren the English by their cruel Enemies that I have undertaken this Journey with a Resolution of doing every thing in my Power towards extirpating them from the face of the Earth...He then presented to the President a String of Wampum. The President answered, he heartily rejoiced to see him, was perfectly convinced of his Love for the English, intreated him to come to the Council Chamber tomorrow when he should return a more full and particular Answer to his affectionate Speech. After shaking Hands again they departed well pleased.

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### At a Council held at the Governor's House April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1757

...The President acquainted the Board that, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of last Month, he with Mr. Auditor and Mr. Commissary gave an Audience to King Blunt and thirty three Tuscaroroes, seven Meherrins, two Saponies and thirteen Nottoways, who came in Company the Day before to Williamsburg....

*Maryland Gazette*, April 21, 1757

[Williamsburg] April 1. On Monday last Lieutenant Baker arrived here with 39 Tuscaroras, 13 Nottoways, 7 Meherrins, and two Sapponys, to whom his Honour the President, with some Gentlemen of the Council, gave an Audience the next Day...They are supplied with Blankets, &c. and are expected to set off this Day to join our Forces at Fort Cumberland.

*Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1757

May 13. On Wednesday arrived in Town about 100 Catawbias, who are returned from Fort Cumberland with two Shawnee Scalps; and Yesterday, King Heigler, with several of the principal Warriors, had a long private Conference with the Hon. Edmund Atkin, Esq;

And this Day came to Town about 30 Tuscaroras, who have brought with them one Scalp, which they got in a Skirmish with the Shawnese, about 40 Miles above Fort Cumberland.

*Maryland Gazette* June 16, 1757

May 27. As the Dissatisfaction of the Catawbias, which shewed itself too much at their leaving this Place on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of this Month (not being to be prevailed on to stay longer on the Frontiers, or to promise to return, or send others in their Stead)...gave great Uneasiness to the Inhabitants, it may be proper to inform them, for their Quiet and Satisfaction, that the Honourable Edmund Atkin, Esq; his Majesty's Agent for Indian Affairs, according to a private Agreement with their King and his Captains, followed them in the Night of the 17<sup>th</sup> to James-Town Ferry, where after another private Conference with them on behalf of the Colony, he made a long Speech...calculated to reduce the present great and growing Expence upon Indians, to obtain a more effectual Assistance from them, and to render the Settlements more quiet and secure.

...Tis to be hoped that those who were present, and know what passed, while those Indians were here in Williamsburg, and in what a Temper they left it, will, when they read the above, be convinced what an Injury Gentlemen do to their Country and to themselves, who not having had sufficient Opportunities of knowing Indians and their Affairs or Manners, yet, with an ill-timed though well meant Intention, concern themselves too much with them, and interfere in the Management committed by his Majesty to the said agent, for the general Good of his Subjects.

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### At a Council held January 19<sup>th</sup> 1759

The Governor acquainted the Council, that the Little Carpenter accompanied by Fourteen of the Cherokees, and Smith, the Interpreter, was come here, and desired a Conference, which he thought it necessary to summon them to attend and assist at; and communicated a Letter from Mr. Christopher Gist, Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, dated Winchester Decemr. 27<sup>th</sup> signifying he could not put off the said Indians from going by Williamsburg, the Little Carpenter being unwilling to return Home, till he had settled all the Differences between his Nation and this Colony....

The Board being inform'd that the Indians were attending, they were immediately admitted into the Council-Chamber, and the Governor and Council having taken them all by the Hand, his Honor by the Interpreter, told them he understood they had given themselves the Trouble of coming to visit him, having Something of Consequence to say, that they were now at Liberty to speak, he and his Council being ready to hear their Talk. The Little Carpenter answer'd, he was sent in here by the Head-Man of Choto, to enquire into the Cause of the Quarrel between some of his People, and the Inhabitants of this Colony, and endeavour to heal all Wounds – was sensible Irregularities had been committed by those of his Nation in their Return Home, and that they had acted in an unjustifiable Manner – believed there had been Faults on both Sides, and hoped their falling out would be buried in Oblivion . . . That he came now to see the Governor to desire that all Animosities might be forgot; that a Path might be kept open and clear...The Governor then directed the Interpreter to tell him, that what he said, should be consider'd and an Answer given him Tomorrow Morning at Twelve o'Clock in the Council-Chamber.

*Maryland Gazette* August 30, 1759

Williamsburg, August 10. ...Last Wednesday came to this City two Deputies from the Cherokee Nation, with a Message to the Governor, and had their first Conference Yesterday: Nothing which passed at the same has yet transpired, only we can assure the Publick they make large Offers of their Friendship.

August 17. The Cherokees, mentioned in our last, came to renew their Assurance of Peace and Friendship, and to desire a Continuation of Trade with them, which has been granted; and they were dismissed well satisfied.

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### At a Council held Janry. 21<sup>st</sup> 1762

The Governour this Day gave an Audience in the Council Chamber to Scalelosky and the Raven accompanied with two more of the Cherokees, who came with a Message from the King of their Nation; Abram Smith and Maclemore attending as Interpreters.

His Honour gave them to understand that the Letter they brought from the Standing Turkey afforded him great pleasure that he considered it as an Evidence of Tranquility being happily reestablish'd between us...Scalelosky answer'd he was a young Man and not us'd to speak in Public – that they were highly pleas'd with the Governour's Talk, and thankful for the kind reception they had met with, that they rejoiced to find the Path now Streight, and heartily wish'd it might be for ever kept so; and gave a string of Wampum.

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## The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake:

...About one o'clock the baggage and all things being ready, Ostenaco took leave of his friends, tho' this ceremony is unusual among them, and we began our march sooner than I expected. Passing thro' Toqua, we saw several Indians weeping for the death of their relations, killed in the late battle. In an hour's time we arrived at Chote, where we found a great number of headmen assembled to give us a talk, containing instructions to my Indian conductors, to remind the English of their promises of friendship, and to press the Governor of Virginia to open a trade; for the Indians to behave well to the inhabitants when they arrive, as that was the only way to keep the chain of friendship bright; that we should keep a good look-out, as the enemy were very numerous on the path . . .

Two pieces of cannon were fired when we had got about 200 yards from the town-house, after which Ostenaco sung the war-song, in which was a prayer for our safety thro' the intended journey... We did not march above three miles before we encamped, in order to give time to some Indians who were to accompany us, but had not yet joined us, which they did in the evening, about fourteen or fifteen in number. Next morning, the 11<sup>th</sup> of March, we rose tolerable early, marching to Little River, about twenty miles from the nation . . .

We marched the next day to Broad River, which we crossed about four o'clock in the afternoon, without much difficulty, by reason of the lowness of the waters; but the river, which is here 700 yards over, runs with great rapidity, and the banks extremely steep on either side . . .

Before sun-set I perceived a considerable number of Indians...I demanded where they were going? to which they replied, To Virginia...I thanked them; but at the same time told them peremptorily to go back ...and that it would be impossible for so large a body to subsist when passed the hunting grounds, as the people on the frontiers of Virginia had been so impoverished by the late war, they would not be able to supply us with provisions. This made no impression on them, and they marched on without saying another word . . .

We left the camp the next day, about 165 in number, and marched without any extraordinary occurrence till the 15<sup>th</sup>, about mid-day...and in less than a minute seventeen or eighteen buffaloes ran in amongst us . . .

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we met an Indian who left the Great Island some time after me...who, after he had eat, drank, and smoaked, told us the party that he belonged to had been attacked two days before . . .

On this intelligence, Ostenaco ordered all his men to fresh prime their guns . . .

We decamped pretty early in the morning, in order, if possible, to reach the Great Island that day . . .

As we marched very slow, on account of receiving intelligence from our scouts...we encamped short of the Great Island about seven or eight miles.

The next morning we were in no great hurry to decamp, as we intended to go no farther than the Great Island that day...Sumpter and I were furnished with horses, and went forward pretty briskly, till we reached Holston's River, the crossing-place of which was within a mile of Fort Robinson...on entering the clear ground about the fort, and perceiving some smoak from one of the chimnies, we rode within an hundred yards of it, and hallowed, but nobody appearing, we went to the gate, and gave another hoop, which, to my great

surprise, instead of the enemy, brought a white man out of one of the houses, whom I immediately recollected to be McLamore the interpreter . . .

We found in the fort eleven or twelve hundred weight of flour, left by the garrison when they evacuated the place, which abundantly recompensed the Indians for all their fatigues.

We remained here all next day to rest ourselves, and mend our mockasons....

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, we rose early in the morning, to make a good day's march, but the horse was not found till near twelve o'clock: I then thought our immediate departure certain, but was again disappointed: the person who had the care of the goods missing a broad-cloth, charged the Indians with the theft, and a general search was made to no purpose....

Some time after, we met Capt. Israel Christian going with a cargo of goods, to trade in the Cherokee country....

We called at Fort Lewis, where we found William Shorey the interpreter, who, by order of Col. Stephen, had waited our coming, to accompany the Indians to Williamsburg. I received here between seventy and eighty pounds that was due to me, which came very opportunely to defray our expenses to Williamsburg; where we arrived in about eleven days after our departure from Fort Lewis.

On my arrival, I waited on the Governor, who seemed somewhat displeased with the number of Indians that had forced themselves upon me. Orders however were issued out for their accommodation, and a few days after a council was called, at which Ostenaco, and some of the principal Indians, attended . . .

A few days before they were to depart for their own country, Mr. Horrocks, invited Ostenaco and myself to sup with him at the College, where, amongst other curiosities, he shewed him the picture of his present Majesty. The chief viewed it a long time with particular attention; then turning to me, "Long," said he, "have I wished to see the king my father; this is his resemblance, but I am determined to see himself..." He asked the Governor next day, who, tho' he at first refused, on Ostenaco's insisting so strongly upon it, gave his consent. He then desired, as I had been with him so long, that I might accompany him to England....

#### **At a Council held April 21<sup>st</sup> 1762**

The Governour acquainted the Council that Judd's Friend, alias Skiagusta, or the great Warriour among the over hill Cherokees was arrived here with about Seventy Men of that Nation attended by Ensign Timberlake, and William Shorie Interpreter, and that he desired their Opinion what reception he should give the said Indians, after they learnt from Colo. Stephen and Mr. Timberlake, whom he had ordered to appear this Morning in the Council Chamber, what motives induced the said Indians to take this Journey: The said Gentlemen were call'd in, and having answer'd several Questions on the subject withdrew.

After which it was the Advice of the Council that his Honour would give an Audience to Skiagusta and a few of his principal Men to morrow in the Council Chamber.

### **At a Council held April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1762**

...Skiagusta with four more of the Chief Warriour's accompanied by the Interpreter were received this Day in the Council Chamber, his Honour and the Council took them by the Hand, Chairs were placed for them, and after they were seated the Governour told them he had given them his had under a persuasion they were again become true Friends to the English, by acceding to the Treaty of Peace concluded at Charles Town, and were determined to adhere to it – That the Belts and strings of Wampum which hung up in the Council Chamber were certain Proofs of his Intention to preserve the Peace inviolable...he desired to know what induced them to undertake so fatiguing a Journey and what they expected from this Government. Skiagusta intreated to be indulged till tomorrow to deliver his Talk; the Governour answered he would receive the same tomorrow at two o'Clock in the Council-Chamber. The Indians then withdrew.

### **At a Council held April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1762**

The Governour gave the audience desired to Skiagusta attended by the same Indians as Yesterday, and the Interpreter, his Honour signified he was ready to hear what they had to say. Skiagusta fill'd a Pipe with Tobacco which he lighted and presented to the Governour and Council, who all smoked, he afterwards smoked himself, laid down the Pipe on the Table, and then express'd himself to the following Effect – He said he came here to talk in behalf of the whole Nation, that he should speak from a straight Heart nothing but Truth; and what might be depended on – that Connagatucheo or the Standing Turkey, their King and Governour had sent that Pipe of Peace as an indisputable token of their having sincerely join'd in the Treaty...with a Belt of Wampum signifying their Joy upon the reestablishment of Friendship between us...that all Quarrels are now ceased so as never to revive, and the Hatchet buried, never to be raised again – that it had been dark a great while but was now light... he hoped now all obstacles are removed they should enjoy a Trade from hence; that they shall be satisfied if Traders go as far as fort Chiswell – They are now fully persuaded that only their elder Brothers the English could supply them with necessaries – In confirmation of the Truth of every part of his Talk he gave several Strings and Belts of Wampum. The Governour replied he was well pleased to find their Eyes at length opened... he promised to give all due encouragement to the People here who should incline to Trade with them – he intimated to them that the consideration of the distance they lived from hence, and the hardships they must labour under in Travelling here, induced him to hope he should have no more visits from their Nation unless by his particular invitation ....

The Indians then withdrew. The Governour signified to the Council that he presum'd the Indians would expect some small presents, and desir'd their Opinion upon it; the Council were of Opinion, that twelve Pounds laid out in Presents to the Standing Turkey, and the same sum to Skiagusta and about a Hundred Pounds among the Men who came with him, would be sufficient.

### **At a Council held April the 27<sup>th</sup> 1762**

The Governour acquainted the Council he had been informed that Skiagusta intended to apply to him for a permission to go to England, and desired their Opinion upon it whereupon the Council advised his Honour not to make any mention of it first himself, and that if such a request was made, he would represent the Dangers of the Sea, of falling

into the Hands of the Enemy and of the small Pox...but if Skiagusta afterwards persisted in it they shall have no objection thereto provided he would be contented with one or two of his Nation and the Interpreter to go with him.

The Board being inform'd that Skiagusta was attending with his Company he with seven more Indians were admitted after they were seated, The Governour produced his Letter to the Standing Turkey under the Great seal of the Colony, which was read, and interpreted, and then delivered to Skiagusta. His Honour...ask'd him if he had any thing more to say... After some pause he added, there was one thing which he had greatly at Heart, and hoped what he was going to ask would be granted him, which was that he might be permitted to Visit the Great King his Father on the other side of the Water.

The Governour agreeably to the advice of the Council intimated to him, the fatal consequences which such a Voyage at this time might be productive of...his Honour desir'd he would consider seriously upon so important a subject and then come and talk to him at his own House to morrow, told him he regarded him now as a Friend, and therefore could not hastily consent to his rashly subjecting himself to any imminent danger. Skiagusta and all the Indians then rose, took the Governor and Council by the Hand in a most friendly manner, and with perfect satisfaction express'd in their Eyes, left the Council Chamber.

#### **At a Council held April the 29<sup>th</sup> 1762**

The Governour acquainted the Council that Skiagusta had been with him and firmly persevered in his fond desire of going to England, after having very maturely considered every particular which had been represented to him and that he propos'd to take with him only two of his Men with the Interpreter and the same was approv'd of by the Council.

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#### **At a Council held April 16<sup>th</sup> 1763**

The Governour this Day gave an audience to Captain Dick alias the Raven, a Cherokee accompanied by four more of that Nation, and Abraham Smith Interpreter, who being told that his Honour was ready to hear their talk Captain Dick spoke to the following Purpose that he was sent here by Skiagusta to inform the Governor of his safe return home; and to embrace his Arm now as a certain Proof of their unalterable resolution to adhere with Constancy and fidelity to the English, whereas they had only before taken him by the Hand to indicate their friendly disposition...

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Brafferton School Students 1763 and 1764. 3. [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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#### **At a Council held July 16<sup>th</sup> 1765**

...His Honor acquainted the Council that the Carpenter arriv'd here the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, with one Indian only, and Watts; that eleven Cherokees were left behind at Chiswell's mines, to wait his return; that in a private conference he had inform'd him of every particular relative to the murders committed, and the consequent measures taken thereupon; that he had promis'd him a public audience in the Council-Chamber this day, and had sent for Mr. Smith to be present at it: the said Indians, and Interpreters, attending without, being call'd in, the Governor, addressing himself to the Carpenter, told him, he had related that pass'd in

conversation between them to the Council...that he had only to add, that the kind treatment their people had receiv'd in England. . . demonstrated the friendly disposition of the English towards them; and that the steps he had taken, and was determin'd to pursue, to give them all possible satisfaction for what they had suffer'd, ought to convince them how unjust it would be to impute to the Government the outrageous actions of a profligate and abandon'd mob; that he propos'd sending some presents to the relations of the men who had been kill'd, to dry their eyes, and mitigate their grief . . .

The Carpenter spoke, in substance, as follows; that he was sent here by his Nation, to make what was crooked, strait; what was sullied, bright; and all things, easy – that he brought from the Great Warrior, a string with some black beads, which he presented, denoting their concern for the misfortune befallen on them; also a string of white beads, which he deliver'd, signifying their hopes that the governor will do all in his power to wipe the blood clean which had been spilt, and return them a good talk. . . and presented the Governor with a pipe to smoke out of, with any of his people, who might hereafter be sent here . . .

#### **At a Council held July 29<sup>th</sup> 1765**

The Governor communicated to the Board a letter he had receiv'd the day before from Colo. Archibald Cary, giving him information that forty pick'd men, well arm'd, were set out from the hot springs in Augusta County, with an intent to cut off the Little Carpenter, and his Party, on their return into their own Nation, and to destroy the presents they had receiv'd in Williamsburg; and that Colo. Chiswell, with the Carpenter, were to halt at New London till his Honor should be pleas'd to send them orders how to proceed. Upon maturely considering this letter, the Council were of opinion that the sending out Militia to escort them, if they should do their duty, might be attended with very fatal consequences, as it would set one part of the Colony against the other, and sow the seeds of a Civil War; therefore it was their advice to his Honor that he should send after the Little Carpenter, to advise him to go home by the way of North Carolina, and the lower Cherokee towns . . .

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Brafferton School Students 1767. 2 [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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Brafferton School Students 1768. 3 [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

“Dayly Account of Expenses” at the Governor’s Palace

12/24/1768

To an Indian belonging to the Colledge.

0.5. 9.

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#### **At a Council held January 13<sup>d</sup>, 1769**

...His Excellency was pleas'd to acquaint the Board, that he had been lately visited by some Catawba Indians, their Company consisting of nine men, and two Women, that, they appearing in a miserable and ragged condition, he had given orders for their being

furnished, with a few necessary cloaths, and granted them a Pass, that they might return to their nation unmolested, and free from ferriages, and that they had taken their leave of him, apparently well pleased with the reception they met with; of which the Council express'd their approbation.

*Virginia Gazette* (Rind), January 5, 1769.

This day Capt. Red Head, with a small party of the Catawba nation, came to town, on a friendly visit to his Excellency the Governor.

"Dayly Account of Expenses" at the Governor's Palace

02/16/1769

To 2 Pamunkey Indians. 1.0. 0.

"Dayly Account of Expenses" at the Governor's Palace

03/03/1769

To the Indians for Earthen pans. 0.0. 6.

*Virginia Gazette* (Rind), October 26, 1769.

[Williamsburg], October 26. On Saturday last came to town 31 Indians of the Cherokee and Catawba nation complaining of some encroachments made on their lands by the white people...

"Dayly Account of Expenses" at the Governor's Palace

11/09/1769

To the Pamunkey Indians for Wild Fowl. 1.1. 6.

Brafferton School Students 1769. Robert Mush, George Sampson [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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### **At a Council held at the Palace, August 17<sup>th</sup> 1770**

His Excellency laid before the Board a Letter from the Indian Chief Oconostota, dated the 14<sup>th</sup> of June last; which being read, appeared to be in Substance, as follows. – That the Young Warrior of Estato waited on his Excellen[cy] with that his Talk, which had been agreed to, in Council with the rest of the Warri[ors] of his Nation That they thought themselves hardly dealt by, & much cramped in the Trade, which at present is only with Carolina; their Path to which Country the Creek[s] had threatened to stop up, which would deprive them of all Benefit of Trade, unless they could establish one with Virginia . . .



That altho Mr. Stuart, & the People of Carolina opposed it, they were very willing, & always had been, to sell Part of their Land on Holston's River, but that they suspected their Talks had not been fairly delivered.

That they were desirous of meeting the Virginia People at Samuel Stalnaker's on Holston's River, to hold their Talk at relati [ve] to the said Sale, rather than in Carolina; as they might there be better supplied with Provisions, & should be on the Spot where the Business was to be done. That besid[es] it seemed strange that they should go to Carolina, to do Business with the white Peopl[e] of Virginia; and that for these Reasons, they were resolved to hear of no other Place.

And that in Token that what he had writ came from his Heart, he had caused a String of Beads to be inclosed . . .

Then, the Indian Chief, Salloue, or the Young Warrior of Estatoe was introduced, & delivered his Talk . . .

The Great Warrior wonders why the intended Line is delayed so long to be run; since the Cherokees are very willing to let the Virginians have their Land; & they desire to know, when they will attend to have that Business done...He then delivered a String of white Wampum.

In Answer to which, his Excellency, with the Advice of the Board, delivered the following Talk.

Brother, You are heartily welcome here; I am very glad to see you, & to learn by you from the Great Warrior, that the Friendship & good Disposition of our Brothers, the Cherokees, continue so favourable . . .

In Answer to your Inquiry, for what Reason the Line has been so long delayed to be run, I must tell you candidly, the Delay arose from us; for as the Boundary agreed to at Hard Labour in October 1768, was so limited as to exclude a great Number of our People, who had been long settled in those Parts, I therefore made Application to his Majesty, at the Request of his Subjects of this Colony, to have that Matter reconsidered; in Consequence of which Reconsideration Mr. Stuart has been directed to treat with your Nation, and informs me that he has given Orders to his Agen[t] Mr. Cameron, to hold a Congress with the Chiefs of your Nation at Lochaber the 5<sup>th</sup> Day of next October . . .

I thankfully accept this String of Wampum, you have been pleased to present...I value it much, & shall take Care to preserve it as a most sacred Pledge.

And, as a Token that what I now say to you is the Sentiment of my Heart, I deliver you this String of white Wampum.

Brafferton School Students 1770. 5. [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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Brafferton School Students 1771. John Nettles plus 4 others. [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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Brafferton School Students 1773 and 1774. 5. [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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*Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon). December 22, 1774

[Williamsburg] December 22. Last Saturday arrived in town, Colonel Macdonald of Frederick County with the four Shawanese Hostages and an interpreter. Three of these are Warriors, viz. Imcatewhaywa, or the Black Wolf; Wiffeespoway, or Capt. Morgan; Genusa, or the Judge; and the other is a young Man, called Neawah, who is the Snake's son, a principal Warrior with that Nation.

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"Dayly Account of Expenses" at the Governor's Palace

09/21/1775

To the Pumunkey Indian as Pr. Order. 1.0. 0.

*Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*

Williamsburg. Friday, November 17. [1775] ...Dr. Thomas Walker, one of the Gentlemen appointed by the Convention, to treat with the Indians, is returned to this city...Mr. Walker has brought with him a young Indian (son of the famous Bawbee) to be educated at the college.

Bafferton School Students 1775. Mons Baubee, George Sampson, Reuben Sampson, plus 3 others. [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

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Bafferton School Students 1776. James Gunn, Edmund Sampson, plus 3 others. [William and Mary Bursar Accounts]

*Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter) July 20, 1776

[Williamsburg] We hear the Delaware Indians have killed and scalped one man on our frontiers. The Shawanese have sent in four hostages, agreeable to a treaty settled with them some time ago.

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*Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter) May 30, 1777

Williamsburg, May 30. Upwards of forty gentlemen and ladies of the Cherokee nation are now here on negotiation of peace, which it is hoped will be lasting, and to request a boundary line may be drawn to prevent encroachments on their lands. They have had an audience, and it is expected a compact will be settled with them in a few days. Among them are Oconostoto, the Little Carpenter, the Pigeon, and other headmen and warriors. After the talk was concluded, they favoured the public with a dance on the green in front of the palace, where a considerable number of spectators, both male and female, were agreeably entertained.

Hazard, Ebenezer Journal of Journey to the South

[May] 31<sup>st</sup> 1777. Breakfasted at Williamsburgh... There are 40 Cherokee Indians in Town, among which are Attakullakulla, Oucanestota [Anconestota?], or the Little Carpenter, & the Pidgeon. Went to see them, shook Hands & smoaked Part of a Pipe with them. They are painted, & ornamented with Feathers, & their Ears are cut. It is said their Business here is to clear the Path between their Country & this, which they say has been obstructed by Weeds growing in it. – saw Col. Christian who subdued the Cherokees last Summer; he appears to be about 40 Years of Age. I cannot learn that the Hostages he was to receive from the Cherokees were ever delivered, but am informed that he withdrew his Army upon their promising Hostages, & when the Army was gone they refused or neglected to send them. Lodged at Anderson's. A good House.

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**THE BRAFFERTON EXPERIEMENT: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A CATAWBA INDIAN NAMED JOHN NETTLES ILLUSTRATE THE FAILURES AND SUCCESSES OF WILLIAM AND MARY'S GRAND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT WITH AMERICA'S NATIVE SONS.**

A little more than two centuries ago a young man named John Nettles arrived in Williamsburg to begin his studies at the College of William and Mary. He had come a long ways – home was in the Carolina piedmont near Charlotte – and several of his relatives accompanied him to ensure his safe arrival. While John moved into his room in the Brafferton Building, his relations spent a day or two seeing the sights of the colonial capital. At last classes were about to begin and the family said its good-byes, leaving John to face the fears and frustrations, the excitement and exhilaration, of being on his own for the first time.

In its general outlines the story is familiar to any student who has ever attended William and Mary. But John Nettles was not just any student; he was a Catawba Indian. He was not entering college to prepare for a life as a minister, planter, merchant, doctor, or lawyer; he was there as part of a program designed to enroll a few native Americans, convert them to Christianity, teach them the ways of the white man, and then send them back to, as one observer put it, “improve their tribe.” Though the Brafferton (erected in 1723 as the Indian School) still stands as a visible reminder, though every year thousands cheer for the “Tribe” and eat in the “Wigwam.” William and Mary's American Indian alumni are all but forgotten. Tracing the career of this one Indian graduate cannot recapture the days when anywhere from a handful to a score of native boys lived and studied on campus. But John Nettles does offer a rare glimpse of the College's grand educational experiment and permits us to measure that experiment's results.

When he stepped across the threshold of the Brafferton that day in the late 1760s, John became one more in a long line of Indian scholars stretching back to the founding of the College. The charter granted by King William and Queen Mary in 1693 stipulated that the school spread “the Christian faith... amongst the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God.” To accomplish this end, college authorities hatched the plan to bring native boys to Williamsburg, funding the enterprise with money put aside for “pious and charitable

uses” by the eminent English naturalist and philosopher, Robert Boyle. The stage was set for a great intercultural contest to be played in Williamsburg, a contest pitting “civilization” and Christianity against what colonists considered savage culture and pagan religion.

By all accounts the Indians won hands down. The native American students “have for the most part returned to their home, . . . where they follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites,” one William and Mary professor admitted in 1724. William Byrd II agreed. “[A]fter they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately relapsed into infidelity and barbarism themselves.” If anything, Byrd concluded sadly, the youths left the school even worse off than they came. “[A]s they unhappily forget all the good they learn and remember the ill, they are apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their countrymen.” Thomas Jefferson, who witnessed firsthand the progress of the Indian boys during his years as a student, tactfully suggested that some other method of conversion be tried. Year after year, the power of native ways proved stronger than the doses of European culture dispensed at the Brafferton.

There seemed little reason to expect that John Nettles would be any different. His people had long ignored suggestions that they give up their traditional habits. In 1699 two traders dispatched to the Catawba Nation as college recruiters came back emptyhanded. Two decades later an indignant Virginian reported that Catawba chiefs being urged to “relinquish their barbarity . . . asked leave to be excused from becoming as we are; for they thought it hard, that we should desire them to change their manners and customs, since they did not desire us to turn Indians.” But the College kept trying, and eventually the Catawbas relented. In September 1768 a clergyman visiting them remarked happily that “they . . . are desirous to have their children trained up in English schools.” It was around this time that John Nettles left the Nation for Williamsburg.

Adjustment to college life is never easy, but John must have suffered more than most, for he entered not only a new school but a new world. Trappings of European culture were not wholly absent from the native village he had left behind: a few Catawbas went by English names, many more wore cloth shirts and carried muskets, and virtually all had developed a debilitating fondness for alcohol, that bane of Indian existence. Nonetheless, Nettles grew up among a people firmly attached to aboriginal ways. Catawbas speaking their ancient tongue and worshipping their own deities still lived in houses built of saplings and tree bark, cultivated adjacent cornfields, hunted in the nearby woods, and fought their Shawnee and Iroquois enemies. The contrast with Virginia’s political and intellectual center could hardly have been greater.

Whatever difficulties Nettles encountered in the process of learning about beds and books, the Christian God and the colonial governor, he, like most students at the College before and since, managed somehow to survive the shock. He even lived up to his advance billing as “the most promising boy in the Nation,” completing his course of study in “reading, writing, and vulgar arithmetic” with high honors. At last, it seemed, the tutors had gotten through to one of their Indian proteges.

Their delight with this most recent graduate was short-lived. While waiting for a ride home in 1771 or 1772, Nettles slipped off to a local tavern, sampled its ware a bit too freely, and was found, hours later, lying in the street. Such behaviour was not exactly unheard of among students then (or now, for that matter). During the 1770s young men were hauled before the college authorities for a variety of offenses, including not only drinking but

smashing windows and defacing school property, not only frequenting taverns but beating up college servants and breaking down a faculty member's bedroom door. One particularly unruly gang faced charges of "contemptuous conduct...towards the President & Professors themselves." John's night on the town seems less serious when set alongside other youthful excesses of the day.

His superiors did not see matters that way, and again we must keep in mind that John Nettles was not just any student. He carried the future of his people on his young shoulders, and passing out in the gutter seemed, to say the least, to place that future in jeopardy. The professors and trustees, deeply shaken, had him taken to a house and sobered up (a process that took a day or more). Then they called him to account, "explaining in the most feeling terms," according to one who heard the story, "the object of educating him."

Nettles was contrite but realistic. "He listened to them, with apparent mortification, and a readiness to acknowledge his fault," so the story continues. "But when they were done speaking, he called their attention to the window, and pointed to a hog walking in the street [a common sight in those days], and said "Take that hog and wash him clean, and as the weather is warm it might be very agreeable; but let him go, and he will lie down and wallow in the first mud-hole he comes to, for he is still a hog," thus intimating that an Indian will be an Indian still." Young John seemed destined to follow the footsteps of his predecessors. What could his listeners say? They sent him home and hoped for the best.

At first glance John seems to have slipped easily back into the Catawba routine. He married an Indian woman, served the patriot cause during the American Revolution as a warrior in the Catawba Indian Company, and eventually became one of the Nation's headmen. Those who later met "the educated Indian" confirmed his teachers' worst fears. "Dissipated," remarked one tersely. "From the time I became acquainted with him," a white neighbor recalled, "he appeared to have lost his education almost entirely." A perfect Indian in his appearance and habits," concluded a visitor in 1786.

Appearances were misleading, however; a closer look reveals that Nettles did not sink without a trace into the pool of Indian culture. Repeatedly identified as the "one who had been educated at William and Mary College," he never forgot how to read, write, and speak English. He also owned a Bible, testimony not only to literacy but perhaps also to a continuing devotion to the Christian faith. Some of the tastes Nettles acquired in school remained with him to the end of his days. Catawba men still wore leggings and breechclothes; John preferred pants. He even loved the dances he had learned at Williamsburg social functions. One planter remembered him as "the finest dancer [I] ever saw perform" – high praise indeed from a society that took great pride in its prowess on the dance floor.

Thus John Nettles was a most unusual Indian. But his very uniqueness reveals that, however much his years at William and Mary shaped his own beliefs and behavior; he – and his sponsors – had failed in the larger purpose of converting Catawbas to white ways. He alone wore pants. He alone owned, read, and believed in the Bible. His signature on a page stuck out like a sore thumb amidst the crude marks made by the rest of the men. Long after Nettles passed away, Catawbas remained deaf to the message he had brought from Williamsburg. "[G]reat efforts have been made...to civilize, Christianize and educate them," wrote their dejected agent in 1843, but it was all done to no effect...[T]hey remain almost as Savage now as they were 50 years ago." Another observer was so disgusted and baffled he could scarcely contain himself. "These wretched Indians," he exclaimed, "though they live

in the midst of an industrious people, and in an improved state of society, will be Indians still" - an ironic echo of Nettle's own words to college trustees decades before, and proof of the Catawbas' enduring attachment to the ways of their ancestors.

These frustrated reformers were too quick to dismiss John Nettles as a failure and condemn the Catawaba nation because it did not abandon its ancient habits. Whatever white society thought of the experiment, Catawbas considered it a great success. Their goals were fundamentally different from those inscribed in the College Charter. Odd as it may seem, they did not accept William and Mary's offer in order to become like the white people; rather, they sent John Nettles to college in order to remain Indians. During the 1750 and 1760s colonial farmers had flooded the Carolina interior and threatened to exterminate or uproot the natives. Catawbas wanted desperately to keep these unpleasant neighbors at arm's length, but how? The Nation could no longer threaten or fight colonists; there were too many of them. The only hope of surviving as an island in a sea of suspicious strangers was to play the white man's game, and the only way to do that was to learn the white man's rules.

John Nettles came back from William and Mary with the rulebook in his head. He knew whom to approach about a problem, what to say, how to behave. He could write letters to important officials on behalf of the Nation to complain about a settler encroaching on tribal land, and he could read the reply. Most important of all, Nettles was a Catawba by birth and upbringing, someone the Indians could trust as they could not trust any white person. Catawbas now asked the governor of South Carolina to give them a written copy of his speeches to them so that "the interpreter (John Nettles) Might Read it to them and Explain it when the[y] were by them Selves."

Catawbas thought that John had learned a lot of useless things while he was away, and they apparently made fun of his strange religion, his odd taste in clothes, his bizarre dance steps. But they also respected his skills and used him as a tool to help preserve the Nation. In January 1773, within a year of his return from school, Catawba leaders put him to work as an interpreter and messenger at an important meeting with South Carolina authorities in Charleston, a role John would continue to fulfill until his death forty years later. At the same time, he served informally as the Indians' link to the white world, a combination of good will ambassador and public relations director. Had an important white visitor arrived unannounced? Have John Nettles show him around the village for a day. Was an amateur linguist and historian interested in the Nation? Send John Nettles to supply him with a Catawba vocabulary and a story or two about famous chiefs. Did the local militia want a Catawba veteran to participate in its muster? Tell John Nettles to put on his old uniform, mount his horse, and strike a noble pose as he reviewed the troops. By teaching one Catawba so well, William and Mary made it easier, not harder, for the rest to cling to their traditional way of life. They did not have to learn to read, to decipher the strange ways of the intruders; John Nettles would do all that for them.

Nowhere was John's importance to his people more evident than in a petition the Nation sent to the South Carolina capital in December 1801, a document Nettles himself signed. "We... [are] desirous to have two or three of our young boys taught to read & right [sic]," the headmen said, "that the[y] might be of assistance to our Nation." The Catawbas' stubborn attachment to their own culture remained. They wanted no religious conversions, no fancy costumes, no silly dances, just basic skills that would help them make sense of and cope with white society. Moreover, they wanted only two or three boys exposed to a tutor's

lessons, enough to ensure that Nettles (now close to fifty) would have a successor, but not enough to weaken the grip of traditional Catawba teachers.

Nettles did not send the petition to his alma mater because that door was now closed. In 1793 Robert Boyle's fund had been diverted to the West Indies, where it would be used to instruct Afro-American slaves; the Indian School was a victim of the Revolution's hard feelings and a century of disappointments. But even as it sent the last native American student home and put the Brafferton to other uses, William and Mary might have taken some small comfort in its achievement. It had not managed to turn the Indians into devout Christians or model citizens. Its "educated Indian" did, however, help Catawbas survive, helped them adapt gradually to the white world while maintaining connections with their aboriginal roots, so that even today Catawbas are distinctively "Indians still." Not exactly what the founders intended, but nothing to be ashamed of, either.

Source: James H. Merrell. "The Brafferton Experiment." *William and Mary The Alumni Gazette Magazine*, (Summer 1984) 7-9.

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## **SHORT HISTORIES OF THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY, THE OHIO COUNTRY INDIANS; DELAWARE, MIAMI, SHAWNEE AND OTHERS, AND SOUTHERN INDIANS; CATAWBA AND CHEROKEE.**

### **Catawba**

On November 29, 1993, the Catawba Indian Nation formally reached a settlement with the state of South Carolina and the government of the United States in a land dispute that had begun more than 150 years earlier. Chief Gilbert Blue, in a public ceremony at the tribe's new cultural center, signed a document on behalf of the tribe's fourteen hundred members in which the Catawbas agreed to give up their claim to lands taken from them by South Carolina in the Treaty of Nation Ford on March 13, 1840. In return, the Catawbas received federal recognition as an Indian tribe, along with \$50 million for land purchases, economic development, social services, and education.

This agreement signaled a new chapter in Catawba history. And yet, as important as it was, the agreement is only one in a long series of turning points for the Catawbas. The first came perhaps one thousand years ago, when Siouan-speaking people headed east across the Appalachian Mountains. By the time Spanish explorers visited the southeastern interior in the mid-sixteenth century, the descendants of these first settlers, divided into many tribes, had spread across the southern piedmont. Among the most prominent of these piedmont peoples were the Catawbas, living beside the river that today bears their name.

With the arrival of strangers from Europe and Africa the Catawbas, like all Native Americans, face a world every bit as new as the "new world" confronted by the transatlantic travelers. The contours of the Catawbas' new world were shaped first and most profoundly by imported diseases. In 1698, 1718, 1738, and 1759 epidemics tore through Catawba villages, reducing the nation's population from perhaps five thousand in 1690 to less than five hundred in 1760. In order to survive, during the early eighteenth century Catawbas incorporated neighboring Indian groups—Waterees, Cheraws, Pedees, Saponis, and others—in similar straits. So successful was this strategy that a visitor in 1743 heard more than twenty different languages spoken in the nation's six towns.

While rebuilding their society, Catawbas also learned the wisdom of befriending

Anglo-America. We "cannot live without the assistance of the English," one leader admitted to colonists in 1715. By then, a generation of trade with Anglo-America had left Catawbas dependent on these outsiders for weapons and other necessities. Unable to live without the English, Catawbas learned to live with them, even serving as allies against the French in the Seven Years' War.

Such accommodation was not surrender, however. Though colonists boasted that Catawbas were "directed entirely by the Government of South Carolina," in fact these Indians made the most of their precarious position in the new American world. Led by chiefs such as Hagler (1750-63), the nation developed a strategy of playing rival interests off against each other that had several provinces courting its favor. "Those Indians," noted one colonial observer in 1757, "seem to understand well how to make their Advantage of" such attention. Through such negotiations Catawbas acquired an abundant supply of European goods and, during a drought in the late 1750s, hundreds of bushels of corn.

The late 1750s, however, brought another terrible test to the nation, and again the Catawbas relied on Anglo-America to meet that test. In the fall of 1759 a smallpox epidemic killed two of every three Catawbas. At the same time, colonial settlers moving into Catawba territory frequently clashed with the Indians. In response, surviving Catawbas went through provincial authorities to acquire from King George III in 1763 a 144,000-acre reservation along the Catawba River. Secure in this legal protection, the Catawbas learned to get along with their new neighbors. Catawba women sold them traditional pottery; Catawba men caught runaway slaves and sold deerskins; Catawba leaders rented out reservation land. The nation's support of the rebels in the American Revolution secured its reputation as a steadfast friend of the piedmont's new rulers.

Their reputation as potters and patriots did not make Catawbas immune to the powerful forces pressing after 1800 for Indian exile. Though the nation escaped the spate of removals during the 1830s, removal came at last when in 1840 Catawba leaders sold the entire reservation to South Carolina, receiving in return promises of cash and a new reservation elsewhere in the Carolinas. These were the terms of the Treaty of Nation Ford, which, unfulfilled by the state and never ratified by the U.S. Senate as federal law requires, nonetheless drove the Catawbas from their homeland.

In exile for several years, by 1850 Catawbas had begun to drift back to their ancestral territories, taking up residence on 640 acres that South Carolina agreed to buy for them with some of their treaty money. Ever since, this state reservation has been at the core of Catawba identity.

A second pillar of modern Catawba identity has been the Mormon Church. Missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints first arrived on the reservation in 1883. They enjoyed immediate success, in part because Indians had a central role in Mormon theology. An added attraction was that neighboring whites hated Mormonism; thus converts to the new faith had a way to channel resistance to their conquerors. Mormonism revitalized Catawba life. Teachers, preachers, and a new social code became important forces in the nation, just as the Mormon church was the largest building on the reservation.

In the twentieth century outsiders have often predicted the Catawbas' imminent demise as Indians. Catawba children have grown up knowing only English, and the last speaker of Catawba, Samuel Blue, died in 1959; intermarriage with whites has become increasingly common, and the last alleged Catawba "full blood," Hester Louisa Blue, died in 1963; finally, in 1962 the federal government terminated the Catawba tribe, giving official sanction to what appeared, in other ways to be the end of a long road.



In fact, neither Mormonism nor English, neither termination nor intermarriage, has spelled the Catawbas' doom. The reservation has remained a tangible symbol of the Catawbas' special status. Enduring, too, has been the pottery tradition, passed from one generation of women to the next. Finally, Catawbas have never wavered in the pursuit of their land rights, a long campaign that culminated in the ceremony at the Catawba Cultural Center in November 1993.

That campaign and that agreement are part of a larger revitalization of Catawba life that includes an annual festival, pottery classes, and a language program based on tapes made by the tribe's elders two generations ago. Contemporary Catawbas, listening to those voices from the past speak once again, are akin to their more distant ancestors crossing the Appalachian range a millennium ago. Like those pioneers, Catawbas today are poised on the frontier of a new world filled with challenge and promise.

## Delaware

The Delawares - known to themselves as Lenape or Lenni Lenape (People Who Are the Standard)-spoke a language belonging to the eastern branch of the Algonquian or Almic stock. Until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries their homeland was the drainage of the Delaware River and all of its tributaries, along with the lower portion of the Hudson River. At least three dialects of Delaware were spoken: northern or Munsee, southern or Unami, and a coastal one later called Unalachtigo (Those Who Left the Waves Behind). The geographical break between speakers of Munsee and Unami came at the Lehigh River below the Delaware River Water Gap. These dialects became the basis for later tribal identifications when European pressures forced the Delawares to consolidate into political entities.

Aboriginally, the Delawares were divided into numerous groups identified with their own village, hunting territories, and river tributary. Their tribal identity was based in the traditional religion, particularly its rituals. According to traditional belief, Lenapehaking (Delaware land) was thought into being by a male Creator, who caused a giant turtle to rise from the primordial sea before a great cedar grew at the center of its shell to produce the first man and women, who were the parents of all other life.

The major Delaware ritual, the Gamwing (Big House Rite), defined the larger communities within Delaware society. The principal towns had special gabled long-houses where this ceremony was held every autumn to give thanks for the harvest of corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, and other crops and to pray for successful hunting. In all, the rite expressed the mutual dependence of men and women on each other, as expressed through a necessary joint reliance on crops and meat, summer and winter, and day and night. During the two weeks of the rite, the world was renewed and all within the region confirmed their personal ties with local spirits as each, in turn, sang his or her own song of power during night gatherings.

Generally, Delaware men were hunters, making their weapons and tools of stone and wood, and women were farmers, producing pots, baskets, and leather clothing. Women worked together, but men hunted alone except when everyone helped during fall fire surrounds to capture and kill deer herds.

Like their immediate neighbors-the Mahicans, Mohawks, and Oneidas -- the Delawares had three clans. The Delaware clans were called Wolf or Round Foot, Turkey, and Turtle or Concave Foot. Since the Delawares traced kinship and clan membership through the mother, periodic ceremonies, owned by clan leaders, were held in the farming town belonging to that clan. These important rites, which involved masked men

representing the spirits of Mother Corn or game animals, brought family members together and attracted huge gatherings. Smaller rites in honor of sacred dolls, bears, and otters were sponsored by the women of particular households, for the local community.

This mixed economy of hunting and farming required seasonal movements from the large summer farming towns filled with bark-shingled longhouses and the summer resorts along the Atlantic shore to upland camps for fall hunting. Each of these areas was managed by the inhabitants and users. For example, hunting lands were burned over in the fall to increase visibility and to encourage fresh growth in the spring. The shells of clams and oysters were piled in middens along the shore to create well-drained platforms for campers. In addition, a far-flung trade network brought exotic goods like shell, mica, and copper to religious centers at the Falls (modern Trenton) and Minisink Island (upriver). The center at the Falls maintained trading ties with the Illinois Hopewells and, perhaps, with later Mississippian mound builders. These distant links were used as the basis for claiming settlements in Ohio and Indiana when Delaware refugees began moving westward.

Contacts with Europeans (Basques, English, Spaniards) began before 1524, when Giovanni da Verrazano was greeted in New York Harbor without awe. Despite their self-confidence, however, the Delawares soon learned what damage European epidemics could wreak upon them. By the seventeenth century many Delawares were angry and discouraged; some of them attacked Henry Hudson's ships when he appeared in 1609. In 1624, daily contacts with Europeans began when Dutch Walloons (French-speaking Protestants) settled on Burlington Island in the lower Delaware River. As trading for corn, other crops, and wampum beads developed, a special trade vocabulary or jargon, based on uninflected Unami words, arose and soon spread throughout the Northeast when the Walloons were resettled at New Amsterdam (modern New York) in 1626. The Swedish colony in modern Delaware State also used this jargon. The trade in beaver pelts soon dominated the lives of Delaware men, whose families were eager for guns, metal pots, machined cloth, axes, needles, and china.

European rivalries and conflicts (which had allowed the Delawares to play all sides off against each other) eventually allowed the English to take over the Dutch colonies in 1655. Aided by their Iroquois allies, the English forced land-cession treaties on various Delaware enclaves. From their homeland, most Delawares moved into Pennsylvania, where the last group to live on their namesake river was defrauded of their land by the Penn family during the infamous Walking Purchase of 1737.

Pressed by white settlers, the Delawares moved to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum River in Ohio. There the American Revolution overtook them. The Delawares divided into neutrals in Ohio, pro-Americans at Pittsburgh, and pro-English Loyalists in northwestern Ohio. (During this time the Delawares occupied the symbolic position of "women" or peace-keeping matrons in an intertribal league fostered by the Dutch and British in which the Iroquois were the "men." In addition, the other Algonquian tribes addressed the Delawares as "grandfather" at formal gatherings. While these kinship uses were consistent with native practices, they baffled many colonial white officials.)

During the 1790s, most of the pro-British Munsees went to Canada, where they remain. The Unamis continued west, settling in Indiana (1800-1820), Missouri (1821-29), and Kansas (1830-67) before finally accepting a reservation in Oklahoma (1867 to present). Along the way, a bewildering number of splinter groups were left at each location or set off on their own. Prominent among these were some Unamis who left Indiana and settled along the Mississippi in 1789, allied themselves with the Caddos in Texas, and fled with them to central Oklahoma in 1869.

Even while moving, again and again, to avoid colonial malice, numbers of Delawares were the victims of repeated atrocities, including the massacres at Pavonia (1643), Paxtung (1763), Gnadenhutten (1782), and Moraviantown (1813).

After experiencing depopulation, dislocation, and distress in their homeland, the Delawares regrouped in Ohio under the able leadership of Netawatawas (or Newcomber). Later, in Indiana, a woman prophet reframed their rituals to reconstitute the kind of ceremonially based congregation that had aboriginally defined membership in the greater Delaware community. She gave women a more prominent role at the start and finish of the Gamwing and encouraged young men to take leadership positions. As a consequence of this regrouping, several Delawares were executed for sorcery, as well as for their pro-American and Christian stances.

Although the Delawares were exposed to Lutheran missionaries during the days of the Dutch and Swedish colonies, few listened and fewer converted. An active mission began when Moravians, a sect of pietistic Protestants from central Europe, founded Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1740 and converted Delaware refugees in the area. In Ohio separate Delaware and Mahican mission towns shared the Tuscarawas with followers of the Gamwing and other rites. Over ninety members of Gnadenhutten, a Christian Delaware town, were massacred by American soldiers in 1782, and the survivors left the United States for Canada, settling Moraviantown on the Thames River. That village was in turn attacked by American forces during their invasion of Canada in 1813. Another Moravian mission was attempted in Indiana, but failed in the aftermath of the prophet-led religious fervor.

In 1833, a few of the Canadian Moravian Delawares rejoined the majority in Kansas but, feeling unwelcome, went back to the Thames. In Kansas, Baptists and Methodists began to convert those Delawares who were living as rural farmers so that, by the time these Unami Delawares moved to Oklahoma, the traditionalists or "Big House people" were in the minority, continuing to hold the Gamwing every year until 1924, with a brief attenuated revival during World War II. By then, these traditionalist families were involved in the Native American church or the peyote religion; the latter had a particular appeal because John Wilson (Moonhead), whose father was Delaware, composed the original songs and conducted meetings of the longer Big Moon Way. Over time, however, the Delawares have adopted the forms of the shorter Little Moon Way of Quanah Parker and the Comanches, Caddos, and Kiowas. Little Moon is now the preferred practice of the Oklahoma Delawares.

Today, aside from those Munsees living with the Stockbridge-Munsees of Wisconsin and with a tiny Ojibwa community in Kansas, most Munsees live in Ontario, where Delawares share the Grand River Reserve of the Six Nations under the sponsorship of the Cayugas, who loaned them the use of their longhouse when their own Big House was abandoned. Along the nearby Thames River, there are two communities: Moraviantown, founded in 1792; and Munceytown, settled in the 1830s by Munsees who converted to Methodism. In 1900, over six hundred people identified as Munsees; by 1950, there were about one thousand.

The majority of Unami Delawares are in eastern Oklahoma, where they purchased rights in the Cherokee Nation in 1867 but were not recognized as Cherokee citizens until 1890. By 1900, tribal governance shifted from selected chiefs to an elected business council. The Delawares suffered allotment after 1902, along with the other Oklahoma tribes. This process ended in 1907, and the tribe's remaining land was sold, except for cemeteries held in trust. Poverty became common. The Dust Bowl and the Great Depression drove many Christian Delawares to California, where the tribal language was used for hymns and

sermons until mid-century. In 1900, about one thousand people identified as Delawares, but by 1980 the tribal roll, which recognizes only descent, not blood quantum, included almost ten thousand, many of them recruited by land-claim settlements in 1963, 1969, and 1971 (although the money was not released until a 1977 court order).

The Delawares in western Oklahoma, who moved from Missouri into Texas and lived with the Caddos until forced to Anadarko in 1859, are the only federally recognized Delaware community in the United States, although for much of this century they were submerged under the official designation of Wichitas and Affiliated Bands.

Most Delawares have historically worked as unskilled laborers, but increasing numbers are becoming professionals. Many are nurses and teachers, and a few are doctors, accountants, lawyers, businesspeople, and professors. Those near urban centers like Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and London, Ontario, have been better paid and employed, particularly in the oil and cattle industries. Payment for land claims provided each enrolled member with a modest sum, with 10 percent of the total reserved for various tribal enterprises. A tribal or band business council now governs each community. Oklahoma groups have also generated tribal income from bingo and the sale of tobacco products.

For the Delawares, the highlight of recent decades has been a series of events bringing together leaders and others from their many communities. In March 1983, these leaders dedicated a Munsee exhibit at H—tonah, New York. In June 1987, they gathered again to rebury the bones of an ancestor found during the renovation of Ellis Island. In 1988, 1990, and 1992, city leaders of New Philadelphia, Ohio hosted academy and social gatherings celebrating the Delawares and legally chartering a modern version of the Delaware Nation Grand Council of North America, incorporated in August 1992.

Naming ceremonies continue to be held, but without their ancient religious context. Native kin terms, po--- phrases, and food names remain in use, but the language is moribund, with few fluent speakers. Every summer every Delaware community hosts a tri--- powwow, when Woodland-style outfits are still worn and widely scattered families gather at the current home of their clan or tribe.

### **Huron/Wyandot**

The Iroquoian Peoples whom the seventeenth-century French labeled Hurons (from the Old French *hure*, meaning "boar's head," referring to the male Hurons' bristly coiffure) lived between Lake Simcoe and the southeastern corner of Georgian Bay in today's Canadian province of Ontario. They called themselves Wendat, "Dwellers of the Peninsula" (or perhaps "Islanders"), referring to the fact that their territory was bounded by water on three sides. According to seventeenth-century estimates, they numbered between twenty and forty thousand and lived in eighteen to twenty-five villages clustered in an area that measured thirty-five miles east to west and twenty miles north to south. Immediately to the south were the very closely related Tionontatis (Petuns or Tobacco People, specialist in growing the sacred plant), whose population was estimated at about seven thousand.

Like all Iroquoian peoples, the Hurons were farmers who supplemented their crops with hunting. Archaeologists favor the theory that they began inhabiting their lands soon after the retreat of the glaciers, slowly evolving from hunter-gatherers into farmer-hunters. Their own traditions have them arriving later, from the southeast. In any event, by A.D. 500 they were growing corn (the plant's northward spread from Mexico had been controlled by its capacity to adapt to shorter northern growing seasons). By 1500 the famous "three sisters" of Amerindian agriculture—corn, beans, and squash, grown together—were well established as the principal food crops. Tobacco had been cultivated long before the

introduction of corn and was the responsibility of the men, whereas the food crops were the responsibility of the women.

The Huron villages were clustered close to each other, with their corn fields forming a surrounding belt. These fields were extensive; early in the seventeenth century, it was reported that they covered about seven thousand acres; one early visitor to Huronia, as the region occupied by the Hurons was known, said that "it was easier to get lost in a corn field" than in the surrounding forest. Not only did agriculture provide the Hurons with 80 percent of their diet, but its products were important for trade. Situated as they were at the northern limits for Stone Age agriculture, as well as at a crossroads of the region's trading networks, the Hurons were dominant not only in trade, but also in diplomacy and war. Socially, they were organized into eight matrilineal clans that arose from three phratries; for ceremonial purposes, the phratries were divided into two moieties.

Huron government was three tiered, including village, tribal, and confederacy levels; all operated on the principle of group consensus. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Hurons had formed themselves into a confederacy of four peoples, which according to their own oral history had originated at the beginning of the fifteenth century at the initiative of the Attignawantans, "People of the Bear," and the Attigneenongnahacs, "Barking Dogs." The Arendarhonons, "People of the Rock," joined about 1590, and the fourth group, the Tahontaenrats, "People of the Deer," joined about 1610. A possible fifth, the Ataronchronons, "People of the Marshes," does not appear to have attained full membership. If the Huron chronology is correct, their confederacy may have antedated that of the Five Nations (it will be remembered that Hiawatha, one of the founders of the Great League of Peace of the Iroquois, was said to be a Huron). The year in which the Arendarhonons joined, 1590, suggests that they were refugees from the St. Lawrence Valley, which was probably also the case for the Tahontaenrats. Their language differences were on the whole minor, so that all Hurons could understand each other; theirs was the trade language of the North.

The first meeting with the French was at the initiative of the Arendarhonons, easternmost of the confederates. European goods had been filtering into the interior through Amerindian networks since the mid-sixteenth century; Outchetaguim, an Arendarhonon chief, wishing to get direct access to this new trade, joined with Iroquet, chief of the neighboring Algonquins, to meet Samuel de Champlain (c. 1570-1635) at Quebec in 1609. Out of this encounter developed the historic alliance of the French and Hurons. As the fur trade developed, bringing prosperity to both the Hurons and the French, the Five Nations, or Iroquois, to the south entered into a period of expansion. This growth appears to have been an aggressive reaction to a number of factors, such as the increasing intrusion of Europeans, tribal rivalries exacerbated by the fur trade, and above all social dislocations caused by European-introduced epidemics. The Hurons, isolated as they were from alternative sources of European trade, were affected by these changes particularly severely. For example, the French insistence on the introduction of the Jesuits in 1634 exposed them to a concentrated missionary campaign that weakened social solidarity to the point where Christianized Hurons refused to fight alongside their traditionalist fellow tribesmen. Escalating hostilities with the Iroquois finally resulted in the destruction of Huronia in 1649, and the dispersal of its once-powerful confederacy. The Iroquois capped their victory by attacking the neighboring Petuns during the winter of 1649-50. This was a move to prevent the Hurons from reforming their settlements around those of the Petuns, and perhaps reviving their confederacy. In spite of everything, groups of Petuns and Hurons succeeded in joining forces and retreating to the Windsor/Detroit area and northern Ohio. These

groups became known as Wyandots (a variation of their traditional name for themselves).

However, most of the Huron refugees fled south to join the Iroquois, since many of them already had relatives among the Five Nations, a result of the Iroquois practice of adopting prisoners of war to replenish their own losses from fighting as well as from the epidemics. Another group of several hundred Hurons went east, to establish themselves in Loretteville on the edge of Quebec City, where their descendants have remained.

In their new homes, the Wyandots soon dominated intertribal politics; when they claimed a large part of present-day Ohio and a part of southwestern Ontario, they were recognized by neighboring tribes. Old colonial associations did not entirely disappear, however, and the Wyandots supported the French during the French and Indian War, and at first backed Pontiac during the 1763 uprising in the Ohio Valley. They sided with the British during the American War of Independence, and again lost out with the Treaty of Greenville, signed in 1795, when they were forced into the first of several land cessions to the United States. Eventually, in 1843, the Wyandots of the Midwest were resettled in Wyandotte County, Kansas. Regaining their tribal status in 1867, they were granted a tract of land in northeastern Oklahoma, where their descendants can be found today.

In southwestern Ontario, the Wyandots ceded their lands to the Crown in 1790. At first they retained two reserves, but soon lost those as well. In 1876, the remaining forty-one Wyandot heads of families applied for the right to vote, which was granted in 1880-81. Some of these families are still in the area.

### **Iroquois Confederacy**

The Iroquois Confederacy is a political union of North American Indian nations who acted (and act) in war and peace, in trade alliances and treaties of goodwill, as a single nation. The term Iroquois was derived from the Algonquian word *Irinakhoiw*, which the French spelled with the suffix *-ois*. The word, which translates as "real address," illustrates a common phenomenon in which a derisive term used by a native group's enemy becomes the accepted designation of the group in the European languages. The English knew them as the Five Indian Nations: the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca. In 1722, when the Tuscaroras joined their league, the confederacy became known as the Six Indian Nations or Six Nations Confederacy. The people of the Six Nations designate themselves *Haudenosaunee*, which translates loosely as "people of the longhouse."

The confederacy was long in existence when Europeans arrived and became conscious of it in the early seventeenth century. No one knows the exact date of its founding, but a conservative estimate finds it in existence late in the fifteenth century. Some Iroquois oral tradition projects the founding date at several centuries earlier.

The oral tradition recounting the founding of the league is called the *Gayaneshakgowa*, or Great Law of Peace. This tradition identifies a Huron individual, *Deganawida* (known in Iroquois tradition as the Peacemaker), as a prophet who was inspired with a plan to end human beings' abuses of other human beings. This mission began at a time of great confusion and blood feuding, when assassinations and murder were common and when war parties were often dispatched to distant lands to avenge an act of violence, which then escalated into warfare between clans, villages, and whole nations.

The Peacemaker enlisted the assistance of a former Onondaga chief, *Hiawatha*, to carry his message to the nations. The message they brought was complex, and the tradition that relates it requires over a week in the telling. The Peacemaker proposed that the leaders of the communities organize for the purpose of creating a forum at which "thinking will replace violence." This assembly of leaders became the Grand Council, and eventually there

were fifty sachems, or chiefs, from the various nations: nine Mohawks, nine Oneidas, fourteen Onondagas, ten Cayugas, and eight Senecas. They would assemble at Onondaga, at the geographical center of the country of the Five Nations, and would gather under what the Peacemaker called the Great Tree of Peace. There, reason would prevail.

The Haudenosaunee took their identity from their custom of building permanent towns and, within the towns, longhouses that served as communal dwellings and ceremonial buildings. The largest of these were about sixty feet wide by over a hundred yards long. The Peacemaker compared the Great League to a longhouse with the sky as its roof, the earth as its floor, and the fires of the nations burning within. The various nations had been organized into clans, and the Peacemaker adapted this tradition to the new political order, facilitating the renaming of the clans. There would be nine clans in all, but different nations would have different configurations. The clans are Turtle, Bear, Wolf, Heron, Hawk, Snipe, Beaver, Deer, and Eel. The women of the clans would meet under the leadership of a clan mother and select the men who would assemble as chiefs in the Grand Council. The Peacemaker proposed that the People of the Longhouse would be united in a brotherhood so strong that the people of the Turtle clan of the Senecas would view the people of the Turtle clan of the Mohawks as their own blood kin, and as such it would be unlawful for a person of one of these nations to marry a person of the other who was of the same clan, just as it would be wrong for a person to marry a sibling.

There was initial opposition to the plan of unity from a powerful Onondaga war chief whose name was Tadodaho. He was said to be the embodiment of evil, an individual who had woven snakes into his hair to intimidate all in his presence, and he had no interest in supporting a league dedicated to peace. The Peacemaker and Hayanwatah despaired of ever converting him until they voiced their concerns to Jikohnsaseh, a woman chief of the Cat (or Neutral) Nation. She suggested that he could be won over by being offered the chairmanship of the Great League. When the nations assembled to make their offer, Tadodaho accepted. Jikohnsaseh, who came to be described as the Mother of Nations or the Peace Queen, seized the horns of authority and placed them on Tadodaho's head in a gesture symbolic of the power of women in Iroquois polity.

The Grand Council was empowered to treat with foreign nations and peoples and to settle disputes among the Five Nations. The Iroquois Confederacy is divided into houses or, in their own parlance, "brotherhoods." The elder brothers are the Mohawks and Senecas. The younger brothers are the Oneidas, Cayugas, and, since 1722, the Tuscaroras. The Onondagas are known as the "Firekeepers." The Senecas and Mohawks confer as a "house," and the Cayugas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras confer in a separate caucus, in a structure similar to that found in upper and lower houses in some parliamentary systems. Issues that arise before the council are considered first by the Mohawk and Seneca "side," then by the Cayugas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras in council. If these two "sides" are unable to reach agreement, the matter is sent to the Onondagas, who then cast the deciding vote. If the two "sides" reach agreement, the Onondagas have no veto power and must confirm the decision. In each of their deliberations there is an effort to reach unanimity, but when unanimity is impossible a vote is taken to determine the sense of the assembly. If the measure is favored by a significant majority, a second vote is taken at which those who dissented are expected to express solidarity with the others.

Continuous contact with a European nation commenced in 1609 when Samuel de Champlain led a French force against a Mohawk military expedition in the Champlain Valley. This led to intermittent warfare between France and her Indian allies on one side and the Haudenosaunee on the other. This warfare was interrupted in 1624 with a peace

arrangement that may be described as the first treaty between the Haudenosaunee and a European nation. The peace was short-lived, and intermittent hostilities continued. France had developed extensive alliances with Indian nations north of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, and the European introduction of the fur trade greatly enhanced competition among various Indian nations.

France and the Haudenosaunee concluded a treaty of peace in 1653, but war resumed in 1658, marking the beginning of a century during which the Haudenosaunee balanced their own interests in the context of the rivalry between England and France. The war was costly to New France, however, and in 1665 a military buildup in New France brought the two sides to negotiations and another treaty. Within months of the treaty France launched an invasion into Mohawk territory. One of the results of this exchange was that a Mohawk village was coerced into accepting French Jesuit missionaries. This village would eventually move under French protection to the St. Lawrence Valley, where its people would become known as the "French" or Cagnawaga Iroquois. They would eventually find their home in the oldest and largest Indian town established by Europeans-Kahnawake, Quebec-but they would be estranged from the confederacy from that time.

One of the first actions of the English after expelling the Dutch from the colony of New York was the establishment of formal relations with the Haudenosaunee in the form of a treaty with the Mohawks and Senecas in 1664. There were treaties of peace between the Haudenosaunee and other colonies during this period: with Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1677, with Maryland and Virginia in 1677, and another with Virginia in 1679.

Although they were arguably outnumbered and potentially surrounded by powerful enemies, the Haudenosaunee managed to sustain a measure of political and commercial hegemony among their Indian neighbors through the skillful and energetic use of diplomacy. Through a complex web of agreements and alliances they played a principal role in control of trade routes and in access to large but sparsely populated hunting territories shared by a number of Indian nations. Their strategic location-they were adjacent to both the French and English colonies-was a major factor that enabled them to exercise influence over international affairs far in excess of that afforded by either their numbers or their military prowess.

France continued to view the Haudenosaunee as a threat to their ambitions for economic hegemony over the Indian nations and lands around the Great Lakes and into the Ohio Valley. French efforts to establish economic and military alliances with the Illinois Nation led to tensions between France and the Haudenosaunee after the latter attacked the Illinois in 1680. In early 1684 Seneca warriors seized a French arms shipment and also attacked a French outpost on the Illinois River. New France's Governor La Barre sought and received permission to go to war. In July he set off with an army that was soon devastated by sickness, and he was forced to abandon plans for attack. The next year France sent the Marquis de Denonville to accomplish the task of forcing the Haudenosaunee into submission. He launched an attack in the summer of 1687 during which French armies and their Indian allies invaded the Seneca country while most of the able-bodied Seneca men were pursuing military action against Indians in the Mississippi watershed. All the Seneca towns were burned, but the French were forced to withdraw and there was no decisive battle. Two years later Haudenosaunee forces attacked the French at Lachine on the St. Lawrence River and laid siege to nearby Montreal. Hostilities between the Haudenosaunee and France were to continue independent of France's struggle with England during the War of the League of Augsburg (which ended in 1697) until a peace treaty ending the war was signed in 1701.



From that time until France was expelled from North America in 1763, the Haudenosaunee maintained a position of neutrality in the wars between France and England, although they maintained closer cultural and economic relations with England. Following the Seven Years' War some Senecas joined Pontiac's campaign to drive English settlers out of the Ohio region, but Sir William Johnson was successful in keeping the Seneca Nation as a whole and the rest of the Haudenosaunee from joining Pontiac's forces.

During the American Revolution the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee met and formally declared neutrality in the war between Britain and the American colonists. However, religious loyalties had invaded the Haudenosaunee communities and continued to work to their disadvantage. In 1776 many of the Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley were members of the Church of England, while a number of Oneida warriors were converts to the Bostonian Puritanism of the Reverend Samuel Kirkland. Loyalties divided communities and families along these lines. At the same time, disaster struck Onondaga in 1777 in the form of a plague that rendered the Onondagas unable to host confederacy meetings at a critical moment in the war. In the absence of confederacy advice, significant numbers of Iroquois warriors joined the war effort in support of Britain. In retaliation, American forces invaded confederacy lands in 1779, burning crops and villages and scattering the population.

All in all, the American Revolution was a disaster for the Haudenosaunee. Following the war, treaties were signed that transferred ever larger areas of Haudenosaunee territory into the hands of New York State and a series of land speculators. Not even the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who had supported the American revolutionaries, were spared. They lost most of their land in what are generally regarded as coercive or fraudulent treaties. Joseph Brant, the Mohawk war chief most responsible for persuading the warriors to support the British, negotiated lands in Canada, most notably a territory along the Grand River, in reparation for those lost in New York. In 1784, following the treaty that ended the war, many of the Haudenosaunee migrated there.

In the nineteenth century the Iroquois Confederacy continued as both a political alliance and a cultural entity. In 1799 the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake began his mission to restore the traditional practices of the Haudenosaunee and to lay the foundation of the modern Iroquois traditional religion. He also restored the Confederacy Council Fire to Onondaga in central New York State. Shortly thereafter the nations on the Grand River, unable to travel the great distance to Onondaga to conduct their governance, kindled a confederacy fire at their home in Canada. Since that time the confederacy has conducted Grand Councils in both longhouses. Although the two councils unite and act as one whenever business must be conducted that affects them both, the Grand River Council is the primary political organization in negotiations with Canada and its political subdivisions, while the Grand Council at Onondaga is the primary negotiator with the United States and its subdivisions.

Although there have been some changes, the chiefs of the confederacy continue to meet in council and to host gatherings at which the Great Law is recited, both at Grand River and at Onondaga. The political culture of the Haudenosaunee, now some five or more centuries old, continues to function to this day with a resilience that has enabled their continued existence as a distinct people.

## **Miami**

The Miamis, an eastern woodlands tribe, originally lived near the southern end of Lake Michigan. When French explorers contacted them in the 1650s, they were living in the area of today's Green Bay, Wisconsin, where they had moved in order to avoid attacks by

the Iroquois. At that time there were six Miami-speaking groups, and their population probably exceeded ten thousand. When the so-called Beaver Wars ended in 1701, the Miamis moved back into today's Indiana and Ohio. Their main settlement was Kekionga (now Fort Wayne, Indiana). Two of the Miami groups, the Weas and Piankashas, eventually became separate tribes.

During the eighteenth century the Miamis enjoyed comparative security at Kekionga, where they raised a special variety of white corn that they traded to other tribes. On the border between the Ohio and Illinois country, the Miamis traded with both the French and the English, who called them "Twightwees," from *twaatwaa*, their word for the cry of the sandhill crane. As Miami wealth and trade grew, the tribe moved into European-style log houses, kept pigs and cattle, and dressed in a mixture of European and native garments. At the same time, they preserved much of their native belief system and were little affected by French missionary efforts.

As the frontier of European settlement approached the Miamis after the American Revolution, they joined the Shawnees and other tribes in border warfare with Americans. The great Miami war chief Little Turtle led the tribes of the Miami Confederacy in the defeat of two American armies in 1790 and 1791. General Anthony Wayne defeated the allied tribes at Fallen Timbers in 1794 and built Fort Wayne at the site of Kekionga. The Miamis moved to new villages along the Wabash and Mississinewa Rivers, east of today's Peru, Indiana. In 1795 Wayne negotiated the Treaty of Greenville with the Miamis and ten other tribes. The Miamis, believing that the treaty guaranteed them sovereignty of their land, pledged peace with American authorities.

After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Governor William Henry Harrison, Eager to prepare Indiana Territory for statehood, pressured the Miamis to sign new treaties ceding most of their territory in Indiana. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, he ordered devastating attacks on neutral Miami villages. After the war, the demoralized Miamis ceded most of their remaining land in a new series of treaties from 1818 to 1840. The tribal population declined from fourteen hundred to less than eight hundred when removal came in 1846. Half of the tribe was removed, and came to be called the Western Miamis; the other half was allowed to remain in Indiana.

Many of the Western Miamis later returned to Indiana, where they were given refuge. In the late 1860s, the Kansas reservation of the Western Miamis was allotted, and those people moved to northeastern Indian Territory. In 1873 the last Indiana reservation was allotted, and in 1897 the tribal status of the Indiana Miamis was terminated administratively. Land loss accelerated, and tribal culture eroded as people moved to nearby towns.

The Western or Oklahoma Miamis were never terminated as a tribe. Today they own several businesses and offer the full services of a federally recognized tribe from their office in Miami, Oklahoma, to about fifteen hundred members. For their part, the Indiana Miamis have unsuccessfully attempted through administrative procedures, legislatively, and in federal court to regain federal recognition. They have a tribal headquarters in Peru, Indiana, and provide some services to their five thousand members.

### **Mingo**

Mingo is a corruption of *mingwe*, an Algonquian word meaning "stealthy" or "treacherous." English colonists used the term to describe Iroquois bands that had migrated to western Pennsylvania by 1740. Mingo villages were an amalgamation of Seneca, Wyandot, Shawnee, Conestoga, and Delaware refugees. By 1774, the Mingos acted independently of the Iroquois, frequently fighting American encroachers even when the Six Nations

advocated peace. During the War of Independence the Mingos continued their western migration and crossed the headwaters of the Scioto and Sandusky Rivers. Cayugas who had sold their lands in New York joined them by 1817. In 1819, the Mixed Band, or Lewiston Senecas, split from the main group of Mingos and shared a reservation with Shawnees. At about the same time the Sandusky Senecas, or Cowskin Senecas, left the group to establish their own reservation along the Sandusky and Cowskin Rivers.

By 1830, the Mingos had improved farms, had established schools, and were flourishing. Andrew Jackson's removal policies, however, forced the natives to sell their lands and leave Ohio. Following their removal to Kansas in 1832, the Seneca bands rejoined the group and shared the Neosho Reservation. In 1869, after the Civil War, the Mingos moved to the southern part of the Neosho tract in present-day Ottawa County, Oklahoma. In 1937, tribal members adopted the official designation Seneca-Cayuga. Today the tribe numbers over twenty-four hundred members and continues to maintain cultural and religious ties to the Six Nations.

### **Ottawa**

While known to outsiders as "Ottawas," community members much prefer the term Odawak (singular Odawa). Gitche-Manitou placed the Ottawas on the land of the Great Lakes basin. The Ottawa River in the east, the shores of the lakes to the south, the Mississippi River on the west, and the height of land whence all the rivers flow northward on the north were provided by Mother Earth as boundaries of their territory. Here, guided by the surety of the Medicine Circle and the omnipresence of Gitche-Manitou, and through the benevolence of Mother Earth, the Ottawas lived.

All knowledge came from Gitche-Manitou. Contact with the spiritual world was through the medicine man and Nanabush, who spanned the gulf between Gitche-Manitou and the Ottawas. Nanabush was a paradox: while perceived as godlike, he harbored all the weaknesses of human beings. The mythology, legends, and stories painted against this backdrop formed the philosophical foundation of the Ottawa world.

Enandahgwad, the Law of the Orders, governed the Ottawas. Gitche-Manitou was foremost, and Earth, his wife, was the mother of all nature. Their natural children were the plants. The animal kind were brothers and sisters. Human beings were last in the order—the least necessary and most dependent of beings.

Teachings were formalized. The Ottawas learned of the Circle of Life, which was divided into four quadrants representing the four stages of life, the four directions, and the four seasons. Animal kind shared the circle. For an Ottawa, the east was the eagle, spring, the place of enlightenment. The south invoked the robin, summer, the place of innocence. The west depicted the buffalo, autumn, and introspection, while the north held images of the bear, winter, and the place of great wisdom. For an Ottawa, the four hills of life—infancy, youth, adulthood, and old age—were seen in relation to one another and to the responsibility pertaining to each. Only in living each hill completely did the Ottawas see their lives in balance.

The Ottawas created the tools for survival. They developed bows and arrows, the birchbark canoe, toboggans and snowshoes, buckskin clothing and footwear, wigwams, and copper tools. The knowledge of the medicinal properties of plants was given to the Ottawas for the health of the nation.

As the Ottawas survived and the environment sustained them, family units grew, communities formed, social structures became ordered, and the people organized themselves in clans. The Ottawas say they have always been here, but scientists say they came here

thousands of years ago; just how many thousand is a matter of debate.

In the eighteenth century Ottawa community life was in tune with the cycles of the natural world. Spring found them at home making maple sugar to barter with traders. In summer, they planted corn, potatoes, peas, beans, and pumpkins. In July, they traveled to the nearest British garrison to receive their annual presents of clothing, blankets, and implements. The fall brought the harvest, which was followed by the annual trip to the wintering grounds on the southern shore of Lake Michigan.

Less than four hundred years ago, the Wemitigojiwuk (the French) entered the land of the Ottawas. This changed the Ottawa way of life forever. By 1634, they were the middlemen in the trade with the French. This precipitated conflict with the Haudenosaunee (Iroquoian) Confederacy and the Assistaronon (Algonquin) Nation and the dispersion of the Ottawas from their ancestral lands in modern Ontario. The Ottawas and Wendot (Hurons) pushed westward until, by 1654, the Ottawas reached Dakota Territory. War with the Dakotas sent the Ottawas back to Chequemagong Bay, Lake Superior: to Keewanaw; Manitoulin Island; and to Sault Ste. Marie. The center of Ottawa territory became Michilimackinac in 1673 with the return of the Kiskakon, Sinago, Sauble, and Nassauketon clans.

The French moved into Ottawa territory. Traders and missionaries joined the Ottawas at Chequemagong in 1665 and later at Michilimackinac and St. Ignace. In 1687, an Ottawa chief warned his people that the French intended to enslave them. The Ottawas' allegiance to the French drew them into continuous wars with the enemies of the French. In 1759, the British defeated the French at Quebec. This was a devastating blow to the Ottawas. Life would never be the same. The Ottawas were caught between two former enemies, the British and the Americans.

It has been said that the Ottawas were already a nation when the United States was taking its first breath of life. However, the Americans never treated the Ottawas as a nation. The American commissioners at Fort McIntosh, in 1785, informed the Indians that they had no rights. Subsequent American negotiators maintained the same attitude. The chiefs of the Ottawas responded by joining with other Indian nations in refusing to sign treaties unless the confederacy of tribes was involved.

The Ottawas sent a delegation to President Thomas Jefferson in 1809 and to the secretary of war, William Eustis, in 1811 explaining the desperate state of the Ottawa people and expressing disappointment in the treatment they were receiving from American officials. Their frustration led to their allegiance to the British in the War of 1812.

In 1812, Ottawa warriors defended their homes, lands and way of life. Some of the Ottawas' greatest warriors, led by Assignack (Blackbird), included Mucketebennessy (Black Hawk), Keshigobenesse (Daybird), Mokomanish (Knife That One Does Not Care About), and Eshuagonabe (Looking Back). These ogemuk (leaders) fought to protect the Ottawa villages along the Maumee from the "burn and destroy" operations perpetrated by the American troops on Indian towns on the Wabash. They defended the Niagara frontier in the mud, mosquitoes, and sickness side by side with British soldiers, Canadian volunteers, and other Indian allies. They followed Tecumseh at the Battle of Moraviantown and continued to hold the line against the Americans on land and at sea until the end of the war.

The Ottawas found that in peace, their contribution was forgotten. Those on the American side of the line were left to deal with the desire of the Americans for their land, and in the 1830s many fled to Canada or were transported to the American West. Canadian Ottawas found themselves working with the British in establishing settlements devoted exclusively to the Christianization, civilization, and education of Indian people. They

returned to what they regarded as their ancestral island, Manitoulin, only to have to sign it away by treaty in 1862.

The Ottawas have survived. They have become schooled landowners and have participated in all facets of American and Canadian life. Their language has been preserved. Many follow traditional teachings, and they still believe that they are the people Gitche-Manitou placed in the Great Lakes basin.

### **Potawatomi**

Closely related to the Ottawas and Ojibwas, the Potawatomis are an Algonquian-speaking people who originally inhabited the Great Lakes region. Initial French records suggest that prior to 1640 the Potawatomis occupied the southwestern quadrant of the lower peninsula of Michigan, but during the Beaver Wars, which began in the 1640s, they fled attacks by the Neutrals, first seeking sanctuary in the Sault Ste. Marie region and then crossing to Green Bay, where they joined with other tribes also seeking refuge from the Neutrals and Iroquois. By 1675 the Potawatomis had emerged as one of the dominant tribes in the Green Bay region. Through contacts with Jesuit priests and French traders they developed political and economic ties to New France. Onanguisse (Shimmering Light), a Potawatomi leader, assisted Robert Cavalier de La Salle in amassing large quantities of fur in the Potawatomi village prior to the loss of La Salle's vessel, the Griffon, which sank in Lake Michigan in 1679. During the colonial period Potawatomi warriors consistently supported the French in their warfare against the British, often journeying to Montreal to join French expeditions against New England. Meanwhile, many Potawatomi women married French traders or *coureurs des bois*, and those unions produced growing numbers of mixed-blood or Metis children, many of whom assumed positions of leadership within the tribe.

During the eighteenth century many Potawatomis moved back toward their old homeland, occupying the region from modern Milwaukee through Chicago and across southern Michigan to Detroit. Potawatomi tribespeople also established villages down the Illinois River as far south as Lake Peoria, and at the headwaters of the Kankakee, Tippecanoe, and Maumee Rivers in Indiana. Participants in the fur trade, Potawatomi villagers continued to raise small crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins, and to take fish from lakes and streams and deer from the forests, but by 1750 they were dependent upon European traders for muskets, gunpowder, metal instruments, and other trade goods that once had been luxury items.

During "Pontiac's Rebellion" Potawatomis at Detroit assisted in the siege of Fort Detroit, while their kinsmen on the St. Joseph River captured a British fort at that location. In the American Revolution the tribe's loyalties were split; Potawatomis from Michigan and Indiana generally supported the British, while those residing in Illinois and Wisconsin favored the Americans. In the postwar decade most Potawatomi warriors supported the Pan-Indian defense of Ohio, but following the Treaty of Greenville, Five Medals and other leaders from the Fort Wayne region welcomed Protestant missionaries into their villages. Five medals, Topinbee (Sits Quietly), and Winimac (the Catfish) opposed Tecumseh and his brother the Shawnee Prophet (Tenskwatawa),

### **Shawnee**

An Algonquian people whose native language (now threatened) is most closely related to Kickapoo, the Shawnees were noted historically for their extensive migrations and a formidable resistance to Euro-American expansion into the Ohio Valley. Three recognized groups of Shawnees now live in Oklahoma: the Eastern Shawnees of Ottawa

County; the Absentee Shawnees, with headquarters at Shawnee; and the Loyal Shawnees, who became part of the Cherokee Nation in 1869, located around Whiteoak.

Their name, which signifies "southerners," and other evidence suggest an early location on the Savannah River (South Carolina), but in the 1670s and 1680s the Shawnees were being dislodged from the Ohio and Cumberland Valleys by Iroquois raids. By 1730, after a period of dispersal, they had regrouped—most in western Pennsylvania, but others in what is now Alabama. In the ensuing decade the Pennsylvania Shawnees, seeking better game and freedom from English and Iroquois interference, withdrew down the Ohio toward the Scioto, reclaiming the territory they had occupied a century before. Such fragmentation destroyed what little tribal organization had existed among them.

Prior to European contact the Shawnees had been a confederacy of five patrilineal divisions (Mekoche, Pekowi, Chillicothe, Kispoko, and Hathawekela) that appear to have functioned in independent villages with their own civil and war chiefs. Each division also exercised some overall tribal responsibility. The Mekoche, for example, handled external political affairs, and their head civil chief was effectively the tribal chief. Dispersal dismantled this system.

In 1787 many Ohio Pekowi and Kispoko Shawnees, tiring of conflict with the United States, fled westward to Spanish territory (Perry County, Missouri), where they were joined in about 1814 by the Alabama Shawnees, primarily Hathawekelas. These were the groups that formed today's independent Absentee Shawnee tribe.

Under leaders such as Cornstalk and Blue Jacket, the Shawnees on the Ohio defended the region against successive intruders with outstanding ingenuity and courage. In 1746 Shawnees tried to build an intertribal alliance against the French. They participated in "Pontiac's Rebellion" in 1763, and in 1774 they challenged the advance of the Virginians into Kentucky. During the Revolutionary War, Ohio Shawnees enlisted British support for their attempt to clear their Kentucky hunting ground of white settlers. Thereafter they were the nucleus of an Indian confederacy that resisted the seizure of Ohio by the United States and defeated the armies of Josiah Harmar (1790) and Arthur St. Clair (1791). Nevertheless, by the Treaty of Greenville (1795) the Shawnees and their allies were compelled to cede southern and central Ohio.

After the peace the Ohio Shawnees, largely Mekoche and Chillicothe, established two towns north of the treaty line, Wapakoneta (Auglaize County, Ohio) and Lewistown (Logan County, Ohio), from which the modern Loyal and Eastern bands of Shawnees, respectively, are descended. Up to this time Shawnee society, while imbibing some influences of groups with whom they associated, had been quite conservative. European trade had created tensions by causing the spread of new diseases and encouraging the excesses of the liquor traffic. These damaging effects inspired the reforms of the Shawnee Prophet (Tenskwatawa) in 1805, even as they accompanied an improvement in the tribe's material culture. This trade was incorporated into the tribe's existing economic pattern of spring and summer planting and fall and winter hunting.

More systematic absorption of Euro-American culture began in 1802, when the Ohio Shawnees sought the aid of Quaker missionaries and the U.S. government to develop their economy. The government's policy required the group to maintain peace with the United States, and both bands of Ohio Shawnees rejected the overtures of a Kispoko band under Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, who revived militant Pan-Indianism before the War of 1812. Despite their commitment to peace, however, the Ohio Shawnees were confined to three reservations in 1817, and in 1831 they were persuaded to sign removal treaties.

The Lewistown band went directly to Oklahoma, became part of the Quapaw

Agency, and in 1940 organized as the Eastern Shawnee tribe. Most Ohio Shawnees, however, migrated to a reservation in Kansas, where they prospered until pressure from the United States, difficulties with white neighbors, and the disruption of the American Civil War (in which the band earned the name Loyal Shawnee for its fidelity to the Union) led them to relinquish their lands and join the Oklahoma Cherokees in 1869. Among modern Shawnees cultural conservatism is strongest among the Absentee band, which had not participated in the Ohio development policy. They surrendered their territory in Missouri in 1825, but not all followed the prescribed course of relocating on the Kansas reservation, many scattering to Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. When the Kansas reservation was allotted in 1854, they were designated the Absentee Shawnees. These Indians regrouped on the Canadian River in Oklahoma, where they were recognized by the U.S. government and their lands confirmed in 1872.

Modern Shawnees participate conventionally in mainstream American society, and the three groups remain politically independent. But a tribal pride and sense of identity has been preserved. Ceremonial grounds are maintained by both Absentee and Loyal Shawnees, and the annual community rituals with their attendant beliefs reflect traditions of considerable antiquity. A distinguishing feature of Shawnee culture is the significance it has accorded women. In the eighteenth century female war and civil chiefs (one of them Tecumapease, Tecumseh's sister) were recognized, while the Creator (Waashaa Monetoo) was held to have been aided by an old Shawnee woman and her Grandmother (Kokomthena) to the position of their supreme deity, and it is from her that it is now believed the tribe received its skills, laws, and ceremonies, and for whose favor religious observances ultimately make appeals. Less unusually, many of the subordinate deities are also female, including Earth Mother, Corn Woman, and Pumpkin Woman; their support is considered essential to the vitality of Shawnee harvests.

The most important community ceremonies observed today, the spring (May) and fall (October) Bread Dances, commemorate the old Shawnee economy, entreating blessings for forthcoming crops and hunts and returning thanks for bounties already received. Both the men-versus-women football match, which opens the spring Bread Dance, and the Green Corn Ceremony, celebrated by the Loyal Shawnees in August, were recorded as early as the 1790s. Although modified, current versions of such rituals as the War Dance and feasts for the dead likewise testify to a desire to protect the Shawnee cultural heritage.

About six thousand Shawnees now live in Oklahoma, and a small band that had resided in Canada recently returned to Ohio and is seeking federal recognition.

Source: Frederick E. Hoxie (ed.). *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. 101, 103, 157-159, 263-265, 298-302, 375-376, 380-381, 453-455, 506-508, 582-584.

## **Cherokee**

This, the largest tribe in the Southeast, belongs to the Iroquoian family and was located in historic times in the southern Appalachians, which they had probably entered from the north. It has usually been assumed that the "province of Chalaque or Xalaque" of which the De Soto narratives, Guasili, near the present Murphy, N.C., may be identified as perhaps occupied by real Cherokee Indians. This is probably, as we have had occasion to note on earlier pages, the Tocar, Tocax, or Tocal (ques) of the Pardo documents. There is better reason for thinking that "Tanasqui," a stockaded town on Tennessee River, which appears for the first time in these documents, was occupied by Cherokee. It is now known quite definitely that the Rechahecrians who won a battle against the allied Powhatan Indians

and Virginia colonists in 1656 were not Cherokee, and there is no certainty that the Rickohokan of whom Lederer speaks were of that tribe. One of the earliest appearances of the name in English narratives is in Woodward's account of his visit to the Westo town on Savannah River in 1674 in which he states that the "Cowatoc and Chorakae Indians" lived on the head branches of the Savannah. In 1684 the South Carolina government is said to have made a treaty with the Cherokee signed by 5 chiefs of Toxawa and 3 of Keowa. In 1690 we are informed that James Moore and Col. Maurice Mathews journeyed across the Appalachian Mountains in order to discover gold, but retired on account of a difference with the Indians. In 1693 some Cherokee chiefs went to Charleston to ask protection against their enemies, the Catawba, Shawnee, and Congaree. About 1700, guns were introduced, and in 1711 traders began to arrive. Two years later, 310 Cherokee took part in Moore's expedition against the Tuscarora under Captains Harford and Thurston. Seventy Cherokee joined the Catawba and other northern Indians at the outbreak of the Yamasee War, but they soon withdrew and peace with the English followed. In the course of the negotiation, a British detachment under Colonel Chicken penetrated into the heart of the Cherokee country. About the same time they and the Chickasaw together expelled the Shawnee from the Cumberland Valley. In 1730 Sir Alexander Cuming set out on a self-constituted mission to the tribe, a peace ceremony was held, and seven Indians were taken on a visit to the English court. As early as 1701, a party of 5 French Canadians had penetrated the Cherokee country on their way from the Mississippi to Carolina, and the discovery of a supposed Frenchman in the tribe in 1736 frightened the English into believing that France was pushing political designs in that quarter. This man, often represented as a French Jesuit, was a Swiss named Christian Gottlieb Priber, an economic dreamer who hoped to set up an ideal state among "natural men" far from the effete conventions of Europe. He was at last captured and imprisoned in Frederica, GA., where he died. In 1738 what appears to have been the first smallpox epidemic to visit this tribe broke out. During the very early colonial period, part of the Tuskegee and part of the Yuchi came to live among the Cherokee. In the eighteenth century the Cherokee gradually pushed their settlements down the Tennessee River until they came into direct contact with the Creeks. The contests which followed seem generally to have favored the Cherokee and are said to have culminated in the great victory of Taliwa in 1755 after which the Creeks withdrew from the Tennessee Valley. Farther east the Creeks appear to have remained undisturbed in the upper Coosa Valley until white settlers began to push the Cherokee from some of their northern towns, when the Creeks gave them permission to occupy the valley of the Coosa as far down as the mouth of Wills Creek, including the entire valley of the Coosawattee ("Old Creek Place"). At the outbreak of the French and Indian War the Cherokee assisted their English neighbors in the expedition against Fort Duquesne but in 1759 the injudicious and high-handed acts of their allies drove them into war. They destroyed Fort Loudon, which had been established in the heart of their country, after defeating a force of over 1,600 men under Colonel Montgomery near the present Franklin, N.C., June 27, 1760. Next year, however, a second expedition, led by Colonel Grant and numbering 2,600 men, burned all of the Middle Towns, the Lower Towns having been devastated by Montgomery the year before, and reduced the Indians to such straits that they were obliged to sue for peace. Immediately afterward, and at the solicitation of the chiefs, Henry Timberlake visited the Cherokee country, and later he conducted a party of chiefs to England. Final peace between the English and the southern tribes was made in 1763, and immediately a tide of emigrants poured across the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee, forcing the Cherokee repeatedly to cede more of their land in this direction. In 1769 they are said to have suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the



Chickasaw on Chickasaw Old Fields.

At the opening of the Revolution, this tribe sided against the colonists and in consequence their lands were ravaged and their towns were repeatedly destroyed, particularly in the year 1776, when four distinct forces converged upon Cherokee territory. Although many attempts were made to restore peace, it was not finally brought about until 1794, when a conference held at Tellico blockhouse November 7 and 8 brought the long series of contests to an end. During this same year a party of Cherokee under Chief Bowl crossed the Mississippi River.

Source: John R. Swanton. The Indians of the Southeastern United States. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979. Pp. 110-112.

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**EUROPEAN  
SETTLEMENT OF  
VIRGINIA:**

**A CENTURY OF GROWTH**



## EDWARD BLAND'S *THE DISCOVERY OF NEW BRITTAINE*

*August 27, 1650.* The Right Honorable Sir W. Berkly, Kt. Being Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginia, Edw. Bland Merch. Abraham Wood, Capt. Elias Ponnant and Sackford Brewster, Gent., foure Men, and one Indian named Pyancha, an Appamattuck for our Guide, with two servants, foure Horses and Provision, advanced from Fort Henry, lying on Appamattuck River at the falls, being a branch of James River, intending a South westerne Discovery.

This day wee passed over a branch belonging to Blackwater lake, running South east into Chawan River; at that place wee were forced to unlade our Carriages by reason of the great raines lately fallen, which otherwise is very passable for foot, being firm gravelly ground in the bottome, and lieth from Fort Henry twenty miles, and some twelve miles from this place we travelled unto a deepe River called the Nottaway Creeke some one hundred paces over sandy bottomes (and with a little labour may be made passeable) unto a Nottaway Town lying some two miles from the River. Hither we came within night, and by reason of our suddaine approach and hallowing of Robert Farmer, servant to Mr. Bland, the Inhabitants ran all away into the Woods, with their Women and Children; therefore by us it was named Farmers chase. After our arrivall there within a small space of time one Indian man appeared, and finding of us peaceable, and the white flag bore before us by our Guide whom they knew, he made a hallow and the rest came in from their sculking holes like so many timorous Hares, and shewed us what curtesie they could. About two houres after came to us Oyeocker elder brother to Chounterounte one of the Nottaway Kings, who told us that his brother Chounterounte, and other of the Nottaway Kings would come to us next day by Noone... We stayed untill next day at Noone but he came not, and then we journeyed unto the Towne belonging unto Oyeocker, who kindly invited us thither, and told us he thought that Chounterounte would meet us there, and also of his owne accord proffered us to be our guide whithersoever we went. The Land generally to this Towne is Champion, very rich, and the Towne scituate in a rich levell, well timbered, watered, and very convenient for Hogs and Cattle.

*August 31.* Wee went away from Maharineck South East two miles to go over Maharineck River, which hath a bottome betweene two high land sides through which you must passe to get over, which River is about two hundred pace broad, and hath a high water marke after a fresh of at least twenty foot perpendicular by the trees in the breaches betweene the River, and the high land of the old fields. This River is the southerly last and maine branch of Chawan River, and was by us named Woodford River, and runs to the Eastward of the South.

As also exceeding rich Land, full of great Reeds thrice as big as the largest Arrow Reeds we have about our Plantations; this good Land continues for some six miles together unto a great Swamppe, and then begins a pyny barren Champion Land with divers Branches and Pecosans, yet very passeable, running South and by West, unto a deepe River some a hundred paces over, running South, and a little to the East, which River incloses a small Island which wee named Brewsters Island, some eighteene miles from Woodford River due South, and by West, with very exceeding rich Land on both sides of it for some sixe miles together, and this River we also named Brewsters River

After we had passed over this River we travelled some twenty miles further upon a pyny barren Champion Land to Hocomawananck River, South, and by West: some twelve miles from Brewsters River we came unto a path running crosse some twenty yards on each side unto two remarkeable Trees; at this path our Appamattuck Guide made a stop, and

cleared the Westerly end of the path with his foote, being demanded the meaning of it, he shewed an unwillingnesse to relate it, sighing very much: Whereupon we made a stop untill Oyeocker our other Guide came up, and then our Appamattuck Guide journied on; but Oyeocker at his coming up cleared the other end of the path, and prepared himselfe in a most serious manner to require our attentions, and told us that many years since their late great Emperour Appachancano came thither to make a War upon the Tuskarood, in revenge of three of his men killed, and one wounded, who escaped, and brought him word of the other three murdered by the Hocomawananck Indians for lucre of the Roanoake they brought with them to trade for Otterskins. There accompanied Appachancano severall petty Kings that were under him, amongst which there was one King of a Towne called Pawhatan, which had long time harboured a grudge against the King of Chawan, about a yong woman that the King of Chawan had detayned of the King of Pawhatan: Now it hapned that the King of Chawan was invited by the King of Pawhatan to this place under pretence to present him with a guift of some great vallew, and there they met accordingly, and the King of Pawhatan went to salute and embrace the King of Chawan, and stroaking of him after their usuall manner, he whipt a bow string about the King of Chawans neck, and strangled him; and how that in memoriall of this, the path is continued to this day, and friends of the Pawhatans when they passe that way, cleanse the Westerly end of the path, and the friends of the Chawans the other. And some two miles from this path we came unto an Indian Grave upon the East side of the path: Upon which Grave there lay a great heape of sticks covered with greene boughs, we demanded the reason of it, Oyeocker told us, that there lay a great man of the Chawans that dyed in the same quarrell, and in honour of his memory they continue greene boughs over his Grave to this day, and ever when they goe forth to Warre they relate his, and others valorous, loyall Acts, to their yong men, to annimate them to doe the like when occasion requires.

Source: Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood. The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians 1650-1674 – The Arthur H. Clark Company

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## **THE EXPEDITION OF BATTS AND FALLAM BEYOND THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS, 1671**

Thomas Batts, Thomas Woods, and Robert Fallows having received a commission from the honourable Major General Wood for the finding out the ebbing and flowing of the Waters on the other side of the Mountaines in order to the discovery of the South Sea accompanied with Penecute a great man of the Apomatack Indians and Jack Weason, formerly a servant to Major General Wood with five horses set forth from the Apomatacks town about eight of the clock in the morning, being Friday Sept. 1, 1671. That day we traveled above forty miles, took up our quarters and found that we had traveled from the Okenechee path due west.

Sept. 2. we traveled about forty miles and came to our quarters at Sun set and found that we were to the north of the West.

Sept. 3 we traveled west and by south and about three o'clock came to a great swamp a mile and a half or two miles over and very difficult to pass. We led our horses thro' and waded twice over a River emptying itself in Roanoake River. After we were over

we went northwest and so came round and took up our quarters west. This day we traveled forty miles good.

Sept. 4. We set forth and about two of the clock arriv'd at the Sapiny Indian town. We traveled south and by west course till about even(ing) and came to the Sapony's west. Here we were joyfully and kindly received with firing of guns and plenty of provisions. We here hired a Sepiny Indian to be our guide towards the Teteras, a nearer way than usual.

Sept. 5. Just as we were ready to take horse and march from the Sapiny's about seven of the clock in the Morning we heard some guns go off from the other side of the River. They were seven Apomatack Indians sent by Major General Wood to accompany us in our voyage. We hence sent back a horse belonging to Mr. Thomas Wood, which was tired, by a Portugal, belonging to Major General Wood, whom we here found. About eleven of the clock we set forward and that night came to the town of the Hanathaskies which we judge to be twenty five miles from the Saponys, they are lying west and by north in an island on the Sapony River rich land.

Sept. 6. About eleven of the clock we set forward from the Hanathaskies; but left Mr. Thomas Wood at the town dangerously sick of the Flux, and the horse he rode on, belonging to Major General Wood was likewise taken with the staggers and a failing in his hinder parts. Our course was this day West and by South and we took up our quarters West about twenty miles from the town. This afternoon our horses stray'd away about ten of the clock.

Sept. 7. We set forward, about three of the clock we had sight of the mountains, we traveled twenty-five miles over hilly and stony Ground our course westerly.

Sept. 8. We set out by sunrise and Traveled all day a west and by north course. About one of the clock we came to a Tree mark'd in the past with a coal M. AN i. About four of the clock we came to the foot of the first mountain went to the top and then came to a small descent, and so did rise again and then till we came almost to the bottom was a very steep descent. We traveled all day over very stony, rocky ground and after thirty miles travill this day we came to our quarters at the foot of the mountains due west. We passed the Sapony River twice this day.

Sept. 9. We were stirring with the sun and travelled west and after a little riding came again to the Sapony River where it was very narrow, and ascended the second mountain which wound up west and by south with several springs and fallings, after which we came to a steep descent at the foot whereof was a lovely descending valley about six miles over with curious small risings. Our course over it was southwest. After we were over that we came to a very steep descent, at the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains. We got thither about three of the clock after we had travelled twenty-five miles. Here we were exceedingly civilly entertain'd.

(Sept. 9-11) Saturday night, Sunday and monday we staid at the Teteras. Perecute being taken very sick of a fever and ague every afternoon, notwithstanding on tuesday morning about nine of the clock we resolved to leave our horses with the Toteras and set forward.

Sept. 12. We left the town West and by North we travell'd that day sometimes southerly, sometimes westerly as the path went over several high mountains and steep Vallies crossing several branches and the Roanoke River several times all exceedingly stony ground until about four of the clock Perceute being taken with his fit and verry weary we took up our quarters by the side of Roanoke River almost at the head of it at the foot of the great mountain. Our course was west by north, having travell'd twenty-five miles. At the

Teteras we hired one of the Indians for our guide and left one of the Apomatack Indians there sick.

Sept. 13. In the morning we set forward early. After we had travelled about three miles we came to the foot of the great mountain and found a very steep ascent so that we could scarce keep ourselves from sliding down again. It continued for three miles with small intermissions of better way. Right up by the path on the left we saw the porportions of the mon. When we were got up to the top of the mountain and set down very weary we saw very high mountains lying to the north and south as far as we could discern. Our course up the mountain was west by north. A very small descent on the other side and as soon as over we found the vallies tending westerly. It was a pleasing tho' dreadful sight to see the mountains and Hills as if piled one upon another. After we had travill'd about three miles from the mountains, easily descending ground about twelve of the clock we came to two trees mark'd with a coal MANI. the other cut in with MA and several other scratchments.

Hard by a Run just like the swift creek at Mr. Randolph's in Virginia, emptying itself sometimes westerly and sometimes northerly with curious meadows on each (side). Going forward we found rich ground but having curious rising hills and brave meadows with grass about a man's height. Many rivers running west-north-west and several Runs from the southerly mountains which we saw as we march'd, which run northerly into the great River. After we had travelled about seven miles we came to a very steep descent where we found a great Run, which emptied itself in to the great River northerly. Our course being as the path went, west-south-west. We set forward and had not gone far but we met again with the River, still broad running west and by north. We went over the great run emptying itself northerly into the great River. After we had marched about six miles northwest and by north we came to the River again where it was much broader than at the other two places. It ran here west and by south and so as we suppose round up westerly. Here we took up our quarters, after we had waded over, for the night. Due west, the soil, the farther we went (is) the richer and full of bare meadows and old fields.

Sept. 14. We set forward before sunrise our provisions being all spent we travelled as the path went sometimes westerly sometimes southerly over good ground by stony, sometimes rising hills and then steep Descents as we march'd in a clear place at the top of a hill we saw lying south west a curious prospect of hills like waves raised by a gentle breeze of wind rising one upon another. Mr. Batts supposed he saw sayles; but I rather think them to be white clifts. We marched about twenty miles this day and about three of the clock we took up our quarters to see if the Indians could kill us some Deer. being west and by north, very weary and hungry and Percute continued very ill yet desired to go forward. We came this day over several brave runs and hope tomorrow to see the main River again.

Sept. 15. Yesterday in the afternoon and this day we lived a Dog's life – hunger and ease. Our Indians having done their best could kill us no meat. The Deer they said were in such herds and the ground so dry that one or other of them could spy them. About one of the clock we set forward and went about fifteen miles over some good, some indifferent ground, a west and by north course till we came to a great run which empties itself west and by north as we suppose into the great River which we hope is nigh at hand. As we march'd we met with some wild gooseberries and exceeding large haws with which we were forced to feed ourselves.

Sept. 16. Our guide went from us yesterday and we saw him no more till we returned to the Toras. Our Indians went aranging betimes to see and kill us some Deer or meat. One came and told us they heard a drum and a Gun go off to the northwards. They brought us some exceeding good Grapes and killed two turkies which were very welcome

and with which we feasted ourselves and ten of the clock set forward and after we had travelled about ten miles one of our Indians killed us a Deer and presently afterwards we had sight of a curious River like Apomatack River. Its course here was north and so as we suppose runs west about a certain curious mountains we saw westward. Here we had up our quarters, our course having been west. We understand the Mohecan Indians did here formerly live. It cannot be long since for we found corn stalks in the ground.

Sept. 17. Early in the morning we went to seek some trees to mark, our Indians being impatient of longer stay by reason it was likely to be bad weather, and that it was so difficult to get provisions. We found four trees exceeding fit for our purpose that had been half bared by our Indians, standing after one the other. We first proclaimed the King in these words: "Long live Charles the Second, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia and of all the Territories thereunto belonging, Defender of the faith etc." firing some guns and went to the first tree which we marked thus <sub>CR</sub> with a pair of marking irons for his sacred majesty.

The next then [ ] for the right honourable Governor Sir William Berkley, the third thus [ ] for the honourable Major General Wood. The last thus: [ ]: RE. P. for Perceute who said he would learn Englishman. And on another tree hard by stand these letters one under another TT. NP. VE. R after we had done we went ourselves down to the river side, but not without great difficulty it being a piece of very rich ground where the Mocketans had formerly lived, and grown up with weeds and small prickly Locusts and Thistles to a very great height that it was almost impossible to pass. It cost us hard labor to get thro'. When we came to the River side we found it much better and broader than expected, much like James River at Col. Stagg's, the falls much like these falls. We imagined by the Water marks that it flows here about three feat. It was ebbing water when we were here. We set up a stick by the water side but found it ebbed very slowly. Our Indians kept such a hollowing that we durst not stay any longer to make further tryal.

Immediately upon coming to our quarters we returned home wards and when we were got to the Top of a Hill we turned about and saw over against us, westerly, over a certain delightful hill a fog arise and a glimmering light as from water. We supposed there to be a great Bay. We came to the Toteras Tuesday night where we found our horses, and ourselves wel entertain'd. We immediately had the news of Mr. Byrd and his great Company's Discoveries three miles from the Teteras Town. We have found Mehetan Indians who having intelligence of our coming were afraid it had been to fight them and had sent him to the Toteras to inquiry. We gave him satisfaction to the contrary and that we came as friends, presented him with three or four shots of powder. He told us by our Interpreter, that we had (been) from the mountains half way to the place they now live at. That the next town beyond them lived on a plain level, from whence came abundance of salt. That he could inform us no further by reason that there were a great company of Indians that lived up the great Water.

Sept. 21. After very civil entertainment we came from the Toteras and on Sunday morning the 24<sup>th</sup> we came to the Hanahathskies. We found Mr. Wood dead and buried and his horse likewise dead. After civil entertainment, with firing of guns at parting which was more than usual.

Sept. 25. We came from thence they having been very courteous to us. At night we came to the Apomatack Town, hungry, wet and weary.

October 1 being Sunday morning we arrived at Fort Henry. God's holy name be praised for our preservation.



Source: Thomas Batts. "A Journey From Virginia to beyond the Appalachian Mountains in September 1671." *Annals of Southwest Virginia 1769-1800*. Edited by Lewis Preston Summers. Abingdon, Va. 1929. Pp. 1-7.

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## THE BEGINNING OF BACON'S REBELLION, 1675-1676

About the year 1676 appear'd three Prodigies in that Country, which from th' attending Disasters, were Look'd upon as Ominous Presages.

The One was a large Comet every Evening for a Week, or more at South-West; Thirty five Degrees high, Streaming like a horse Taile Westwards, untill it reach'd (almost) the Horrison, and Setting towards the Northwest.

Another was, Flights of Pigeons in breadth nigh a Quarter of the Mid-Hemisphere, and of their Length was no visible end; Whose Weights brake down the Limbs of Large Trees whereon these rested at Nights, of which the Fowlers Shot abundance and Eat 'em; This Sight put the old Planters under the more Portentious Apprehensions, because the like was Seen (as they said) in the year 1640 When th' Indians Committed the last Massacre, but not after, untill that present Year 1675.

The Third strange Appearance was Swarms of Flyes about an Inch long, and big as the Top of a Man's little finger, rising out of Spigot Heads in the Earth, which Eat the New Sprouted Leaves from the Tops of the Trees without other Harm, and in a Month left us.

My Dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest County on Potomack river, Stafford being the upmost; where having also a Plantation, Servant's Cattle, etc, My Overseer there had agreed with one Robt. Hen to come thither, and be my Hersman, who then Lived Ten Miles above it; but on a Sabbath day Morning in the summer Anno 1675, People in their Way to Church, Saw this Hen lying th'wart his Threshold, and an Indian without the Door, both Chopt on their Heads, Arms and other Parts, as if doe with Indian Hatchetts. Th' Indian was dead, but Hen when ask'd who did that? Answered "Doegs Doegs," and soon Died, then a Boy came out from under a Bed, where he had hid himself, and told them, Indians had come at break of day and done those Murders.

From this Englishman's blood did (by Degrees) arise Bacons Rebellion with the following Mischiefs which Overspeard all Virginia and twice endangered Maryland, as by the ensuing Account is Evident:

Of this horrid Action Coll: Mason who commanded the Militia Regiment of Foot and Capt. Brent the Troop of Horse in that County, (both dwelling Six or Eight Miles Downwards) having speedy notice raised 30 or more men, and pursu'd those Indians 20 Miles up and 4 Miles over that River into Maryland, where landing at Dawn of Day, they found two small paths. Each Leader with his Party took a Separate Path and in less than a furlong, either found a Cabin, which they Silenty Surrounded. Capt. Brent went to the Doegs Cabin (as it proved to be) Who Speaking the Indian Tongue Called to have a Matchacomicha Weewhip i.e. a Councill, called presently Such being the usuall manner with Indians. The King came Trembling forth, and wou'd have fled, when Capt. Brent, Catching hold of his twisted Lock (which was all the Hair he wore) told him he was come for the Merderer of Robt. Hen, the King pleaded Ignorance and Slipt loos, whom Brent shot Dead with his Pistoll. Th' Indians Shot Two or Three Guns out at the Door and fled, The English Shot as many as they cou'd, so that they Kill'd Ten, as Capt. Brent told me, and brought away the Kings Son of about 8 Years old, Concerning whom is an Observable Passage, at the end of the Expedition; the Noise of this Shooting awaken'd th' Indians in the Cabin

which Coll: Mason had Encompassed, who likewise Rush'd out and fled, of whom his Company (supposing from that Noise of Shooting Brent's party to be engaged) shott (as the Coll: Inform'd me) Fourteen before an Indian Came, who with both hands Shook him (friendly) by one Arm Saying *Susquehanougs Netoughs* i.e. Susquehanaugh friends, and fled, Whereupon he ran amongst his Men, Crying out "For the Lords sake Shoot no more, there are our friends the Susquehanoughs."

...The Susquehanoughs were newly driven from their Habitations, at the head of Chesepiack Bay, by the Cineka-Indians, down to the head of Potomack, where they sought Protection under the Pascataway Indians, who had a fort near the Head of that River, and also were our Friends.

After this unfortunate Exploit of Mason and Brent, one or Two being kill'd in Stafford, Boats of War were Equipt to prevent Excursions over the River, and at the same time Murders being (likewise) Committed in Maryland, by whom not known, on either Side the River, both Countrys raised their Quota's of a Thousand Men, upon whose coming before the Fort, Th' Indians sent out 4 of their great Men, who ask'd the Reason of that Hostile Appearance, what they said more or offered, I Do not Remember to have heard; But our Two Commanders Caused them to be (Instantly) Slaine, after which the Indians made an Obstinate Resistance, Shooting many of our Men, and making frequent, fierce and Bloody Sallyes; and when they were Call'd to, or offerd Parley, Gave, no other answer, than "where are our four Cockarouses, i.e. Great Men?"

At the End of Six weeks, March'd out Seventy five Indians with their Women children etc. who (by Moon light) past our Guards, hollowing and firing att Them without Opposition, leaving 3 or 4 Decrepits in the Fort.

These Escap'd Indians (forsaking Maryland,) took their Rout over the Head of that River, and thence over the heads of Rappahannock and York Rivers, killing whom they found of th' upmost Plantations untill they Came to the Head of James River, where (with Bacon and others,) they Slew Mr. Bacon's Overseer whom He much Loved, and One of his Servants, whose Bloud Hee Vowed to Revenge if possible.

In these frightfull times the most Exposed small families withdrew into our houses of better Numbers, which we fortified with Pallisadoes and redoubts, Neighbours in Bodies Joined their Labours from each Plantation to others Alternatively, taking their Arms into the Fields, and Setting Centinels; no Man Stirrd out of Door unarm'd, Indians were (ever and anon) espied, Three 4, 5, or 6 in a Party Lurking throughout the Whole Land.

Frequent Complaints of Bloudsheds were sent to Sr. Wm. Berkeley (then Governour,) from the Heads of the Rivers, which were as often Answered, with Promises of Assistance.

These at the Heads of James and York Rivers (having now most People destroyed by the Indians Flight thither from Potomack) grew Impatient at the many Slaughters of the Neighbours and rose for their own Defence, who Chusing Mr. Bacon for their Leader Sent often times of the Governour, humbly Beseeching a commission to go against those Indians at their own Charge which his Honour as often promis'd but did not send;...

During these Protractions and people often Slaine, most or all the Officers, Civill and Military, with as many Dwellers next the Heads of the Rivers as made up 300 Men, taking Mr, Bacon for their Commandr. met, and Concerted together, the Danger of going without a Comissn on the one Part, and the Continuall Murders of their Neighbours on th' other Part...and Came to this Resolution vizt. To prepare themselves with necessaries for a March, but interim to send again for a Comission, which if could or could not be Obteyned by a certaine day, they woud proceed Commission or no Commission.

This day Lapsing and no Comn. Come, They march'd into the Wilderness in Quest of these Indians after whom the Governour sent his Proclamation, Denouncing all Rebels,....

Source: [Thomas Matthews] "The Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion, 1675-1676." Narratives of the Insurrections 1675-1690. Edited by Charles M. Andrews. New York, 1915. Pp. 15-21.

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### LAND HUNTING TO GERMANNA WITH JOHN FONTAINE, 1715

November 9, 1715. Sunday. Williamsburg, Virginia. At eight of the clock in the morning, Mr. Clayton and I waited on Governor Spotswood. We tell him we were going to the German town to know if he had any service there. We breakfasted with him and at 9 we mounted our horses, and set out from Williamsburg....

November 10, 1715. Sunday. King William County. We remained here all this day. I went to see Mr. Moor's improvements in the marsh, where by draining he hath very good hay....

November 12, 1715. ...About 11 we took our leaves and continued on our way, the day very windy. We see by the side of the road an Indian Cabin, which was built with posts put into the ground, the one by the other, as close as they could lay, and about seven feet high all of an equal length. It was built four square and a sort of roof upon it covered with the bark of trees. They say it keeps out the rain very well...We continued on our road, we see several squirrels and were on horseback till ten of the clock at night and then arrived to Mr. Robert Beverley's house....

November 13, 1715. Wednesday. ...After breakfast we went to see Mr. Beverly's vineyard. We see the several sorts of vines which are natural and grow here in the woods. This vineyard is situated upon the side of a hill and consists of about three acres of land. He assures us that he made this year about four hundred gallons of wine. He hath been at great expences about this improvement. He hath also caves and a wine press, but according to the method they use in Spain he hath not the right method for it, nor his vineyard is not rightly managed. He hath several plants of French vines amongst them.

November 14, 1715. Thursday. ...We diverted ourselves within doors and drunk very heartily of the wine of his own making, which was good, but I found by the taste that he did not understand how for to make it....

November 19, 1715. Tuesday. In the morning about nine of the clock, we mounted our horses and took our leave of Mr. Beverly...about three we came to a place upon Rappahannoc River, called Taliaferro's Mount, from whence we had a feeble view of the Appalachian Mountains, but a fine view of the river, which is navigable for large ships, and several fine islands in it....

November 20, 1715. Wednesday. At seven in the morning we took our leave of Mrs. Woodford...we put on our way and about 5 miles from Mrs. Woodfords we came upon a tract of three thousand acres of land which is in the disposal of Mr. Beverly, which he told me when I was at his house he would sell me at the rate of £7:10 per hundred acres. I rid over part of the land and found it to be well timbered and good. It fronts upon the river of Rappahannoc about half a mile, where vessels of 100 tons or sloops may come; and five miles above it I see a small river which runs through the heart of the land which river they call Massaponax, and fit for to set mills upon. I would have agreed for this tract of

land, but that Mr. Beverly would not dispose of it as commonly land is disposed of, but would have the deeds made to me for nine hundred and ninety nine years, which I would not, but insisted on having it for me and my heirs for ever. So I did not buy the land of him...we continued on the road. About five we crossed a bridge that was made by the Germans and about six we arrived to the German settlement...

November 21, 1715. Thursday. Our beds not being very easy, as soon as 'twas day we got up. It rained hard, but notwithstanding we walked about the town which is pallisaded with stakes stuck in the ground, and laid close the one to the other, of substance to bear out a musket shot. There is but nine families and they have nine houses built all in a line, and before every house about 20 feet from the house they have small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that the hog stys and houses make a street. This place that is paled in is a pentagon, very regularly laid out, and in the very centre there is a blockhouse made with five sides which answers to the five sides of pales or great inclosure. There is loop holes through it, from which you may see all the inside of the inclosure. This was intended for a retreat for the people in case they were not able to defend the pallisadoes if attacked by the Indians...This town or settlement lies upon Rappahannoc river 30 miles above the Falls and 30 miles from any Inhabitants....

November 23, 1715. Saturday. At eight in the morning breakfasted and got our horses and continued on our road. About 11 we met with Mr. Beverly and went with him to see a piece of land he had to sell containing 500 acres. It lies upon Rappahannoc river, it fronts one mile on the river and on one side of it there is a large creek navigable for sloops, and there is an old house on the land, and 100 acres of cleared land about it, and the other 400 acres had wood growing on it, but all the large timber is cut down. He asked £15 per hundred acres for it, but I thought that too dear and we could not agree....

November 26, 1715. Tuesday. In the morning we crossed York river Ferry to the Brick house. About one we put up at Fourrier's ordinary, where we dined. At two we set from thence and at 5 in the afternoon we arrived at Williamsburg.

Source: Edward Porter Alexander (ed.). The Journal of John Fontaine, An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia 1710-1719. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va., distributed by The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1977. Pp. 83, 85-89.

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## JOHN FONTAINE TRAVELS OVER THE BLUE RIDGE

August 20, 1716. [Monday]. Williamsburg, Virginia. In the morning got my horses ready and what baggage was necessary and I waited on the Governor who was in a readiness for an expedition over the Appalachian Mountains....

August 25, 1716. [Saturday]. Germantown. After dinner we went to see the mines, but I could not observe that there was any good mine. The Germans pretended that 'tis a silver mine. We took some of the ore and endeavoured to run it, but could get nothing out of it and I am of opinion it will not come to any thing, not as much as lead....

August 26, 1716. [Sunday]. Germanna. At seven we got up and several gentlemen of the country that were to meet the governor at this place for the expedition, came here, as also two companies of Rangers, consisting each of 6 men and an officer to each company, as also four Meherrin Indians...At twelve we dined and after dinner we mounted our horses and crossed Rappahannoc river that runs by this place and went to find some convenient

place for our horses to feed in and to view the land hereabouts. Our guide left us and we went so far in the woods that we did not know the way back again, so we hallooed and shot, and in half an hour after sunset the guide came to us, and we came to cross the river by another ford higher up...After we forded the river and came on the other side where the bank was steep also and one of our company going up, his horse fell back upon the top of him in the river, but he received no other damage than being heartily wet which made sport of the rest....

August 29, 1716. [Wednesday]. Germanna. In the morning we got all things in readiness and about one we left the German town for to set out on our intended journey. At five in the afternoon the governor gave orders to encamp near a small river three miles from Germanna, which we called Expedition Run....

August 30, 1716. [Thursday]. Beverly Camp. In the morning about seven of the clock the trumpet sounded to awake all the company, and we got up...We remained here because two of the Governor's horses strayed and at half an hour after two we got the horses, and at three we mounted and half an hour after four,...we came to another small river, which is at the foot of a small mountain, so we encamped here and called this Mountain Run, and our camp we called Todd Camp...Made 6 miles this day.

August 31, 1716. [Friday]. From Todd's Camp. At eight in the morning, we set out from Mountain river, and about five miles from this place we came upon the upper part of Rappahannoc river...About five miles farther we crossed the same river again, and two miles farther we met with a large bear and one of our company shot him and I got the skin...about two miles from the place where we killed the bear we encamped upon Rappahannoc river and from our encampment we see the Appalachian Hills very plain. We made large fires, pitched our tents and cut boughs to lie upon, and had good liquor and at ten we went to sleep....

September 1, 1716. [Saturday]. Smith's Camp. About eight we mounted our horses, and we made about six miles of our way through a very pleasant plain which lies where Rappahannoc River forks. There is the largest timber that ever I see, the finest and deepest mold, and good grass upon it...About five of the clock we came to a run of water at the foot of a hill where we pitched our tents...We called this Dr. Robinson's Camp,....

September 2, 1716. [Sunday]. Dr. Robinson's Camp. At nine we were all on horseback, and about five miles off we crossed almost the head of the Rappahannoc River, where it is very small. We had a very rugged way. We passed over a great many small runs of water which were some very deep and others very miry. Several of the company were dismounted, some down with their horses and sometimes under them, others thrown off....

September 3, 1716. [Monday]. Taylor's Camp. About eight were on horseback, and about ten we came amongst a thicket that was so well laced together that in getting through it tore off a great deal of our baggage and our clothes all to rags, and the saddles and holsters off...We made all this day but eight miles.

September 4, 1716. [Tuesday]. Colonel Robertson's Camp. ...The sides of the mountains are so full of vines and briars that we were forced to clear most of the way before us. We crossed one of the small mountains this side the Appalaches. From the top of it there is a fine prospect of the plains below. We were obliged to walk up the most of the way, there being abundance of loose stones on the side of the hill...We made about four miles and so we came to the side of James River where a man may jump over it and here we encamped and pitched our tents,....

September 5, 1716. [Wednesday]. Brooks Camp. At nine we were mounted, a fair day, we were obliged to have axemen to clear the way in some places. We followed the

windings of the top of James River, observing that it came from the very top of the mountains...About one of the clock we came to the top of the mountain; which is about four miles and a half, and came to the very head spring of James River where it runs no bigger than a man's arm, from under a large stone. We drunk King George's health here and all the Royal Family. This is the very top of the Appalachian Mountains. About a musket shot from this spring there is another which rises and runs down the other side. It goes westward. We thought we could go down that way but met with such prodigious precipices that we were obliged to return to the top again. We found some trees which had been formerly marked, I suppose by the Northern Indians, and followed those trees and found a good safe descent. Several of the company were for returning but the Governor persuaded them to continue on. About five we were down on the other side and continued our way for about seven miles further until we came to a large river where we encamped by the side of it....

September 6, 1716. [Thursday]. Spotswood Camp (Our Governor). We crossed this river which we called Euphrates. It is very deep and the main course of the water is north. It is four score yards wide in the narrowest place and about two foot and ½ water from side to side. We drank some healths on the other side and returned...I got some grass hoppers and fished. And another and I caught a dish of fish. We took some perch and a fish they call Chubb...The Governor had graving irons but could not grave any thing the stones were so hard. I graved my name on a tree by the river side and the governor buried a bottle with a paper enclosed in which he writ that he took possession of this place in the name and for King George I<sup>st</sup> of England. We had a good dinner. After dinner we got the men all together and loaded all their arms and we drunk the King's health in Champagne, and fired a volley; and Prince's health in Burgundy, and fired a volley; and all the rest of the Royal Family in Claret, and a volley. We drunk the Governor's health and fired another volley. We had several sorts of liquors, namely Virginia Red Wine and White Wine, Irish Usquebaugh, Brandy, Shrub, two sorts of Rum, Champagne, Canary, Cherry punch, Cider, Water &c...The highest of the mountains we called it Mount George, and the one we crossed over Mount Spotswood.

September 7, 1716. [Friday]. Spotswood Camp, the other side the Appalaches. At seven in the morning mounted our horses and we parted with the rangers, who were to go farther on, and returned homewards....

September 10, 1716. [Monday]. Captain Smith's Camp. At eight we were on horseback...At one we arrived to a large spring where we dined and drunk a bowl of punch. We called this Fontaine's spring. About two we got a horseback and at four we came to Germanna. The Governor thanked the Gentlemen for their assistance in the expedition....

September 17, 1716. [Monday]. Colonel Basset. Mattapony River. At ten we left Colonel Basset and at three we arrived at Williamsburg where I dined with him and so went to my lodgings and to bed, being well tired as well as my horses. I reckon that from Williamsburg to the Euphrates River is in all 219 miles, so that our journey going and coming 438 miles in all.

Source: Edward Porter Alexander (ed.). The Journal of John Fontaine, An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia 1710-1719. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va., distributed by The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1977. Pp. 101-107, 109.

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## SPOTSWOOD CONCLUDES PEACE WITH IROQUOIS AT ALBANY

[Aug. 29, Sept. 6, 10-12, 1722]

### Conference between Governor Spotswood and the Five Nations.

Propositions made to the Five Nations of Indians to wit the Maquase, Aneydes, Onnondages Cayouges and Sinnekees, by His Excellency Alex: Spotswood Esquire Governor of His Majestys Dominion of Virginia in Albany the 29 Aug 1722

PRESENT— His Excellency Alex: Spotswood Esquire Governor of Virginia  
--Coll Nathaniel Harrison Esquire of His Majestys Council of Virginia  
--Coll William Robinson Esquire a Member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia

Interpreted by Lawrence Claese after it was translated into Dutch by Robert Livingston

#### Sachims and Warriors of the 5 Nations

You often say that your Covenant Chain with Virginia is grown rusty and have urged of late years, that some Commissioners for the Colony should be sent to this Place to brighten the same.

This is an old Story which the People of Virginia remember to have been continually rung in their ears and are sensible that none of the many Treaties which they have made for near fifty years past have ever been long observed on the part of the 5 Nations. Wherefore I am now come hither as Governor of Virginia accompanied by some members of that Government in order to try if our Covenant Chain cannot be so polished as never more to grow rusty and to endeavor at establishing an everlasting Peace between your People and ours comprehending not only the Christian Inhabitants of Virginia but also the several Nations of Indians belonging to and subject to that Government and according to the custom of this Place, I signify to you this Proposition by giving 2 Belts of Wampum, the one for the Government of Virginia and the other for all its tributary Indians.

Nothing but your assuredly promising (as you did here last year to your Governor) that you would agree to the Preliminary Articles offered by Virginia could have perswaded that Government to send hither to treat with you and therefore before I enter upon any other matter, I expect you to ratify and confirm that principle article which you have declared that you will faithfully observe If I take care that our Indians perform the same on their Part Viz. "That the great River of Potowmak and the High Ridge of Mountains which extend all along the Frontiers of Virginia to the Westward of the present Settlements of that Colony shall be for ever the established Boundaries between the Indians subject to the Dominion of Virginia and the Indians belonging to and depending on the 5 Nations: So that neither our Indians shall on any pretence whatsoever pass to the Northward or Westward of the said Boundaries without having to produce a Passport, under the Hand and Seal of the Governor or Commander in Cheif of Virginia nor your Indians pass to the Southward or Eastward of the said Boundaries without a Passport in the like Manner from the Governor or Commander in Cheif of New York."

Now not only our Indians have give us solemn assurances of their keeping within the prescribed Limits but we have also by this act of Assembly taken such measures for their due

performance of the same that the Government of Virginia undertakes and engages for their nations in this Particular Article, which I expect should be done in a Solemn manner not only by their Sachims but also by all their Warriors here present and for that purpose I offer you this fine Coronet as a singular Token to be held up in the Presence of all who are upon this occasion assembled, by that Person whom you shall appoint to declare the General Assent of the 5 Nations to this Proposition and let all your People Present at the same time give a shout be taken as a Signal Testimony of their concurrence besides I will have it signed by your Sachims and myself before I will either propose or present you with any thing further on the part of Virginia.

A True Copy examined Per P:  
LIVINGSTON Secretary for the Indian  
Affairs

**Answer of the five Nations of Indians viz. The Maquase Oneyes, Cayouges and Sinnekes to His Excellency Alexander Spotswood Governor of His Majesty's Dominion of Virginia, in Albany the 6<sup>th</sup> Day of September 1722**

PRESENT – His Excellency Alexander Spotswood Esq. Governor of Virginia  
Coll: Nathaniel Harrison a Member of His Majesty's Council of Virginia  
Coll William Robinson a Member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia

Interpreted by Lawrence Claese in the Dutch language and rendered into English by Robert Livingston.

BROTHER ASSARIGOE the name of the Governors of Virginia, which signifys a Simeter or Cutlas which was given to the Lord Howard, anno 1684 from the dutch word Hower, a Cutlas.

We the Sachims of the five Nations, the Mohogs, Oneydes, Onnondages Cayouges and Sinnekees, together with the Tuscarores are come here upon His Excellency the Governor of New Yorks message.

We have heard the Proposition of the Governor of Virginia with great attention and considered it very maturely, but before we answer we must impart what our ancestors have done with respect to this Government.

When the Christians first came here, they came in a great ship, and we were glad of their coming and fastened the Ship behind a great Tree and our business then was trading and Merchandize.

And considering the benefit thereof and that the Tree to which the Ship was fastned might rot, and so let the Ship go we carried the Anchor behind a great Mountain, so we might keep it forever, and it was we that desired the Christians to come to settle among us and not they.

The third thing that was done by the Christians and our Ancestors, after they understood one an other was to enter into a Covenant of Friendship which they called the Covenant Chain and to the best of our Knowledge that Covenant has been kept by both parties from that time to this, And both our Ancestors were so prudent that they stipulated



and agreed that if any bad accidents of mischief should happen on either side it should be forgot and forgiven and not make a Breach in the Covenant Chain.

Brother Assarigoe. When the neighbouring Governments of Virginia and Pensilvania and New England found how well we agreed they were glad to link their Hands in the same Covenant Chain and there were two Places Viz. Albany and Onnondague appointed to meet at and to settle a right understanding in case any mischief should happen of either side.

Brother Assarigoe. We will not make any further mention of these old Stories of what Our Ancestors did but will now come to the Point and answer your Propositions and we hope if our answer should not be given with that respect and regard which is your due you will excuse us.

Brother Assarigoe. You told us some days ago that the five Nations say that the Covenant Chain which was made betwixt us, and Virginia fifty years ago is grown rusty and that we did not long keep or observe the Condition of it and you have forbid us to pass the Southside of the Great River Kahongoronton which you call Potowmack or to the East side of the great Ridge of Mountains which extend all along the Frontiers of Virginia.

In the first place we agreed to this Article and faithfully promise not to pass over the great River Kahongoronton which the English call Potowmack nor the great Rid(g)e of Mountains which extend along your Frontiers we are glad to find you are come here to renew the Peace as well in the behalf of the Christians as the Indians of Virginia. We wish you had brought some of the Sachims of your Indians that they might have spoke to us face to face and have put their hands into the Covenant Chain, but since you are come here we agree to accept what you offer in their behalf in the same manner as if they were present, and tho' there is a Nation amongst you, the Toderechrones (Christian Indians) against whom we have had so inverterate an enmity, that we thought it impossible it could be extinguished, but by a total Extirpation of them, yet since you desire it we are willing to receive them into this Peace and to forgive all that is past.

It has pleased God to make you Christians and us Heathens but we hope we shall both act according to our capacities and be faithful to our respective Promises and engagements, Some are placed in High Stations and some in low, but there is one above who rules and Governs all and will judge us according to our Actions.

We hope you will observe that your Indians which you have engaged for, perform what you have promised for them That they shall not pass to Northward of the River Kahongoronton, nor to the Westward of the Great Ridge of Mountains and as you gave us two Belts one from the Christians and the other from the Indians of Virginia so we give you two Belts one for your Christians and the other for your Indians.

It is some time agoe since you made this Proposition to us and you must not take it amiss that we have not answered you before, It was a thing of great importance and fit to be well considered, and it is now agreed not only by all our Sachims, but also by all our Warriors as well those which are absent as those which are present.

You have told us that we may pass the great River Kahongoronton and the Great Ridge of Mountains provided we have a Passport from the Governor of New York and we promise you again not to pass to the Southward or Eastward of the said Boundaries without such a Passport.

You told us after this you had something further to propose, relating to the General Peace which we hope you will now speak sincerely without Dissimulation.

You told us you had a Coronet, which you would have held up by our speaker and that at the same time we should make a shout as a token of our consent to this Article which we are now ready to do.

And we are now ready since you told us you were not satisfied with our words in this matter of consequence to sign your Propositions in the most publick manner.

All which was performed accordingly and the Speaker of the Five Nations holding up the Coronet they gave six Shouts five for the five Nations and one for [the] Tuscarores lately seated between Oneyde and Onnondage.

[Sachims and Warriors] And in Token of Virginia now burying all revenge and enmity for your past misdeeds, I lay down a Belt.

Above Six hundred miles have we from Virginia come hither to treat with you. Nine days after the appointed time of our meeting did we wait before I could have an opportunity of speaking with you and nine days longer before you answered my first Proposition so that seeing a Treaty at Albany occasions so much trouble and expence, you must not expect that the Government of Virginia will again agree to the renewing it after this manner, in this place. Wherefore let not your young Warriors be possessed with the foolish expectation of provoking (by their Incursions) a Governor of Virginia to come hither again to persuade you to observe this Treaty, for be assured the people there are resolved henceforth to compell the observance thereof. And I hope your firm Intentions are to behave themselves so towards Virginia, as that we may for ever acknowledge the five Nations to be our friends and allies.

And in Testimony of our Understanding this present Treaty to be made upon the footing of what I have already declared in my foregoing Propositions I shall so soon as I have received your Answer, lay down such a considerable Token as that not only your Sachims and Warriors but also your Women and Children bear some Remembrance of this Treaty.

A True Copy examined Per PH:  
LIVINGSTON Secretary for the Indian  
Affairs

**Further Answer of the Five Nations to His Excellency Alex: Spotswood Esquire  
Governor of Virginia in Albany 12 September 1722**

PRESENT – His Excellency Alex: Spotswood Esquire Governor of Virginia  
Coll Nathaniel Harrison one of His Majesty's Council of Virginia  
Coll William Robinson a Member of the assembly of Burgesses of Virginia

Commissioners of the Indian Affairs

Coll Peter Schuyler	Peter V. Brugh
Hendr. Hanse	Ph. Livingston
Johs. Cuyler	John Collins
Johs. Bleeker	

Brother Assarigoe. You are come six hundred miles to treat with us and we are glad to see you. You have made your Propositions to us wherein you call us Sachims and Warriors of the five Nations, and acquainted us since we had agreed not to pass the River Kahongoronton, nor the great Ridge of Mountains, that there is a Law in Virginia prohibiting us to pass that River or those Mountains under the Penalty of being transported or sold for Slaves, or put to death. We do assure you we are very well satisfied with that Law and desire that those Boundaries may be for ever observed, You have also told us that you

will engage for ten Nations of Indians in Virginia, that they shall not Pass to the North side of the River Kahongoronton nor to the Westward of the Great Ridge of Mountains and that if we should meet with any of them without those Boundaries, we might use them as we thought fit, without Breaking this Peace notwithstanding which we assure you if any of your Indians shall happen in our way we will not hurt them, but treat them as friends and give them victuals, so desirous we are of being at Peace with them.

Brother Assarigoe. As to the Proposition you made relating to Negroes We promise that if any runaway Negroes or slaves shall happen to fall into our hands we will carry them to Coll: Masons on Potowmack River for the Reward you proposed: But as to those Negroes which you said we promised last year to send home we hope you will excuse us because they lye very much out of our way and may be had more easily by other Indians. Yet if we can serve Virginia in any other thing we shall be glad of an opportunity of doing it.

And lastly, we desire that this Peace may be kept by us and our Childrens Children who will rejoice for the making and concluding thereof. We have a small Present to make you and hope you will accept of it tho' it is a small one and excuse us that we are not able to give more – And then they gave some furs and Dear Skins.

The Governor thanked them for their Present and said he did not look upon it according to its value, but accepted it as if it had been much more. He said he wished it had been greater only on account of Captain Hicks to whom he gave it as a small Satisfaction of the damage he had sustained by the five Nations. Then they wished him a good voyage home and told him they should be glad to hear of his safe arrival.

Then the Governor told them he must take particular notice of their speaker and gave him a golden Horse Shoe which he wore at his Breast and bid the Interpreter tell him there was an inscription upon (it) which signified that it would help to pass over the mountains and that when any of their People should come to Virginia with a Pass they should bring it with them.

And then the Governor Gave them His Presents.

A True Copy examined Per PH:  
LIVINGSTON Secretary for the Indian  
Affairs

Source: Alden T. Vaughan (General Editor). Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws 1607-1789, Vol. IV, Virginia Treaties 1607-1722. W. Stitt Robinson, editor. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1983. Pp. 346-355.

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## **WILLIAM BYRD II: A PROGRESS TO THE MINES IN THE YEAR 1732**

I found Mr. Chiswell a sensible, well-bred man and very frank in communicating his knowledge in the mystery of making iron, wherein he has had long experience. I told him I was come to spy the land and inform myself of the expense of carrying on an ironwork with effect; that I sought my instruction from him, who understood the whole mystery, having gained full experience in every part of it, only I was very sorry he had bought that experience so dear. He answered that he would with great sincerity let me into the little knowledge he had, and so we immediately entered upon the business.

He assured me the first step I was to take was to acquaint myself fully with the quantity and quality of my ore. For that reason I ought to keep a good pickax man at work a whole year to search if there be a sufficient quantity, without which it would be a very rash undertaking. That I should also have a skillful person to try the richness of the ore. Nor is it great advantage to have in exceeding rich, because then it will yield brittle iron, which is not valuable. But the way to have it tough is to mix poor ore and rich together, which makes the poorer sort extremely necessary of the production of the best iron. Then he showed me a sample of the richest ore they have in England, which yields a full moiety of iron. It was of a pale red color, smooth and greasy, and not exceedingly heavy; but it produced so brittle a metal that they were obliged to melt a poorer ore along with it.

He told me, after I was certain my ore was good and plentiful enough, my next inquiry ought to be how far it lies from a stream proper to build a furnace upon, and again what distance that furnace will be from water carriage; because the charge of carting a great way is very heavy and eats out a great part of the profit. That this was the misfortune of the mines of Fredericksville, where they were obliged to cart the ore a mile to the furnace, and after 'twas run into iron to carry that twenty-four miles over an uneven road to Rappahannock River, about a mile below Fredericksburg, to a plantation the company rented of Colonel Page. If I were satisfied with the situation, I was in the next place to consider whether I had woodland enough near the furnace to supply it with charcoal, whereof it would require a prodigious quantity. That the properest wood for that purpose was that of oily kind, such as pine, walnut, hickory, oak, and in short all that yields cone, nuts, or acorns. That two mile square of wood would supply a moderate furnace, that so what you fell first may have time to grow up again to a proper bigness (which must be four inches over) by that time the rest is cut down.

He told me farther that 120 slaves, including women, were necessary to carry on all the business of an ironwork, and the more Virginians amongst then the better; though in that number he comprehended carters, colliers, and those that planted corn, That if there should be much carting, it would require 1,600 barrels of corn yearly to support the people and the cattle employed; nor does even that quantity suffice at Fredericksville.

That if all these circumstances should happily concur, and you could procure honest colliers and firemen, which will be difficult to do, you may easily run eight hundred tons of iron a year. The whole charge of freight, custom, commission, and other expenses in England, will not exceed 30s. a ton, and 'twill commonly sell for £6, and then the clear profit will amount to £4 10s. So that allowing the 10s. for accidents, you may reasonably expect a clear profit of £4, which bring multiplied by eight hundred, will amount to £3,200 a year, to pay you for your land and Negroes. But then it behooved me to be fully informed of the whole matter myself, to prevent being imposed upon; and if any offered to put tricks upon me, to punish them as they deserve.

Source: Louis B. Wright (ed.). The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover: Narrative of a Colonial Virginian. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966. Pp. 347-348.

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## WILLIAM BYRD: A JOURNEY TO THE LAND OF EDEN, ANNO 1733

[September] 11. Having recommended my family to the protection of the Almighty, I crossed the river with two servants and four horses and rode to Colonel Mumford's. There I met my friend, Mr. Banister, who was to be the kind companion of my travels. I stayed dinner with the good Colonel, while Mr. Banister made the best of his way home, to get his equipage ready in order to join me the next day.

[September] 15. ...we proceeded to Mr. Mumford's quarter, about five miles off, where Joseph Colson is overseer. Here our thirsty companions raised their drooping spirits with a cheerful dram, and, having wet both eyes, we rode on seven miles farther to Bluestone Castle, five whereof were through my own land, that is to say, all above Sandy Creek. My land there in all extends ten miles upon the river, and three charming islands, namely Sappony, Occaneechee, and Toter, run along the whole length of it. The lowest of these islands is three miles long, the next four, and the uppermost three, divided from each other by only a narrow strait. The soil is rich in all of them, the timber large, and a kind of a pea, very grateful to cattle and horses, holds green all the winter. Roanoke River is divided by these islands; that part which runs on the north side is about eighty yards and that on the south more than one hundred. A large fresh will overflow the lower part of these islands but never covers all, so that the cattle may always recover a place of security. The middlemost island, called Occaneechee Island, has several fields in it where Occaneechi Indians formerly lived, and there are still some remains of the peach trees they planted. My overseer, Harry Morris, did his utmost to entertain me and my company; the worst of it was, we were obliged all to be littered down in one room, in company with my landlady and four children, one of which was very sick and consequently very fretful.

[September] 18. Discouraged by our ill luck, we repaired to the company, who had procured some pieces of copper ore from Cargill's mine, which seemed full of metal. This mine lies about two miles higher than Major Mumford's plantation and has a better show than any yet discovered. There are so many appearances of copper in these parts that the inhabitants seem to be all mine-mad and neglect making of corn for their present necessities in hopes of growing very rich hereafter.

[September] 20. Everything being ready for a march, we left Bluestone Castle about ten. My company consisted of four gentlemen (namely, Major Mayo, Major Mumford, Mr. Banister, and Mr. Jones) and five woodsmen, Thomas Wilson, Henry Morris, Joseph Colson, Robert Bolling, and Thomas Hooper, four Negroes and three Tuscarora Indians....

We landed three miles above the point of the fork and, after marching three miles farther, reached the tenement of Peter Mitchell, the highest inhabitant on Roanoke River....From thence we rode through charming low grounds for six miles together to a larger stream, which we agreed to call Banister River....

[September] 20. The necessity of drying our baggage prevented us from marching till eleven o'clock. Then we proceeded through low grounds which were tolerably wide for three miles together, as far as a small creek, named by us Morris Creek. This tract of land I persuaded Mr. Banister to enter for, that he might not be a loser by the expedition. The low grounds held good a mile beyond the creek and then high land came quite to the river and made our traveling more difficult.

All the way we went we perceived there had been tall canes lately growing on the bank of the river but were universally killed; and, inquiring into the reason of this destruction, we were told that the nature of those canes was to shed their seed but once in seven years and the succeeding winter to die and make room for young ones to grow up in

their places. Thus much was certain, that four years before we saw canes grow and flourish in several places where they now lay dead and dry upon the ground.

Our Indians were so fearful of falling into the hands of the Catawbias that they durst not lose sight of us all day, so they killed nothing and we were forced to make a temperate supper upon bread and cheese.

[September] 24. ...A little above Jones's Creek we met with a pleasant situation where the herbage appeared more inviting than usual. The horses were so fond of it that we determined to camp there, although the sun had not near finished his course. This gave some of our company leisure to go out and search for the place where our line first crossed the Dan, and by good luck they found it within half a mile of the camp. But the place was so altered by the desolation which had happened to the canes (which had formerly fringed the banks of the river a full furlong deep) that we hardly knew it again. Pleased with this discovery, I forgot the pain in my knee, and the whole company eat their venison without any other sauce then keen appetite.

[September] 25. ...We drove on four miles farther to a plentiful run of very clear water and quartered on a rising ground a bowshot from it. We had no sooner pitched the tents, but one of our woodsmen alarmed us with the news that he had followed the track of a great body of Indians to the place where they had lately encamped. That there he had found no less than ten huts, the poles whereof had green leaves still fresh upon them. That each of these huts had sheltered at least ten Indians, who by some infallible marks must have been northern Indians. That they must needs have taken their departure from thence no longer ago than the day before, having erected those huts to protect themselves from the late heavy rains.

These tidings I could perceive were a little shocking to some of the company, and, particularly, the little Major, whose tongue had never lain still, was taken speechless for sixteen hours...

[September] 26. We liked the place so little that we were glad to leave it this morning as soon as we could...after riding four miles arrived at the mouth of Sable Creek. On the eastern bank of that creek, six paces from the mouth and just at the brink of the river Dan, stands a sugar tree, which is the beginning of my fine tract of land in Carolina called the Land of Eden. I caused the initial letters of my name to be cut on a large poplar and beech near my corner, for the more easy finding it another time. We then made a beginning of my survey, directing our course due south from the sugar tree above-mentioned....

[September] 27. We were stirring early from this enchanting place and ran eight miles of my back line, which tended south  $8\frac{1}{2}$  westerly. We found the land uneven but tolerably good, though very thin of trees, and those that were standing fit for little but fuel and fence rails. Some conflagration had effectually opened the country and made room for the air to circulate...

In the night our sentinel alarmed us with an idle suspicion that he heard the Indian whistle (which amongst them is a signal for attacking their enemies). This made everyone stand manfully to our arms in a moment...but after we had put ourselves in battle array, we discovered this whistle to be nothing but the nocturnal note of a little harmless bird that inhabits those woods....

[September] 28. We snapped up our breakfast as fast as we could, that we might have the more leisure to pick our way over a very bad ford across the river, though, bad as it was, we all got safe on the other side. We were no sooner landed but we found ourselves like to encounter a very rough and almost impassable thicket. However, we scuffled through

it without any dismay or complaint. This was a copse of young saplings, consisting of oak, hickory, and sassafras, which are the growth of a fertile soil. . . .

[September] 29. In measuring a mile and a half farther we reached the lower ford of the Irvin. . . . From thence in little more than a mile we came to the end of this course, being in length fifteen miles and eighty-eight poles. And so far the land held reasonably good; but when we came to run our northern course of three miles to the place where the country line intersects the same Irvin higher up, we passed over nothing but stony hills and barren grounds, clothed with little timber and refreshed with less water.

All my hopes were in the riches that might lie underground, there being many goodly tokens of mines. The stones which paved the river both by their weight and color promised abundance of metal; but whether it be silver, lead, or copper is beyond our skill to discern. We also discovered many shows of marble, of a white ground, with streaks of red and purple. So that 'tis possible the treasure in the bowels of the earth may make ample amends for the poverty of its surface. . . .

[October] 1. . . . We steered south from thence about a mile and then came upon the Dan, . . . . We forded it about a mile and a half to the westward of the place where the Irvin runs into it. When we were over, we determined to ride down the river on that side and for three miles found the high land come close down to it, pretty barren and uneven.

But then on a sudden the scene changed, and we were surprised with an opening of large extent where the Sauro Indians once lived, who had been a considerable nation. But the frequent inroads of the Senecas annoyed them incessantly and obliged them to remove from this fine situation about thirty years ago. They then retired more southerly as far as Pee Dee River and incorporated with the Keyauwees, where a remnant of them is still surviving. It must have been a great misfortune to them to be obliged to abandon so beautiful a dwelling, where the air is wholesome and the soil equal in fertility to any in the world. The river is about eighty yards wide, always confined within its lofty banks and rolling down its waters, as sweet as milk and as clear as crystal. There runs a charming level of more than a mile square that will bring forth like the lands of Egypt, without being overflowed once a year. There is scarce a shrub in view to intercept your prospect but grass as high as a man on horseback. Toward the woods there is a gentle ascent till your sight is intercepted by an eminence that overlooks the whole landscape. This sweet place is bounded to the east by a fine stream called Sauro Creek, which, running out of the Dan and tending westerly, makes the whole a peninsula. . . .

[October] 3. The fine season continuing, we made the most of it by leaving our quarters as soon as possible.

A mile after that we forded another stream, which we called Hatcher Creek, from two Indian traders of that name who used formerly to carry goods to the Sauro Indians. Near the banks of this creek I found a large beech tree with the following inscription cut upon the bark of it, "JH, HH, BB, lay here the 24<sup>th</sup> of May, 1673." It was not difficult to fill up these initials with the following names, Joseph Hatcher, Henry Hatcher, and Benjamin Bullington, three Indian traders, [who] had lodged near that place sixty years before in their way to the Sauro town. . . .

[October] 5. Our invalids found themselves in traveling condition this morning and began to conceive hopes of returning home and dying in their own beds. We pursued our journey through uneven and perplexed woods and in the thickest of them had the fortune to knock down a young buffalo of two years old. Providence threw this vast animal in our way very seasonably just as our provisions began to fail us. . . . Our butchers were so

unhandy at their business that we grew very lank before we could get our dinner. But when it came, we found it equal in goodness to the best beef....

[October] 13. ...After beating the new road for twenty miles, we struck off toward Meherrin, which we reached in eight miles farther and then came to the plantation of Joshua Nicholson, where Daniel Taylor lives for halves. There was a poor dirty house, with hardly anything in it but children that wallowed about like so many pigs. It is a common case in this part of the country that people live worst upon good land, and the more they are befriended by the soil and the climate the less they will do for themselves. This man was an instance of it, for though his plantation would make plentiful returns for a little industry, yet he, wanting that, wanted everything. The woman did all that was done in the family, and the few garments they had to cover their dirty hides were owing to her industry. We could have no supplies from such neighbors as these but depended on our own knapsacks, in which we had some remnants of cold fowls that we brought from Bluestone Castle....

[October] 16. ...I pushed forward with vigor and got dripping wet before I could reach Merchant's Hope Point. My boat was there luckily waiting for me and wafted me safe over. And the joy of meeting my family in health made me in a moment forget all the fatigues of the journey...However, the good Providence that attended me and my whole company will, I hope, stick fast in my memory and make me everlasting thankful.

Source: Louis B. Wright (ed.). The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover - Narratives of a Colonial Virginian. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966. Pp. 381, 384-385, 387-390, 392-401, 408-409, 411-412.

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## LAND POLICY AND SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTHERN SHENANDOAH VALLEY

In this essay Warren Hofstra points out the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley was not haphazard. Rather, it was shaped by the desires of the settlers, the policies pursued by the Royal Governor, and the goals of the Fairfax Proprietor.

American land policy, as defined by colonial governments or proprietors, provided a uniform means for distributing land and people across large areas. Regional variations in settlement patterns usually followed only from differences in the European background, religion, or economic intent of settlers themselves. Settlement in the northern, lower portion of the Shenandoah Valley in the early eighteenth century demonstrated an exception to this pattern. Here the competing and overlapping land policies of the colony of Virginia and the Proprietary of the Northern Neck laid the foundation for the development of two distinctive and autonomous social areas.

The valley remained virtually unoccupied until the 1730s. Within a decade, however, close to five thousand men and women had settled in the lower (northern) valley alone. Shortages of good land and high land prices in the northern colonies had started people moving south, but the land policy of the colonial government of Virginia directed them into the Shenandoah Valley. By virtue of the policies of the Proprietary of the Northern Neck, the lower valley also became the focal point for settlement by Virginia planters pushing west from tidewater and piedmont regions during the late 1760s and early 1770s.



Both the colony and the proprietary laid claim to the land of the lower valley and traced their rights to seventeenth-century charters. Virginia attached its claim to the original charters founding the colony. The Northern Neck Proprietary, on the other hand, had been established by Charles II in a 1649 charter to seven loyalist followers in the then-unknown territory between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. Throughout the eighteenth century, settlers in the lower valley had to deal with both the colony and the proprietary and to live with land titles made uncertain by a conflict between them. The particular resolution of this conflict ensured that peoples with different cultural traditions would persist in the region separately. The western portion of the lower valley would emerge as an area of small-scale general farming and a society of middling property owners, whereas the eastern portion would undergo development by large-scale plantation agriculture and a society dominated by an Anglo-American gentry.

Two imperatives governed the land policy of colonial Virginia: the need to secure western frontiers and the desire to thwart the proprietary's claims. The first was defined early in the eighteenth century, and the second in the 1720s, as the proprietary's claims grew serious. During King Williams's War (1689-1697), western defenses became ever more urgent with the expanding alliance between the French and the Indians in the Ohio Valley. Compact settlement by armed men was the purpose of an act in the House of Burgesses passed in 1701 "for the better strengthening of the frontiers." The act empowered the council to issue grants of from ten thousand to thirty thousand acres of western land to companies or societies that would settle one "Christian warlike man" for every five hundred acres granted. The act had virtually no immediate effect but did set important precedents. Land was thenceforth to be used as an inducement for frontier settlement. Tracts would be small and issued just to actual settlers because only dense settlement could secure western areas. To facilitate settlement, intermediaries would receive large grants with the obligation to fix a certain number of families on the land in proportion to the size of the grant. A second act, passed in 1705, added the inducement of low taxes; the costs of constructing public buildings in western counties would be shared by the counties from which they were divided.

Alexander Spotswood, lieutenant governor of Virginia from 1710 to 1722, took the first successful steps toward western settlement. In 1713 he had received the burgesses' approval to establish forts in the piedmont. Another act passed in the same year required that each recipient of a colonial grant be required to cultivate three out of every fifth granted acres within a stipulated time period.

Spotswood's most important contribution to settlement in the Shenandoah Valley came with the founding of Brunswick and Spotsylvania counties in 1720. Spotsylvania included the territory that eighteen years later would become Frederick County, the geographical focus of this essay. The purpose of these new counties was to encourage western settlement, because "the frontiers towards the high mountains are exposed to danger from the Indians, and the late settlements of the French to the westward. Building on precedents, the act encouraged movement into the new counties by deferring payment of treasury rights on land and by remitting quitrents for seven years.

By the time Spotswood was replaced in 1722, the major components of Virginia land policy were in place. Sir William Gooch, lieutenant governor from 1717 to 1749, orchestrated the actual settlement. When the act establishing Frederick County passed in 1738, it exempted citizens from parish and county levies until the county government actually formed and for ten years thereafter. Gooch strove in other ways to make the settlement of Virginia's frontiers attractive. He recognized that many of the farmers coming

from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, or directly from Europe, were not English, sometimes spoke no English, and usually worshipped outside the Anglican communion. He was concerned that such settlers might be discouraged from coming to Virginia, where the Anglican church was established, and he took pains to reassure them "that no interruption shall be given to any minister . . . , so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration." In this way he fostered religious pluralism west of the Blue Ridge.

Gooch put into operation the family settlement requirement that had lain at the base of Virginia's land policy since 1701, and he perfected the system of using large grant holders as intermediaries in enforcing this policy. In 1730 he began issuing large grants of valley land to individuals and to small groups. These were not actual land grants but orders authorizing their recipients to enter the valley and to distribute a given quantity of land within a large territory vaguely defined by prominent geographical features. These territories often overlapped. Gooch required that those who held these orders settle one family for every thousand acres within two years. When, and if, these requirements were met, the council would issue to each settler a patent that constituted a permanent title to land.

The men who held the original orders acted like land agents for the colony. They possessed the right to sell land at a reasonable price and in quantities determined in cooperation with the actual settler. These men could also patent large quantities of land for themselves. Because the costs of acquiring land were considerable and because patents required that settlers must "cultivate and improve Three Acres part of every Fifty Acres" in three years, settlers did not engage in an orgy of land acquisition but limited the tracts they claimed to a manageable size. "Without taking up these large Tracts upon which great improvements were necessary to be made," Gooch said, "these Counties would not have been settled so speedily as they have been, and much of that land which has been seated in small parcels would in all probability have remained to this day desolate." He knew that his policy would promote the rapid settlement of the Appalachians and help to secure Virginia's frontiers. He also knew that the settlements would appear to countermand the proprietary's claim to land west of the Blue Ridge.

For the area that was to become Frederick County, orders issued to three sets of individuals -- Isaac and John Van Meter, Jost Hite and Robert McKay, and Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan -- were most important. These men all shared certain characteristics. None were Virginians; all came to Virginia from the northern colonies, and several had been born in Europe. All were self-made men who acquired sizable estates and had an interest in the land that was speculative and commercial. In meeting the settlement requirements imposed by the colony, they recruited settlers, much like themselves in outlook and origin and placed them on relatively small parcels of land.

Hite and Ross played the key roles in defining patterns of settlement in Frederick County. They settled in the county and passed the remainder of their lives there. The Van Meters, however, were the first to receive orders from the Virginia Council for land in the area. On 17 June 1730, they obtained the rights to distribute forth thousand acres but sold them the next year to Hite and his partners. By this time Hite already held orders of his own for a hundred thousand acres. Hite, a native of Bonfeld in Baden-Wurtemberg, had immigrated to the English colonies in 1709, initially residing in New York and then in Pennsylvania. In 1732 he moved to Virginia with his large family and an entourage of German and Ulster (predominantly Scotch-Irish) settlers. Hite established himself along the springs of the Opequon Creek in western Frederick County about five miles south of the future site of Winchester, Virginia. Ross, an Irish Quaker with a Pennsylvania background, settled shortly thereafter about twelve miles to the north. There he located a number of

fellow Quakers and aided in the establishment of a Quaker meeting. Both Hite and Ross actively recruited settlers in Pennsylvania. Hite's son Jacob reportedly traveled to Ireland in a recruiting effort. By the mid 1730s, Hite and Ross had succeeded in having more than a hundred patents issued to valley settlers. Even more families were on the land, but the growing conflict with the proprietary prevented the colony from issuing more patents. Nearly all these first settlers lived west of the Opequon Creek, which would shortly become the eastern boundary of small-farm settlement.

### **Robert Carter and his Proprietary**

In 1719 rights to the Northern Neck Proprietary devolved on Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax. Initially Fairfax remained in England and managed his proprietary through a Virginia agent, Robert Carter. During the critical years of the late 1720s and the 1730s, when interest in Appalachian land was growing, it was Carter rather than Fairfax who determined the proprietary's land policy. Thus, Carter, like Hite and Ross, came to play an important role in the settlement of Frederick County; but Carter came to the part from a vastly different background.

At the time he became Fairfax's agent in 1719, Robert Carter was a powerful member of a prominent group of tidewater planters who dominated the House of Burgesses and the governor's council. Carter's many plantations and the list of his offices in local and colonial government had earned him the epithet "King." As agent in the Northern Neck, he represented the interests of both his employer and his class, and in the 1720s Fairfax gave Carter a free hand to unite these interests. Thus, Carter could defend proprietary boundaries against incursions from the colony and collect quitrents, while encouraging tidewater planters to acquire land. Carter also secured a sizable portion of the best land for himself. This land ultimately passed into the hands of many of Virginia's most prominent families.

Carter accepted the agency knowing its problems well. His immediate predecessor, Edward Jennings, had been unable to pay the fees he owed the Fairfaxes from the quitrents he could collect and was mired in debt. Carter realized that the "one great prerequisite of this estate is the granting away the lands that are untaken up, of which there is a very large quantity." He felt assured that Fairfax "intended me the power of doing this," for he knew Fairfax did not wish to be involved in proprietary affairs. During the 1720s, the royal court occupied most of Fairfax's attention. Besides, under the terms of his mother's will, he received none of the income from the proprietary; all revenues went into trusts for his younger brothers and sisters until they came of age. When Robert, his youngest brother, turned twenty-one in 1728, Fairfax had already fully leased the proprietary to Carter. This lease gave Carter explicit power to grant land, placed no restriction on the size of grants, and imposed no settlement requirements.

From 1723 to 1725 Carter issued seventy grants ranging between a hundred and three hundred acres in the piedmont. In 1725, however, when Carter took out his lease on the proprietary, his policy changed abruptly. He eliminated small grants to individuals, and made only large grants to be settled as tenancies. He secured tenants with only moderate success, but he did acquire vast quantities of land. From 1724 to 1732 he granted more than a hundred thousand acres to himself and his family.

Two grants to family members in the lower Shenandoah Valley were of immense size and importance; both lay in the eastern portion of the future Frederick County and mainly on the opposite side of the Opequon from Hite's and Ross's settlements. The first grant, made on 22 September 1730 to various sons and grandsons encompassed more than fifth thousand acres of prime limestone land extending roughly from Opequon Creek to the

Shenandoah River and lying between the present-day towns of Berryville and White Post. The next day Carter granted his son-in-law, Mann Page of Rosewell, a smaller tract, just to the north of the larger grant and on both sides of the Shenandoah River. These grants imposed no stipulations on the Carter family to settle anyone on their land or even to make any improvements. Although required in theory to pay quitrents, Carter's relatives paid nothing on their land because Carter simply carried quitrents on his books as unpaid loans. In making these grants Carter brought a portion of the valley into the very center of a group of dominant Tidewater families, including Pages, Burwells, Nicholases, and Harrisons. When Carter's heirs sold their land, they usually passed it to members of their own class, notably Washingtons, Wormeleys, Randolphs, Nelsons, Lees, and Whitings.

When Carter's grandchildren, great-grandchildren, their families, and associates finally came to this land to establish their estates in the 1780s and 1790s, they created a society west of the Blue Ridge and east of the Opequon in the mold of the one they had known in the tidewater. It was more ethnically homogeneous, more uniformly Anglican, and wealthier in land, slaves, and personal property than the farmer society to the west with which it shared a county government and a court.

Tradition, environment, and particularly land policy laid the foundations for this dual pattern. Some authors have overstated the importance of geographical and environmental factors in shaping the settlement and culture of the valley. They have argued too simply that the clustering of tidewater planters in east Frederick was the result of that region's proximity to eastern Virginia or of adaptation to particular landforms and soils. Willard F. Bliss, for example, has argued that it was limestone soil alone that brought tidewater planters to the valley and situated them there. Because he mislocates and exaggerates the size of the Carter grant, he fails to appreciate the effect of the grant and the land policy that created it on the localization of tidewater influence in the lower valley.

Undeniably limestone land appealed to early landholders. Two bands of limestone ran along the strike of the valley; one lay on the eastern edge of its floor, and the other along the western edge. Separating them was a band of shale. Carter's heirs came into possession of some of the best land on the eastern band, and Hite's first settlers avoided the less-productive shale, preferring the fertile limestone land on the western band. Initially, however, it was land policy, not soils, that separated these peoples.

### **The Proprietary Against the Colony**

Each time Governor Gooch and his council issued orders authorizing the sale of land in the lower valley, Robert Carter protested vigorously. As the conflict between colony and proprietary intensified in the 1730s, land granting in the Northern Neck ceased, survey teams penetrated the Appalachian wilderness to clarify boundaries, and officials on both sides of the Atlantic were swept up in a legal imbroglio.

The controversy rested on various interpretations of the early Northern Neck charters. The first charter of 1649 had defined the proprietary as "bounded by, and within the heads of Tappahannocke and Rappahanocke and Quincough or Patawomecke Rivers...." No one, however, knew where either river originated. At stake was the entire lower Shenandoah Valley. By the 1720s Robert Carter was insisting that the Potomac headed at a source deep in the Appalachians and that the south branch of the Rappahannock was the main channel of that river. The colony claimed that the Potomac headed on the Blue Ridge at its confluence with the Shenandoah; that the Potomac's north branch was a distinct river called the Cohongarooton; and that the Rappahannock's north branch was the river's main channel. If the colony could substantiate its claim, the proprietary would be a

narrow band of land reaching no farther west than the Blue Ridge. If Carter prevailed, not only would the proprietary be much wider, but it would also include an immense triangle of Appalachian land, including the entire lower valley.

Two petitions made in 1730, involving uncertain land titles and a desire to colonize disputed lands in the valley, alerted Fairfax to encroachments on land that Carter assured him was his own. It was Carter's death in 1732, however, that prompted Fairfax to take a direct hand in the management of his inheritance.

Fairfax grew dismayed when he reviewed Carter's administration. He discovered vast tracts of land unsettled, producing no revenue, and in the hands of Carter's family and friends, who could hold it indefinitely. Carter's books were riddled with improper surveys and incomplete entries for grants; arrearages in quitrents were all too common. Fairfax realized that his lands would have to be settled quickly and densely if they were ever to provide him a living. He appointed his trusted cousin and boyhood friend William Fairfax as his new agent and instructed him to halt all land granting from the proprietary office. He then secured orders from the Privy Council in November 1733 instructing Governor Gooch to adopt this moratorium and to cooperate in resolving the boundary dispute. Four months later Fairfax sailed for Virginia.

While a commission surveyed the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, Fairfax traveled across the Blue Ridge to the valley and hammered out his own land policy to guide the settlement of that valuable region. The atmosphere must have been tense at Jost Hite's house on 24 April 1736 when Lord Fairfax met with many settlers who now realized that Hite could no longer deliver on his promise of land patents. Fairfax assured his listeners that he was "desirous of having the land settled." The consequences of a victory for him would be only a change of landlords. But he would insist that lands be "resurveyed according to the rules of his office . . . [and that] the lands in dispute should be entered in small quantities . . . of four or five hundred acres each." Fairfax would later adopt a four-hundred-acre maximum for proprietary grants.

In another step taken in 1736, Fairfax defined his policy toward the lands that Carter had already granted in the valley and elsewhere in the Northern Neck. An act he pushed through the House of Burgesses that year "for confirming and better securing the Titles to Lands in the Northern Neck" guaranteed that no one could disturb landowners who had already acquired grants from Carter, even if their land lay waste and idle. Fairfax thus committed himself to maintaining the dual pattern of land and people in Frederick County.

This dual pattern would survive with clarity, however, only if Fairfax won the dispute with the colony. Under the colony's system few large tracts could have survived for speculation or deferred settlement, and tidewater influence would have been dispersed across the landscape in family farm settlements. Knowing that he would receive amore favorable hearing in London, Fairfax insisted that the report of the commissioners surveying the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers be reviewed by the Privy Council. On 11 April 1745 the council confirmed Carter's definition of the proprietary's boundaries. The lower valley was Fairfax's; he could settle it according to his policies. Grants already issued by the colony would have to be recognized, but Fairfax had already, in effect, made this concession. In the future development of the valley, both the tidewater planter and the northern farmer would play important but highly separate roles.

### **The Settlement of Western Frederick**

Jost Hite had a keen eye for land. Twenty years in the English colonies had taught him precisely what qualities to look for when settling a new territory. When he arrived in the

valley early in 1732, he moved directly to a spring on Opequon Creek and built a stone house so sturdy that it came to be called Hite's Fort. He patented a tract of more than five thousand acres covering the Opequon's entire limestone watershed. From this site Hite directed the peopling of his lands.

Hite did not arrive at the Opequon springs alone. With him were the families of his three sons and three daughters, and at least ten other families. Hite was German-speaking, and his daughters had all married Germans. Other families were Ulster Irish. Samuel Glass and Andrew Vance had ties that bound their families together all the way back to Banbridge, northern Ireland. With Glass and Vance, or coming soon thereafter, were members of the Beckett, Hoge, Wilson, Marquis, Allen, Reid, and Colvill families, also from Ulster. These families and their German counterparts did not cluster about Hite's settlement but dispersed along Opequon Creek.

Not even Hite's own family and German friends settled with him on the banks of the Opequon. One son, John, did build his home nearby, but the remainder fanned out with the same concern for land as the elder pioneer's. Jacob moved north to limestone land in an area later to become Berkeley County; Abraham pushed west and settled in future Hampshire County. Hite's daughters stayed closer to home. Magdalene and her husband, Jacob Chrisman, found a good spring about five miles to the south. George Baumann and his wife, Mary Hite, located a suitable homestead somewhat farther south on the banks of the north branch of the Shenandoah River. S site on Cedar Creek became the home of Hite's third daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Paul Fromann. Other Germans who accompanied Hite followed the pattern established by Hite's children.

Practically all of these first arrivals located on limestone land, though the extent to which they recognized the productivity of limestone soils is uncertain. The first testimonies to this soil's fertility came from men traveling in the area many years later. Pennsylvanians, however, had already developed an appreciation of limestone soils, and migrants to Virginia may well have sought out similar soils. Factors of slope and drainage probably acted as the strongest incentive for settling on limestone. Water drainage was especially critical. Subterranean runoff on limestone land muted surface erosion but made water available only at occasional springs. Shale's incapacity to absorb water produced continuous surface drainage, rapid erosion, and a deeply dissected landscape. Consequently, the families in Hite's party dispersed to take advantage of the few places where water was plentiful on the land they preferred.

The Ulster Irish families fanned out on western limestone land in a similar fashion. Samuel Glass settled at another spring feeding into the Opequon about four miles to the west Hite's. Glass's daughter, Sarah, and her husband, John Beckett, purchased some of his land and became neighbors. About eight miles to the south of Glass, on the drains of Cedar Creek, Andrew Vance joined the Fromanns. William Hoge moved three miles to the north of Hite's Opequon settlement and located on a stream to which he gave his name. On various tracts situated between Hite and Hoge, Thomas and Robert Wilson fixed their families at this same time. John Wilson, their brother, took up land nearby with another Ulsterman, his brother-in-law, Thomas Marquis. Two other Ulster brothers-in-law, Robert Allen and William Reid, located in the same area, as did Joseph Colvill.

All these settlers acquired patents, grants, or deeds for their land within a few years. Samuel Glass, Thomas Wilson, Robert Allen, William Reid, and Joseph Colvill purchased land directly from Hite out of the five-thousand-acre tract. Robert Wilson, John Wilson, and Thomas Marquis received grants from Fairfax. The Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan orders provided the means by which William Hoge received his patent.

Some of the first landholdings were quite large. Samuel Glass owned over 900 acres but sold 140 to his son-in-law. Hoge staked out 411 acres. In many tracts Robert Wilson amassed more than 1,500 acres, but his brother Thomas acquired only 167. John Wilson and Thomas Marquis together patented 586 acres. Colvill obtained 360 acres, Reid 210, and Allen 685 acres. Peter Stephens settled his family on 674 acres; Stephen Hotzinbeller bought 450 acres; and Christian Neuschwanger 435 acres. All these men subsequently broke up their holdings into smaller tracts when they devised estates for their sons and sons-in-law.

As Ulster settlers took up land and divided it among later generations, a pattern began to emerge. Families dispersed to take advantage of water and good soil but maintained a close association through intermarriage and a common religion. Elizabeth Glass and James Vance, a daughter and son of Samuel Glass and Andrew Vance, had been married before their families left Ireland. Their son, James David Vance, kept the alliance of the Glass and Vance families alive by marrying a grandchild of Samuel Glass. Their daughter, Mary, married a son of Robert Wilson. Robert Wilson's daughter strengthened the network when she married yet another of Samuel Glass's children. Second-and-third-generation marriages also tied the Reid, Beckett, Glass, Vance, and Colvill families tightly together. Some children and grandchildren broke out of this family system, but by generally finding mates within their ethnic circle, the Ulster folk of Hite's band maintained a cultural cohesion in the face of geographical dispersal.

Religion bound these settlers together in a similar way. William Hoge was a pious and energetic layman in the Presbyterian church. On his land he established a meetinghouse in 1736 where itinerant ministers would hold services and where members of the Glass, Wilson, Vance, Colvill, Allen, Reid, and Marquis families worshiped and were buried. In 1755 William Hoge's grandson John Hoge became the minister of the church and maintained his family's association with it until the 1770s. The tie between this church and the Scotch-Irish families who founded it was carried well into the nineteenth century by a later minister, Joseph Glass, a grandson of both Samuel Glass and Robert Wilson.

The most significant aspect of the settlement pattern established by the Ulster Irish and German-speaking families Hite brought to the valley was residential intermixing. The German community was bound by the same kind of ties that gave the Ulster community coherence. Intermarriage among the second and third generations knit family alliances. For example, three of Peter Stephen's sons, Lewis, Lawrence, and Peter, Jr., married into the Neuschwanger, Baumann, and Chrisman families, respectively. Religious affiliations likewise helped to bind these German families. During the later 1730s, John Casper Stoever, Jr., an itinerant Lutheran minister, held services at Hite's settlement. There both Jacob Neuschwanger and Peter Mauk were married. Members of the Stephens, Wiseman, Chrisman, Baumann, Fromann, Schnepf, Bucher, Mauk, Hotzinbeller, Hite, and Neuschwanger families either had their children baptized by Stoever or stood sponsor for the baptism of their friends' children.

But even as these two communities -- one German and one Ulster Irish -- maintained separate identities defined by intermarriage and religious affiliation, their various members were neighbors. Samuel Glass and John Schnepf, Jr., Thomas Wilson and Stephen Hotzinbeller, Robert Allen and Peter Mauk, William Reid and John Bucher, and Joseph Colvill and Abraham Wiseman -- all owned adjoining properties. Community, therefore, interpenetrated the pattern of settlement. Ethnicity and religion were powerful influences on social development, but they did not produce spatial clustering and exclusive

neighborhoods. The desire for good land, measured by productive potential, overrode these influences.

Initially, however, few outlets existed for commercial ambitions. In Pennsylvania farmers could expect to sell about two-fifths of their produce, but in western Virginia no organized markets existed for farm surplus. Isolation imposed a temporary self-sufficiency. Settlers found themselves "so far distant from any Settlement . . . that they could scarcely procure any one thing necessary nearer than from Pennsylvania or Fredericksburg. A growing population during the 1740s, however, hastened the passing of the frontier and fostered the beginnings of commercial agriculture.

Newcomers always needed food and provisions. Uncertain land titles had frightened some settlers and partially deflected the flow of population to the upper (southern) valley, but Hite was rapidly issuing deeds for land he had already patented. Between 1737 and 1744, he sold more than fourteen thousand acres to twenty-nine individuals including those previously mentioned. By 1743 the Frederick County population of about four thousand people was sufficient to organize the first county court and vestry.

Fairfax returned to Virginia in 1747. This time his move was permanent; he would never see England again. He had decided to do away with agents, to live in his proprietary and manage it personally. After a short stay with his cousin in the tidewater, Fairfax removed to the valley and took up residence in eastern Frederick County. The house he built sat near the southern edge of the Carter grant, where Thomas Bryan Martin, a nephew, joined him to serve as his secretary. From his office on Fairfax's grounds Martin wrote out the survey warrants, received the fees, and issued the grants that distributed a burgeoning population across Frederick County. By 1745 about forty-five hundred people lived in the area. That population would increase to over ten thousand by 1763.

When Fairfax arrived in the valley most of the western limestone lands had already been taken up. He had to issue grants for land settlers had surveyed but not been able to patent under the colony's orders. For illegal surveys, he either required resurvey or proceeded with eviction. During the late 1750s, and early 1760s, Fairfax managed to grant some of his shale lands to settlers but more of it went to speculators. Merchants from the fall-zone towns of Dumfries and Alexandria, as well as local valley merchants, acquired lands in the shale band, fixed tenants on them, and hoped that when valley land grew scarce these tracts could be sold at a profit.

Farther to the east the grants issued by Carter consumed much of the best limestone land. Just before Lord Fairfax assumed control of the proprietary, George William Fairfax, William Fairfax's son, had slipped in another large grant to the north of the Carter grant, but Lord Fairfax brought the practice of issuing larger grants to an abrupt halt. In a relatively small triangle bounded by the Opequon, the Frederick County line (as it was drawn in 1772) and the Carter grant, some land remained ungranted. Here Fairfax dispensed small tracts to actual settlers during the 1760s. Greenway Court, a manor Lord Fairfax had established for himself in the 1730s to the south of the Carter grant, rented in the 1750s and 1760s. Thus, by the Revolution, most of the land on the valley floor had been taken up and, with the notable exception of eastern limestone lands and some of the central shale lands, it was occupied and farmed.

Settlers did not push into the ridge and valley region in western Frederick until after the Revolution. They inhabited the valleys first and then pushed up the ridges as far as was practicable for grazing cattle. Infertile shale lands in the valleys and erosion on steep slopes had initially discouraged settlement in this region and provided farmers with only a marginal existence. Similar conditions delayed settlement on the Blue Ridge. Most of the Frederick



County portion of the ridge lay within Leeds Manor, another of Fairfax's personal holdings. Settlement there picked up briskly in the 1790s, but tracts in the manor were small, averaging only slightly more than 150 acres. By the time of the first federal census in 1790 more than nineteen thousand people lived in Frederick County. Little inhabitable land remained for newcomers. The thrust of settlement was now directed well beyond Frederick County and the Appalachians to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.

Because tracts in Leeds Manor were rented and not sold, the proprietary was able to perpetuate the institution of tenancy in the eastern portion of Frederick County. Elsewhere, however, the immediate influence of the proprietary largely disappeared after the Revolution. Fairfax died in 1781 and left the proprietary to English relatives, thereby creating some discomfort for Virginians. Having already abolished feudal tenures and quitrents, the Virginia legislature appropriated all ungranted Northern Neck lands to the state in 1785. But the Fairfax heirs refused to recognize this act, and both the state and the proprietary continued to grant land in a conflict reminiscent of that between Carter and Gooch five years before. In 1796 the state and the proprietary finally reached a compromise in which Virginia relinquished all claims to Fairfax manors and the proprietary ceded ungranted lands to the state. By Fairfax' bequest Greenway Court Manor was already Thomas Martin's personal property, and after his death in 1798 his executors sold his land to new owners who eventually sold it in small tracts.

Despite the passing of the proprietary, its stamp on the land and people of Frederick County was indelible. By respecting the claims exerted prior to his assuming the management of the proprietary and then by promoting rapid, dense settlement, Fairfax had perpetuated the dual pattern set down on the land by Gooch and Carter. The small farm predominated west of Opequon Creek. Because much of the land in southeastern Frederick and Leeds Manor remained under lease, the small farm persisted as the dominant settlement type there as well.

Agriculture in the lower valley before the 1760s was diversified and unspecialized. Its roots lay in the general farming practiced in southeastern Pennsylvania. Grains and livestock formed the heart of the valley farm. Wheat, rye, and corn were the major crops; vegetables and other garden crops supplemented family diets. Cattle and pigs provided food and often a small income; sheep gave meat but also wool; horses and oxen served as work animals. Most of the labor on the farm came from within the family, although servants and hired help were not uncommon. Before the 1750s only about 10 percent of the valley farmer's output was surplus available for exchange on the market. By the 1760s as the isolation of the frontier declined, surplus production rose to about 25 percent.

Hemp initially, and then wheat, provided the stimulus for this increasing market orientation. Military need for cordage created the demand for hemp and the first significant commercial opportunity for farmers. Wheat had always been important to them, but in the first years of settlement it enjoyed only a local market. Jost Hite had built a gristmill as early as 1738. Virginia forces stationed on the frontier during the French and Indian War later increased the local demand for wheat. Only after 1760, however, did foreign demand and higher prices begin to offset the considerable costs of transporting wheat to Atlantic ports. At this point wheat began to life valley farmers to new levels of surplus production. By 1800 the Shenandoah Valley was the leading wheat-producing region in Virginia.

General agriculture based on grains, livestock, and commercial wheat production had important consequences for the structure of society in the western portion of Frederick County, where the small farm predominated. The weak and irregular labor demands of wheat cropping mitigated the need for slavery. On the other hand, the processing,

marketing, and transporting of wheat generated a complex demand for a great variety of goods and services. Millers, merchants, teamsters and many artisans, including blacksmiths, wagonmakers, wheelwrights, tanners, and harness makers appeared to meet this demand. The goods-and-services economy they in turn created centered on market towns. By the end of the eighteenth century these towns, namely, Winchester, Kernstown, Stephensburg (today Stephens City), and Middletown were spaced about six miles apart along a commercial corridor in the western part of the county.

Ethnic and religious diversity continued to characterize this society. In the 1770s before the influx of tidewater planters, a third of Frederick County citizens were German-speaking and a quarter were Ulster Irish. The English constituted most of the remainder, but small numbers of Dutch and Welsh were also present. Many of the English were Pennsylvania Quakers who settled near Ross's Hopewell meetinghouse, but some were tenants on tidewater lands east of the Opequon. At least three Presbyterian, three German Reformed, and two Lutheran churches, as well as four Quaker meetinghouses dotted the county landscape.

As this society was diverse, so was it largely egalitarian. Class distinctions there were; even by the mid-eighteenth century, Jost Hite, members of the Vance and Hoge families, and others had attained local prominence. They owned relatively large tracts of land and held important positions in county government. They sat on the county court, served as vestrymen, and held various militia offices. They did not constitute a local aristocracy, however, because those less eminent still generally owned land. Little separated the great and the small but the quantity of land owned and an ambition for public preferment. The traveler Isaac Weld probably best described the relationship between landownership and social equality when he visited western Frederick County in the 1790s: "The cultivated lands in this country are most parcelled out in small portions; there are no persons here, as on the other side of the mountains possessing large farms; nor are there any eminently distinguished by their education or knowledge from the rest of their fellow citizens. Poverty also is as much unknown in this country as great wealth. Each man owns the house he lives in and the land which he cultivates, and every one appears to be in a happy state of mediocrity, and unambitious of a more elevated situation than what he himself enjoys.

### **Tidewater Immigration**

In eastern Frederick, most of the land had been distributed in large grants -- specifically the Carter grant, the George William Fairfax grant, and the Mann Page grant. Holding this land for speculation, as insurance against a declining tobacco economy in eastern Virginia, and as patrimony to assure the wealth and position of their progeny, planters gradually began to shape a tidewater world in the valley.

In 1740 Robert Page, Benjamin Harrison, Robert C. Nicholas, Robert Burwell, Carter Burwell, George Carter, Landon Carter, and Robert Carter divided the land granted to them by "King" Carter. The largest tract covered 8,365 acres and the smallest 3,528 acres, but the median was somewhat more than 6,000 acres. The history of the tract received by Robert Burwell provides a good example of how land speculating and landholding for the sake of patrimony and insurance created intricate patterns entwining land and family over generations.

Burwell, a grandson of "King" Carter, received 5,619 acres in the division of 1740. He gave half of this land to his son Nathaniel on Nathaniel's marriage to Mary Wormeley in 1769. Mary Wormeley was the daughter of Ralph Wormeley, owner of the Mann Page tract. Two years later, Nathaniel sold most of his land to John Hatley Norton, a merchant of

Alexandria. Norton in turn sold a large portion of this land to a Dumfries merchant, Alexander Henderson. Bot Norton and Henderson subdivided the land and sold it. Closing one circle of patrimony, speculation, and patrimony, Philip Nelson, the son of Governor Thomas Nelson, purchased one of the tracts they had laid out. Also of considerable importance to this society was Richard Kidder Meade, who purchased a Norton tract. Some of these tracts, however, went to northern farmers or their children. John Kerfoot, the son of an Ulster immigrant who had settled on Opequon Creek, purchased 459 acres from Henderson. Another Henderson purchaser, Joseph Tuley, had come from New Jersey. Robert Burwell kept the other half of the land he received from Carter and grew tobacco on it before the Revolution. After his death in 1777 much of this land was sold to pay debts. A little more than a thousand acres remained, however, for his grandson, Robert Carter Burwell, and granddaughter, Sarah Burwell, who by now had married Philip Nelson. All three moved to their valley land in the 1780s.

Purchase and inheritance, therefore, provided the means by which a tidewater society took shape in Frederick County, and certain key men were instrumental in its development. Robert Carter Burwell had inherited land; Richard Kidder Meade purchased it. Through other purchases Meade eventually acquired more than a thousand acres, as did Philip Nelson. Warner Washington, a cousin of George Washington, bought sixteen hundred acres from George William Fairfax on marrying Fairfax's sister, Hannah. In the 1780s Ralph Wormeley's sons, James and John, divided and occupied the eleven thousand acres their father had purchased from Mann Page's estate. In another complicated pattern of patrimony and sale, Thomas T. Byrd, the son of William Byrd III of Westover, purchased a thousand acres from Fielding Lewis, Jr., who had inherited the land from his father, who in turn had purchased it from Carter heir, Robert Carter Nicholas.

John and Matthew Page, Judith Carter, and Nathaniel Burwell came into their lands solely through inheritance. Robert Page received 7,953 acres from his grandfather, "King" Carter. This land he divided among his sons Robert, Jr., John, and Matthew. Robert, Jr., remained in eastern Virginia but John and Matthew moved to their inheritances during the 1780s. Matthew then sold a portion of his land to his sister's husband, another Robert Page, from a different branch of the family. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall gave a portion of the 3,528 acres he had received from "King" Carter to his daughter, Judith, on her marriage to Robert Berkeley. The couple moved to Frederick County in the early nineteenth century.

Most conspicuous of tidewater immigrants, however was Nathaniel Burwell. Burwell, a cousin of the Nathaniel Burwell who married Mary Wormeley, was already the master of Carters Grove near Williamsburg. He inherited 5,335 acres of valley land from his father, Carter Burwell, and purchased another 2,500 acres from Robert Carter Nicholas's inheritance. He moved to his new domain in the 1790s.

Before these large planters migrated to Frederick County, however, smaller tidewater planters had begun to take up valley lands. Their move commenced in the 1760s, and by the Revolution more than a hundred planter families had located in the region. For the small planter, the low prices that plagued tobacco markets in the 1750s and 1760s were devastating. Overcropping, shallow plowing, and insufficient fertilization had depleted much tidewater land. With so much of this land in the hands of the large planter, little fresh opportunity remained for the small planter. By moving to the valley, however, small planters did not entirely escape the tidewater, for their interests often remained subordinated to those of the large planter. Many small planters, indeed, became tenants or overseers of the lands of larger planters.

The rise of tenancy in the valley was an extension of the movement already begun in the piedmont. Landon Carter was the first of the recipients of Carter lands to turn to tenancy. He subdivided his 6,976-acre tract into fifty-one tenancies, ranging between 150 and 169 acres, and began renting them during the 1750s. Within a few years he had twenty-four tenants. Landon Carter willed his entire tract to his children, who maintained the tenancies until the 1840s. Similarly, Robert Carter rented his land and had eighteen tenants by the 1770s. Before his own move to the valley, Nathaniel Burwell likewise operated tenancies. In 1783 he had twelve tenants on his land. George William Fairfax located tenants on land remaining to him after the sale to Warner Washington. Lord Fairfax was the largest of these landlords, but with the exception of Greenway Court, his manors did not rent until 1785.

In their operation these tenancies resembled the small farms of west Frederick. Tenants usually focused on the production of grains and livestock. When Hugh Nelson offered the twenty-five-hundred acre tract he had purchased from Robert Carter Nicholas for sale, he advertised that it was already divided into two-hundred-acre tenancies on which were "considerable fields of corn and small grain and an extensive pasture newly enclosed." Tenants also raised tobacco because leases called for rent to be paid in that crop.

Leases ran for either a term of years or lives. Landon Carter, for example, rented his land for twenty-one years. Lord Fairfax, on the other hand, issued leases for three lives. Tenures thus were long, and leases were often sold. Landlords used leases both to develop and to protect land. On new lands leases required cleaning, the construction of a house or barn, and the establishment of an orchard. Leases usually prohibited the overworking of land and the overcutting of timber. They stipulated that neglecting required improvements was cause for eviction.

Despite these protections, tidewater planters often found tenancy inadequate for their needs and turned to the quarter system. Quarters were satellite plantations operated by an overseer and some ten slaves. Quarters did not solve all the problems of the tenant system, nor did the quarter system universally replace tenancy, but for men like Carter, Page, and Burwell, the quarter possessed some distinct advantages. Through an overseer large planters could more closely supervise their operations in Frederick County and better integrate them into a larger network of plantations. Food produced in the valley could be used to feed slaves on eastern tobacco plantations. Greater profits from quarters could help reduce debts incurred in running expensive domestic establishments. And finally, valley quarters afforded planters some protection against the uncertainties of a tobacco economy by permitting diversification and the cultivation of increasingly profitable wheat.

Robert Carter began removing tenants from his Frederick lands and establishing quarters in the 1780s. As Carter explained to a friend, "I purpose to draft Sundry Negroes from Several Plantations which draft are to be sent to my plantations in Frederick County, being well satisfied that my lands below will not Support those and others who are to remain." One of Carter's overseers described why eastern quarters could not even support their own slaves. On one quarter in Prince William County there was no longer "any Tobacco Land nor [was] there any chance for wheat, nor any chance of raising any profits from anything but the Corn." By the end of the 1780s Carter had six Frederick quarters in operation, employing the labor of more than 120 slaves. These quarters produced tobacco (some over twenty hogsheads a year); but of greater importance for the maintenance of Carter's more than fifteen other quarters was the production of enough corn to feed at least four hundred slaves.

Before John Page moved to Frederick County, he depended on quarters to support a tidewater plantation in Gloucester County. A yield of more than fourteen thousand pounds of tobacco could not cover household expenses there. Hearing that "the gentlemen who had moved from Gloucester to Frederick make near five times as much there as they did down here," he sent slaves and overseers to the valley in the early 1780s. Nathaniel Burwell's reliance on Frederick quarters was less desperate but equally necessary. In 1774 Burwell calculated his profits at Carters Grove, where he had already given up growing tobacco, at £28 sterling, or only 2 percent of his total profits. His quarters in Frederick brought him more than seventeen times this amount, or more than one-third of his profits. These quarters also allowed Burwell to diversify. A third of Burwell's corn and half of his tobacco came from Frederick. In wheat, Frederick quarters excelled; they yielded more than 57 percent of Burwell's total wheat crop. The average quantity of wheat from each of Burwell's two quarters in Frederick was more than twice that produced at Carters Grove or any of his other quarters. Yields per acre were often greater by a ratio of eight to three.

Overseers managed slaves and all other activities on the quarter. Robert Carter charged his overseers rent, in effect granting them tenant status and the opportunity to work for themselves. Rents varied according to the acreage of cleared land, the value of the equipment, and the number of slaves provided. Nathaniel Burwell gave his overseers a share of the crop. At Marsh Quarter, his overseer, James Ware, received one-eighth of the corn crop and one-tenth of the wheat and tobacco. Slaves provided all the labor on quarters. On each of his six quarters in Frederick County, Robert Carter kept between fourteen and twenty-nine slaves. John and Matthew Page had forty and thirty-three, respectively, on their quarters.

Although the quarter provided the planter with the means to work his Frederick County lands more carefully, the institution created its own problems. The great distance between the valley and the tidewater slowed and complicated management, and overseers and planters often found themselves with conflicting interests. Planters wanted their land maintained and improved, but overseers would often abuse it to increase production because, whether they paid a rent or received a share of the crop, their income depended on the volume they produced.

Neither tenancy nor the quarter system much improved the land of Frederick County east of Opequon Creek. Large, wasted fields and extensive forests were common. The traveler Harry Toulmin complained in the 1790s that "the cultivated land bears but a small proportion to that which is uncultivated . . . . The fields are so large, the tillage of them is so negligent . . . that the country has by no means an inviting aspect." Partly to rectify this situation, but also to take greater advantage of the commercial opportunities offered by the valley, large planters began to move and settle there.

The first large planter with important tidewater connections to make this move was Warner Washington. By the late 1760s he was on the land received from George William Fairfax and would soon complete the construction of his house, Fairfield. The other prominent men already mentioned came in the 1780s and early 1790s. The timing of their move is difficult to account for, but factors created by a chaotic tobacco economy, the growing demand for wheat, and the valley's proven potential as a wheat-producing area undoubtedly combined to make the period after the Revolution a propitious time for a change.

A cooler, less humid mountain climate may also have induced some to come. After Nathaniel Burwell remarried in the late 1730s, he reportedly decided to move to Frederick County to protect his new wife's frail health from the fevers so common in the lowlands

surrounding Williamsburg. Climate, too, may have influenced the Wormeley brothers' decision to remove to the valley. When Harry Toulmin visited their mother in 1792, the breakfast conversation focused on the fact that in the valley "the climate is so much better" and that "many people of property had retired" there.

But commercial opportunities provided an even stronger incentive for the large planter. When Nathaniel Burwell computed the wheat returns from his various quarters, he undoubtedly realized just how promising the valley was. Before his move to Frederick, Burwell was already deeply involved in various enterprises there. On his lands near the site of his future home, Carter Hall, he operated a mill, a store, a tanyard, a blacksmith shop, and a distillery. The community that developed about these various enterprises came to be called Millwood. Centrally located in the original grant of "King" Carter, Millwood became the focal point of the tidewater society that developed in Frederick County.

### **The Tidewater Influence**

To the world of the small farmer, the tidewater planter brought another world, based on a different agriculture, society, social bearing, faith, and set of external associations. Some exchange and integration occurred, but in general the two worlds remained separate. Viewed as a whole, life in the county changed considerably with the influx of tidewater planters.

"The cultivation of [tobacco] was first introduced and pursued by immigrants from the eastern counties of Virginia," observed an early historian of the valley in the 1830s. Unlike the small farmer, the tidewater planter arrived in eastern Frederick County as part of a fully commercialized system of agriculture based on tobacco and established markets in Falmouth, Dumfries, or Alexandria. Tobacco fields became a fairly common sight after 1760. Thomas Bryan Martin reflected on the importance of tobacco when he observed in 1768, "We have had the coldest summer I ever saw in this country, [producing] a bad appearance of crops, I mean tobacco, which is our all."

Tobacco production in the valley and throughout Virginia virtually ceased during the Revolution, when trade with England was disrupted. The crop made a comeback during the 1780s but had to compete with wheat. As eastern planters diversified, they assimilated tobacco into a broader system of general agriculture. Large planters in Frederick County turned almost exclusively to wheat. In 1971 Thomas Bryan Martin commented on the change to his brother in England: "Are you all starving that you give such prices for our flour, farming [i.e., raising wheat] is now my object." Tobacco increasingly became an important commercial crop for small farmers, however, because taxes and rents could still be paid in the crop.

This kind of exchange of crops between Virginia planter and northern small farmer was not uncommon in the valley. During the late eighteenth century it transformed this Appalachian region from an agricultural extension of Pennsylvania into a discrete source area for a distinctive Upper Southern system of farming. Northern farmers brought general agriculture based on a variety of grains and livestock but emphasizing wheat; from eastern Virginia came tobacco, a pork-and-corn food complex, and slavery. Northern farmers were familiar with hemp, but its commercial importance was a product of the bounties the colonial government of Virginia had offered for the crop since the 1720s. Slavery did not become widespread among farmers, but sufficient numbers adopted the institution on a small scale to make it an integral part of commercial agriculture in the Upper South. Wheat's adoption as the kingpin of valley agriculture was part of the larger shift to wheat throughout the Atlantic economy. Thus, by 1800 a valley and, ultimately, an Upper Southern agricultural

system that would stretch as far west as Missouri had taken shape. Small grains, livestock, corn and pork, and slavery underlay general farm operations. Tobacco and hemp were secondary market crops. Wheat dominated commercial production and created a strong mutual economic interest between farmer and planter.

Tidewater immigrants grafted onto the egalitarian society of Frederick County west of the Opequon a conspicuous elite that stratified Appalachian society. Between 1782 and 1800 the share of the total wealth in land controlled by the county's wealthiest 10 percent increased from 47 to 52 percent. Furthermore, tidewater immigration helped to make Frederick into the wealthiest Virginia county west of the Blue Ridge by 1800. Between the 1770s and the 1790s the average value of inventories increased from £165 to £198 sterling. As wealth and social stratification increased, so did the number of landless settlers. From 1782 to 1790 the percentage of landless in the county increased from 49 percent to 55 percent.

The wealth tidewater planters brought with them to Frederick County also had a tangible, visible impact. The grand scale on which these people lived in the east became part of valley life. Their slaveholdings were immense by Frederick County standards. By 1800 Nathaniel Burwell employed more than two hundred slaves on his vast lands. John and Matthew Page and Philip Nelson owned fifty-three, forty-three, and twenty-slaves, respectively. Even the smallest landowner in the Millwood society, Richard Kidder Meade, possessed nineteen slaves. These Millwood men also erected imposing manor houses in the latest architectural styles. Most famous was Nathaniel Burwell's Carter Hall. Palladian in design with a central mass and balanced dependencies, Carter Hall emulated the country houses of the English gentry. Of similar effect was Warner Washington's Fairfield. Benjamin Latrobe, one of the foremost American architects of the early nineteenth century, translated newly introduced classical motifs into Robert Carter Burwell's house, Long Branch. Matthew Page built Annefield and John Page constructed Pagebrook. In all, the land, the slaves, the homes, and the wealth of these people defined an impressive upper class in society otherwise unaccustomed to splendor.

The immigration of tidewater planters to eastern Frederick County considerably strengthened the Anglican church there as well, which, because it was the established church of colonial Virginia, had existed in Frederick independent of and prior to any tidewater presence. The same act creating Frederick County in 1738 also set out Frederick Parish. When the court and the vestry organized in 1743, Winchester was designated as the site for the parish church. Within three years this church and three chapels were under construction in the county.

Initially the Anglican church in Frederick County was weak. Few Virginians of prominence appeared on the vestry lists. Although Lord Fairfax and Thomas Bryan Martin were vestrymen, most early members were ambitious local men for whom the Anglican church was a vehicle for the exercise of new found prestige and power. Several maintained their membership in dissenting denominations while sitting on the vestry; at least three vestrymen in 1752 were Quakers. Alexander Balmain, one of the parish's most successful ministers in the eighteenth century, received his training as a Presbyterian and apparently maintained a Presbyterian perspective in the Winchester church.

The tidewater immigration changed this situation considerably. First, the overall weakness of the church in Frederick easily allowed tidewater men to shift its center to east Frederick and to rebuild a chapel there. Second, the Millwood society came to dominate the government of the church. On the vestry for 1796 sat such luminaries as Nathaniel Burwell, Thomas T. Byrd, Richard Kidder Meade, Philip Nelson, John Page, Matthew Page, Robert

Page, and Warner Washington. Gone were the dissenters. Because the church was now disestablished (and renamed Episcopal), membership on the vestry held no special attraction for such people.

As tidewater men gained control of the Episcopal church so the church came to prevail over all religious life east of Opequon Creek. With the exception of a chapel shared by small-farmer Lutherans and Presbyterians in the northeast corner of this region, few other churches were built until after 1850. Only the Baptists had any success. The Baptist church, however, had for some time been an important part of the religious life of eastern Virginia, where its more enthusiastic tone and evangelical approach appealed to poorer small planters, tenants, and slaves. Baptists worshipped together as early as 1783 north of Berryville, and by 1810 they possessed churches on the southern and western fringes of the old Carter grant. In 1828 Frederick Parish divided along the Opequon in probably the most significant expression of the identity of the area to the east as a kind of Episcopalian lake in a forest of diverse denominations.

Tidewater planters also altered the perception that Frederick was an appendage of Pennsylvania. Even before prominent planters crossed the Blue Ridge, the migration of overseers, tenants, and slaves from the east and the shipments of corn, tobacco, and wheat from the west helped to establish a stronger connection between the valley and eastern Virginia. The roads that crossed wind gaps in the Blue Ridge further strengthened east-west associations. But it was the movement of tidewater settlers to Frederick that finally provided an eastern anchor for the county. Family and friends who stayed in the east maintained a stream of correspondence and visits with Millwood relatives. The young men of Millwood's second and third generations continued to prefer the College of William and Mary, and when they sought marriage partners, those whom they did not find in Millwood generally were found in eastern Virginia.

Millwood planters maintained a direct connection with merchants at tidewater ports. Thomas Bryan Martin, Fielding Lewis, and Robert Page were among the clients of Falmouth merchant, William Allason. Burwell's and other mills near Millwood shipped flour directly to Alexandria. Fielding Lewis marketed his tobacco there also. By 1800 the Potomac Company had succeeded in extending navigation thirty miles up the Shenandoah River. Although suitable only for shallow-draft vessels and then for just five weeks in the spring and two weeks in the fall, the Shenandoah provided another link between eastern Frederick and eastern Virginia.

As tidewater planters moved west, they brought New Virginia, as the valley was often called, considerably closer to Old Virginia. Robert Carter had provided very well for his children with some of Frederick's best lands to the east of Opequon Creek. The full effects of tidewater settlement fell on this portion of the county. In the final analysis, therefore, the greatest influence of the tidewater was to create a dualistic society in this portion of Appalachia.

Source: Warren R. Hofstra. "Land Policy and the Settlement of the Northern Shenandoah Valley." *Appalachian Frontiers*. Robert D. Mitchell, editor. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991.

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**THE FARM ROUTINE AT COLONEL LANDON CARTER'S SABINE HALL,  
1757**

**January 1757**

Tuesday 4. Violent wind Northwest, very hard Frost and severely cold. In short, the plowed ground looks grey as if divested of all Richness...

Wednesday 5. ...A lamb this day from a black Ewe. The lamb is white.

Friday 7. ...Note: we have made out of the oats stacked without doors 918 bushels, which is a great Crop, and if the within doors now yields in the same proportion according to its dimensions we shall not fail of turning out better than 50 bushels to the acre.

Monday 17. No plowing these 4 days although the weather is fine. The ground too hard....

Friday 21. ...The wind at South and there is a prospect of working in the Ground tomorrow. My threshers of oats made a shift to thresh no more per day than they did when the days were 20 minutes shorter...This was such evident laziness that I ordered them Correction which they took three days running....

Sunday 23. ...4 calves at the barn, 3 at Watts' and 1 at Matheny's.

Monday 24. This day a milch Cow very fat and well drowned in a Small ditch push[ed] in head foremost by the rest of the Cattle. It should seem as if the keeping Cattle fatt was an injury to them....

Monday 31. ...I have been some days plowing in 4 bout ridges [in] my new corn field...I should have finished this sooner to have began my plowing for oats, but, as the Corn field I am to turn out is stumpy....

**February 1757**

Sunday 6. ...I observe as usual that Snows in February are too late for wheat, for mine this year carried a fine verdure untill this week and now it seems quite withered. So it proved in '55 and '56.

Wednesday 9. I went to the Fork quarter, find the overseer there is but a Chattering fellow, promises much but does little, for which I have given him a piece of my mind...

The dam we are making across that marsh is a heavy work on the side next the Fork...Had all my tobacco beds hoed up again and laid off, raked and ready for sowing...Watts has been 4 days hoing his old Corn field...A great prospect for much rain. Therefore gave positive orders to keep the seed ready prepared for the plant patches...At home prepared with the tobacco seed the following garden seeds: Onions, Cabbages, Sugar loaf ditto, Savoys, radishes, Lettice Coss, and Cabbage and of these good quantity for use.

Sowed my tobacco seed at the riverside in the afternoon. Not quite 2 quarts of seed Sowed at home....

Wednesday 23. ...Not with standing it has been clear, drying weather ever since the rain which fell Saturday 19 to this day, yet our land is hardly solid enough to bear riding with out miring such a rain was it. I can't remember the like for four year past and this day there is a very great [fog], which all this winter have foreboded more rain, although I must own I have discovered fogs to be a sign of drye weather in Summer...

Began this day to sow oats at least a week later than ever I did since the first and second year of my farming. The reasons are the prodigious wet weather latterly and a prodigious Corn field I broke up with my Farm plows. The quantity I have ordered to be sowed is after the rate of 4 bushels to one acre and 1/8 of an Acre because each land makes

just 1,344 square yards and 'twould be a fraction too nice for my negroe Sower to calculate by the hand. Therefore I have ordered a bushel in each land.

Monday 28. ...Lost 2 lambs last night. I am puzzled to account for the smallness of my Lambs this year. They used before to be large...They have been all well fed this year. Had field of wheat to feed on whilst Lambing and young Clover.

We have sown only 31 bushels oats which if my directions of 4 bushels to an acre will amount to better than 7 acres.....

### March 1757

Tuesday 1. Tis now my usual time for observing on my Crops of Wheat on the ground. I am of opinion this last month is the most pernicious month in the whole Year to a farmer that Cultivates low stiff lands for if it proves drye the harsh and suddain changes from heat to severe frosts do evidently kill great part of his wheat on the Ground and if it proves wet as this has been to an excessive degree than his Land naturally spews by the rapidness of the Frosts and thousands of roots are destroyed by them as soon as the Sun grows warm, which is now my Case although I thought to balance this inconvenience by sowing thicker than Common, but I am afraid that will barely do. However I perceive I shall make some amends by strength, for the dung land wheat seems to be getting into a pretty tollerable Verdure...Began this evening to turn my dung at my house. Sent 3 hands to help my son and Scour his oat field ditches and watch them for this year's crop.

Wednesday 2. Oats sown this day 66½ bushels which is better than 16 acres at 4 bushels to the acre.

Thursday 3. ...I have been this year very unlucky at this Fork quarter. 1 creature dyed Early gored to death; another swelled in the body and dyed in November. 2 oxen Got into a hole in the Creek and was drowned and now these 2 make in all 6...

Sowed this day 23 bushels oats which make the quantity sown 89½ bushels. They appear thick sown.

Friday 4. Mr. Garland surveyed my Stone house field and the field at the Sasafra bottom. The stone house field contains of tendible land some what better than 47 acres so that when wet and that in Tobacco each quarter will have 23½ acres which at 3 foot and ¼ to a tobacco hill makes 96,914 hills which is too short a quantity, so that at such times care must be taken that they get about their quarters at least 18,086 hills as there are 10 hands and the overseer at each place...

The Sasafra field holds now only 41½ acres so that when this cropped in tobacco there will want 57,954 hills so that some other piece of Land ought to be joynd to it, for it will be at least 28,977 hills short at each planta[ation?] of 10,000 per head allowing for the overseers' share and ½....

Saturday 5. We are still turning the dung at the house and they will not finish before Monday 12 o'clock...

Levelled down with my hoes a piece of Old Corn field that I turn out to sow in oats and I think if it does not rain before they are sowed they may be well enough Covered to bring a good Crop and I do assert that oats want no other Cultivation but to be well covered but not too deep. My experience teaches me that a hardy, swardy Land just turned in is better than twice or thrice plowing the same Land...Two years ago I broke up about 60 acres of old worn out Corn field and made it very fine. It proved a very drye year so as the oats grew and came in with only one shower the Crop was not much indeed, but of the Scattered oats that year, which I only harrowed in July the same year and fed down all the winter, I got above 100 of large Cart loads of good hay the next, very tall and well set, and I

should have saved them for a Crop, but I had too many growing in my farm and could not mow then had they stayed to ripen, so I took the spare opportunity and made them into hay.

Sunday 6. ...A very hard wind this morning. The weather Cleared up with a hard Northwest at 7 o'clock in the morning that blew down all our fences every where...Tomorrow was to have been a general day for turning my dung every where but now I must go all hands to putting up my fences.

Monday 7. The destruction made in my fencing by yesterday's Puff of wind is much greater than I imagin...This year's and last year's hard gales makes me think I shall at last be obliged to take to Chestnut posts and rails, for no other fencing seems to standing but what is well drove into the Ground...

Just now I examined my drained marshes and I find I am under a necessity of some improvement, for the Common trunks doe not discharge the water from these prodigious wet spells fast enough for the time of year and the basons at the lower part of them to contain the water that falls into the meadow get so quickly full that we are under a necessity to provide them a discharge,....

Wednesday 9. ...My turning of dung has been interrupted three days by the blowing down of my fences and now by the rain and I can't finish plowing nor harrowing in what Oats I have sowed for the rain. As to dung making I now can positively pronounce this rule to be observed. The Pens ought to be very large at least 40 yards Square for every 60 Cattle...

This day tallow became the topick of Conversation and out of 7 grass beeves and three fatten ones that were allowed to be as fat as need to be there has only been produced 26 pounds....

Thursday 10. ...The weight of a backwoods beef: 414 pounds, tallow 38 pounds.

Sunday 13. Oats sown in the Old Cornfield, 16 bushels....

Sunday 27. Returned home this day having taken this Opportunity of Visiting the Gloucester Gent and Mr. Ralph Wormeley.

It has been almost one intire rainy Spell whilst I was down and yet low as those lands are things appear incomparably fine such is the Prodigious richness of the land all along in that Neck from Mr. Warner Lewis's to Mr. Francis Willis...The sight of these lands makes me quite sick of my own heavy stiff white Clay....

#### April 1757

Saturday 2. ...We can do no kind of work to any advantage. If we hill our Corn ground, they are beat flat and hard the next day. If we level old Corn ground for oats 'tis made a quaggnire before we can sow and then the earth is too hard to harrow and Cover the oats in. The ground is too wet to hill our tobacco grounds again, the Wheat is too miry to Roll and all this when the Season is so far advanced as makes it almost too late for the works that are still be to done....

#### June 1757

Sunday 5. I left W[illia]msburg where I had been ever since the 14<sup>th</sup> April....

Wednesday 8. ...As to worke, not a Corn field touched but with the Ploughs. All the time since I went spent in planting the Corn and making the tobacco hills and that in ground before plowed and spreading the dung...

Very fine corn indeed but in great danger of being totally ruined with weeds.

Sunday 19. ...My corn fields quite Miry. No working and weeds and grass above the corn...Tobacco all planted tuesday last. My mill in great danger of going away and [I]

see tumbling dams are dangerous things in great rains because they never vent water equal to the Increase. Therefore I prefer flood gates and will make them as soon as I can.

Saturday 25. The oats only harrowed in the Corn field, I find, are good in those place where they were sowed and harrowed in before the rains fell, but when the ground had been hardened by the rains before they were covered in they are not near so good.

My tobacco now begins to start....

Sunday 26. 'Tis necessary to take notice of this day because it is full cold for any prudent man to keep a fire...Should the ground worm rise, as 'tis the weather he delights in, tobacco crops will also be short....

Wednesday 29. ...Began this day to mow my oats. The Crop I beleive will [be] but indifferent....

Thursday 30. Began this morning to reap with but very few reapers, so many Complaining of last year's reaping. I am affraid it will be a heavy Job.

### July 1757

Wednesday 5. Rain every day since the 2d of the month which retards all work. Our tobacco foul and can't weed in it above half a day together. Our corn although wed out yet so over done with rain that it can't grow...A hard rain this day, no reaping hardly and every day obliged to be turning and drying what is down.

Thursday 7. The poor Farmer must always feel the weather and rejoyce when it is good and be patient when it is unreasonable. Severe rains every day and in harvest time so that we can't work and tobacco grounds seem to be turning to meadows.

Friday 8. The Weeds have every advantage of us possible. They out grow us and seem to flourish on our removing them...I see the small tobacco plants by being too much loosened in the hill in tearing the grass from them are greatly obstructed in growth....

Thursday 14. ...My tobacco all cleaned out. The excessive rains before and this heat after does not as yet suit tobacco. It grows but only here and there. We have only topt a little.

Finished my wheat in my Farm this day...We have cut as much ground as last year but have not filled so much room in the barn. We had a new seeds man who could not be made to sow so thick...however we promise ourselves by the room we have filled 1,000 bushels at least.

Monday 18. ...Abundance of Hornworm, Ground worm, Web worm and bud worm....

Thursday 21. ...We are really overdone with rain. Every place a float.

Sunday 24. ...Am I always to be thus unlucky? I can truly [say] that from 1749 to this year I have not had one tollerable seasonable year.

Saturday 30. Finished laying by Corn only this day at these home quarters but not so at the Fork and David Morgan's....

### August 1757

Monday 1. We have every hand endeavouring to get the weeds out of my tobacco but 'tis to no purpose for no weather kills them and 'tis now all of it to do again. The crop of tobacco would be good but it cannot for the weeds....

Friday 12. ...Rain all day and mostly very hard all the morning. Fairwell tobacco....

Monday 15. Began to mow my meadow the Second time. Grass high but mostly Coarse, much damaged by hoggs. Hard to mow. Very wet occasioned by the ditches being filled up.

Began to thresh wheat. Weather Cold enough for winter. Family very ill....

Tuesday 16. ....My meadow will yield a fine crop notwithstanding the hogs in my illness have done it much damage.

Monday 22. ...I am afraid that my Crop of Wheat for this year is all nought, the flye weavil being all in it, and what little that is threshed begins to grow warm although Spread thin....

Wednesday 24. ...Rain most of last night. Rain today. My meadow hay now above half out which will be much injured. Tobacco near ripe that will be bruised and I fear drowned....

Thursday 25. Began to grind up my wheat made this year. Flower looks white.

Saturday 27. Fair but Cloudy. Ground a bushel of new wheat this day and sifted the brand out. The flower weighted 37 pounds.

Sunday 28. ...By the weight of a bushel of wheat ground yesterday without any toll taken out I found only 37 pounds clear of bran. Therefore this flour can't be sold under 19/ the hundred for 'tis clear by the following account I shall not make more than 3/ the bushel for wheat and be paid for grinding, Sefting, carrying to mill and to a landing and waste.

Monday 29. Yesterday's Sun has shewn how much the last rains have Injured the forward tobacco much spotted in Stiff land how much more so then in light. But a great deal.

### September 1757

Monday 5. ...A good deal of tobacco on scaffolds cut down the 2d and 3d of the month....

Tuesday 6. ...I was obliged to take my tobacco off the scaffolds although it seemed green and house it thin....

Thursday 8. Rainy and Cloudy yesterday and this day every thing seems as if drowned and dropping off the Stalk. Every lock of hay we get is constantly wet.

Saturday 10. I cannot get a fair day to carry in my marsh hay. This is the 11<sup>th</sup> day that it has rained successively. This is a loss in every, but why complain? Has not every kind of Crop this year been thus destroyed? As to tobacco, whole fields have fired away and not an hour that a planter would use to Cut in. However I have against all the Common rules cutt every warm day and have hitherto been lucky enough to get it either on fences or scaffolds and indeed some of it in the houses, but where it seemed wet or not well killed we hang it low and thin till it dryed....

Sunday 11. Rain this morning, Cold and Cloudy all day. The tobacco houses all Stink. I am afraid tobacco is touched in them although none falls. I serched one to day and find the tobacco in a sweat hanging.

Friday 16. I am sorry to find my observations on house burnt tobacco too true...Riding this day by a tobacco house, I got off and spent some time with the people hanging the tobacco. As I went by the other end of the house I smelt a very strong and putrid smell...I found the tobacco had been in a profuse sweat. The leaves were of a black brown Colour and wet...This I found had happened from their disobeying my orders which was to thin every stick as it was handed in from the scaffold for 'tis necessary in Scaffolding to hand the stick thick that the Sun may not have too great a power, but it ought to be thined when housed and this was done when I was present but overseers and negroes think the work too tedious...I have found the same in another house and afraid all the first hanging every where is so....

Saturday 17. The 13 and 14 were fair but ever since that rain and very giving fogs. I this day in order to save the tobacco in one house made three or four Charcole fires having thinned and opened the house every where and indeed brought the tobacco to a tolerable good state and it came to its Colour and had lost that earthy putrid Scent...

Monday 19. ...Tobacco seems to grow worse in the houses although we have fires every morning.....

Monday 26. ...We began to gather our Fother last week.

Tuesday 27. ...There is now a vile distemper amongst the horses. The first taken was a year old mare which I discovered on the ground,...My mare Bonny found yesterday dying with it and thus I fear it has been in many places all over the Country.

### October 1757

Thursday 6. Began this day to sow wheat but with one plow as yet and in very stumpy ground....

Saturday 15. ...We continue sowing wheat but by reason of the dryness of the weather none comes up as yet.

Began to put our Cattle in our Cowyards yesterday both at the barn and the plantations. The Fork wheat is also sowing by means of one horse and a very pritty plow made for that purpose with one share. We plow better than 1 acre in every day the Ground is so light. I shall certainly trye to use these plows hereafter in all my light lands...

Bottled off yesterday 29½ dozen Cyder,...The wheat mow that I kept unthreshed, expecting that the weavel would be destroyed in the embrio by means of sweating in the mow, now Appears to be full of the flye and the bank or field swallow seems to be as busy as the bats were yon May,...

The first sown wheat begins to appear...I find my man has sown some thing more than 3 bushels to the acre. I ordered him to lay it in thick but this is over doing it; however we will wait the event.

### November 1757

Saturday 5. ...Finished sowing wheat the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month. Quantity as follows:

	<i>bushels</i>		<i>[bushels]</i>
At home 47 acres	140	from Northumberland	72
Morgan's 4	10½	H[ickory] Thicket	38½
Fork 10	<u>23</u>	Fork	<u>63½</u>
	173½		174

Note: Countryman's dictionary says that Water and salt sprinkled over Cabbages will kill the Caterpillar worm that eats them.

Friday 11. ...Note: This is in general a very drye spell and very bad for the grain sown which can scarcely in the Stiff ground come through the Clods and the ground very hard to break up in any manner. This makes me more determined to Sow all my Wheat land that is Stiff over with sand as Soon as the grain is well up and the wet frosts set in.

Tuesday 15. Began only this day to gather Corn.

Sunday 20. A very fine rain indeed and it looks as if it would continue. If so I am in hopes the wheat Crop will revive....

Wednesday 23. This finished breaking up my tobacco ground with the plows. It was exceeding and besides being swardy broke up in lumps from the drowth and the Constant

feeding the ground with Creatures, and yet the two plows have in 40 working days constantly employed broke up 80 and odd acres.

Sunday 27. Corn still not gathered not owing to any bad Conduct but too warm weather....

Monday 28. Rode out, it being fine overhead...I am satisfied there Can't be any thing of a Crop of wheat. My land is low and naturally wet but this is drowning. In short I never saw so poor a prospect for wheat....

### December 1757

Wednesday 14. I am much pleased with my new Cow stalls. They keep the cattle drye and warm enough and their Food drye and by the Conveniency of the roof over it a boy can fill the Cribs for 30 cattle in ten minutes because the flooring above joice is open just above the cribs....

Thursday 15. ...Harry from my Plantation on the other side of the meadow came here and told me his tobacco house was robbed, a full hogshed tobacco was opened and above 100 pounds taken out of it. The people stemmed tobacco till the moon went down and it was taken out by somebody that went in and out at the prize hole...

Snow all this evening. The wheat makes but a poor appearance having never recovered the drowth after sowing and the violent rains that succeeded that drowth....

Wednesday 28. ...Began this day to plow Mangrove Corn field, that is I go two bouts on each side the last year's ridge. The ridge I shall hoe up when I hill it and the lacing on each side between the plowing directly, then when I weed go cross the ridge.

Thursday 29. Sowed the Mangorick plant patch this day with the sweet Scented seed made on the plantation and the Fork also.

Friday 30. Sowed the Patches at Harry's and at the Riverside with the plantation seed excepting 5 beds at the river side which were sowed with some seed John King brought here as a fine, broad, long, green tobacco, this for a tryal. Ordered the Fork quarter also to be sowed.

Saturday 31. Sowed in the plant patch by the Old Kitchin the following tobacco seed: vizt. In The first bed as you go to the Kitchins, Orleans; The 2d and 3d, Parker's broad green; The 4, 5, 6 beds, Colo. Wm. Randolph's seed.

Source: Jack P. Greene (ed.). The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, Vol. I. The Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, 1987. Pp. 137-140, 144-151, 155-164, 167-172, 174-180, 187-191, 195-197.

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**SURVEY & MAPPING**





## SURVEYING AND SURVEYORS

These selections from Sarah Hughes' Surveyors and Statesmen show how colonial surveys were accomplished.

...What distinguished all of the British North American colonies from the mother country was the existence of vast amounts of unclaimed land, nominally owned by the king or queen of England. In the British Isles, as in modern America, virtually all the terrain was vested in the hands of individuals as private property or reserved for specific public uses. Although the rise of modern surveying was contemporaneous with the colonization of North America, the nature of the work done in England was very different from that in Virginia. There were important technical differences between laying out new lands in America and measuring old fields comprised of the narrow strips and balks into which medieval arable land had been divided or the commons and meadows which were being enclosed in England. But an even greater distinction lay in the fact that the English surveyor worked for private individuals, the men with the capital to pursue enclosure or drainage of marginal lands, while the Virginia surveyor was a public official standing between the reservoir of public land and those who wanted to develop it for their own purposes.

The best English surveyors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were competent men who devised methods of more accurately running property lines and computing the content of the acreage within them, who invented better instruments and applied new mathematical concepts, and who eventually participated in sophisticated projects such as the triangulation of Hounslow Heath. Impelled by rising land values, and a relative shortage of arable land in industrializing England, and assisted by the technological and theoretical knowledge available in Europe from the great scientific advances of the seventeenth century, these Englishmen laid a sound basis for the practice of surveying in the nineteenth century. The Virginia surveyors fell behind in adopting the new methods and instruments available in England in the eighteenth century because the conditions they faced were very different. Speed was more necessary than accuracy and simple instruments were more practical for the men who tramped for miles into virgin forests.

Land was the cheapest of American resources, virtually free except for the charges of surveying and patenting it. In Virginia, the public surveyor held the key to the riches so widely coveted. His discretion over recording entries and willingness to go into the field determined to a large extent which individual obtained title to choice tracts. The security of boundaries depended upon his work, and frequently the outcome of disputes rested upon his judgment. The leverage of their domination of access to public land enabled the colony's surveyors to gain other places of authority in the civil and military government. Their days in the field permitted surveyors to spot the best acres to patent for themselves. In a society without an indigenous hereditary aristocracy, these advantages could easily be transmitted into membership in the landed gentry of planters who ruled the colony.

In 1619, the Company decided that one hundred acres would be allotted to all persons who had bought a share in the venture or had risked their lives in Virginia prior to 1616. Individuals who migrated at their own expense after that date were to receive fifty acres for every person brought into the colony.

This decision by the Virginia Company established the precedent that the land would be divided into multiples of fifty acres as it was patented by individuals. When the Company was dissolved in 1624 and its rights to the land in Virginia reverted to the crown, the system

of granting fifty acres for each person who settled in the colony was retained. During the remainder of the seventeenth century these headrights were the most important basis for individual land titles. Those who could afford to pay passage for numbers of servants could claim fifty acres for each as soon as they landed. A considerable traffic in headrights, accompanied often by fraud, arose among ship captains, merchants, and planters, and a relatively few people amassed large estates on the basis of such claims. From the ecological perspective, however, the important point is that most surveys were based on the fifty-acre tract, or its multiples of 100, 200, or 500 acres. These were the basic units of private property which shaped the landscape of English Virginia.

Adoption of the fifty-acre headright also established a second, related characteristic of Virginia's land policy: the predominance of relatively large farms. In the English colony of Bermuda, where land was limited, farms were divided into twenty-five-acre tracts. When the New England colonies were founded, although land was plentiful, it was parsimoniously granted to settlers on terms which made even a minimal fifty-acre claim near Jamestown seem large. The ease of accumulating headrights in seventeenth-century Virginia led people to normally patent more land than they could clear or expect to farm in their lifetimes. By 1650, the average land grant was about 600 acres, and in the last half of the century a few ambitious men (including some surveyors) owned as much as 30,000 acres each. In the eighteenth century, Virginians' greedy appetite for land led the most avaricious to claim tracts of over 100,000 acres. One of the few effective restraints upon such land grabs was the fact that title could not be perfected prior to survey, and some enormous grants lapsed because they could not be surveyed within the time limits imposed. But the desires of planters, large and small, to have as much land as possible had a great impact upon the surveying profession in the colony both in creating a demand for their talents and in elevating their status.

It is more difficult to pinpoint the origin of another fundamental aspect of Virginia's land policy. The prospective owner was allowed the privilege, prior to survey, of selecting the particular piece of land to be patented. Tracts located at the discretion of the patentee were neither required to be contiguous to settled lands, nor to be any regular shape. As large regions were opened to settlement, choice fertile acres went to whoever first registered entry claims, while undesirable sections often remained in the public domain as wastelands for a generation or more. Though there was some preference for laying out farms in rectangular form, many plats of strange, irregular shapes testify to the popularity of running bounds which conformed to the contours of an owner's desire to encompass only the best arable fields, meadows, stands of timber, springs, or creeks within a specified acreage. The procedures of indiscriminate location often made the surveyor's task in laying out land more difficult. But the discretion left to surveyors by the system enhanced their position in society. Complaints throughout the colonial years about the profession's abuses in wielding the power to determine who obtained the most desirable lands are far more common than criticisms of land-measuring techniques.

...While there are only small distinctions between the work done by surveyors in 1695 and in 1795, the techniques of surveying in Virginia were revolutionized between the second and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century. Striking improvements were made in the type of survey conducted, the equipment employed, the precision of measurement attempted, and the form of reporting results.

By the last decade of the seventeenth century the consolidation of reforms in surveying field and office practices was reflected in the standardization of the form of

surveyor's reports. This significant development shaped the work of the colony's surveyors throughout the eighteenth century. Vague descriptions of earlier years were gradually replaced by a consistent format which served the profession, with only minor modifications, for more than one hundred years. George Cooper's 1697 survey of 192 acres in Richmond County is the earliest known manuscript incorporating all features of this improved type of surveyor's report.

Two essential aspects – the plat and the written description – usually were compressed on one sheet of paper. Cooper's written report presents the requisite information henceforth expected of surveyors, though individual preferences would continue to dictate its sequence. Included were (1) the date of the survey; (2) the name of the client; (3) the total acreage; (4) the location of the land by county jurisdiction and topographical features; (5) the history of the original patent and changes in ownership, if any, or the type of warrant authorizing the survey; (6) the metes and bounds of the survey which note beginning trees or stone markers, compass bearings and linear distances of each course, names of trees, watercourses, and all adjacent owners along the boundary lines and at the corners; and (7) the signature of the surveyor. Cooper's plat and boxed legend are typical, except that some surveyors repeated the bearings and distances of the courses either on the plat or in the legend, while others wrote the names of trees instead of drawing them. Painting the waters of Reedy Branch blue (in the original) was unusual on small plats, but the omission of any scale or compass rose was not.

Surveyors were called upon to assist in resolving boundary disputes between landowners. Their legal obligation to do this was spelled out in legislation of 1624, three years after Claiborne's arrival. The surveyor's expertise was to settle "pettie differences betwixt neighbours"; issues "of much importance" regarding land boundaries were handled, just as were all other aspects of life in Jamestown, by reference to the governor and Council. As the population grew, so did the number of controversies over land.

By the early 1660s a series of acts had established new procedures governing arbitration and litigation of disputed acres. When both parties could prove their claims were based on a "just survey," the first step toward reconciliation was for two "honest and able surveyors" to "lay out the land in controversie" in "the presence of the neighbourhood," when people were gathered for processioning. If the matter could not be settled then, appeal to the county court, the General Court, the governor, or the legislature was possible. The usual practice of these bodies in handling such cases was to order one or more surveyors into the field accompanied by representatives of the plaintiff and defendant, by a jury of twelve men, or by the whole neighborhood. Surveyors were only occasionally bypassed in favor of commissioners. By the early 1680s the Society of Surveyors had assumed a role in resolving disagreements, though no statutory basis for its arbitration has been found.

The last town founded in the seventeenth century was the new capital, Williamsburg. Theodorick Bland, Charles City County surveyor in 1699, was charged by Governor Francis Nicholson and the Council for laying out the main town site of 220 acres and two subsidiary port areas on creeks draining into the York and James rivers, as well as the roads connecting the three places. Bland's survey of the perimeters of Williamsburg was, like the work of other surveyors who laid out town sites, more precise than that usually found on farm surveys. Every corner of the design formed a right angle and the sections of the four rectangles comprising the plan bore mathematical relationships to one another. The bearings of courses were read to  $\frac{1}{4}$  degree on an instrument divided into 90-degree

quadrants. Bland surveyed the main avenue, Duke of Gloucester Street, running six poles wide along the center of the town, and he indicated the location of existing and projected college buildings, the church, and the planned capitol building on the street. No further subdivision of the town's lots or streets is shown in the survey description or on the plat. Francis Nicholson, who had just returned from serving as lieutenant governor of Maryland where he participated actively in planning the capital of Annapolis, is believed to have designed the complex pattern of the interior streets which included a monogram of the initials W and M in honor of King William and Queen Mary. Bland's plat of the projected capital was both exceptionally detailed in factual information relevant to his survey and elegantly ornamented with a scale and crest appropriate to the enterprise.

### **Eighteenth-Century County Surveyors**

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the English settlements in Virginia were nearly one hundred years old, yet the colony was still small in 1700 whether measured by geographic area or by population. Some 5,000 square miles of the tidewater had been surveyed and settled between 1607 and 1700. Henrico was the most western county on the James River with settlements dipping lightly eastward on the York and Rappahannock rivers and then jutting west to Stafford County on the bend of the Potomac. South of the James few plantations were more than twenty-five miles from the river except in the counties near the coast. The territory of English Virginia was generally east of the fall line that separated the tidewater and piedmont regions. Only fifteen men worked as professional county surveyors for the 62,000 people who lived in Virginia as the seventeenth century ended.

The colony was transformed in the eighteenth century in a state, that was, when it entered the union of the United States, the largest both in area and in numbers of people. As settlement moved across the piedmont, beyond the Blue Ridge up and down the Valley of Virginia, then across the Allegheny Mountains into modern Kentucky, West Virginia, and Ohio, it is probable that over 45,000 square miles of new territory were surveyed before the Revolution, an area more than nine times as large as that platted in the previous hundred years. By 1780 the population had multiplied over nine times with some 583,000 people living within the boundaries of the present state of Virginia and in the settled counties that became Kentucky (admitted as a state in 1792) and West Virginia (1863).

Opportunities for surveyors expanded in proportion to the demands a rapidly growing population made to claim more and more new land as private property. The decades of rampant territorial expansion were a golden age for Virginia's surveyors, whose compasses and chains turned public lands into private farms. As new counties were created and deputies or assistants authorized for overworked frontier surveyors, the numbers who worked in the field increased dramatically. Those men fortunate enough to become principle surveyors in counties on the edge of settlement could command, and expected, handsome rewards in wealth, political power, and social status. Surveying, like the law, was one of the respectable ladders to the top of Virginia's eighteenth-century society.

The momentum of expansion across the piedmont and into the trans-allegheny west mounted steadily until it was finally cut short by the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754. Within the lifetime of one generation, between 1720 and 1754, the land of the entire piedmont, much of the Southside, and part of the Valley was surveyed. East of the Blue Ridge, counties once on the frontier filled with people and were regularly reduced to more manageable size. A total of twenty-five new counties were formed between 1720 and 1754. As the number of counties doubled, the number of surveyorships rose from twenty-

five to fifty. Indeed, opportunities for surveyors outpaced even the rapid growth in counties. The initial division of a few counties into two districts, the employment of numerous assistants, and turnover in positions gave employment to well over one hundred men in the thirty-four year period.

The expansion that accelerated in the 1730s and 1740s was fueled by the government's generous land grant policy. Beginning with Alexander Spotswood's abandonment by 1719 of futile attempts to control the size and terms of land grants and lasting until the early 1750s, there ensued a period in which governors exercised little control over the disposition of crown land. Acting as a virtually independent oligarchy, the Council freely dispensed permission for grants of over 400 acres. Between 1728 and 1748, according to historian Manning C. Voorhis, "more land was patented than in the first hundred years of the colony. Grants of ten and twenty thousand acres became routine business, and soon speculators reached out for tracts extending to over a hundred thousand acres.

### **William and Mary's Role**

Little is known about how the president and masters actually examined candidates for surveyorships. One common misconception can easily be banished. Even after 1729, when its status as a college was firmly established, William and Mary educated few surveyors. No more than nine eighteenth-century colonial surveyors seem to have attended either the grammar school or the college even briefly. Receiving a surveyor's commission did not entail participation in any aspect of the college's educational program. Hugh Jones's recommendation that county surveyors should be chosen from those granted the B.A. degree at William and Mary was ignored. Neither the journals of the president and masters nor the commissions specify an examination of candidates prior to the Revolution, and the abundant personal papers of surveyors contain no mention of the matter. While candidates often worried about how the masters would cast their votes, none was bothered about the professors questioning their mastery of the profession. It is as likely that prospective surveyors were examined for their qualifications as "gentlemen" as for the technical proficiency, because Virginia's ruling class was far more concerned with the social status of its officerholders than with their skills.

After an appointment was made, the college's main concern was collecting its share of fees from the surveyorship. William and Mary's faculty exercised no regular supervision over the practice of the colony's surveyors and had no role in the examining the surveys submitted to the office of the colony's secretary for land patents. The surveyor generalship became, in the eighteenth century, little more than a source of financial and political support for the college. Fees surveyors paid were not used for the benefit of the profession, but for that of the school.

The first step in acquiring land by patent was to procure the rights which authorized a survey. The headright system of the seventeenth century was supplemented at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the alternative of purchasing what were called "treasury rights" at the rate of five shillings sterling for every fifty acres. The importation of individuals on which headrights were based could be proved before any county court, whose clerk certification was the basis for a survey warrant issued by the office of the colony's secretary; before 1717 treasury rights also could be purchased only in Williamsburg from the receiver general. General Spotswood initiated a reform of fundamental importance in 1717, when he proclaimed that county surveyors were to take responsibility for selling treasury rights. He explained that "divers of His Majesties Subjects having occasion to take up Land

are put to great Charge & trouble in travelling to the Receiver General to purchase the Rights for that purpose or else are obliged to pay exorbitant rates to such as can Supply them near home." To prevent speculation, Spotswood "Strictly prohibited" surveyors "to ask or demand any greater Consideration" for selling the rights than the customary price plus a charge of "five per Cent," which he believed was a "reasonable allowance" for "their trouble." Those who wished to avoid the five percent surcharge could still purchase rights directly from the receiver general.

From 1717 until 1779, when the new state legislature passed an act establishing a central land office, it was possible to buy treasury rights in any Virginia county. Notations of the payment of fees for treasury rights appear in surveyors' manuscript entry books, and endorsements made by clerks in the secretary's office showing the submission of the treasury rights appear on the back of most original surveys in the Virginia Land Office records of the region outside the Northern Neck. Patenting land in the Northern Neck was less convenient, because there the rights used elsewhere were not recognized and it was necessary to pay the equivalent "Composition and Office charges" directly to the proprietor's agent at his central land office in order to obtain a surveying warrant. After 1720, temporary exemptions from the requirement of presenting rights to claim lands from the crown were frequently granted to settlers and speculators in frontier counties, but these did not permanently supplant the entries based on headrights and treasury rights. Although both types of rights remained legal until the end of the colonial years, treasury rights gradually superseded headrights in importance and after 1715 became the usual method of obtaining public land. After 1710 a second step, the approval by the governor and Council of a special petition, was necessary for persons who wanted to patent more than 400 acres of land in one grant. Though this requirement was theoretically supposed to prevent engrossment of land, the generosity of the colony's leading officials in approving petitions undermined the concept. Men who were already wealthy and politically influential received large grants, with the amount of land allowed usually depending upon the relative amount of property and influence the petitioner already possessed. An educated immigrant, such a William May, John Henry, or Joshua Fry, could usually obtain permission to enter for one or two thousand acres soon after his arrive in the colony. Members of powerful, long established families like the Beverleys successfully sought individual grants of over 20,000 acres and larger amounts in partnerships.

Sometimes the governor and Council granted the same tract to more than one petitioner. A 1732 ruling declared that to remedy such "Inconveniences" surveyors should honor the grant of "the person who obtain'd the first Order," but if there "be any Surplus land remaining for satisfying Subsequent Orders the persons obtaining the same be prefer'd thereto according to the priority of their respective grants." Furthermore, large grants approved by the governor and Council were to have priority over "all Subseq[uen]t Entries made with the Surveyors."

Surveyors could help patentees evade the restriction on patenting more than 400 acres without permission from the government in Williamsburg. The Council denounced the "divers persons of small Substance," who "in combination with the Surveyors have made Separate Entries for large quantities of Land lying Contiguous to one Another." In this 1738 declaration, surveyors were ordered not to accept entries for more than 400 acres of land in contiguous tracts, nor to complete the surveys of such entries already made without the permission of the governor and Council. Despite this warning the practice did not end, because the ruling could not be enforced when individual surveyors and their clients

chose to disregard it. A study of tracts patented in Southside counties between 1703 and 1753 shows that it was common in that region for patentees to obtain more than 400 acres by entry and survey of adjacent lands. A frank note to Joshua Fry indicates that neither patentee nor surveyor felt it necessary to conceal such illegal entries in the middle piedmont either:

Please to Enter for me Beginning on ye Secretarys Road at the Hay Stack Meddow, Above Sniders so up the Meddows to my line, So on my line to Phillip Morriss & Round his line to the Mountain, so Down the Mountain to the Place begun at for Eight hundred in two surveys for ye Hble Servt James Nevill.

Below in Fry's hand is a signed notation: "Entry made 1743."

The next step in the process of patenting land was filing an entry with the surveyor of the county in which the desired acreage lay. Although no aspect of their work subjected surveyors to more criticism, historians have largely neglected this key stage in the patenting of land. Taking entries was an onerous chore for surveyors for several reasons. Foremost was the fact that priority in legal claim to any tract of land depended upon the date of entry recorded by the surveyor. Second, entry directions were notoriously vague, a fact which frequently led to disputed bounds or overlapping grants when the acreage was actually laid out and surveyed. Finally, since surveying seldom followed immediately upon the legal step of entry, extra responsibilities fell to surveyors to notify clients of when their land would be surveyed, to transfer entries that were sold or given to another party, and to hold records of entries on which no action was taken, sometimes for periods of many years.

Although it was certainly evident in the seventeenth century that the entry system was rife with flaws, new rules were only slowly developed after 1700. Methods of recording entries were never prescribed, nor were entry books declared to be the property of the country government as were the books that recorded surveys after 1706. Though keeping an entry book was not mandated in the statutory "Duty of Surveyors," it was so mandated by custom, for one of the charges angrily denied by Augustine Smith in 1728 was that he did not even bother to keep such a Book.

The surveying entry books found among private manuscripts of eighteenth-century surveyors are usually quite similar. The books were small, usually hand stitched or pinned sheets of folded paper about 5-6 inches long, 3-4 inches wide, and no more than 1½ inches thick. This size was more conveniently carried into the field than a large ledger. Seldom were more than a few of the lines of brown ink devoted to each claim, although it was necessary to show the name, date of entry, acreage, and a brief description of the land. Careful surveyors numbered each consecutive entry to protect themselves if protests were made, noted - usually just by the words "survey'd" or "withdrawn" - when the entry was obsolete, and sometimes kept in a separate memo book a running index of the status of their current entries.

James Nevill's 800-acre entry, cited previously, was longer than usual. These are more typical:

To John Nicholds four hundred acres on Sycamore Creek, beginning at a white Oak cut down for a bar.

Thomas Mitchell 400 ac on Whites Creek beginning on Morton's line.



To Richard Green 200 acres on both side of Sandy River, beginning at the lower end of Bear Garden.

To Robert Pushy four hundred acres on Otter Creek of Irwin River beginning at a forked poplar with a hole near the root made to take out a bear.

A little more care might be taken with the entry of a prominent man:

The Hobbles William Byrd Esq. enters 400 acres the vacant Part if any of Willys Mountain is not Vacant 400 adjoining Hampton Wades lines from the Southward round to the West Northwest & North and to take in if vacant a supposed mine.

When a grant of more than 400 acres, approved by the governor and Council, was made, it was entered as:

Entry 646. Land is granted to Joshua Fry. Thos. Ballow & Thos. Turpin to Take 15000 a N in 4 surveys the Reverend Wm Dawson being joined with them. Rights entered for Mr.

Dawson.

Since the claimants to this tract included both the county surveyor and his assistant, no notation of the location of the land was needed. But the brevity of the other entries shows how much the land entry system depended upon the detailed knowledge of the surveyors of both their county's topography and existing property lines. Though the entry constituted a critical legal record of a claim to public land, its form was usually more of a reminder to the surveyor than a precise definition of the tract he would lay out. Among the numerous records dealing with land entries, only one reference could be found to landmarks made at the site to assist the surveyor in locating the tract. When David Ross, Richmond merchant and major speculator, sent Thomas Lewis a brief description of 29 entries of 400 acres each in Augusta County, he noted that all were marked with two blazes on a white oak or other tree at a corner.

Once made, entries might be surveyed immediately, voided or withdrawn, or left untouched for years. Delays in the patenting process at the entry stage posed a constant problem for colonial authorities, a nuisance to surveyors, and often a source of legitimate complaint for claimants. Postponements of surveys on entered land might be the fault of either the prospective patentee or the surveyor. Although attempting to hold land only by entry was a risky procedure, it had the advantage of minimal cost for either the speculator or the farmer – neither the surveyor nor the collector of quit rents had to be paid immediately. For those who gambled on retaining their land only by entry, which involved a greater hazard than holding only by survey, the primary consideration was almost certainly avoidance of paying survey fees. Especially during the initial stages of settlement, taking a chance on acquiring land by filing only an entry was reasonable because surveying charges were a key component of the cost of patenting land.

Surveyor's fees in the eighteenth century were scaled according both to the size of the tract measured and to the distance from the eastern coast where crops were marketed. The most expensive survey in the colony was of a small farm in tidewater, while the cheapest was of a large parcel west of the Blue Ridge.

Total Acreage Of Patent	Piedmont Land	Land Beyond the Blue Ridge
Acres	Percent	Percent
100	71.4	57.3
400	41.0	27.2
1,000	25.2	15.4
10,000	21.7	12.9

Since the bulk of unclaimed land lay in the piedmont and beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains, the impact of surveying costs in only these two regions is compared. The other expenses of obtaining a patent were for purchase of treasury rights and payment of fees to officials in Williamsburg. For the very small farmer, the surveyor's charges represented the largest part of the cost of gaining title to the land. Even for tracts of 400 acres in the piedmont surveying fees were a substantial part of the cost. Where even small amounts of cash were in chronically short supply, an investment in clearing and improving land obtained by outlay of a few shillings for treasury rights could reasonably be weighed against the possibility of losing it by waiting to survey until several crops were harvested. Surveying fees were proportionately smaller for patenting large parcels of land, but the total cash outlay could be large, and wealthy men could be as reluctant to part with their money as poorer ones.

That speculation was a motive of those who entered for both small and large amounts of land is well illustrated by the thriving market in sales of entries. The requests for transfers of entries addressed to William Cabell II, surveyor of Amherst County, constitute one of the most numerous types of records from his business. Year after year notes such as this one came to frontier surveyors: "Sir, Please to Survey my Entry on Loveladys Creek for the use of Nicholas Pryor for he is to give me five Pounds and Clair it at his Cost." The surveyor was charged with recording changes in ownership of entries, a task that was time consuming by the frequency of its occurrence.

Thomas Lewis and George West may have had legitimate reasons for their refusals to survey upon request, but the more important point is that these cases illustrate the extent of the real power surveyors had to decide who would obtain patents to land and who would not. The record of complaints acted on or ignored by the colonial authorities suggests that only men of equal or higher social status and political influence could challenge the county surveyors' decision about when they would go into the field and for whom they would survey. The laws of the eighteenth century, as had those of the seventeenth, order surveyors to serve every claimant, yet county surveyors exercised an enormous discretionary power in doing so. Those claimants who did not fare well had to options: a petition to the governor and Council or litigation before the county court, of which the surveyors was usually a senior member. Obviously it was unwise for a prospective patentee to antagonize his country surveyor.

Surveying was so much a seasonal activity that it might seem to have been ordained by statute, but it was nature's law that generally restricted the running of lines to the months between September and May. Within this period, there were two separate seasons when the bulk of surveys were made: from mid-September to mid-December and from March to May. In January and February a lesser amount of work was done, and few surveyors went into the

field during the summer. There was, however, a good deal of variation in this pattern, based on both region and individual preferences.

In the eastern counties, where there was little surveying to be done, work was more likely to be performed whenever it became available. On the far frontier when a new area was opened to settlement, young surveyors often disregarded the customary seasons, sometimes to the extent of staying in the field most of the year. Thomas Lewis, the Augusta County surveyor, worked eleven months in both 1745 and 1746, with a vacation in April one year and in June the next. Among those who observed the usual seasons, some preferred to do most of their work in the fall, others in the spring. Between 1761 and 1771 in Amherst County, 47 percent of the surveys were made in March and April alone, 16 percent in November, and 6-9 percent in each of the months of October, May, January, February, and December. The Frederick County surveyors of the late 1730s and early 1740s reversed this pattern by doing more work in late October and November than in any other months of the year.

The seasons of surveying fieldwork were those months when insects and snakes were least bothersome, weather cool, trees not in full foliage, and farm work slow. The advantages of working in late autumn and early spring were seldom commented upon by surveyors. William Byrd, one of the Virginia boundary commissioners in 1728, explained that surveying was adjourned in early April "because the spring was now pretty forward and the rattlesnakes began to crawl out of their winter quarters and might grow dangerous both to the men and their horses." Even when they met again in late September snakes still posed a hazard, for a number were killed, including one with eleven rattles and the body of a squirrel in its maw. Byrd also documented the discomfort caused by ticks, horseflies, mosquitos, vermin, and other bugs. The pests which afflict contemporary surveyors during summer months in Virginia's woods, such as chiggers, hornets, and yellow jackets, were also undoubtedly present in the colonial years. It was, of course, easier to sight and to draw a chain through the woods at those times of the year when leaves were falling from the trees or not yet budding out when much of the low undergrowth had died back. Byrd also noted another factor about the weather – the necessity of surveying some regions in the drier seasons of the year. Rain is a perpetual enemy of the surveyor, his notes, and his instruments, but it presented a special danger when creeks and rivers had to be forded on horseback, sometimes repeatedly if a twisting stream wound across the acreage being measured.

Surveyors and their clients each had specific responsibilities and obligations in the conduct of the survey which made it desirable for them to work together personally on the land. The surveyor brought his skill in measuring ground, computing its acreage, and plotting the results, as well as his knowledge of other entries, surveys, or patents whose bounds might conflict. Besides knowing how to lay out the requisite number of acres, an experienced surveyor could offer advice on the relative quality of the soil in different fields based on the types and size of trees observed. He also brought his instruments and fieldbook.

Most surveying in all the colonies continued to be performed with a surveyor's compass, still commonly called a circumferentor, and chain. Some improvements were made in the compass, though these were not generally available until after 1750. The bubble spirit level, invented by Melchisédech Thévenot in Paris in 1666, was added, usually in the form of a pair set at right angles on the horizontal limb of the compass. Verniers made it possible to take readings to within five to ten minutes of arc, but their value in conjunction

with open sights is debatable. An important use of the venire was to determine and make adjustments for magnetic variation. A counting device, called an outkeeper, was sometimes added to assist the surveyor in keeping track of the number of times the chain was moved. In 1745 a method of increasing the magnetic strength of the compass needle artificially by a system of magnetized bars permitted the introduction of hardened steel needles to replace those of soft iron. The general construction of the compass was also improved. Wooden instruments continued to be made, particularly in New England, but brass became the more usual material for the body of the compass. The fixed sights on the brass alidades often combined peep holes with long vertical slits. Needles of about five inches were protected by a glass cover. Sometimes a needle stop was used. Instruments might have either legs or a flat base, as well as a socket for mounting on a Jacob's staff. By the time of the American Revolution the surveyor's single plate and vernier compasses had been fully perfected so that only a few minor modifications were made in the instruments used in the nineteenth century.

The surveyor did not bring all the essentials for the survey. His client brought the exact directions necessary to supplement the usually vague entry record and, most important, the chainmen. The fact that chaining was normally done by inexperienced farmers, instead of a trained crew, is of critical importance in understanding the conditions under which surveyors worked. The origin of the custom of requiring the client to provide chain bearers is obscure. The 1706 law regulating surveying practices specified only that no survey could be made without "chain carriers, sworn to measure justly and exactly, according to the best of their knowledge." When this law was revised in 1749, a clause was added requiring that the chain carriers were "to be paid by the party demanding the survey." But this law merely confirmed an existing practice, since manuscript surveys of earlier dates show that surveyors seldom used the same chainmen on consecutive jobs and that there was a high correlation between the surnames of chainmen and those of patentees or adjacent land owners. Between March 19 and April 23, 1745, Joshua Fry had twenty-four different men carrying the chain for him, thirteen of whom worked on more than one tract of land.

Hauling even the short two-pole iron chain through dense brush and woods was a hard and hazardous chore. Surveyors rode on horseback much of the day, while chainmen walked along the line. The different attitudes of those on horses and on foot in the wilderness are reflected in William Byrd's evaluation of a day's work: "Measuring and marking spent so much of our time that we could advance no further than eight miles, and the chain carriers thought that was a great way." The dangers of chaining, and its culinary rewards, are illustrated in William Cabell's observation of April 29, 1752: "Thomas Grubbs and James Harris, chain carriers, killed an angry rattlesnake which they cooked and ate the next morning." Such events were not rare even several hundred miles inside the frontier of settlement, where snakes, bears, and wolves dwelt in abundance until finally driven out when settlement became dense.

The old problems of laying out new tracts whose courses contained the exact acreage of the entry and of calculating accurately the area within the bounds of a survey continued to plague the profession in the eighteenth century. The degree of accuracy attained by eighteenth-century surveyors in measuring land and plotting the results was not much greater than that of the men who worked in the last decade of the seventeenth century, because the same basic instruments and procedures continued in use. Even when verniers became widely available after mid-century there appears to have been little inclination to use them to read minutes of arc. The normal mode of operation was still to take bearings to the

nearest whole degree, although occasionally one or more courses were measured to one-half degree. Nor was the chain used more precisely in the later colonial years. Measurements to the link, found in some late seventeenth-century surveys, virtually disappear in eighteenth-century work. Continuation of the practice of defining bounds by the two-pole chain, rather than the pole only, is verified by surveys in which every distance in poles is divisible by two. While the distances on many other surveys show that this practice was not universal, no one ended a line at a fraction of a pole. None of the survey records, even those of the long boundary surveys prior to 1776, give any indication that horizontal measurements were taken. Surface chaining, without distance correction for slope, was the rule even after surveyors moved into the mountain ranges of western Virginia.

Statutory recognition of the level of error inherent, and acceptable, in customary surveying practices came in 1710. The law regulating resurveying of patented land stated that "an allowance shall be made to the patentee or possessor, of five acres for every hundred, for the variation of instruments." This clause, which remained in effect throughout the colonial years, assured surveyors that a 5 percent margin of error was tolerable.

The sheer number of acres surveyed by a few men within a short period of time in Virginia's frontier counties is astonishing to the modern mind, which can scarcely comprehend walking across so much land in a day, much less measuring it. A count of the total acreage recorded in the Albemarle County survey book during Joshua Fry's nine years as surveyor shows 181,832 acres in 1,165 separate surveys. Since Fry himself did no more than 36 surveys of 11,842 acres, the bulk of the work was done by two assistants, William Cabell I and Thomas Turpin, with occasional assistance from men whose employment was temporary. Each county surveyor was required by law to prepare a list of the surveys done in his office each year. Some lists are buried in county records, but more accessible are those submitted to the College of William and Mary as accounts for the one-sixth share of fees due the institution. Many of these unfortunately were compiled according to the year in which payment was collected, instead of when the work was done, and none remain from a county such as Augusta at the peak of the land rush. There is, however, a remarkable "List of Surveys Made in Jefferson County from February 13, 1784 until April 18, 1785." Although this county, established in 1780, became part of Kentucky in 1792, it was a western outpost of Virginia when the surveys were made. William May reported:

Total surveys – 967	Total acres
182 under 400 acres	41,393-1/6
785 of 400 upward	<u>2,348,033-3/6</u>
	2,389,426-2/3

The name of every client and the total acreage of each survey were carefully listed in the twenty-six pages of May's report, but no information is available about how many assistant surveyors were employed in the county.

Other records confirm the amazing rapidity of frontier surveyors in traversing fields. E.D. Heppert, Jr., analyzed the work John Buchanan did on a surveying expedition in southwestern Virginia in the spring of 1750. He found that "on this trip eight tracts, a total of 17,000 acres, were surveyed in only 15 working days, to accomplish which the survey party traveled more than 70 miles from the first site to the last, probably moving the camp sites as the party progressed." Heppert located the area in which Buchanan's party worked 225 years before and reported that "all of the sites shown were later patented (occupied and

deeds granted) and can be identified in the field today." Buchanan's surveys for the Woods River Company included several tracts of exceptionally large acreage, however.

Another shortcut surveyors sometimes took was to omit measuring the last course of a tract in the field; instead the bearing and distance were calculated in the office as the scaled plotting was done. Occasionally such forced closures were explicitly mentioned in fieldnotes, as in the "open Course" shown in William Preston's survey of his own land, called "Walnut Bottom." More commonly the omission of the last field measurement is indicated by the phrase, "and from thence to the beginning," in the surveyor's notes.

Fieldbooks also show that the acreage of plots was not normally calculated before departing from the grounds, as the governor and Council demanded, nor do any plats of tracts appear in any surveyors' fieldnotes. William Preston's method of entering the area at the bottom of his survey notes after he drew his plat...More often, the surveyor left a blank space in his notes before the word "acres" for later insertion of the total area; usually this addition is apparent from slight differences in the shade of ink and width of pen point. A few men never bothered to record the acreage in their fieldbooks, finding it sufficient to do so only on the finished work.

Computations found in fieldbooks and on the edges and backs of a few plats indicate some surveyors probably relied only on simple geometry to calculate the area of tracts. Among the working notes in the fieldbooks of William Cabell I are a series of theorems and problems headed "Geometry Contayning The Dividing (or Cutting off) both Right Lined and Irregular Figures, into as many parts Equal or unequal as Shall be Required, From Young's Surveying." But, surveyors who owned a Gunter's scale could have easily calculated area without leaving evidence of employing trigonometry. Some men, such as George Washington, are known to have possessed the two-foot Gunter's scale. Yet, because most lists of equipment fail to specify whether the scales surveyors owned were Gunter's calculating instrument or the tool for plotting chain lengths, it is impossible to state how widespread the use of this method was. In the eighteenth century there was also another fast way to compute area - by using the tables listing the latitude and departure for each angle and for various chain lengths that were printed in many surveying textbooks. No positive documentation, either in the survey records or in the inventories of books owned by surveyors, has been found of employment of this method either. Certainly the availability of ways to more rapidly figure the area of tracts offers a possible explanation of how Virginia's frontier surveyors managed to accomplish so much so quickly. Their counterparts in Pennsylvania after 1750 are known to have used sophisticated methods based on trigonometry both to calculate area and to check the accuracy of fieldwork. Further examination of the surveys done in the Old Dominion may one day reveal whether geometry or trigonometry was preferred by the surveyors of the colony.

The surveyor was not finished with a job when he had drawn the plat and corrected any faults he noticed in his work. The survey description and plat had to be copied within six months so that they could be given to the client when the surveying fee was paid, or forwarded to Williamsburg at his or her order. Then the surveyor entered another copy of the description and the plat in the county survey book. The rules prescribing keeping of the county survey book comprised the most important innovation in the 1706 law concerning "The Duty of Surveyors." County survey books had been kept before the law was passed, and regulations concerning their contents had probably been issued by the surveyor generals of the late seventeenth century. In 1706 their status as public documents was precisely defined by statute for the first time.

Even when he had completed the requisite copying of his survey and plat the surveyor was not done with the tedious record-keeping that began when he first took a land entry. Holding land on survey only, without securing a patent, was a more popular practice than holding only on the entry, and records pertaining to land held in such a manner remained the responsibility of the county surveyor. Michael L. Nicholls's analysis of the time taken to patent land after it was surveyed in a Southside county early in the century reveals the extent of the practice of withholding the survey for more than a year allowed by law. He found that "Of the 541 surveys made in Prince George County between August 1710 and March 1727, 403 or about 75 per cent of them were turned into patents and can be found in the patent books. Only 15 of the 403 surveys had a patent issued on them within a year's time. Most of the surveys (62 per cent) were turned into patents between one and four years after the survey had been made, and a number of people waited as long as ten to fourteen years before bothering to complete the patent process." Yet over one-third of the Prince George County surveys were not returned to Williamsburg until more than four years after the surveyor turned them over to his clients. In one case cited by Nicholls a tract surveyed in February 1726 was not patented until July 1751, when the original claimant's son perfected title to the 295 acres after nearly twenty-five years. Such prolonged delays were not unique to the Southside, for similar cases can be found in the records of most counties. In fact, in one instance in Frederick County, forty-five years elapsed between the date of the entry and the granting of the patent and twenty-six years between that of the survey and the patent.

People not only held land in their own names after it was surveyed and before it was patented, they also frequently sold it. The records of such sales were kept by the surveyor, rather than the country clerk. How onerous this chore was is shown by the multitude of slips of papers requesting transfer of ownership of survey rights found among the records of surveyors. Typical of such requests is the note addressed to William Cabell II, surveyor of Amherst County:

Sir, I have Solde the Land Surveyed for me on Turkey Mountain to Mr. Henry kilborn who is to pay you the Surveyors fee, please to transfer the works to him....

John Johnston

July 11, 1767

The primary reason for delaying in filing for a patent was to escape paying quitrents, although (as John Johnston's transfer request notes) the surveyor was not invariably paid before his survey was sold. In the thirteen years before the Revolution, a new reason appeared for holding land on survey in the trans-Allegheny region. After claims west of the Proclamation Line were barred, the expectation of eventual relaxation in government restrictions on settlement led many to speculate on surveys in distant lands which might establish later grounds for title.

Only when the survey was eventually sent to Williamsburg and the patent for the land issued was the surveyor absolved of responsibility for a tract of land. Each year, he was also expected to compile a complete list of the surveys made in his office, one copy of which was submitted to the county clerk and the other to the College of William and Mary.

There were, however, two changes in the way lands were sometimes laid out after about 1730. Larger tracts were measured in single surveys than ever before. Among the most notable of these were Beverley Manor with 118,491 acres, William Byrd's 105,000 acres on the Dan River, and Benjamin Borden's 92,100 acres in the Shenandoah Valley. Besides

these monumental surveys many tracts of 5,000 to 10,000 or more acres were laid out, especially in the piedmont and in Kentucky just before the Revolution. Nearly every surveyor who worked west of the fall line ran the courses of some surveys of this size. To keep an accurate perspective on the daily routine of the frontier surveyor, though, it must be kept in mind that such jobs were unusual because most farms contained 400 or fewer acres. The average size of the tracts measured in Albemarle County between 1745 and 1754 was just under 160 acres, and in the Shenandoah Valley, 95 percent of all farms contained 400 or fewer acres.

The other innovation in the way lands were laid out in the eighteenth century concerned how lands lying on the shores of a river or creek were handled. The use of the 320-pole formula in the seventeenth century early established a tradition of sharing access to the tidewater streams that were vital to transportation. Even before settlement proceeded inland, after the closed traverse survey was universally adopted, this tradition began to give way to monopolization of watercourses by patentees who claimed large amounts of ground on both sides of a stream. By the time the piedmont was settled, surveys such as that William Mayo made in Goochland County for William Cabell I in 1737 were not unusual: Cabell claimed 6,320 acres of only "the first-choice lands" extending on both sides of the upper James River for over twenty miles. The governor and Council did not discourage such surveys. Five years later Cabell's petition "to take up 1200 acres in Goochland on both side of the Fluvanna [James] River adjoining his patent for 4,800 acres" was approved. Less prominent men also located their smaller farms astride rivers, as a 1740 survey William Mayo did of 400 acres "on both sides of the Hardware River in Goochland County."

...Since surveyors used the same method to lay out small and large tracts, whether located on a hillside or on two sides of a river, the eighteenth-century innovations in the size and location of grants were of less consequence to the profession than to society as a whole.

Source: Sarah Hughes. Surveyors and Statesmen. The Virginia Surveyors Foundation Ltd., and The Virginia Association of Surveyors, Inc. 1979. Pp. 3-5, 31-34, 39-41, 45, 47, 50, 52-53, 56-57, 60, 72, 84, 90-91, 98, 107-111, 113-129.

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### **MAPS ARE MORE THAN LINES ON PAPER**

In this article Gregory Nobles points out that maps have a political purpose as well as a geographical one.

Jorge Luis Borges's monstrous map provides an intriguing image for the process of European empire in the New World. On one level the story is about the relationship between art and reality, but a more literal reading raises interesting questions about the relationship between maps and reality. Maps are-or certainly were in the early stages of European exploration-a form of art themselves, panoramic pictures of the earth drawn from above, a perspective impossible in the preflight era. Maps are more than pictures, however. They represent an attempt not just to depict or define the land but to claim and control, to impose a human and, most important, political order over it. It is by no means insignificant that Borges's cartographers are agents of some unnamed empire. The connection with the state points to the political power behind the process of mapping. As an extension of



imperialist policy, the map covers and threatens to smother both the land and the people on it.

Historians, especially historians of the era of European expansion in North America, might do well to ponder the implications of Borges's imagery and to explore the meaning of maps as instruments of authority. Maps provide two sorts of information, topographical and political. Too often we tend to take that information for granted, assuming it to be a reasonably accurate representation of reality, impartially based on the latest scientific research. Yet as Mark Monmonier has observed in his intriguingly titled book, How to Lie with Maps, "Maps, like numbers, are often arcane images accorded undue respect and credibility." In fact, he argues, "Cartographic license is enormously broad...maps, like speeches and paintings, are authored collections of information." Moreover, such information is conveyed through cartographic conventions that convey cultural assumptions having little to do with science. To take the most obvious (and therefore most often overlooked) example, the notion that "north" is at the top of the map and "south" at the bottom has no relation to the position of the earth as a planet in space: The universe has no "up" or "down," no "top" or "bottom." Yet the arrangement of continents on conventional maps provides a position of superiority for nations in the Northern Hemisphere.

We must also realize that much of the information conveyed by a map is the product of human history, and therefore subject to significant change over time. For instance, one might well be reluctant to set out on a car trip with a map fifty or sixty years out of date; the network of roads and interstate highways is quite different now. Thanks to satellite photography and computer technology, more recent road maps and atlases now give highly detailed and accurate information; we assume, almost unthinkingly, that the lines and symbols of the map correspond to the reality of the road.

We also assign a kind of political reality to the borders and boundary lines superimposed over the land. Although invisible to the traveler, the lines and colors used on the map to distinguish one city, state, or nation from another usually reflect clear political definitions, whether accepted by custom or enforced by coercion. In some cases, of course – as events in Eastern Europe have most recently reminded us – those boundaries can change suddenly and dramatically, rendering all our maps inaccurate and out of date; in the first six months of 1992, for instance, the National Geographic Society had to revise its map of the world six times.

Those sudden changes illuminate a fundamental but often ignored characteristic of maps: They are symbols of a social construct, visual representations of an impermanent order imposed over part of the earth. Maps show the world as the mapmaker (or the mapmaker's sponsor) wants it to be seen, not as it always was or always will be. Maps are, in that sense, historical documents, selective statements of authority and control (and as value-laden) as any declaration, manifesto, or other sort of text. Historians need to read them as such.

Most often, however, early maps are not read as documents, but reduced to decorations. Only a half dozen or so of the leading United States history textbooks include reproductions of perhaps one or two old maps among their many illustrations. Moreover, these early maps appear almost wholly without analysis or explanation; the reader sees them as little more than quaint curiosities or ornamental oddities. Although some texts have begun to offer at least a suggestion of how historians can "read" examples of art, architecture, and material culture for evidence of social and political assumptions, they have nothing to say about taking a similar approach to maps. The same is true of the leading

scholarly journals. In the past twenty-five years, the increasingly sophisticated study of maps by historians of cartography – most notably the late J. Brian Harley – has been largely confined to such specialized journals as *Cartographica* and *Imago Mundi*, both of which are published outside the United States. In the same period, virtually nothing on the topic has appeared in the pages of the *American Historical Review*, the *William and Mary Quarterly*, or the *Journal of American History*.

Those of us who are not specialists in the history of cartography have much to learn by bringing maps more into the mainstream of historical study. Our main concern is not with maps alone but with their usefulness in exploring broader issues. Almost a decade ago, Peter Wood noted that few historians “have turned their critical attention to the rich social, environmental, and intercultural questions embedded in most narratives of exploration.” Maps are very much a part of that narrative. No less than literary texts, maps rely on imagery to represent or to simulate reality, to describe the territory. As the French literary critic Jean Baudrillard has observed, “It is the map that precedes the territory.” That is, the image imposes a kind of *a priori* perception that shapes the subsequent experience.

Nowhere was that notion more true than in the mapping of the New World. The papal division of the Western Hemisphere in 1492 found its reflection in maps long before Spanish and Portuguese colonizers actually established permanent outposts in their respective parts of the Americas. When subsequent explorers – the advance agents of empire for Spain, France, England, and the Netherlands – claimed and mapped North America, they did more than create a topographical description of the land; almost invariably, they also created a political prescription for who would live there and how. The explorers came with preconceived notions of spatial, economic, and social organization, assumptions about order as important as their assertions of ownership. Indeed, the two processes of exploring the land and planning for its future settlement and development cannot be separated; they were intricately, and often explicitly, connected in the maps and writings of explorers.

This essay examines that connection between description and prescription in the mapping of the North American frontier. It focuses especially, although not exclusively, on the efforts of Anglo-American explorers and mapmakers in the eighteenth century. The English, more than the Spanish or French, established the precedents for the subsequent expansionist policy of the United States in the nineteenth century; English settlement strategy assumed a large, permanent population to cover and control the continent. By the eighteenth century, the pattern of settlement was well in place. Anglo-Americans had established control of much of the eastern coastal region and were pushing deeper into the interior. Even then, however, mapmakers were far out in front of actual settlers; their plans for the future of the frontier shaped subsequent assumptions about actual settlement patterns. These *a priori* plans were, in a sense, the social and political boundaries on the cultural map that guided Euro-American pioneers into the New World wilderness.

As documents of the struggle for control of the North American continent, the maps of the early European cartographers reveal just how fluid and fragile their assertions of control could be. The expansion of exploration and commerce encouraged innovation in navigation techniques and cartography. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, more sophisticated instruments such as the quadrant and the pendulum clock made it possible to get better readings of longitude and latitude. In 1569 the Dutch cartographer Gerard Mercator developed a mathematically precise method of projecting lines of longitude and latitude onto a flat surface. Despite the great accuracy of measurements in mapmaking,

however, much of what European cartographers claimed to know about the world beyond western Europe was still based on incomplete information or vivid imagination. In many cases, as Jonathan Swift wryly observed in 1733, illustration often took the place of information:

So Geographers, in *Afric*-maps  
With Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps;  
And o'er uninhabitable Downs  
Place Elephants for want of Towns.

The maps of the New World were similarly fanciful and incomplete. Well into the eighteenth century, for instance, some mapmakers depicted California as an island, a huge and wholly separate land mass set off from the rest of the continent. Much of the interior and the extremities of the mapped area remained undefined, labeled simply as "unknown" or "uninhabited."

Mapmakers often filled up the empty spaces with cartouches and descriptive text or perhaps with pictures of Indians and exotic American wildlife such as the beaver or the turkey. These seemingly innocent decorative touches were an important part of the message the map conveyed. By showing pictures of abundant beaver or peaceful Indians, mapmakers subtly created an encouraging image of the New World wilderness. Still, image is not information, at least not the sort that actually provides accurate and detailed knowledge of the landscape. Early attempts to describe the vast North American continent may suggest supreme arrogance or charming innocence, but they still reveal the cartographers' ignorance.

Whatever they lacked in topographical detail, these maps made up in political design. To a large degree, in fact, their main purpose was not to describe the land, but to claim it. As Donna Merwick has noted in her recent study of the Dutch in New Netherlands, the mapmaker who made the first drawings, in 1633, of Rensselaerwyck, Kiliaen van Rensselaer's patroonship in the Hudson Valley, did not make an accurate or even honest map:

The draftsman gave copious, and misleading, attention to the east side of the river...which did not have access to the fur trade...Only on the west bank could one take advantage of the pattern of Mohawk-Dutch trade...the reason for the patroonship's existence. Yet the mapmaker reversed these economic realities, shading promise and embellishing loss.

Still, Merwick concludes, the misleading map gave the absentee van Rensselaer what he wanted to see: "the sets of lettering, claiming portions of the land and contributing to the visual conquest of the whole, gave him a patroonship that he could see properly unified."

What van Rensselaer's mapmaker did on the small scale for this patron, other European mapmakers did on a much grander scale for their monarchs. In the course of imperial competition for the North American continent, mapmakers often laid claim to much more territory than military leaders could ever hope to hold. For example, Nicolo Joannis Vischer's mid-seventeenth-century map asserted Dutch possession of most of New England, including Cape Cod – a claim that must certainly have been disturbing to the English settlers.

English mapmakers likewise put their mark on most of eastern North America. Robert Morden's 1695 map of the English Empire extended westward to the Mississippi River and designated the coastal waters as the "Sea of Carolina," the "Sea of Virginia," and

the "Sea of New England." But one of the leading English mapmakers, Herman Moll, also took note of the competition. His 1720 map of North America showed French claims to most of the North American interior, limiting the English to the regions east of the Appalachian Mountains and even taking a piece out of the English possessions in the Carolinas. Such claims did not go unchallenged, of course, and well into the eighteenth century, European mapmakers carried on battles on paper that seemed almost as significant as those their military counterparts waged on land and sea.

Cadwallader Colden, the surveyor general of New York, saw these paper claims to be the near equivalent of conquest. He warned,

The English in America have too good reason to apprehend such a Design, when they see the French King's Geographer publish a map, by which he has set Bounds to the British Empire in America, and has taken in many of the English Settlements both in South-Carolina and New York, within these Boundaries of New France.

Golden clearly understood the political implications of maps, the significance of asserting possession simply by drawing lines on paper. So too did Solomon Bolton, the English mapmaker whose 1750 map "greatly improved" upon the French map from which it was copied. According to a stern statement added to the English version of the map, treaties with Indian groups had given "the Subjects of His Brittanic Majesty...a right of possession from Lake Erie to the Chikasas at the River Mississippi; whereas in many of those Parts the French had no other Title than that of Intrusion and Force." This right had to be recognized, the cartographer continued, and the French mapmakers "are therefore advised to put their Louisiana farther West."

This process of redrawing maps to reflect one power's particular political claims was not confined to discouraging the designs of other imperial competitors. Map makers often moved people and places to influence (or deceive) their own governments. Louis De Vorsey has shown that the establishment of the English colony in Georgia depended in large part on James Oglethorpe's creative cartography. In order to promote his colonization plans among members of Parliament, Oglethorpe made several subtle adjustments to existing maps of the Southeast and removed or reduced the threat of the other European colonizers in the region; employing "a clever bit of cartographic legerdemain," Oglethorpe moved the French to the trans-Mississippi west and dropped the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine below the southern boundary of South Carolina. Thus Oglethorpe's map, like so many other maps, was not a true representation of spatial relationships, nor was it really intended to be. It was, rather, a political ploy hidden behind the alleged authority of cartography.

Still, the authority of cartography had an increasingly powerful appeal in the eighteenth century. If the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century gave cartography new credibility, the imperial competition of the eighteenth century gave it new urgency – and not just among political and military leaders. The continuing round of colonial wars created a new public demand for maps, especially in the metropolitan centers, where people sought some way to visualize their nation's victories. In Hanoverian England, E. A. Reiten has noted, "the expanding horizons of a nation facing its imperial destiny" led to the popularization of maps in pamphlets and magazines "at a price which almost any literate person could afford." This growing public appetite for geographical information made maps a hot commodity in an increasingly competitive market, and cartographers and printers rushed to satisfy the demand.

Unfortunately, they quickly encountered a cartographic Catch-22. The imperial warfare that stimulated geographical interest also inhibited geographical investigation. The Rev. James Maury, an Anglican minister in Virginia at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, explained. "The present troubles . . . have rendered it unsafe for our people to make such long peregrinations into the backwoods as they used to do before their commencement." Mapmaking suffered as a result, because "particulars must have been laid down partly on conjecture and partly on but imperfect information; which will ever be the case with one who undertakes to publish a map of a country not yet thoroughly explored or actually surveyed." Even in the best of times, actual surveys were expensive, and mapmakers had to rely on secondhand source material passed from Indian to European and from European to European. Often much detail got lost in the translation and reinterpretation (or misinterpretation) of topographical information. Moreover, Indians did not always prove to be friendly or forthcoming. They had good reason to question the motives of the European explorers moving into their midst, and giving these inquisitive intruders false or misleading information about the lay of the land could be a useful form of resistance.

War only exacerbated the difficulties by increasing the spread of outright disinformation by both Indians and Europeans. In the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, the Anglo-American explorer Jonathan Carver voiced a common suspicion that the French had used "every artful method" to keep the English ignorant of the North American interior: "To accomplish this design with greater certainty," he claimed, "they had published inaccurate maps and false accounts." While there is no direct evidence to support Carver's claim of a conscious campaign of disinformation on the part of French cartographers, it is quite likely that French soldiers and settlers, like their Indian allies, shaded the truth about the topography.

Torn between the demands of the marketplace and the dangers of warfare, mapmakers often turned to the path of least resistance – plagiarism. Copying from the competition was a common tool of the cartographer's trade. Sometimes, however, the competitors complained. In an advertising pamphlet touting a 1775 reissue of Lewis Evans's 1755 map of the Middle Colonies, Thomas Pownall attacked the products of another mapmaker, Thomas Jeffreys. Jeffreys, who had died four years earlier (and was therefore unable to defend himself), had been one of England's most prominent publishers of maps; he was the official geographer to George III, and, as Harley has put it, a "geographical mouthpiece for Pitt's imperial strategies, setting himself up as the cartographical champion of his country's claims." Jeffreys was also however, "not slow to copy." Pownall made just that point, arguing that soon after the 1755 Evans map became known in England, it was, "in a most audacious manner, pirated by the late Thomas Jeffreys, under a false pretense of improvements." But the Jeffreys version was a poor imitation, Pownall sneered, because Jeffreys "was so totally ignorant of the principles on which the original was formed . . . it can scarce be called a copy . . . So far as respects the face of the country, this thing of Jeffreys' might as well be a Map of the face of the Moon."

In fact, essentially the same could be said for almost any other large-scale map of colonial North America. Much of the interior was seemingly as remote as the lunar landscape, and even the best maps based on the most accurate information left a great deal to the imagination. Indeed, the relationship between information and imagination, between the stated and the suggested, was a critical factor in the meaning of maps. For that reason, as De Vorsey has suggested, historians "need to search beneath the maps' surfaces and discover the underlying ambitions they reflect and exemplify."

To a great extent, those “underlying ambitions” lie on the surface of the map. The very form of the map as a printed document suggests unspoken but undeniable assumptions about the power of print to assert authority. As Harley notes, “Much of the power of the map, as a representation of social geography, is that it operates behind a mask of seemingly neutral science.” Yet many of the standard verbal and nonverbal elements commonly taken for granted in a map – borderlines, place names, landmark symbols, lettering, and decorative material – convey important ideological messages that are by no means neutral in their implications.

Consider, for example, the map of Virginia and its neighboring colonies compiled by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, “the first printed map of Virginia by Virginians,” which was first published by Thomas Jeffreys in 1751. No matter what Thomas Pownall might have said about Jeffreys’s other products, the Fry and Jefferson map was extremely well regarded and widely used; historian Coolie Verner has called it “the basic cartographic document of Virginia in the eighteenth century.” Fry, a former mathematics professor at the College of William and Mary, moved to the Virginia backcountry and by the 1740s had become a prominent official in Albemarle County. He enlisted the help of Jefferson (the father of Thomas) as his deputy, and the two surveyed much of the province themselves. Using their own data and information drawn from the surveys of others, they produced an impressive map that was published repeatedly during the second half of the century. Like other early maps, the Fry-Jefferson map offered more than geographical information. It also included a host of assumptions, some more explicit than others, about the nature – and future – of human life on the landscape.

Nothing illustrates that point more clearly than the cartouche containing the title of the map. Beneath the lettering of the title (“A MAP of the INHABITED part of VIRGINIA . . .”) is a picture of a dock, with tobacco being prepared for loading into ships lying at anchor in the background. At the center of the picture are four Anglo-Americans, one of whom is writing down figures while the other three relax next to a tobacco warehouse. To the left of these men stands a young African-American male, smaller in size and servile in pose, offering a goblet on a tray to the gentlemen. Unlike the white men, who are fully dressed in breeches, waistcoats, coats, and hats, the young black man is clad only in a cloth wrapped around his loins. To the right of the scene are three other black men similarly dressed in loincloths but engaged in more strenuous work. One rolls a tobacco cask across the dock, another hammers a cask shut, and the third works in a small boat, presumably getting ready to head out to a large three-masted ship in the distance.

At first glance the picture in the cartouche seems almost commonplace, a placid scene devoid of drama – until one considers the message inherent in its choice as the map’s main illustration. It is a picture, not of the wilderness, but of a waterfront; its central figures are not explorers, but exporters. There is no suggestion of the wooded interior of the west; the emphasis is on the ocean to the east, with the ships that transport tobacco in the transatlantic trade. The social implications of the imperial economy are evident in the distinction between the leisured and literate Anglo-Americans and the African Americans who labor for them. Everything about the human figures – placement, posture, dress, activity – suggests the subjugation necessary to the racial caste structure of Virginia’s society. Of all the possible images to accompany a map of an American colony, this one carries a powerful message that speaks quietly but eloquently of social dominance and economic development.

The body of the map itself contains equally important assertions of Anglo-American control. Superimposed over the landscape are the straight-line, sharp-angled boundaries that separate the English colonies and seemingly reduce geography to geometry. Within those boundaries are the many places (towns, courthouses, ferries) that define the economic and political order; even more numerous are the English place names that range from the picturesque ("Cherrybrook") to the prosaic ("Maggotty Creek"). Even the valleys west of the Blue Ridge Mountains are rendered in pastoral terms ("Little River Calf Pasture"). In general, reassuring signs of English settlement are everywhere.

Almost nowhere, by contrast, are the signs of Indian settlement, even though native people still lived in many parts of the area covered by the map. To be sure, there are some surviving Indian names ("Wappocomo River"), several reminders of earlier Indian settlement ("Shawno Indian Fields Deserted"), and a few references to "Indian Roads." But those indications of an Indian presence are embedded in a document of Anglo-American appropriation: The map claims ownership of the names along with the land itself. Certainly there is no notion that native inhabitants still had a place, much less a claim, on the land. The whole western quarter of the map, the trans-Appalachian region beyond the reach of English settlement, is left essentially blank, with only a few scattered symbols for mountains to fill up the empty space. Clearly, this "Map of the Inhabited part of Virginia" offers only a limited and Anglocentric definition of "inhabited."

Other contemporary maps provided a more realistic picture of the native presence, noting Indian territories and even individual villages, yet mapmakers could use the size and placement of the printed word to create a symbolic image of the implied relationships between people and places; T. Kitchin made use of such imagery in his 1765 map of North and South Carolina and Georgia. Lettering showing native peoples is placed to the west, implying that they are out of the way of white settlement; their names are rendered in smaller print, which relegates them to an inferior and presumably less threatening status. Consider the effect if the situation were reversed – if, say, "CREEK INDIANS" were printed in large letters and "Georgia" in small: The power of the Anglo-Americans would no longer seem quite so imposing.

Indeed, the implied meanings of European maps become clearer when one considers contemporary maps made by Indian peoples. Jonathan Carver admitted that although Indians, in his mind, were "totally unskilled in geography . . . they draw on their birch-bark very exact charts or maps of the countries with which they are acquainted." Unfortunately, very few of these maps survive – probably for the very reason that they were drawn on birch bark or even scratched in the dust; they were not intended to be permanent documents preserved in an archive, but were part of the ad hoc cartography of cultural encounters on the American frontiers. Moreover, as Gregory Waselkov has pointed out in a study of six surviving copies of maps by Indians in the Southeast, the full meaning of Indian maps may be indecipherable to us. The maps did not depend on a set of fixed cartographic convention, but each reflected a vision of reality refracted through a particular cultural point of view. In most cases, the maps of native peoples reveal an ethnocentric view of a relatively limited, self-contained world. Map 7, a 1737 copy of a Chickasaw map, shows the mapmaker's group at the center symbolized by a circle; it was surrounded by other groups represented by other circles. Although the maps do "contain considerable geographical information," Waselkov notes, "their main function was to portray social and political relationships." The circle, "the single most widely shared symbolic feature of southeastern Indian maps," represented the social cohesion (although not always the relative size) of the

distinct groups. In this regard, Indian maps, like European maps, "are indeed political documents, graphic depiction of the balance of power among the southeastern Indians."

The most striking difference between Indian maps and European maps is that Indians apparently did not use maps to claim or control specific areas of territory. As the Anglo-American cartographer Lewis Evans observed, Indians "do not generally bound their Countries with Lines." By drawing circles linked by lines, Indian mapmakers emphasized connection between peoples rather than control of the land. By contrast, their European counterparts simply painted over huge swaths of land that ran westward almost to infinity, far beyond any reasonable reach. Such straight-line designs as those on map 6 demonstrate the supreme assertion of cartographic control, the assumption that the straightness of the line could supersede the actual irregularity of the land – not to mention the people living on it.

In short, it is important to recognize the assumptions inherent in the maps of European exploration in order to appreciate fully the role mapping played in the creation of North American empires. Throughout the era of colonization, maps were not so much records of actual exploration as they were outlines of anticipated appropriation. Long before Anglo-Americans established dominance over the North American landscape or its native peoples, their maps gave them a vision – or perhaps a visualization – of future control. By drawing lines across the continent and imposing themselves in print, they literally mapped out a New World order.

It is much easier to claim control from above, of course, than to establish it down below. As Leo Marx, Roderick Nash, Richard Slotkin, and other historians of the American wilderness have demonstrated, Euro-Americans typically suffered a crisis of confidence when they actually found themselves face to face with the frontier. They reacted to their new environment with great anxiety or, at best, with considerable ambivalence; the appealing promise of an American paradise was offset, sometimes altogether undermined, by the fear of the "howling wilderness," a savage place inhabited by savage people. Their response, of course, was to try to conquer both place and people. The anonymous author of a 1791 pamphlet promoting white settlement in southern New York assured his readers that the native inhabitants of the region had "wholly retired from the Genesee Country" because they had been deprived of wild game when the first white settlers cleared the fields for cultivation. "But above all," he concluded, "the extended society of white inhabitants . . . half of whom may be presumable to bear arms, gives the most perfect security to the settlers." With farms and firearms, these settlers carried out the plan of appropriation that cartographers had put on the map long before.

There was also an equally significant if more subtle fear that often permeated the plans of the men who mapped and designed the future of the American frontier: The ultimate threat to the proper settlement of successive frontier regions was neither the howling wilderness nor the hostile natives; it was the new settlers themselves. If left to wander into the wilderness on their own, these settlers could not always be trusted to adhere to the proper patterns of social order. For settlement to follow its prescribed path, then, all three frontier factors – the environment, the indigenous population, and the new Euro-American inhabitants – had to be subdued. Indeed, the demarcation, occupation, and development of the landscape depended in large part on the regulation, even regimentation, of the settler population.

Before settlers actually established themselves on the land, frontier promoters and proprietors often devised detailed plans for settlement, complete with maps and drawings of



the proper arrangement of space. In a sense, these plans were the small-scale equivalents of the larger maps of the landscape. That is, they laid out the lines that not only claimed control of space but also attempted to set the bounds of human behavior. In that regard they suggest an intriguing intersection of cartographical and social history.

Consider, for instance, Sir Robert Mountgomery's proposal for his so-called Margravate of Azilia. Mountgomery never set foot in North America, but he had a grand design for developing the frontier. In 1717, the Scottish baronet petitioned the Lords Proprietors of South Carolina for a sizeable grant of land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, the territory that would eventually become Georgia. He wanted to create a new British colony that would be a profitable imperial outpost on the southeastern frontier. The idea was attractive to the South Carolina proprietors, who wanted to create a buffer zone to protect their colony from attack by Spanish settlers in Florida and by Indians throughout the Southeast. The idea was equally attractive to Mountgomery, who would set himself up at the colony's margrave, or governor for life.

To encourage support for his plan, Mountgomery published a prospectus for developing this "Most Delightful Country of the Universe." At the outset, he turned to maps as his first source of authority. "In the Maps of *North America*," he observed, "it may be taken Notice of, how well this Country lies for Trade with all our Colonies, and in Regard to every other Prospect, which can make a Situation healthy, profitable, lovely, and inviting." Moreover, the proposed colony "lies in the same Latitude with *Palestine* Herself, which was pointed out by *God's* own Choice, to bless the Labours of a favourite People." Existing maps also suggested that God's new "favourite People" from England would have little trouble taking possession of the land: "Nor is this tempting Country yet inhabited, except in those Parts in the Possession of the *English*, unless by here and there a Tribe of wandering *Indians*, wild and ignorant, all artless, and uncultivated, as the Soil, which fosters them." Thus Mountgomery used cartographic location and association to make claims for his colony that went far beyond his personal knowledge, not to mention the truth.

Such unconfirmed claims were standard promotional stuff, the kind of verdant verbiage one could find in almost any sales pitch for New World settlement. Indeed, one could easily dismiss Mountgomery as one of many eighteenth-century real estate entrepreneurs with a strong inclination toward embellishment. What makes Mountgomery's proposal worthy of more serious consideration, however, is its clearly articulated conception of the importance of a predetermined pattern of settlement for future frontier growth. No other frontier planner laid out more clearly both the motive and the method for social control through spatial arrangement.

The problem with previous settlement plans, Mountgomery argued, was that there really was no plan: "It is to a Defect *in setting out*, that all our noble Colonies upon the Western Continent have ow'd their Disappointments; *To a want of due Precaution in their Forms of settling*, or rather, to their settling without any Form at all." It was important that plan precede people. Once people were "got together," he said, "'tis as easy to dispose them regularly, and with due Regard to Order, Beauty, and the Comforts of Society, as to leave them to the Folly of fixing at Random, and destroying their Interest by Indulging their Humour." In other words, common settlers could not be trusted to arrange themselves advantageously because of the "Folly" and frailty of their minds. It was necessary, then, to "dispose them regularly," to impose order over them, so as to promote and protect their true interests and, more important, those of the margrave himself.

There would be nothing unplanned about the Margravate of Azilia; Mountgomery mapped out, both visually and verbally, a detailed design for his new society. First, he called for developing a series of districts, each one a large, fortified square, twenty miles on a side and enclosed by a high wall. At the very center of each district would sit a governor's house, which would be surrounded by a "middle hollow Square . . . full of Streets crossing each other." Beyond the gridwork of streets lay an open space bounded by trees, then a larger grid pattern of 116 estates, each one a mile square (640 acres) in size. Finally, in the four quadrants of the square district would be "four great Parks . . . Each four Miles Square . . . in which are propagated Herds of Cattle of all Sorts." His illustration of the plan even shows deer leaping about the parks for the benefit of hunters. In this promotion pamphlet the American landscape had been carefully drawn, quartered, and tamed.

Square town plans were by no means uncommon in colonial North America, and Mountgomery's design, although elaborate, was not altogether exceptional. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans frequently established settlement according to rectangular patterns of perpendicular grids. (So, for that matter, did some Indian people.) As Jonathan Hughes has observed, the square was an attractive almost obvious shape for town planning: "Once you decided to ignore topography, a square is the easiest regular shape." Deciding to ignore topography, of course, may seem foolish and self-defeating, Europeans had nonetheless done that on a grand scale in mapping the New World. Like the larger maps of the continent, these town plans represented another form of straight-line design laid over the landscape. In that regard, the plans for the Margravate of Azilia reflected long-standing – and long-lasting – assumptions about the regular arrangement of open space.

But Mountgomery added another dimension to these assumptions. His squares within squares defined not just a regular spatial pattern but a closely related social pattern as well. Authority stemmed from the governor at the center outward to the members of the gentry on their surrounding estates to the indentured servants who worked for them: "By these means the labouring people . . . are themselves within the Eye of those, set over them, and *All together*, under the Inspection of their Principal." Spurred by such scrutiny, these "labouring people" would work "with double Diligence and Duty" and make Azilia a profitable place. Finally, Mountgomery projected,

when their Time expires, possessing just Land enough to pass their Lives at Ease and bring their Children up honestly, the Families they leave will prove a constant Seminary of sober Servants, of both Sexes, for the Gentry of the Colony; whereby they will be under no necessity to use the Dangerous Help of *Blackamoors*, or *Indians*.

Thus the Margravate of Azilia would be a productive province where regularity, regimentation, and reproduction would combine to create a hardworking, self-perpetuating, single-race class of workers to serve the needs of their superiors. To a member of the aristocracy such as Mountgomery, such a well-ordered, hierarchical social system must have seemed utopia indeed.

Unfortunately for Mountgomery, his Margravate of Azilia never materialized. The original grant from the South Carolina proprietors gave him three years to put his plan into action, and he failed to raise either the necessary settlers or the necessary sum of money in that time. By 1720, his last-ditch efforts to secure support proved unsuccessful, and the whole venture died a quiet death. In the end, all Mountgomery's plans amounted to little

more than a pamphlet and a place name of some eighteenth-century maps and in footnotes to some twentieth-century studies of English settlement and city planning. Indeed, if historians mention the Margravate of Azilia at all, they do so usually in terms of its relationship to actual settlement plans, noting its similarity to the initial layout of such towns as Savannah, Georgia, or, later, the townships of the Ohio Territory.

To leave the discussion at that, however, is to miss the most interesting point of his proposal. What makes Mountgomery's design especially noteworthy is not its square shape but its conscious prescription for the orderly arrangement of space as a means to regulate human behavior and reinforce social relations. As Michel Foucault has argued, the eighteenth century was an era of surveillance, in which new structures of social organization promoted close observation and, therefore, social control. Indeed, one eighteenth-century observer of early Savannah seemed to understand that relationship more clearly than some twentieth-century historians. Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, a settler at the Salzburger community near Savannah, took special note of the orderliness of the initial English enterprise:

The Town is regularly laid out, divided into four Wards . . . The Streets are straight, and the Houses are all of the same Model and Dimensions . . . For the Time it has been built, it is very populous, and its Inhabitants are all White People . . . We see here Industry honored, and Justice strictly executed, and Luxury and Idleness banished from this happy Place, . . . where the good Order of a Nightly Watch, restrains the Disorderly, and makes the Inhabitants sleep secure in the midst of a Wilderness.

Growing naturally, almost necessarily, out of the straight streets and uniform dwelling houses was a social order that promoted hard work, discouraged disorder, and thus helped subdue the fearsome effects of the frontier.

In a sense, Mountgomery anticipated and articulated the problems seen by other elite proprietors who hoped to promote proper settlement of their frontier properties. Left to their own notions of settling, to what Mountgomery called "the Folly of fixing at Random," common people would be undisciplined and unproductive. William Byrd, surveying the Virginia-North Carolina border in 1728, described the slothful settlers living too easily in the Carolina "Lubberland": they did no labor, he sneered, but loitered "just like the lazy Indians." Byrd's scorn for such apparent dissolution seems even stronger in the context of his role as the head of a surveying party; he was surrounded by what he took to be human disorder while mapping the straight line to bring order to the backcountry – much of which he owned and hoped to develop. Similarly, Lt. John Cambel, a military mapmaker who designed a new settlement on the banks of the Mississippi in West Florida, promised that migration to the proposed outpost would "greatly aid in purging, and Regulating, the discontented colonies" by providing "a Proper Government amongst these Emigrants." Cambel's design for the town of Dartmouth was triangular in shape – an imaginative departure from the standard square, but still a carefully conceived expression of order. In a broad mall dividing the triangle vertically stood a church and courthouse facing each other near the base, a government house and commanding officer's house in the center, and quarters for officers and men at the top. The institutions of ecclesiastical, legal, and military authority would be at the center of community life, unavoidable visual reminders of power and control. No less than Mountgomery's plans for the square districts of Azilia, Cambel's

triangular design for Dartmouth embodied assumptions about the need for a spatial arrangement of social order.

The Revolution did little to change those assumptions. Even the new townships of the Ohio territory – the regular, easily replicated, one-mile-square “democratic social spaces” designed by Congress in the early days of the Republic – symbolized order as much as openness and opportunity. The government’s settlement strategy helped determine who would occupy those spaces and on what terms. As Manasseh Cutler, one of the directors of the Ohio Company, argued in 1788,

It is a happy circumstance that the Ohio Company are about to commence the settlement of this country in so regular and judicious a manner. It will serve as a wise model for the future settlement of all federal lands . . . leaving no vacant land exposed to be seized by such lawless banditti as usually infest the frontiers.

Cutler’s use of the term “banditti” did not refer to outlaws alone; it was, rather, a catchall that included hunters, squatters, and other independent settlers – those who, as earlier critics had said, arranged themselves on the landscape “at random” and lived “jut like the lazy Indians.” To a frontier planner like Cutler, anyone who lived in opposition to, or even outside of, the prescribed patterns of settlement posed a threat. Such people did little to promote productivity and profit, and they impeded the designs of those who hoped to direct future frontier development across the continent.

Thus Mountgomery, Byrd, Cambel, Cutler, and many other frontier planners would doubtless agree on the prescription for productivity: To compensate for their indolent inclinations, common people needed the control imposed by an ordered social space. Throughout early American frontier regions, from Georgia to Maine to the Mississippi to the Old Northwest, that point was frequently repeated by proprietors and policy makers. The attempt to impose a planned order over white settlers was the third step in a process of subjugation that was fundamental to the history of the North American frontier. It began with the first European exploration of the continent, when cartographers created a vision – and, equally important, a division – of the unknown interior. It continued as Europeans pushed into that interior, asserting control over nature and pursuing the conquest of native peoples. It ultimately turned upon Euro-American settlers themselves.

This third step was the least overtly oppressive and therefore the least obvious. In the long run, in fact, it was the least successful. Although the Euro-American frontier was, as John Stilgoe has noted, “mapped and plotted and otherwise ordered by literate professionals familiar with innovative ideas,” other people – settlers, speculators, even competing elite proprietors – imposed their own notions of order on the landscape. Like the “succeeding Generations” in Borges’s story of the man who “came to judge a map of such Magnitude cumbersome,” succeeding generations of Americans eventually undermined the designs of the pioneer planners. That struggle between planner and settler is one of the enduring stories of the American frontier.

Still, the *a priori* plans that preceded Euro-American settlement are as important as the opposition they eventually engendered. From the outset, they defined the terms of both inter- and intracultural discourse, framing the frontier in a set of assumptions about spatial and social relations. And if now, like the map in Borges’s story, they lie in tatters in the deserts of time, they still reveal remnants of an earlier attempt to shape people’s perceptions of the earth and thus, perhaps, their lives on it.

Source: Gregory H. Nobles. "Straight Lines and Stability: Mapping the Political Order of Anglo-America's Frontier." *The Journal of American History* Vol. 80 (1993) Pp. 9-35.

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## INDIANS AS GEOGRAPHERS AND MAP MAKERS

Drawing maps was within the competence of every adult southeastern Indian of the colonial period. Early colonizers such as Captain John Smith, John Lawson, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, and René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, found native North Americans to be proficient cartographers whose geographical knowledge greatly expedited the first European explorations of the region. For a century and a half, information imparted by means of ephemeral maps scratched in the sand or in the cold ashes of an abandoned campfire, sketched with charcoal on bark, or painted on deerskin was incorporated directly into French and English maps, usually enhancing their accuracy. Once this fact is appreciated, one can no longer share the astonishment of Governor James Glen of South Carolina, who in 1754 wrote, "I have not rested satisfied with a verbal Discription of the Country from the Indians but have often made them trace the Rivers on the Floor with Chalk, and also on Paper, and it is surprizing how near they approach to our best Maps." Though the governor might not have conceded or even realized the fact, the information contained in Glen's best maps of the interior Southeast was originally derived in large part from the Indians.

Christopher Columbus first discovered the existence of an indigenous mapmaking tradition among the American Indians when, on his fourth voyage in 1502, he waylaid a Mayan trading canoe carrying an old man who drew charts of the Honduran coast. From the English colony at Jamestown, established in 1607, came the earliest records of southeastern Indian maps. The Powhatan Algonquians spontaneously produced maps on at least three occasions, ranging in scope from a simple one showing the course of the James River to an ambitious map depicting their place at the center of a flat world, with England represented by a pile of sticks near the edge. Only rarely, however, did European explorers express an interest in Indian cosmography; their curiosity generally was limited to the locations of rivers, paths, and settlements. When traveling through totally unfamiliar terrain, this sort of geographical information proved invaluable to numerous Englishmen and Frenchmen seeking new lands to exploit. As a consequence, Indians sometimes withheld such information, according to John Lawson: "I have put a Pen and Ink into a Savage's Hand, and he has drawn me the Rivers, Bays, and other Parts of a Country, which afterwards I have found to agree with a great deal of Nicety: But you must be very much in their Favour, otherwise they will never make these Discoveries to you; especially, if it be in their own Quarters." Lawson evidently lost their favor because of his encroachments on Indian lands while serving as surveyor-general of the North Carolina colony, for he was the first Englishman killed in the Tuscarora War of 1711.

But on the whole, geographically uninformed Europeans seldom were disappointed in their hundreds of requests for Indian maps. Unfortunately, few of these maps are now extant, even as transcripts. G. Malcolm Lewis has suggested that Europeans were primarily interested in the information content, which could be incorporated directly into their own

printed maps, and had little regard for the ethnographic value of original Indian maps as artifacts.

Source: Gregory A. Waselkov. "Indian Maps of the Colonial Southeast." Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast. Edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

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## **CROWN VERSUS COUNCIL IN A CONTEST TO CONTROL VIRGINIA LAND**

In this essay, Manning Voorhis demonstrates that despite the Crown's best efforts to reform the way land was granted, the Council representing the interests of the elite were able to come out on top.

Had this essay been published as a pamphlet in the eighteenth century when the title page took the place of the modern publishers blurb, it might appropriately have been called: "The Royal Demesne in Virginia: a True Relation of how His Majesty's Land in that Plantation hath been Pilfered Away without his knowledge, by Sundry of his Subjects, who with the Connivance of his Servants, have encroached upon the Prerogative to enhance their Fortunes, in a Manner Subversive to the Dignity of the Crown, Injurious to the Trade of the Realm and Derogatory to the Generality of Planters in that Colonie." It is well known that throughout the colonial period the land of Virginia was granted to relatively few people; and although the large tracts were generally broken into smaller farms, the colony was dominated by the owners of large plantations. It is the purpose of this paper to show how that small group secured control over the distribution of land in Virginia.

The king was legally owner of all the land of the colony and the landholders were his tenants, Virginia being a legal appendage of the king's Manor of East Greenwich to be used as he saw fit. The theory was anachronistic, but our ancestors with their deep veneration for the legal ritual relating to property in land were not innovators. Indeed they seemed to revel in observing the mysteries of the law with all its appurtenances and hereditaments intoned in the king's name. Occasionally one still finds in Virginia people who own land by original grant from a royal Charles, William or George. Sometimes they are under the innocent illusion that their ancestors were especially favored by the king or his viceroy. The fact of the matter is that if the king's government had been consulted a great part of the Virginia grants would never have been made – the land would have gone instead to other people.

The circumstances of the failure of the king's authority over land grants and the belated efforts to assert control over them are typical of many another abortive attempt to carry over English authority into the New World. The great mistake was the failure to regulate the colony's land policy from the beginning. James I delegated to the Virginia Company the right to dispose of land. After the dissolution of the Company, Governor Wyatt, without authority, continued to issue grants according to the Company's rules. Under these terms every free immigrant got a fifty-acre bounty. Planters already settled in the colony were given the same reward each time they imported an indentured servant. Lacking any contrary word from England, governors continued to honor these rules. After ten years the Privy Council merely confirmed a system already well established. Thus it was more or less by default that the land ordinance which the Virginia Company had adopted as a

temporary expedient became the basis for granting land in Virginia throughout the colonial period. Moreover the Virginia precedent was followed more or less completely in several other colonies.

This is not to suggest that the English officials had any particularly objection to the land system in its original form. Indeed it was well designed to promote the removal of surplus English population and to increase that of the New World. Had the granting of land been left solely in the hands of the governor, the king's representative, the original purpose of the English government would have been realized; but since land was disposed of by the governor in council, a few wealthy planters parceled out the land mainly in the interest of the people of their class. Since at least three-fourths of the seventeenth-century immigrants came to Virginia as indentured servants, most of the land was given to those who claimed to be the importers of these people. But how was the indentured immigrant to get a homestead when his term of service was finished? The Virginia Company did not answer that question, and the Virginia Council ignored it. Masters customarily gave their departing servants some supplies, but they did not usually give them land. If freed servants were to get land they could either buy or rent it from those who had received headright bounties. Obviously this arrangement was agreeable to those who had surplus acres for lease or sale. It is clear that the English officials never understood this or most other realities of the land situation in Virginia. For many years Charles I and his advisers ordered Virginia governors to issue grants according to the rules of the "late company," but soon it was evident that the authors of these convenient admonitions had forgotten, if indeed they ever clearly knew, just what the rules of the "late company" were. Somehow the notion got abroad in England that the Virginia government gave both master and freed servant land on an equal basis. As a matter of fact Wyatt was ordered in 1639 to do this and all subsequent executives were given increasingly explicit directions to give land to freed servants. Few colonial governors found it expedient to attempt to carry out this portion of their orders and those who made the effort failed. The idea would surely have been popular, but not with the Virginia council.

In still other ways the land-grant procedures were violated. Headright claims were multiplied in many devious ways. Shipmasters like Adam Thorogood claimed land bounties on their cargoes of indentured immigrants. The planters who bought the contracts of these people from the shipowners also got the land bounties to which they, at least, were entitled. The business was sometimes carried still further by presenting the same immigrants' names at various county seats. Lists of Negro slaves were accepted for bounty claims in disregard of the Virginia charter, the very instrument that was cited in patents as the authority for the grants. In time the clerks of the secretary's office began to sell fifty-acre headright certificates, using fictitious names. According to the records one John Doe appears to have migrated to Virginia several times, but I have never heard of anyone who claims descent from him.

By the close of the seventeenth century the land of the Tidewater region had been taken up — much of it on the perimeter — by large landholders. Since the Piedmont was not then open to settlement there was a shortage of good cheap land. Freed servants and the poorer folk were leaving the colony in considerable numbers.

At first glance it seems strange that successive governors tolerated and indeed participated in transactions so directly contrary to the king's command, but on closer examination the business is more plausible. For one thing the illegalities crept in gradually, and most of them developed during the long rule of Berkeley. That stout old knight took naturally to a plan so favorable to the local aristocracy. Berkeley parceled out some

handsome estates in a free and easy manner, and indeed the governor himself became a substantial landowner. Was not King Charles giving away whole colonies to his henchmen? Surely he would not want his viceroy to be niggardly in adhering to the letter of his instructions. A royal governor had to uphold the rights of the crown, but there were times when it was well to humor influential local people. There would not be much risk of trouble from England so long as there was no injury to trade and revenue. With some such reasoning Berkeley and most of his successors chose to follow the course of least resistance.

Immediately following Berkeley there was a rapid succession of executives and local deputies, none of whom remained long enough to carry through reforms had they chosen to inaugurate any. Nicholson in his first administration made a beginning by prosecuting Colonel Lawrence Smith for holding land in violation of the terms of his grant. The governor thought to make an example of one of the leading gentlemen of the colony. The case dragged on in the general court and before it was finished Nicholson was transferred from Virginia and his erstwhile judges readily settled the affair to everyone's satisfaction, out of court. Sir Edmund Andros was something of an efficiency expert but happily for his own peace and quiet he let the strange procedures of the land office alone. Andros was not uninformed about these doings for he testified, evidently with some amusement, that one applicant for headright land claimed to have imported as indentured servants some of the principal gentlemen of the English county of Kent.

The English officials remained more or less in ignorance of the realities of the Virginia land situation until 1697 when that meddlesome Scotsman, Commissary Blair, exposed the whole business in his portion of the classic report called The Present State of Virginia. The Board of Trade was startled into action. A thorough investigation of the Virginia procedure for granting land was begun. Within a few months Andros was replaced by Nicholson who again began a campaign for reform which lasted, with more or less intensity, from 1698 until 1720. We are not concerned here with the details of the controversy. Generally speaking the English government contended for a homestead plan giving each applicant an acreage in proportion to the size of his family and the number of his laborers. Nicholson was under positive orders to introduce this principle, but after seven years of cajolery and bluster he was unable to win over the council. He might have refused to sign any patents that did not meet the new requirements, but this would have created a resentment fatal to his administration as a whole. As matters then stood, the governor at least had some control over the surveyors and he was able to hold large grants in check by requiring his consent to all surveys of over one thousand acres. But there were ways to get around this regulation, and people like Councilor Harrison's family persuaded surveyors to lay out their lands without stating the acreage. Still this was an unpleasant evasion not at all like the old free and easy days.

Before long Nicholson began a grand inquiry into the headright irregularities. He finally decided that the best way to end the sale of the fraudulent headrights was to permit the colony to sell certificates authorizing the purchase of land without pretense that anyone had been imported. The profits of the business would thus be channeled into the treasury of the colony. The council had no strenuous objection to this for land would now cost only about a penny an acre. Nicholson did not, however, propose to let down the bars for an uncontrolled land grab. He intended the sale of land warrants to serve only as an expedient to be replaced in the near future by the Board of Trade's homestead plan. The council refused to accept the English proposal, but the temporary measure remained until the Revolution, gradually superseding the headright provision as the basis for grants. Thus



without approval from England the governor and council assumed the right to sell the king's land and keep the profits for the use of the colony. Now if the council could only manage to get the governors to be reasonable as they had been in former times, perhaps the Board of Trade's reforms would be entangled hopelessly in red tape. The gentlemen could again go about building up their estates without unseemly bickering.

For some reason Nicholson did not push the Board of Trade's land program. Perhaps he knew Virginia too well to rush into a frontal attack. Instead he relied mainly on his own pet solution – a strict collection of the quitrents. All landowners were under obligation to pay annually two shillings on each hundred acres as a token of the king's overlordship. In the early years of the colony there had been no real effort to collect these fees, but gradually in the course of the seventeenth century most of the landowners became accustomed to paying at least some part of their dues. Obviously the charge was no serious burden upon land under cultivation, for by paying in low-grade tobacco the quitrent was reduced to a shilling for each one hundred acres. But for the planters who held thousands of acres of unused land quitrents would have been a heavy expence. Such men were the principal evaders. Nicholson's idea was to bring these large holdings to account, not for the sake of the revenue, but to make land hoarding unprofitable. He first tried to goad Receiver-General Byrd into making more efficient collections, but Byrd put him off with futile suggestions and assurances. Then Nicholson introduced an unpleasant plan for rewarding the sheriffs for bringing delinquents to account. The result was not very successful, but the quitrent roll of 1704 was the most complete up to that time. The scheme did not, however, solve the problem of land monopoly, for even if a sheriff were willing to proceed with vigor against a defaulter he could seize goods only, not the land itself. Thus undeveloped land was reasonably safe from quitrent levies and there was no other land tax. Moreover although every grant contained a clause requiring forfeiture for three years' neglect to pay quitrents, Virginia custom had nullified this proviso and no governor dared enforce it.

Nicholson quarreled with his council on many scores, and, of course, with Blair on college matters, but his land-control program alone is enough to account for the wrath of the local magnates. The Colonel had begun his campaign tactfully, but after a few years of see-saw argument with his council his patience was gone and he appealed to England for support against the councilors – “those mighty dons those parvenues,” as he called them. His adversaries were scarcely a docile lot when crossed. Six of them sent a memorial to the Board of Trade charging Nicholson with every conceivable public and private vice. They insinuated that delicacy forbade mention of some of the governor's more scurrilous doings, leaving one to wonder what depravity could have been overlooked. He was accused of “gross immoralities and lewd pranks,” “rash profanity and vile references to gentlemen and their ladies.” They said he was wont to make remarks suggesting that “gentlemen had got their estates by cheating the people....” All this and many more vague and unconvincing charges were made by the councilors, but they did not report that Nicholson's chief offense was that he had tried to carry out his orders and curb fraudulent land grants. They touched upon the subject, accusing the governor of arbitrary procedures, but the councilors neglected to say that they themselves had undermined every attempt to reform the land system. From all this one thing was clear to the English officials. Colonel Nicholson had brought his administration to a stalemate. He was recalled from Virginia and the “mighty dons” held the field. It is a remarkable fact that councilors were practically lifetime appointees while a governor's tenure was more or less during “good behavior.” It is also worthy of notice that

Nicholson was generally supported by the House of Burgesses, and was popular in the colony at large. His quarrel was with the group represented in the upper house.

Colonel Edward Nott, Nicholson's successor, was in office little more than a year. He was a genial man who scarcely had time to gain an understanding of local problems. Ordered to continue the campaign for a homestead land system, his innocence of the real point at issue was such that he passed on to England an elaborate plan which bore verbal resemblance to a homestead system, but which was in fact quite the contrary. The Board of Trade was not so easily taken in. It rejected the bill and made its homestead plan mandatory. The council flatly refused to issue grants on this basis. With the support of a local interim executive, Colonel Edmund Jennings, the council continued the obstructive tactics until 1710, while engaging in a prolonged debate with the Board of Trade. Meanwhile anyone who wanted new land could buy it from those who had a superabundance. The people at large never knew that the English government was anxious to give land to settlers and that only the stubbornness of the council prevented this. Jennings and the councilors tried throughout to give the Board of Trade the impression that the people of the colony were behind them. Meanwhile the situation was not too bad for the land speculators. While waiting for a favorable settlement of the question, they persuaded surveyors to lay out choice blocks of land for them which they held on a sort of priority claim without purchasing warrants or paying quitrents.

If anyone could have straightened out this imbroglio surely Spotswood was the man to do it. He had charm, ability, and tenacity. But in the end the veteran of Blenheim was forced to run up the white flag. Time and again he thought the battle won, only to find the enemy attacking from a new quarter. Finally after ten years of struggle Spotswood decided that instead of reforming Virginia he would do better to settle there and profit from the system he had failed to defeat. How the governor was transferred from a zealous servant of the crown into a good Virginian is a story that can only be outlined here.

When Spotswood first came to Virginia in 1710 the Board of Trade had grown weary of defending its original homestead plan. The principle was retained, but now all that was asked was that each patentee bring under cultivation three acres in each fifty within three years after receiving his grant. This, of course, was designed to compel people to prove that they wanted land for use rather than for speculation. Spotswood fresh from England, and still unaware of the impossibility of carrying out the Board's policy by direct fiat, arbitrarily inserted a three-acre cultivation clause into all new grants. Taking a high and mighty tone, he wrote the Board of Trade that he thought it proper that the terms for disposal of land should be a matter of royal prerogative rather than local law. Technically Spotswood was right, but the English officials were more interested in results than theoretical crown privileges. They knew from experience that the only hope of having the cultivation clause mean anything was by getting the assembly to enact it. Spotswood finally maneuvered such a bill through the assembly, but it contained one clause with a catch in it. The owner, by this clause, was permitted to turn cattle loose upon his land instead of cultivating it. The courts would soon do wonders in interpreting this provision. The long-sought homestead plan had finally come to nearly nothing.

Spotswood then attempted to rescue the program by requiring that applicants for more than four hundred acres receive permission from the governor and the council before making surveys. For a time this restraint was of some importance, but gradually Spotswood became more lenient, and subsequent governors generally left the business in the hands of the council.

Spotswood also tried the quitrent approach to the land problem. He successfully sponsored a clause in the land law of 1713 requiring forfeiture of all grants whenever the owners failed to pay for three successive years. It is a tribute to the governor's political skill that he was able to get this concession from the assembly. The way was made easier by the fact that he was in a position to humor a majority of the members by appointing them tobacco inspectors, offices which were created in that same session. Besides, more than half of the councilors were new members appointed with Spotswood's endorsement. These novices, however, very soon regretted their complaisance and assumed the traditional attitude of the previous councils. And the governor shortly discovered that if assemblies make laws, the courts interpret them. Indeed the council did not wait for a case under the new quitrent law but sitting as the general court rendered the astonishing opinion that the forfeiture clause did not apply to grants already issued. This was said to be true in spite of the fact that every patent since 1624 had in it a provision for surrender in case of quitrent default. Very soon, with the co-operation of the courts and officials, ways were found which exempted from quitrents nearly all unoccupied and undeveloped grants no matter when issued.

Thus Spotswood ran afoul judicial review. Had he not been so arrogant one could almost feel sorry for him as he fumed in impotent rage at the solid array of colonels, most of them related by blood or marriage, who shared the bench with him. Here the helpless governor was only one among united equals and was without benefit of veto. Furthermore, the close family relationships among the members of the council often caused embarrassment when the councilors sat as the general court. Is it any wonder that he sought escape by an attempt to pack the courts? The relationship between the quitrent decision and Spotswood's effort to set up special oyer and terminer commissions has been generally ignored by historians. The governor was defeated in this move by the refusal of the gentlemen to sit as one of them said, on that "lindsey woolsey commission." Jennings was the only one of the twelve members of the council willing to serve. Spotswood thereupon appealed to the Attorney General of England for an opinion on the quitrent clause, and the decision was, of course, that delinquents must pay or forfeit. The councilors however, after respectfully acknowledging this communication, continued to ignore it from the bench, and there was nothing the governor could do since the monetary consideration in quitrent cases was not sufficient for appeal to England. Cold comfort to Spotswood also was the Attorney General's advice that although the governor had an undoubted right to appoint special judges, it would be best not to use the privilege.

Spotswood had brandished the crown prerogative on high, but the king's other officials succeeded in transforming it into a wooden sword. He was at last reduced to mere name calling. He wrote Orkney that unless something was done to check these "ungrateful Creolians" the colony must be surrendered to "the Haughtiness of a Carter, the Hypocrisy of a Blair, the Inveteracy of a Ludwell, the Brutishness of a Smith, the Malice of a Byrd, the Conceitedness of a Grymes, and the Scurrility of a Corbin."

By 1719 Spotswood's administration had reached an impasse. His zeal was spent and he was willing to come to terms. He had done many useful things, but his reforming crusade had produced nothing but enemies. The governor knew that Byrd's gossip in high circles in England was dangerous. If he was to round out his term in peace he must give up his restraints upon land grants. There were reasons for a personal nature also that made this an attractive line of retreat for him.

The assembly of 1720 was a veritable love feast compared with earlier sessions. Spotswood was the genial host during a brilliant social season and the newly finished Palace resounded with the gaiety of music and feasting. In his opening address to the assembly the governor spoke affectionately of "the stake I have among you," referring to his recently acquired lands. Before that good-humored session was over two important land laws were passed with the governor's blessing. One of them in the disguise of a homestead act proposed to throw open most of the Piedmont to be given away as the governor and council saw fit. There was to be no limitation on the size of grants and no charges except survey and recording fees. Moreover, the patentees were to pay no quitrents for ten years. The second law made it practically unnecessary for the patentee to make any effort to improve his grant. The Board of Trade's three-acre-in-fifty-cultivation plan had already been given a very loose definition by an earlier law. Its perversion was now completed by the practice of allowing purchasers to count almost any sort of expenditure connected with the grant as evidence of the use and occupancy of the land. This might seem reasonable in principle, but its operation is illustrated by Robert Beverley's list of so-called expenditures on his great "Octonia" grant. He said that the wear and tear and risk to himself in going to look at the land was worth £80, and to this he added the lobbying expenses incurred in forwarding his petition for the grant. Actually Beverley's property had no visible improvements other than the blaze marks on the boundary trees.

It is surprising that Spotswood dared to recommend the 1720 land laws to the English officials. The Board of Trade was suspicious, and in the end allowed land grants with quitrent exemptions within a specific area only, and limited these to one thousand acres. The restrictions, incidentally, were to apply for ten years, but they were defeated almost at once by permitting the same individual to patent several grants, in spite of the fact that this was specifically forbidden by orders from the Privy Council. Spotswood and a few others in his confidence had anticipated some such decision on the part of the Board. Before reply came from England, they helped themselves to many thousands of acres of the best Spotsylvania County land. The governor himself took some sixty thousand acres which, added to his earlier grants, brought his estate to around ninety thousand acres. In 1722, Spotswood, now relieved of the governorship, settled upon his princely domain. His removal from office was due to a combination of circumstances, but it is safe to say that the Board of Trade was correct in concluding that their former defender of crown rights had become a thoroughgoing colonial.

After the experience of Nicholson and Spotswood, subsequent governors were inclined to follow the lead of the council in granting land. Some of them, such as the able and genial Gooch, occasionally took a hand in the business, but not in a way to offend the local powers. The distribution of land thus proceeded merrily onward, all sail and no anchor on a wide course. In two decades more land was patented than in the first hundred years of the colony. Grants of ten and twenty thousand acres became routine business, and soon speculators reached out for tracts extending to over a hundred thousand acres. Most of this was done in contradiction to orders from England and often in violation of any reasonable interpretation of local law. But who was there to protest? The people at large knew nothing of the governor's instructions. The members of the House of Burgesses did not see them. If they had, they would surely at one time or another have used the information to hold grants within moderation. Occasionally the Burgesses asked that their size be restricted, but the lower house had no legal authority over the matter. Moreover most of the members

were themselves large landowners and did not represent the class of people who suffered most from the system.

Since prior approval of the council was necessary for all grants above four hundred acres it is important to know the basis of award. The comment on the application of Alexander Stinson is suggestive. His plea was rejected with the remark, the petitioner is "unknown to any of the Board, and therefore [this] is thought too much [land] for so obscure a person." Thomas Jefferson's father was turned away at one time, but when Attorney General Barradel added his name as a partner in the grant he had better luck. Barradel often became a temporary partner in large grants, selling out his interest afterwards to the other petitioners who without his support would unquestionably have met with no success. Of course, the lesser folk were always free to take up four hundred acres or less at the usual price of ten shillings the hundred acres. A great many did this but they had difficulty in finding land worth purchasing, since the best locations were appropriated by the large grants.

By mid-century the British government showed a reviving concern over the dissipation of crown lands. This culminated in a sweeping order forbidding grants over one thousand acres. Governor Dinwiddie enforced the rule in a technical sense, but there was the inevitable loophole which enabled him to continue signing patents for many thousands of acres. In any event there was by that time very little worth-while land east of the mountains that had not already been patented. Speculators were not too much concerned about the new limitation, for they had afoot great plans for the region west of the mountains where no puny thousand-acre limitation applied.

Although it has been necessary to mention many details concerning Virginia land grants, the main purpose of this article has been to point out the political aspects of the system. In particular the reader is asked to observe in a specific field the working relationship among the authorities in England, royal governors, the Virginia council, burgesses, and the people of the colony. From the account here given it is obvious that English authority, even though the crown's right was clear, did not prevail. We have seen that the reading of laws, charters, and royal instructions can sometimes give an utterly misleading impression of the practical relationship between the British government and the colony. The true situation appears only when the actual results are separated from legalistic forms and fiction. Thus in this instance it is clear how little the royal governors really governed even when supported by theoretically unquestioned authority. In the matter of land grants the king's representatives in Virginia had to play the politician in order to please their royal master in England and at the same time appease the council in Virginia. The record shows that the council, though sometimes threatened, held in the case of land the power of a practically independent oligarchy. One cannot dismiss this fact by saying that the English officials had no genuine concern in regard to Virginia land. True they were long ignorant of the subject, but when they at last became aware of conditions they were fully determined to take corrective action. To prove their earnestness I need only say that the Board of Trade was convinced that an equitable land-grant system would increase tobacco production and thus promote commerce with England. The Board pushed reforms with vigor and ability, but the local group prevailed, not only over the English officials, but also over the people of the colony in general.

One scarcely need say that the inequities of the land-grant procedure were unpopular. Occasionally the views of lesser folk were expressed in the House of Burgesses, but for the most part, those who were injured by the land system could only resort to futile

petitions to the governors. It is apparent why many people resented the local oligarchy with as much, if not more bitterness, than they felt toward the more remote British. Others damned the colonial and parent governments impartially and in doing so sometimes blamed the home officials for conditions which they did not control. In the end, increasing numbers of people concluded that both the English authority and the whole structure of special privilege must go. Yet colonial aristocrats had, along with their faults, many solid virtues. Even their acquisitions of large tracts of land often hastened the exploration, survey, and settlement of the frontier country. Their shortcomings were after all only those of the age, and with the changing times members of this class were to lead in overthrowing the rule of both crown and council and in abolishing the undemocratic system whereby large landed estates had been created and perpetuated.

Source: Manning C. Voorhis. "Crown Versus Council in the Virginia Land Policy." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, III (1946) 499-514.

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### THOMAS LEWIS SURVEYS THE FAIRFAX PROPRIETARY BOUNDARY LINE, 1746

Wensday September 10<sup>th</sup> 1746. Set out from home in order to wait on his majestys & the Right Hounrable Thomas Lord Fairfax Comisioner at Capt. Downs from Thence to proceed to Run the Dividing Line Between his majesty & Ld Fairfax from the head Spring of Rappahannock to the head Spring of the North Branch of Potomack...

Friday Set out about 9 got to Capt Downs. Where was Colo. Fry one of his maj Comirs. Colo. Jefferson one of the Surveyors for his majesty & Capt. Winslo for Ld. Fairfax...Being about 10 of the Clock Came the Honourable Wm. Fairfax & Colo. William Beverley Esqr his Lordships Comisioners Likewise Colo. Lomax one of his majestys Comisioners Likewise George Fairfax Esqr. & Mr. Robert Brook one of his majestys Surveyors with whom I had the pleasure of Spending the Day very agreeably....

Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> Most of the Gentlemen went to hear mr marshall preach who Returned with them to Diner....

Monday 15<sup>th</sup> we were Joyn'd by Colo. Peter Hedgman one of his majestys Comisioners. Spent most of the Day Inspecting Campbles horses brought for the use of the Expedition 14 whereof was pass'd &c....

Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> Spent the Day in preparing for our Journey &c in the Evening Retired to our Camp....

Wensday 17<sup>th</sup>. Continued to pack up our Bagage had our Instruments try'd & notes taken of their Variations of Different Directions...This night we were alarmed with a Quarrall that happned in Capt Downs lane amongst a Crowd of Drunken peple the Rails & Staks of Capt Downs fence Supply'd the want of Cudgels which they apply'd with tolerable good Sucses.

18<sup>th</sup> Thursday Our Bagage Being all packed up one part thereof was Sent of under the Direction of mr Anthony one of our Stewards by the way of Swift Run Gap to be in Readyness to Joyn us when we got over the Blew Ridge the other part thereof under the Direction of mr Genn another of our Stewards to the head of the Conoway where we were to Begin

Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> the mountains made Such a Dismal appearance that John Thomas one of our men took Sick on the Same & So Returned home...about 12 oclock the Comisrs. Rode out in the Evening in Order to Discover which Branch the Surveyors in 1736 measured up but Could not be fully Satisfyd of the Same...

Sunday 21<sup>th</sup> The Comisioners Surveyors &c. Spent most of the Day to Discover which Branch made the head Spring found Some mark'd trees but by whom markd was very uncertain. Returned to our Camp very much Fautaug'd Several horss very much hurt amongst the Rocks on the mountain

Monday 22<sup>d</sup> As the Comisrs Could not be fully Satisfied as to the proper place of Beginning They at Length Concluded to Survey three Sundry Branches in order to Discover the Right or main Branch in Consequence where of Colo. Jefferson Capt. Winslo mr. Brook & I Went to the forks of sd Branches in Order to Survey them Colo Jefferson Capt Winslo measured up the South Branch & Mr Brook & I the North Branch The Courses & Distances thereof as Followeth Viz from the Fork

N 22½ (18) pole the Fork of the midle Branch 34 poles &  
N 10 W. 126 poles  
N 4 E 42 poles  
N 20 W 20 po-  
N 2½ 40 po  
N 20 W 122 po  
N 14 E 42. Po  
N 8 W 40 po  
N 10 E 60 po to the higest water near the top of the mountain

Then we went Back to the midle Branch Beginning 18 pole above where we Began Before Thence up the Same...to Some markd trees viz one white oak TW on Cinamon IA. IR MMH MO Last Course Continued till Seventy ½ poles

Thursday 25<sup>th</sup> The Comisioners at Length agreed to Begin at the head of the Branch whereon the markd was found that agreeing Best with plan of the former Surveyors. Wee Began accordingly at a Red oak & 5 Cotton trees & Run from thence N.W. the variation Subtracted our Course according to the Compass was N 41 2/3 W...here the Gentlemen Comsr thought it Impractcable to follow us over the mountains therefore parted from us & made the Best of their way to Shanando Leveing Some Bagage horses to Cary our tents & Some provision....

Fryday 26<sup>th</sup> measur ...We had Just got over the mountains as night came and Encamped at the foot thereof....

Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> measure Still Continued 3320 poles to pine on the West Side of Shanando River. hear We were obliged to Stop to be Supplyd with Some fresh provision the Comisioner who had Encamped at Loungs came up the River to us where we all Dined & Regald ourselves with Several Black Jacks of punch & afterward Went with the Comisioner to their Camp at Loungs

Monday 29<sup>th</sup> it Being Impossible to take our horses over the Peaked mountr. they were Sent over masenuten Gap with the Comisioner & Bagage mr Brook and I went up to where we left off on Saturday...X a Br. Call'd the fountain of life from the Seasonable Relive it was to us the Day Being Exceeding hot ye mountain very high & Steep we were allmost over-come & Ready to faint for want of Water...left off at a pine tree near a path Being

almost Dark We had the good fortune to meet a man who Conducted us to Peter Shouls where our Company had encamped next morning Brought a pair of Shoes price 7 Sh

Thursday 2d Rained Colo. Fairfax not Being able to undergo the fautague of Journey Returned home....

Friday 3d ...it was late Before ye Comisioners & Bagage Could Come up this Day Several of the horses had like Been Killd. tumbling over Rocks and precipices & ourselves often in the outmost Danger this tirable place was Calld Purgatory

Saturday 4<sup>th</sup> ...The Comsrs. Thought it Best for themselves & Bagage to take along the Road to the South Branch We tooke our own horses with two Bagage horses with Some provision with us along the line & So parted about 12 Othe Clock....

Sunday 5<sup>th</sup> our Situation was Such we Could not lyeby our horses were Starving our provision not being Sufficent for us more than one Day Made it a work of Necessity for us to press forward Began at the end of 1680 pole Run ye Day Before Thence 80 pole a pine md 38 miles on a mountain 400 po a Chestnut md 39 miles 700 po X a Br. Of Capcapon Runs to Rt 720 a white oak md. 40 miles a Deep Valley all the way parrallel to our Course 880 po top of a mont Divids the waters of CapeCapon from those of ye So Br 1380 poles on the top of a very Steep mont here we were obliged to leave off it Being almost Dark our Bagage wc had gon Down the mountain Before we knew not where they had piched our tents nor knew we how to get Down the mountain Being Extremely high & very Rocky and now Quite Dark & had our horses to take down Seting off at all Adventures we fell into a valley Between two Spurs of the mont we had almost precipices on eithe hand the valley very narrow full of Loges & Brush & Exceding Rockey & a very great Decent We had like Been killd with Repeated falls in this Case you may Be Sure or horses were in a miserable Condition the lose Rocks were often So very Compleasant as to Convey us a Considerable way Down & had like very offten proved fatal to us - we at length got to the Bottom nor was our Case then much Better there Being a large Water Course the Banks Extremely Steep wc the neighborhood of the mountn obliged us to Cross very often at places or Banks almost perpendicular. afer a great whiles Dispair we at length got about 10 oClock to our camp, hardly any of us Escaping without Broken Shins or some other miss-fortune

Monday 6<sup>th</sup> ...Heare we were Obliged to Encamp to Recruit our horses who had nothing to live on since we left Dobins & get a Supply of provisions hearing the Comisrs were about 5 or six miles Blow us on ye aforsaid Branch mr Brook Road Down to them & after piching our tent Colo. Jefferson & I Went Down the River to Discover Some Inhabitants that we might get Some provision Saw but one family of poor Dutch people from whom we Could have no Supply....

Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> Cloudy & Ran'd...Clearing up about 9 o'clock We Began at the end of 682 poles Thence Began to assend a mountain Extremely Steep 620 pole a pine md. 46 miles on the [ ] of a very high mountain from whence we Could discover the Settlements Down Wapacomo as far as the old town very Distinctly....

Wensday 8<sup>th</sup> Began where we left off the Day Before at the end of a 1080 pole thence 180 pole a pine md 48 miles. 500 an ash md 49 miles in a valley 820 pole a white oak md. 50 miles on the West Side & near a wagon Road 1140 poles a white oak md 51 miles on ye Side of a mountain 1160 po X mill Creek the first water fit for use we got Since yesterday morning heare we Broak the Glass of our Compass Began to Rain 1320 pole X Wapacomo alies the So Branch to two md Sycomores hearing the Comisioners were then Encamped about 3 miles Down the River We Road Down to them where we Spent the Evening



Friday 10<sup>th</sup> This Being the farthest Settlement we were Obliged to Lye by in Order to be Supplyd with a fresh Cargo of provision that the Farrer might have time to fasten our horses Shoes & the men have time to wash their Shirts &c.

Munday 13<sup>th</sup> Began were we left off on Saturday...Encamped on a marshey Rocky Sort of ground Exceedingly full of tall timber Chiefly maple Some few ash our horses had very good food after we had pass'd the head of Looney Creek it was with the greatest Difficulty we Could get Being along the mountains prodigiously full of fallen Timber & Ivey as thick as it Could grow So Interwoven that horse or man Could hardly force his way through it. So that we had very Difficult access to the top of the Alleganey mountain where was a precipice about 16 feet high & were very hard Set to get a place where there was any probability of our asending when we had gained the Summit there was a Level as far as we Could see to Right & left Clear of timber about a Quarter of a mile wide Covered with Large flat Rocks & marshey tho on the tope of the highest mountain I ever Saw

Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> ...Began where we left off the Day Before Thence 100 poles a Loral Swamp Begins 406 poles X the River of Styx total for this Day

This River was Calld Styx from the Dismal apperance of the place Being Sufficen to Strick terror in any human Creature ye Lorals Ivey & Spruce pine so Extremely thick in ye Swamp through which this River Runs that one Cannot have the Least prospect Except they look upwards the Water of the River of Dark Brownish Cooler & its motion So Slow that it can hardly be Said to move its Depth about 4 feet the Bottom muddy & Banks high, which made it Extremely Difficult for us to pass the most of the horses when they attemp'd to asend the farthest Bank tumbling with their loads Back in the River. most of our Bagage that would have been Damaged by the water were Brought over on mens Shoulder Suchas Powder, Bread and Bedclothes&c. We got all our Bagage over as it Began to grow Dark So we were Obliged to Encamp on the Bank & in Such a place where we Could not find a plain Big enough for one man to Lye on no fire wood Except green or Roten Spruce pine no place for our horses to feed And to prevent their Eating of Loral tyd them all up least they Should be poisoned.

Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> mr Brook and I, aSoon as it was light Set off with our men With out Breakfast & Began where we left off Before Thenc 40 pole aSpruce pine md. 71 miles 200 pole a Large Br. Of Missisipia Runs to the left the Water almost the Color of ye River Styx Rocky & Runs Swift 228 pole fare Side Loral Swamp 280 pole apine md 72 miles 432 po a Br. Runs to left 466 po aLoral Swamp Begins here we were obliged to Quit Being late very Well prepard for Supper

It was a very Discouraging Circumstance, to find all the Waters Runing to the left hand or West ward Directly Contrary to our Expectation So that Instead of Crossing the Branches of Potowmack we Crost those of Missisipia which made us ConClude we were Considerably to the West Ward of the head Spring of Potowmack.

Sunday 19<sup>th</sup>...X a Br. Runs to Right a pine marked 75 miles This Branch Runing to our right we thought it was in probability a Branch of Potowmack md a Burch on the West Side of the Same R. B. P J B W. T L. 75. & v 46 M

...we encamp'd as there was Some probability of this Being the main Branch of Potowmack thought proper to goe no farther Before we had Satysified ourSelves as to that point. We were Extremely hungary & Scarce had patience Enough to forbear Snatching ye meat out of the pan's Before half Done

Monday 20<sup>th</sup> Capt Winslo who was one of them that Surveyed up the River in 1736 Set off very Earley in the morning with three other hands up the Creek in order to Discover whither this was the head of the River or not....

Tuesday 21 ...About 3 in the afternoon Capt Winslo Returned who had the good fortune to find the marked trees at the head Spring mentioned in their Journal of 1736 This piece of good News was So very agreeable yt it Seemd Inspire every one with New life & vigour & was then Resolved to Run a traverse to the Spring head from where we left off on Sunday night Accordingly mr Brook & I with the Chain Carriers Went to the place & from Thence West 400 poles to near our present Camp where we left off Being late. Continued this night in Our old Camp

Wednesday 22 Decamp,d very Earley and Began where we left off the Last night Thence S 60 W 640 poles N 60 W 127 poles S 45 W 188 poles S 20 E 80 poles S 8 W 90 poles S 16 E 92 poles S 70 E 48 poles East 26 poles S 71 E 31 poles S 83 E 27 poles S 83 E 27 poles S 80 E 6 poles to the Spring head where we found the Following old marks to (viz.) a Spruce pine md RB. BW. IF. BL. FF. 1736 a Beach P.G 1736 ABeech JS. & a Black aBeach W.MAYO. two Beaches & two Spruce pines markd with three notches three way Each & one Large Spruce pine Blazed three Ways

We Dined on a Loyn Roasted Venison about three O'Clock at the Spring head Drank his Majestys health....

Thursday 23d. Returned to the Spring Where we made the Following marks (viz) a Beach mark,d G.R. on one Side [G.R. - King George] and FX on the other Side...on the Beech markd W.MAYO. is new markd T.LEWIS 1746....This Done we Bid adue to the head Spring about ½ hour after nine Oclock....

Having Concluded that we Should meet at Colo. Jeffersons the first day of January in Order to make out what plan's of the Northern Neck were wanting I left home Decbr. The 30<sup>th</sup> (the Snow very Deep) in Order to meet According to appointment

3d got to Colo Jeffersons About 12 Oclock The Surveyors Mr Brook & Capt Winslo not yet come

7<sup>th</sup> Surveyors not yet come

8<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> Continued wating for the Surveyors to no purpose...

24<sup>th</sup> Began Our plans of the Northern neck But as we wanted paper and Several other materials were obliged to Send to Williamsburge to mr parks for them Continued Close at Work till Sunday the 8<sup>th</sup> of February on wc we all Rode Down to Richmond Church where we heard the Revernd mr Stith preach...& So Continued to Saturday February ye 21<sup>th</sup> During wc time Capt Winslo & I made Seven plans of the Northern neck on Ld Fairfax Account according to our Instructions from Colo. Beverley By Capt. Winslo

February 24<sup>th</sup> Set off & So Crossing the mountain got home. Having Finished atroubdom & Difficult affar wherein First & Last I have Spent 127 Days....

Source: Thomas Walker. The Fairfax Line: Journal of 1746. New Market, Va., The Henkel Press, 1925. Pp. 1, 3-11, 15-18, 20-26, 28-30, 34-42, 79-80, 82-84.

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## A YOUNG GEORGE WASHINGTON SURVEYS BEYOND THE BLUE RIDGE IN 1748

Fryday March 11<sup>th</sup>. 1747/8. Began my Journey in Company with George Fairfax Esqr.; we travell'd this day 40 Miles to Mr. George Neavels in Prince William County.

Saturday March 12<sup>th</sup>. This Morning Mr. James Genn the surveyor came to us. We travel'd over the Blue Ridge to Capt. Ashbys on Shannondoa River. Nothing remarkable happen'd.

Sunday March 13. Rode to his Lordships Quarter about 4 Miles higher up the River we went through most beautiful Groves of Sugar Trees & spent the best part of the Day in admiring the Trees & richness of the Land.

Monday 14<sup>th</sup>. We sent our Baggage to Capt. Hites (near Frederick Town) went ourselves down the River about 16 Miles to Capt. Isaac Penningtons (the Land exceeding Rich & Fertile all the way produces abundance of Grain Hemp Tobacco &c.) in order to Lay of some Lands on Cates Marsh & Long Marsh.

Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup>. We set out early with Intent to Run round the sd. Land but being taken in a Rain & it Increasing very fast obliged us to return. It clearing about one oClock & our time being too Precious to Loose we a second time ventured out & Worked hard till Night & then returned to Penningtons we got our Suppers & was Lighted in a Room & I not being so good a Woodsman as the rest of my Company striped my self very orderly & went in to the Bed as they call'd it when to my Surprize I found it to be nothing but a Little Straw – Matted together without Sheets or any thing else but only one Thread Bear blanket with double its Weight of Vermin such as Lice Fleas &c. I was glad to get up (as soon as the Light was carried from us) & put on my Cloths & Lay as my Companions. Had we not have been very tired, I am sure we should not have slep'd much that night. I made a Promise not to Sleep so from that time forward chusing rather to sleep in the open Air before a fire as will Appear hereafter.

Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup>. We set out early & finish'd about one oClock & then Travell'd up to Frederick Town where our Baggage came to us. We cleaned ourselves (to get Rid of the Game we had caught the Night before) & took a Review of the Town & then return'd to our Lodgings where we had a good Dinner prepar'd for us Wine & Rum Punch in Plenty & a good Feather Bed with clean Sheets which was a very agreeable regale.

Wednesday 23d. Rain'd till about two oClock & Clear'd when we were agreeably surpris'd at the sight of thirty odd Indians coming from War with only one Scalp. We had some Liquor with us of which we gave them Part it elevating there Spirits put them in the Humour of Dauncing of whom we had a War Daunce. There Manner of Dauncing is as follows Viz. They clear a Large Circle & make a great Fire in the Middle then seats themselves around to the Speaker makes a grand Speech telling them in what Manner they are to Daunce after he has finish'd the best Dauncer Jumps up as one awaked out of a Sleep & Runs & Jumps about the Ring in a most comicle Manner he is followd by the Rest then begins there Musicians to Play the Musick is a Pot half of Water with a Deerskin Stretched over it as tight as it can & a goard with some Shott in it to Rattle & a Piece of an horses Tail tied to it to make it look fine the one keeps Rattling and the other Drumming all the While the others is Dauncing.

Saterday 26. Travell'd up the Creek to Solomon Hedges Esqr. One of his Majestys Justices of the Peace for the County of Frederick where we camped. When we came to

Supper there was neither a Cloth upon the Table nor a Knife to eat with but as good luck would have it we had Knives of [our] own.

Sunday 27<sup>th</sup>. Travell'd over to the South Branch (attended with the Esqr.) to Henry Vanmetriss in order to go about Intended Work of Lots.

Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup>. This Morning went out & Survey'd five Hundred Acres of Land & went down to one Michael Stumps on the So. Fork of the Branch. On our way Shot two Wild Turkies.

Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup>. This Morning began our Intended Business of Laying of Lots. We began at the Boundary Line of the Northern 10 Miles above Stumps & run of two Lots & returnd to Stumps.

Thursday 31<sup>st</sup>. Early this Morning one of our Men went out with the Gun & soon Returnd with two Wild Turkies. We then went to our Business. Run of three Lots & returnd to our Camping place at Stumps.

Monday [April] 4<sup>th</sup>. This morning Mr. Fairfax left us with Intent to go down to the Mouth of the Branch. We did two Lots & was attended by a great Company of People Men Women & Children that attended us through the Woods as we went shewing there Antick tricks. I really think they seem to be as Ignorant a Set of People as the Indians. They would never speak English but when spoken to they speak all Dutch. This day our Tent was blown down by the Violentness of the Wind.

Thursday 7<sup>th</sup>. Rain'd Successively all Last Night. This Morning one of our men Killed a Wild Turkey that weight 20 Pounds. We went & Surveyd 15 Hundred Acres of Land & Returnd to Vanmetris's about 1 oClock. About two I hear that Mr. Fairfax was come up & at 1 Peter Casseys about 2 Miles of in the same Old Field. I then took my Horse & went up to see him. We stayed about two Hours & Walked back again and slept in Casseys House which was the first Night I had slept in a House since I came to the Branch.

Fryday 8<sup>th</sup>. ...we Rode down below the Trough in order to Lay of Lots there... The Trough is couple of Ledges of Mountain Impassable running side & side together for above 7 or 8 Miles & the River down between them...After we had Pitched our Tent & made a very Large Fire we pull'd out our Knapsack in order to Recruit ourselves. Every[one] was his own Cook. Our Spits was Forked Sticks our Plates was a Large Chip as for Dishes we had none.

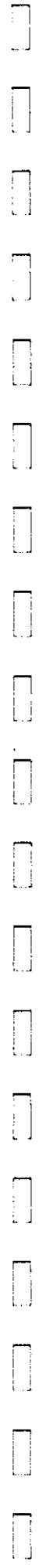
Sunday 10<sup>th</sup>. We took our farewell of the Branch & travelld over Hills and Mountains to 1 Coddys on Great Cacapehon about 40 Miles.

Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup>. We set of from Capt. Hites in order to go over Wms. Gap about 20 Miles and after Riding about 20 Miles we had 20 to go for we had lost ourselves & got up as High as Ashbys Bent...This day see a Rattled Snake the first we had seen in all our Journey.

Wednesday the 13<sup>th</sup>. of April 1748. Mr. Fairfax got safe home and I myself safe to my Brothers which concludes my Journal.

Source: George Washington. "A Journal of my Journey Over the Mountains began Fryday the 11<sup>th</sup> March 1747/8." Vol. I, 1748-65. Donald Jackson, Editor, and Dorothy Twohig, Associate Editor. Charlottesville.: University Press of Virginia, 1976. Pp. 6-7, 9-11, 13, 15-16, 18-19, 22-23.

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**VIRGINIA'S CHANGING  
LANDSCAPE**



## AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLE PLANTATION AND THE EARLY DAYS OF WILLIAMSBURG

Compiled by: M. Kent Brinkley, FASLA, Landscape Architect, CWF

A great deal has been written by historians concerning the town of Williamsburg and its environs in the eighteenth century. Certainly, the town and the political events which took place there were significant, and fully deserve the attention they have received by scholars. But, comparatively little has been written about this same locality in the seventeenth century, when it was just a farming community known as "Middle Plantation".

Some of this lack of attention is due to the fact that documentation during this period is far less complete in scope and volume than the later years. Also, the archaeological evidence is very incomplete for the few known seventeenth-century home sites that have been discovered. This is due, in part, to the impermanent character of building materials used during this period, as well as the age of the few artifacts recovered from this period.

In any event, though many details of life as it may have existed at "Middle Plantation" remain sketchy at best, we do know about several significant historical events which took place there. The development of this area also provides several clues about how the later town of Williamsburg was established and the reasons why the area was chosen as the site of the capital of the Virginia colony.

The first catalyst to settlement in the middle peninsula area began when a movement was begun shortly after the Indian Massacre of 1622 to build a six-mile long palisade of logs across the Peninsula between the headwaters of Archer's Hope Creek, (now called "College Creek"), a tributary of the James River, and the headwaters of Queen's Creek, a tributary of the York River. It would appear that it was planned to encourage the settlement of the land along the eastern side of this palisade and to push the Indians to the west of it, in order that a fortified strip of settled land might serve as a constant bulwark against the Indians and protect the lower end of the Peninsula.

The House of Burgesses passed the following act in February 1632/3 in order to encourage settlement there: An act for the Seatinge of the middle Plantation.

IT is ordered, That every fortyeth man be chosen and maynteyned out of the tithable persons of all-the inhabitants, within the compasse of the forrest conteyned between Queenes creeke in Charles river, and Archers Hope creeke in James river, with all the lands included, to the bay of Chesepiake, and it is appointed that the sayd men be there at the plantation of Doct. John Pott, newlie built before the first day of March next, and that the men be employed in buildings of houses, and securinge that tract of land lyinge betweenethe sayd creekes. And to doe such other workes as soone as may bee, as may defray the chardges of that worke, and to be directed therein as they shall be ordered by the Governor and Counsell. An yf any free men shall this yeare before the first day of May, voluntarilie goe and seate upon the sayd place of the middle plantation, they shall have fifty acres of land Inheritance, and be free from all taxes and publique chardges ... (William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large, New York: 1823. Vol. I, pages 199, 208).

In 1632, Dr. John Pott, physician-general of the colony, had patented 1,200 acres of land at the head of Archer's Hope Creek, thus becoming the first settler in the area. It was



his homestead mentioned in the act as the "base of operations" to begin the arduous task of clearing "...the forest conteyned" between the said creeks, in order to erect the palisade.

Apparently, the construction progressed as directed judging from an account written in 1634 by Captain Thomas Yonge, who described the achievements of the royal governor, Sir John Harvey:

(He) hath caused a strong Pallisadoe to be builded upon a streight between both Rivers and caused Houses to be built in several Places upon the same, and hath placed a sufficient Force of Men for Defence of the same, whereby all of the lower part of Virginia have a Range for their Cattle, near fortie miles in Length and in most Places twelve miles broad. The Pallisadoe is very neer six Miles long, bounded in by two large Creekes. He hath an intention in this manner to take also in all the Ground between those two Rivers, and so utterly exclude the Indians from thense. (W.A.R. Goodwin, Williamsburg in Virginia, Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1941, p. 129).

The first mention of the palisade in land records is in a patent for 1200 acres granted to Richard Kemp, dated January 3, 1638/9, which gives as one of its bounds "the Pallisadoes of Midle Plantation." The earliest mention in the York County Records was in a deed for 100 acres, sold by George Reade to John Page, dated June 25, 1655, and "situated on the Pallizadoe of the Middle Plantation." (Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Book 1, p. 159).

In 1639, we know that Lieutenant Richard Popeley was commander of the militia at Middle Plantation. Maintaining a watchful defense against the Indians was still a necessary task despite the palisade, for in 1644, the Indians struck the many dispersed plantation communities in the Tidewater and frontier areas (then about where the site of present-day Richmond is located.) This second massacre reminded the colonists that the threat remained very real, and shook them from their false sense of security and complacency about the Indians.

After the 1644 massacre, a second line of palisades was built a little to the west of Middle Plantation. This effort was directed by Captain Robert Higginson, and is reflected in the York county Records by his efforts in June and November of 1646 to have the York County Court help insure that those who were responsible did their work or paid their levies. Among landowners at "the Middle Plantation" were Edward and George Wyatt (nephews of the Virginia Governor, Sir Francis Wyatt), Henry Tyler, Richard Kempe, Captain Robert Higginson, Thomas Ludwell, Major Otho Thorpe, Col. John Page, James Bray, and a number of others.

In 1658, the church parish at Middle Plantation was joined to Harrop Parish to form Middletowne Parish. Later, in 1674, Middletowne Parish was united with Marston Parish to form Bruton Parish, which survives in Williamsburg today.

The location of the second palisade can be fixed approximately by a deed for 330 acres, from John White to John Page, dated May 25, 1674. It indicates that the "New Pallisadoe" was located about one mile to the northwest of the original (Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Book 5, p. 64). In September of 1655, a patent referred to the first palisade as "the old Pales" and by 1683 it must have been gone completely. A patent to John Page, dated April 16 of that year lists one of its bounds as being "in the Trench where the old pales stood." The location of the palisade has been deduced from the orders for its erection and from various patents in which it appears as a boundary, some part of which has been confirmed by archaeological discoveries. Archaeological investigation has provided evidence

of the location of some seventeenth-century buildings in the Middle Plantation area, but the dating of these is approximate, and certainly not all of the buildings in the area have been accounted for.

Attached to this [original] report are several maps which have been prepared by architectural and archaeological researcher at Colonial Williamsburg. The first, listed as Attachment "A", entitled "Map Showing Location of Palisades 1632-83 in Relation to Bland's Survey of 1699 and the Layout of the City of Williamsburg" was prepared in 1949. It illustrates the route of the palisade, as deduced from scattered references to it as a boundary in land surveys and patents and from the topography of the area, and overlays the palisade onto a larger survey of the future site of Williamsburg, and within this surveyed boundary, the location of the streets and public buildings of the mature city. Unfortunately, we have no such overlay of the palisades upon a map of Middle Plantation, as we have no map of Middle Plantation as such.

Attachment "B" is a map of Williamsburg drawn in the 1950s, upon which the Colonial Williamsburg office of Archaeological Excavation has overlaid structures and features associated with Middle Plantation upon a map of the later town of Williamsburg. Several of these features have not been clearly identified as to date, and it should be noted, also, that there probably were many other buildings in the area which remain undiscovered, or for which no evidence survives.

Occasional finds in the area reveal features which add to the sketchy knowledge we have about life at Middle Plantation. As recently as 1987, several graves and probable seventeenth-century homesite(s) were discovered in the vicinity of College Landing, within the present-day Port Ann subdivision, during land clearing operations there. There has been some preliminary speculation that this site could have been one of the early homesites related to the palisade, since the southern terminus of the palisade came to rest quite nearby on College Creek. This has not been verified, however.

Attachment "C" is a conjectural plan view of Middle Plantation as it might have appeared in 1699; at the founding of the town of Williamsburg. More comments will be made about this view later in this report at its conclusion.

In 1676, Middle Plantation served as an occasional base of operations for the followers of Nathaniel Bacon, who rebelled against the tyrannical Governor William Berkeley over the prosecution of the war against marauding Indians on the frontier, and the poor tobacco economy in Virginia. Bacon summoned the people of the colony... "of what quality soever, excepting Servants," to meet with him at Middle Plantation. At that meeting, he swore them to an oath of personal allegiance to himself and of resistance to Governor Berkeley "until the Country's Cause might be heard before the King and Parliament." Open hostilities flared across the Tidewater peninsulas as the Rebellion raged. Eventually, Bacon and his followers returned to Jamestowne, after an earlier confrontation with the stubborn governor there, and burned the town and the State House to the ground.

Finally, the King sent troops to help the governor and his loyalist militia quell the Rebellion. In 1677, some of these troops were quartered at Middle Plantation, and the House of Burgesses met temporarily at the home of Captain Otho Thorpe at Middle Plantation, due to the burning of the State House at Jamestowne. Soon, the Rebellion was put down, Bacon died, and his lieutenants were caught and hanged in large numbers. The Rebellion had served notice to the crown that the independent Virginians were not about to suffer under taxes and trade embargoes, which affected their economy, without representation. Their stand against a tyrannical governor and his biased Assemblymen set a

precedent that had a profound effect upon their antecedents one hundred years later when facing the Crown over the Stamp Act and other taxation issues.

Also in 1677, peace was finally made with the Virginia Indian tribes. A great ceremony was held at Middle Plantation in honor of the birthday of King Charles II, and there the various chiefs of the Indian tribes signed the treaties with England.

By 1674, the little wooden church at Middle Plantation was deemed insufficient for the needs of the growing community and its larger parish.

Col. John Page gave a piece of land off of his tract there "sufficient for the Church and Church Yard" and contributed twenty pounds sterling "towards the Building of a Brick Church at Middle Plantation." It took nine years to finish building the church, and during that time Middle Plantation became a sort of center for the nearby plantation farms within easy distance, as the creeks on both sides of the peninsula gave easy access to the boats, which were the most common vehicles of that day. Talk occasionally centered around moving the capital there from Jamestowne, especially after Bacon had burned the State House. However, despite the more central locale, Jamestowne and its State House were re-built, and the capital of the colony remain there for a few more years.

The first brick Bruton Church, which was completed in 1683, stood a very short distance to the northwest from the present day Bruton Parish Church (built 1711-1715). The contractor for the earlier church was one George Marable, who seems to have engaged in some sort of disagreement of unknown source with two vestrymen, Mr. George Poyndexter and Mr. George Martin, which is recorded in a vestry entry dated June 5, 1679. The case was referred to the next General Court, but the records are silent concerning the nature or subsequent outcome of the dispute.

In 1689, a young Scot, Dr. James Blair, was appointed Commissary of the church in Virginia. He visited the various parishes, and became enthusiastic over Bruton Parish. Here, in the Middle Plantation, he decided, was the place to establish the college of the colony so badly needed, and which he intended it should have. The Reverend Doctor was the type of man who got what he wanted never wanting anything for himself, and it was better, as three governors were to discover, not to stand in his way.

Since the failure to found a college at Henrico, in 1618, there had been sporadic talk of a new one, but reviving only to die with nothing accomplished.

Through pledges of money and support from the people and Burgesses, Dr. Blair went back to England to secure additional support and a charter from the reigning sovereigns, William and Mary. He succeeded in doing so in 1693, and the King and Queen also appointed him to head the college, a post he held until his death fifty years later. In October, 1693 the General Assembly of Virginia ordered that "Middle Plantation be the place for erecting the said college of William and Mary in Virginia and that the said college be at that place erected and built as neare the church now standing in Middle Plantation old fields as convenience will permit".

Accordingly, 330 acres of land were set aside for that purpose, and in 1695, the foundations of the main building were laid by master builder, Thomas Hadley. In 1698, Francis Nicholson arrived to assume the duties of governor at Jamestown. He had not been here long when a disastrous fire burned down the re-built State House for the fourth time, along with several other buildings there, though the church escaped the blaze.

Once again, the argument for moving the capitol to Middle Plantation was renewed. Nicholson saw the many advantages in such a move and campaigned vigorously for it. With the new governor's support behind the measure, the General Assembly in 1699 passed an

act directing "the building of a Capitol and the CITY OF WILLIAMSBURG at MIDDLE PLANTATION. This act was occasioned by the burning of the State House at JAMESTOWN in 1698 and by the fact that JAMESTOWN had not recovered extensively from its destruction at the time of Bacon's Rebellion. The passage of the act was influenced by a desire for a more central and healthful location for the seat of government. Nicholson set up a committee of four "able and discreet Freeholders," appointing them to appraise the land involved, and the owners of the various properties were to be paid for their land in accordance with their appraisals. A number of people were involved, among them Col. John Page, who had already given a piece of his land there for the church and churchyard.

The head or "counselor" of this committee was Theodorick Bland, a surveyor. He was directed to survey 283 acres + 35 poles "at the Middle plantation in James Citye and York Countyes," and that 220 acres be laid off for the City of Williamsburg in half acre lots to be offered for sale. By the year 1699, there was a "good Neighbourhood of...substantial Housekeepers," a "Church, an ordinary, several Stores, two Mills, a Smiths Shop a Grammar School, and above all the Colledge." (From a speech made by Student at William and Mary, May 1, 1699.) Bland surveyed the land as directed, whatever clearing of vegetation that had escaped earlier cultivation efforts was completed, and any old buildings standing within the town limits were torn down so that new buildings could be erected in accordance with regulations set forth in the act.

In an act passed in 1704, four old houses and an oven belonging to John Page were ordered demolished as they stood in the Duke of Gloucester Street. (The buildings were valued at 3 pounds. In the following year another act for the building of the city specifically excludes the four lots "which at the first Laying out of the Land for the said City were laid out and appropriated for the Buildings then erected on the same by Benjamin Harrison Junior Esqr," and ordered that these buildings "shall remaine & continue to the Use of the said Benjamin Harrison his Heirs and Assigns and shall not lapse for Want of other Building thereon any Thing in this Act to the Contrary notwithstanding (Rutherford Goodwin, Williamsburg in Virginia, p. 348.) Unfortunately, researches have not been able to determine the location of the four lots mentioned in the act.

All of the lots for sale were numbered on a town plat, and were sold by the directors for building the City of Williamsburg for a few shillings; with the proviso that a house of certain minimum specifications be erected on each lot within the space of twenty-four months, or the lot would revert to the directors. The lots were offered for sale beginning on October 20, 1699. other rules decreed that no house should be placed nearer than six feet to Gloucester Street, should front straight upon it, and have not less than a ten-foot pitch. Each lot was to be fenced or walled within six months after building was finished.

The main street was named after Queen Anne's sole surviving child, Duke of Gloucester. It followed, without the deviations, an old horse path running from the college grounds for seven-eighths of a mile due east to the site chosen for the State House. And here, too, Nicholson had an idea, discarding State House for "Capitol," which word he invented. Two other streets were laid out at the same time to run parallel with the main street, the one on the south Francis, the other Nicholson. There were several greens, one which surrounded the Capitol, another adjoining Bruton Parish Church to extend in an unbroken reach from Duke of Gloucester to where the Governor's House would be placed, and one more for a Court House. Transverse streets east and west of Palace Green were named Nassau, honoring William, and Prince George. Others were England, Scotland and Ireland Streets, as the town grew. The Assembly met at the College from 1699 to 1704/5.

The foundations of the Capitol were laid in 1701, H-shaped and spaciouly proportioned. In 1704 the Assembly met there, though it needed another year to complete it. A ceremony in which the builder's master keys were broken before the Speaker and the seated Burgesses in their noble Hall solemnized that occasion, and Henry Cary, the master builder who had overseen the work, was fittingly thanked and discharged, his labor done.

Governor Nicholson, in a letter to the Board of Trade dated March 6, 1704/5, wrote:

I found it absolutely necessary to live at Williamsburgh; ... when I came there I could have no other house than what I now live in, I had it of the Colledg ....I was by Agreement with the Trustees & only to have laid out Seventy five pounds, but I expended above two hundd pound for wch I was only to have the use of it for three years; & If I dyed or left the the Country before, the College was to have it. I now pay thirty pound per Annum for it, and there is no other house in towne only Mr. Harrison's ....

This statement would seem to indicate that only two houses were standing, or were available for renting, in Williamsburg early in 1705. The one occupied by the Governor, apparently on College land, was described by Robert Beverley as "a little low wooden House worse than many Overseers in the Country have, and not of the yearly value of much more than ten pounds, besides at the end of it there is kept an ordinary or tipling house..." It is also known that the Governor lived at the house of John Young. (W.S. Perry, Historical Collections, I, p. 148.)

This ordinary of John Young, and that of John Morot, were mentioned in the testimony concerning the burning of the College on the night of 29 October 1705. (The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VI, 271-277.) Also mentioned in these depositions are "the Country's houses near the Capitol," which had been ordered sold by an ordinance of the General Assembly in April, 1704. (Hening's Statutes, III, p. 226.) These latter buildings may have been structures erected for the workmen building the Capitol.

With the exception of the four old houses of John Page and the house of Benjamin Harrison, Jr., there is no documentary evidence of any seventeenth-century private building existing in Williamsburg into the eighteenth-century.

It is interesting to note that the only foundations thought by archeologists to date from the seventeenth-century in the York County area of Williamsburg are located in the Bruton church yard and Wythe House garden. Research has not found a scrap of information about the house at the Wythe property. All of the other foundations thought to be of this period lie in James City County; the chances of identifying them are remote due to the records being destroyed by fire during the Civil War, in 1865.

Due to several political problems he caused while serving as Governor, in 1705, Nicholson was recalled by Queen Mary at Dr. Blair's urging.

For the next two years an agreeable and well-liked man, Lieutenant-General Nott, filled the Governor's seat, but he died, having left no particular trace on Williamsburg except for his grave in Bruton Parish churchyard.

Governor Nott's one contribution was the pushing of a bill through the Assembly authorizing the construction of a residence for the Governor, but nothing much had been done about it prior to the arrival of his successor, Alexander Spotswood, in 1710.

Spotswood was not yet forty, had distinguished himself as a soldier under Marlborough, was cultivated, intelligent, and full of enthusiasm for his new task. A tall,

robust Scot, with a Scot's determination and obstinacy, he was due for many a wrangle with the Burgesses, chiefly over taxes, for he wanted to spend money on the capital, and have the government function with a certain style. He was a man who never bullied, never was rude, but he could speak with a soldierly plainness, honestly and to the point. When he rebuked the Assembly it was not for himself, but for the good of the people; they knew it, they liked and respected him. Moreover, he had brought with him the extension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, long claimed in vain by Virginia and this, too, was a feather in his cap.

Spotswood found that the Nicholson plans for Williamsburg were excellent. It was during his twelve-year administration that he contributed to the growth of the town by his ambitious strengthening of Nicholson's town plan.

He designed a magazine to house the colonies' arms and ammunition, and designed a new and larger cruciform church for the still-growing Bruton Parish. His major contribution was the completion of the Governor's House and the surrounding grounds, gardens, and parklands which adjoined it. It was an effort not fully appreciated by the Assembly, who accused him of "lavishing away the Colonies' money", in what, to them, seemed a frivolous manner. The house forever after was known as the "Governor's Palace", due to Spotswood's burning ambition to live as an English country squire might live back home..... only at the public's expense. His administration ended in 1722.

We have examined the significant events and the chronological facts of the development of Middle Plantation and early Williamsburg so far as they are known. It is intriguing to ponder, also, what the area might have looked like prior to the development of Williamsburg. While we do not know, nor have any way of knowing, for sure, how the area must have visually appeared, we can speculate.

The original wording of the Act in 1632 specifically to the "forrest between the creeks which existed at that Upon the construction of the palisades, clearing not only for these works, but also for farms of those settlers who do live along the palisades on the fifty acres granted to took advantage of the offer." Such action would amount to clearing. Since the prime cash crop was tobacco, and virtually all Virginians were anxious to reap the profits available, it is a safe assumption that this was also the prevailing crop of choice among the settlers at Middle Plantation. After only a few short years, tobacco exhausts the soil, however; which would necessitate the clearing of more virgin land to open it up for the expansion of tobacco cultivation. Also, demand for firewood in a household, or more particularly, for a small community of households; not only for heating, but also for cooking, would be quite substantial, indeed.

Therefore, it is safe to assume from these practices and needs; which were constant for a period of 67 years, that by 1699, the Middle Plantation was probably a very sparsely vegetated area. Aside from a few trees left around a house for summer shade, most of the high, arable, cultivatable land was most likely cleared and open. The major vegetation remaining would have then been confined to the ravines and lowlands surrounding the creeks to the north and south of the site of the future town. The extent or scope of this open space is something we will probably never know.

As the town grew, the demand for firewood would have become particularly constant, and would have served to further denude the area of large trees to the extent that by the 3rd quarter eighteenth century, eyewitness accounts tell us that one could easily view the waters of the James and York Rivers from the College cupola (or any other of the public buildings) in the town. Military maps of the area, drawn in 1781, further confirm the

openness of the town's environs, as compared to the dense vegetation which has re-generated and covered the area to a large extent today; as seen in aerial photos.

So, to conclude with a note about Attachment "C", it is probably a fairly accurate view of the area, but might suggest a landscape not open enough on the higher ground/fields immediately adjacent to the center of the community, near the parish church.

In any event, unless a long-lost map of Middle Plantation, or an eyewitness account is discovered which might shed additional light on the question of the appearance of the area before Williamsburg was founded, we must content ourselves with "educated guesses" via deductive reasoning of the sort suggested in this report.

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## "THE TOPOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION OF WILLIAMSBURG OVER THREE CENTURIES"

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Possibly the greatest challenge faced by the earliest inhabitants of Williamsburg was how to deal with the layout of their streets on the rough, natural terrain of the former Middle Plantation site. This ultimately proved to be a daunting task, indeed. A winding horse path had originally served the dispersed farms and the few public buildings of the Middle Plantation community. This path, which followed the highest ground in the area, allowed travelers to avoid the primarily still-wooded and steep, natural ravines.

The pre-existing conditions of the Middle Plantation landscape partially dictated the form of the new town's plan. The college and church had already been built with respect to the horse path's alignment. The plan to locate the Capitol building opposite the college along a principal axis, following the line of the low ridge, dictated a linear approach to the main street. Thus, Governor Nicholson's baroque plan for the new town demanded that three long, straight, east-west streets would have to cross several deep ravines over the length of their intended courses.

One ravine, in particular, was so wide and formidable, that Francis Street originally only went as far as the western edge of Market Square until about the turn of this century. The ravine was then partially filled so that Francis Street could be linked to France Street to the west, which ran in front of the Public Hospital. These two streets finally became the modern Francis Street thoroughfare we know so well today; now extending the full length of the original town.

Along with what must have required a substantial effort to clear existing vegetation within the ravines where streets would cross them, roadbed construction was also hampered by the presence of water. One reason Middle Plantation had been chosen as the site for the new capital was the plentiful number of fresh water springs located in the area. Several were located on public lands and thus, were used by the town's early inhabitants as an important source for drinking water. The public springs included the Capitol spring, the Gaol spring, the Market Square spring, and the Palace spring. As the town developed, however, it is quite probable that dependence on public springs probably diminished somewhat as more private wells were dug throughout the town. Other private springs belonged to John Blair,

John Carter, Joseph Prentis, Samuel Beall, a Mr. Corbin, and the Bowden-Armistead families.

From what little information we have, it appears that, the initial growth of the city was slow. Most of the earliest residents were laborers, craftsmen, tavernkeepers and a few merchants. An early London atlas, published in 1721, stated that Williamsburg only had about thirty private dwellings at that time, yet, by mid-century, the city had well over two hundred houses.

In his fascinating book, Tidewater Towns, historian John Reps advanced several theories concerning the earliest Williamsburg street layout; particularly the contemporary references to streets laid out in a "W and M" cypher by Governor Francis Nicholson. To augment this article, I have taken Reps' conjectural street layout map in 1699 and added the location of the old horse path and ravines as they were originally situated. By studying this map one can perhaps better appreciate the difficulty that the terrain posed in laying out the streets as Nicholson originally intended.

Shortly after the recall of Nicholson in 1705, changes to his original design were already being considered. In June, 1706, the House of Burgesses passed an act to make Duke of Gloucester Street follow a ". . . mathematically streight" course forever after, a supposed reference to correct the conjectural separation in the street's course as it entered Market Square, and to prevent any future attempts to fancifully alter the layout of the streets.

By November of 1713, Governor Spotswood recommended resurveying the streets in a speech to the Burgesses. The wording he used suggests his main concern was with their horizontal alignment. Some work was subsequently done in 1714-5, although what was involved is unknown.

In November, 1720, the town's inhabitants also petitioned the Asserably for relief from the ". . . irregularitys of their principal street. . . " From the wording of the surviving documents it seems fairly clear that the major complaint then was with the vertical alignment of the main street, as it dipped into and out of the several ravines.

One today can only imagine just how difficult it must have been; especially in rainy weather, to drive a team of horses pulling a heavily loaded wagon up and down the then-hilly slopes of what passed as early Duke of Gloucester Street. The House of Burgesses sympathized with the citizen's complaints, and appropriated a sum of 150 pounds ". . . towards making Bridges and Causeways in the Main Street", and appointed several trustees to oversee the work and expenditures.

In 1722, Hugh Jones recorded that the money ". . . was expended in removing earth in some places, and building a bridge over a low channel; so that it is now a pleasant, long dry walk, broad, and almost level from the College to the Capitol." At the later printing office and Greenhow's store sites, even brick retaining walls were built to hold back the soil. In the ravine where the printing office was later located, an extensive, enclosed brick culvert was also built to carry storm water drainage under the street. Archaeological excavations revealed that on the south side of the street the original grade in this ravine was seven and a half feet below today's sidewalk elevation (at the Mary Stith Shop). The original grade in the ravine on the north side of the street was about twelve feet below today's sidewalk elevation (between the Printing office and Hunter's Store).

The repairs ran over the budget and were not completely finished. This end result did not really satisfy some citizens, and another petition seeking more money to fully complete the project was submitted. Their request was denied. They then suggested



levying a tax on all landowners in the town to pay for the remaining work. A proposed bill was soon dropped, however, when Williamsburg was incorporated as a city.

The 1720 Initiative was an incredibly ambitious project for its day, and largely corrected major problems with the ravines at least on Duke of Gloucester Street. Without a doubt, we should today regard it as one of the most significant public works events in the city's history; especially as it established the precedent for later alterations to the terrain in other areas of the city.

Naturally-occurring, organic fill has also altered the original topography of Williamsburg over time. Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists say that fill accumulates in an area where human occupation has been constant for three hundred years, at a rate of slightly less than twelve inches every one hundred years. Thus, it is not uncommon on Historic Area sites for archaeologists to dig to depths of between eighteen to twenty four inches before reaching eighteenth century or sterile subsoil layers. Since leaf mold and other organic fill accumulates at different rates, however, those depths will vary slightly from area to area in town.

As the town grew, clearing and construction activities disturbed more land; which then facilitated soil erosion. The duration and degree to which erosion occurred here has also varied over time. For instance, archaeological excavations in the center of the Historic Area revealed startling evidence of the dynamics of soil erosion which occurred in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The James Anderson property is situated on what was then the east slope of the still-open portion of the ravine south of Duke of Gloucester Street. So much erosion occurred there during rainstorms over an unknown length of time that silt runoff was deposited downstream as it drained towards Queen's Creek. This silt eventually choked the stream bed at the Anthony Hay site to the point of changing its course. The extent of these silt deposits were determined when the original grade of the stream bed at the Hay site was found to be four to eight feet lower than it is today! The southern portion of this ravine and stream channel, from Francis to Duke of Gloucester Streets, was completely filled sometime around 1778-82; finally stopping the heavy erosion.

As the eighteenth century progressed, additional improvements to the topography and streets continued to be made. In 1761, the streets were again mentioned as in so "... ruinous a condition. . ." that it was "... unsafe to pass in the night in any coach or other carriage," and the city was authorized to spend tax revenues as necessary to keep the streets in better repair. Scotland Street to the east of the Palace was also filled over a ravine which once cut across its right of way and into the Brush-Everard property.

The western segment of the large ravine located behind the Robert Carter house once extended as far southwest as the location of today's Goodwin Building. It was gradually filled in over many years back to today's location of north Nassau Street. Nassau Street, as we know it, did not extend any further north than the Timson house in the eighteenth century. In fact, by the late 1920s only a crude dirt path crossed a narrow embankment which had been filled and placed across the ravine there. The path was finally paved and widened to fifteen feet in 1931, and the grade was substantially raised to the north to construct the traffic circle in front of newly-constructed Matthew Whaley school. Around 1958, the north Nassau Street paving was widened to its current thirty foot width.

The east end of town near the Capitol was at one time very low and swampy, and has seen substantial filling over the course of time. The discovery of a late seventeenth century drainage ditch on the later site of Shields Tavern confirms this fact. The ditch was apparently dug to drain this low area by channeling storm water runoff to the northeast,

across what later became Duke of Gloucester Street. It eventually joined the natural ravine which is still open between the Dora Armistead house and the Public Records Office. Originally, this ravine was open along its entire course, extending south along the western edge of today's Blair Street right of way, and ending in what is today the Capitol parking lot. In fact, the then-difficult original topography forced the relocation of the Capitol building two hundred feet to the east from its originally-planned location indicated on the Bland Survey of 1699.

Other topographic improvements were also made in the nineteenth and early years of this century. Among these was the raising of the Nicholson Street grade at the Anthony Hay site around 1880 to 1900 to cover an underground gas line. The arrival of the railroad in the 1880s, and the late 1930s addition of Lafayette Street, which parallels it, required extensive cutting and filling of natural grade, along the northern edge of town to support the respective roadbeds. Two major ravines were also partially filled in order to build the Colonial Parkway and tunnel in the late 1930s.

Without a doubt, the physical character of today's Williamsburg is very different from what it was throughout much of the eighteenth century; particularly as it existed during the first quarter of that century. Hopefully, this information will provide a firmer basis to interpret for our visitors the vast differences in appearance between the Williamsburg we know so well today, and the historical reality of the town of nearly three centuries ago.

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## EARLY GARDEN DEVELOPMENTS IN COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG VIRGINIA

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Colonial Williamsburg's place within the history of this country is a well-established fact. Not only is it the site of one of the oldest colleges in the United States, but for 82 years it served as the capital of both a colony of Great Britain and, finally, of a fledgling state within a newly-created nation.

The stirring events and now-famous men who debated there the pressing issues which led to war and independence are well-known to generations of Americans who have visited the restored and reconstructed Virginia city.

Despite its popularity, however, relatively few people appreciate the fact that in addition to being an important political center in eighteenth-century Virginia, Williamsburg was, for approximately its first thirty or forty years, perhaps the most exciting and wonderfully assertive gardening center in the English New World. In what was then, still, essentially a wilderness, a wonderful variety of plants and trees grew that were unknown in England. Because of the novelty of these plant species, plant enthusiasts and gardeners in England began clamoring to their friends in the colonies to send them seedlings and plants so that they could experiment with them and use them to create their own spectacular gardens filled with the strange and "exotick". Knowledge and plant trading flourished for a time as a result of this demand. Though he actively gardened for what still amounted to the sheer economics of survival, eighteenth-century Man, perhaps more than any others before

him, developed a marked appreciation of ornamental plant gardening and elevated it to such a degree of proficiency that it became an art form with very definite and recognizable characteristics in its numerous levels of practice. That such an appreciation and active participation in all levels and types of gardening actively occurred here in Williamsburg in the 18th century has been proven and documented. Though it was still a dusty little village in the early 1700s, the ingenuity of the town plan and layout provided a measure of the pretentiousness of an emerging city soon to become an important political center.

With its broad, straight thoroughfares and its massive public buildings, Williamsburg represented a new beginning--a magnet around which the colony would gather itself and thrive. Unlike most towns in Europe, this new metropolis had been laid out around an orderly ensemble of public buildings related to one another in a grand overall scheme.

The initial grid town plan, conceived by Governor Francis Nicholson between 1700-1704, appears to have opened up possibilities for landscaping by creating neighborhoods on the edge of town that were "retired" and "healthful," as the *Virginia Gazette* frequently claimed in its sale advertisements. It was in these areas that the wealthier town residents purchased parcels of lots enabling them to lay out their grounds without the constraints imposed upon most residents by a single, mere half-acre, lot. Nicholson's axial town plan, with the Duke of Gloucester Street establishing the Principal axis also delineated what John Reps in his important study, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland, has urged us to see as landscape gardening-style vistas and perspectives. Many of Nicholson's decisions about Williamsburg's appearance, and their elaboration later by Governor Alexander Spotswood, were conceived to illuminate a sense of unity in the townscape through an interplay of pictorial images--images that were linked to each other by streets, buildings, green spaces, shapes, and a variety of elevations throughout the town. This technique, explained by Reps, and Nicholson's own knowledge of garden and town planning, suggest that he applied the perspective of a landscape architect to the organization of space there. Reps has even suggested the possibility that Nicholson contrived oblique vistas across the blocks of lots in an effort to engrave upon the town two enormous ciphers, "W" and "M", alluding emblematically to William and Mary, the reigning English sovereigns.

The first garden of any size or consequence in the town was that of the College of William and Mary. This institution, begun about 1695, still anchors the west end of Duke of Gloucester Street in the town plan, and was the first major public building erected in the new town. Its importance within the colony and to the mother country is emphasized by the fact that His Majesty's Royal Gardener, George London, sent one of his best assistants from Hampton Court Palace in 1694 "on purpose to make and plant the Garden, designed for the new Colledge." Situated in what is now called "College Yard" at the east front of the College's oldest structure, the Wren Building, the ornamental, formal gardens must have been a dominant visual feature to visitors coming to the fledgling town.

Judging from surviving accounts and the evidence dating from about 1736-40, shown on the Bodelian copperplate engraving, these gardens presented a handsome appearance, indeed, and undoubtedly must have inspired many local residents to emulate its appearance in their own smaller, private gardens. However this garden disappeared after about 1790 due to the decline of the college and the town following the ravages of the Revolutionary War, and removal of the capital to Richmond in 1781. (There have never been any subsequent attempts at re-creating those gardens by the college to this day.)

By 1700, outlying plantation owners who were the affluent citizens and political leaders, had also begun to see gardening as a symbol of status and as emblems of grace and urbanity in a society emerging from the days of simple survival to those of genteel living. This lifestyle was fostered, in part, by an agricultural economy; supported by a well-established system of slaves and indentured servants. It was also the result of the demand for tobacco in England and its purchasing Power with London merchants and factors, who found an eager colonial market here for their goods, in turn.

Lead by the affluent leaders, this new consciousness gave rise to the continued establishment of gardens among all classes of society. Even those of humble means certainly had gardens of one sort or another, for nearly every family might raise vegetables, cultivate a few fruit trees and berry bushes, and keep domestic animals. A horse or two, a cow, and maybe some pigs and chickens would have been most common; some households could have added sheep, goats, ducks, and geese; other households perhaps a team of oxen.

Gardening activity thus fitted into the tight complex of domestic outbuildings and fenced plots typically found on the small town lot: stables, paddock, service yard, smokehouse, well, kitchen, orchard, and perhaps slave quarters.

Early inhabitants of the new town provided additional gardening impetus, in the persons of Mark Catesby and John Custis. Catesby arrived in Williamsburg from England in 1712 to visit his sister. He was a well-liked plant authority, garden designer, and naturalist painter, who befriended many of the well-to-do citizens of the town of that day. His interest in plant species was a catalyst to the early plant trade with England, and with his advice to such proficient and ambitious gardeners as Custis, and Byrd of Westover, Catesby's role in the further development of the gardening consciousness and traditions was significant and far-reaching. His seven year visit was also productive in that he later published a natural history of native southern flora and fauna, as well as to give confidence and authority to the young gardening tradition in a young town in a very personal way.

Custis was brother-in-law to William Byrd, and a wealthy and powerful member of the Governor's Council. Though he lived just outside of the town on his Queens' Creek Plantation, he was soon charmed by the prospects of the young gardening town, and about 1716, built a house on eight half-acre lots for himself. A colorful character in many ways, he was a serious plant enthusiast who gloried in the delight and variety of plants. Within fifteen years, he had succeeded in creating a garden which contained topiary, statuary, and a tremendous variety of evergreens and ornamental plants. It became, perhaps, the finest private ornamental garden of its day for its plantings in the colonial South, if not among all the colonies, as one of his contemporaries suggested to him in a letter which survived. Custis also engaged in a long and faithful plant trade and correspondence with a botanist in England, Peter Collinson, with whom he often shared his frustrations in dealing with harsh, Virginia summer growing conditions, as well as insensitive sea captains who would transport plant shipments to him with little regard for their care. To his frequent disappointment, he complained of long impatient waits for shipments from Collinson to arrive, only to find items which had died or were in poor condition after their long journey through want of proper care and attention from those charged with their safekeeping.

Despite his difficulties, the reputation of Custis' garden was known in England as the finest of the land, along with the garden of fellow plantsman and early nurseryman John Bartram of Philadelphia and John Clayton. However, after Custis's death in 1749, and the death of his son soon thereafter, the house and garden became the property of George Washington through his marriage to Martha, Custis, widowed daughter-in-law. Sadly to say,

but Washington regarded the property as a burden to care for; rented it to a succession of tenants who did little maintenance on the house or property, and ultimately neglected it altogether. The fine gardens disappeared and by 1800 the house, known locally as "the six chimney house", for its Jacobean-style chimney stacks at either end of the structure, was in utter ruins. It, too, soon disappeared altogether; the bricks being robbed for use on other structures by townspeople and vandals. (Today the site of the former house and gardens is a grassy field upon which the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation hopes to one day reconstruct the house and gardens of John Custis to a semblance of their former beauty.)

No accounting of the illustrious garden history of Colonial Williamsburg would be complete without relating the history of the Governor's Palace gardens, and their creator, Alexander Spotswood. Denied further advancement as an officer in the English Army, and lacking the financial means to assume the leisured life of a country squire in England, Spotswood sought and won the lieutenant governorship of Virginia in 1710, which was no small plum for a man of his social standing.

He was a reasonably well-educated man for his day and fairly well-read. He certainly had been exposed to the latest European ideas about landscape design, for he undoubtedly possessed a tremendous knowledge of the art and architectural uses of plants in creating spaces, if his work in Williamsburg may serve as examples. He possessed tremendous energy and accomplished a great deal while in Williamsburg due to a keen and driving ambition. However, for all his accomplishments, his self-regard and ambition proved, ultimately, to be his undoing politically, and engendered much animosity among his contemporaries.

In June of 1706, the House of Burgess voted to build a proper residence for the governor and appropriated three thousand pounds toward its construction. Work began in 1706 during the administration of Lt. Gov. Edward Nott. The progress of the construction, however, proceeded slowly, and the house was little more than an enclosed shell when Spotswood arrived in 1710. Though the still-rural aspect of the frontier town must have given him some cause for initial alarm when he arrived, Spotswood betrayed no reservations in his letters, but quickly saw his chance to improve his status and fortune in life as the king's appointed representative in Virginia.

"The life I am likely to lead here is a perfect retir'd country life," he wrote excitedly to this brother in Edinburgh, "for there is not in the whole Colony a place that may be compar'd to a Brittish village; every one living disperst up and down at their Plantations, possessing there all food necessary for human-life (nay and luxury too)." In his next letter to his brother, he boasted: "The life I lead here is neither in a crow of company nor in a throng of business, but rather after a quiet country manner, and now I am sufficiently amused with planting orchard and gardens and with finishing a large house which is designed (at the country's charge) for the reception of their Governours."

Spotswood immediately embarked upon several other architectural and landscape projects within the town. There is substantial evidence that he perpetuated Nicholson's scheme by strengthening the vistas throughout the town. One such vista was the Palace Green, which served his pride and self-interest since as governor he lived at its northern end; another set of perspectives were those he unfolded in the Market Square by designing an octagonal powder magazine in 1715, and placing it in the center where it could be seen

not only all around the perimeter of the square but also up and down North and South England streets.

Concurrently with these projects, he dedicated himself to the task of completing the official residence. Almost immediately the new governor took charge of the project, pushing it forward vigorously. It was almost certainly at his urging that the Assembly enacted additional legislation providing for the enclosure of the forecourt and gardens and considered further recommendations for "rendering the new House Convenient as well as Ornamental." In October 1711 William Byrd of Westover plantation strolled across town to view the new house, where he saw a magnificent display of weapons in the entrance hall, "nicely posited," as one observer put it, "by the ingenious contrivance of Colonel Spotswood."

Spotswood moved into the house by 1716, although work continued for another eight years. In the meantime the governor turned his attention to the gardens. He went to great trouble and expense to create one of the finest formal gardens at that time in the colonies.

Kitchen gardens, bowling green, orchards of fruit trees, and complexes of outbuildings, offices, and dependencies were built to function as an integral part of the mansion.

The formal garden with its manicured parterres was equally important as a source of pleasurable recreation. Here gentlemen might stroll along fragrant walks, trading pleasant flatteries with the ladies, or perhaps continuing a conversation begun over dinner. Above all, however, these impressive gardens helped to present the governor as a refined and important man. In this respect they functioned as an extension of the house and mirrored its formal character. Spotswood also Purchased additional lands at great public expense for grazing "Parks" in the English manner to the north of the palace, and viewed through a long vista through the formal gardens, over a "ha-ha" or hidden fence wall to keep deer and cattle from entering the formal gardens themselves. An element in the townscape, incidentally, that neither Nicholson nor Spotswood could do anything about was the maze of gullies and ravines that bedeviled the street-makers in town. While they certainly constituted an engineering nightmare for the founders of the town, they also introduced a variety of elevation in an otherwise flat landscape. Today these ravines are sources of beauty enhanced by modern landscape treatment by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; even in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, though, they must have been valued at least as much as cursed by people like Spotswood and Custis. Spotswood's "capital stroke" in the Palace gardens around 1716 was to carve terraces out of a deep ravine in the grounds west of the Palace and have them overlook a formal canal that he created at the bottom. If he could make this kind of imaginative use of a ravine, others in the town could have, too, in perhaps less grand fashion.

Spotswood's landscaping may have inspired a few town residents and plantation aristocrats to embark on similar (if smaller) projects, but eventually most everyone appears to have resented and even been outraged by what they construed as his Timon-like prodigality. While the House of Burgesses in an Act of 1705 had authorized a flower garden and orchard for the Palace, it nevertheless saw the necessity of censuring Spotswood several times for "lavishing away" the colony's money on his grand landscaping schemes, demanding to know when he would be finished with them. The House may also have concluded that Spotswood's canal, fish pond, and long terraces were too pretentious for a town like Williamsburg.

Many of his former supporters were turned against him for his grandiose schemes, and his decidedly imperial tastes and attitudes toward them. Indeed, his pretentiousness was more than some could bear, including John Custis. Considering his love of gardening, and Spotswood's landscaping of the Palace, it is strikingly odd that Custis never mentions the gardens or canal in his letters or other surviving correspondence.

The fact is that by 1716 he was in league with Blair, Byrd, and Ludwell to get rid of Spotswood as governor. The closest he ever comes to mentioning the Palace in his extant letters is in the first letter of his letterbook, addressed to Byrd on March 30, 1717. He dismisses Byrd's jest about his being the governor's "Court favourite" and asserts, "I assure you, Sir, it is so far from that, that I have not been within the Governor's Palace doors nor exchanged one word with the Governor this nine months." In this political context, it would be understandable if Custis had actively disliked Spotswood's gardening. If Spotswood's gardening was "Court" gardening, then Custis's scientific and empirical gardening may be judged as the antithesis. Their gardening standoff reflected the political antagonism between them.

The major trouble between them initially stemmed from a bitter disagreement over trees which Spotswood cut down on Custis's property in clearing a vista, for which Spotswood had sought and received Custis's permission. However, Custis got mad because of Spotswood's cutting of additional timber trees in his zeal, and later for which he offered no restitution. Phillip Ludwell, after hearing of the quarrel, attempted to intercede and get the two men to settle their differences. Custis, by that time thoroughly disgusted with the entire affair, would have none of it and replied to Ludwell his account of the dispute

AP". 18, 1717

Hon' Sir

Yours I record concerning my forbidding the Governor to cut my Wood and if you please to give me leave, shall faithfully tell you the whole matter. I happened to be at the Governors, and he was pleased to ask my consent, to cut down some trees that grew on My Land to make an opening, I think he called it a vista and told me would cut nothing but what was only fit for the fire, and for that he would pay me as much as anyone gave for firewood, to please his honor, I told him he might if he pleased cut such Trées down. Sometime after I happened to dine with him, and he then told me there was a Swamp that did belong to me in which grew a great deal of wood, and alleged it would never be of much Service to me, by reason I could not come at it with a Cart without going through his pasture; (but that was a mistake) ...

As to the Clearing his vista he cut down all before him such a wideness as he thought fit, amongst which there was two very good oak Timber Trees, that my Tenant had reserved to cover my Tenement ...Honble Sir Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed' Servant Jno. Custis.

A postscript to the letter notes that Spotswood never paid for the wood, no more than he has the gardener for laying out his garden above a year past. Nonetheless, Spotswood had his vista!

The feud between Custis and his compeers in the House of Burgesses, and the governor worsened steadily thereafter. It is quite probable, in fact, that Custis was the major party responsible behind the inquiry by the assembly into what they felt were ridiculously excessive costs for landscape improvements. When in Nov. 1718 he was asked

when the work would be finally completed by inquiring representatives of the assembly, Spotswood would only reply indignantly, "It is not finished and I don't know how much it will take!" To the Burgesses of the colony, the governor and his grand ideas had become a very nagging and thorny political liability, at long last, for the entire cost of the work had been at the taxpayers expense!

Although Byrd helped Spotswood with some of his initial planting and gardening, in 1712, he, too, was quickly disillusioned by Spotswood's politics, if not also by his imperial approach to gardening, and he never again mentioned the Palace gardening in his surviving correspondence. It is also true that Byrd did not again become interested in Spotswood the gardener until many years after the latter had been removed from office. In that instance, when there were no longer any political undercurrents to perplex these gardeners, it was Spotswood's humbler private gardens at Germanna that evoked a response. To anyone in Virginia at the time, like Byrd himself, who understood the political underpinnings of much of the new gardening going on in England, Williamsburg 's gardening rivalries would have sounded familiar.

Finally, the Burgesses complained to the King in early 1719. In a lengthy written defense, Spotswood wrote:

"...I often walked & freely talked with them concerning the Works then in hand, & offered, if ye Assembly did not care to be at ye Expence of the Fish-Pond & Falling Gardens, to take them to my Self,...."

To the House of Burgesses, themselves, he reserved a similar dialogue, and wrote defiantly to them the following:

"I have expended about their Building and Gardens but little above Two Hundred pounds per annum," he told the burgesses, adding that in May he had offered "to be at the Expence of the Fish-Pond and Falling gardens, to take them to my Self; these improvements happening to be upon the Town Land [i.e., on a portion of the original twelve acres purchased for the house] and such as would not long want Purchasers."

He reminded them that he had personally overseen all the improvements - in effect, served the colony as a landscape architect free of charge - and in the process had saved the public about 100 pounds annually. If it had not been for him, he pointed out, the four-man select committee set up by the House to inspect the house and gardens would have tried to "Pull to pieces" the 1710 legislation that "allows an Orchard, Gardens, and other Appurtenances." Thanks to him, he seemed to be saying, Virginia has a governor's residence with appropriately elegant and varied gardens.

He was certainly right, but the burgesses were again unimpressed. The quarrel and rivalry had taken on a life and energy of their own and refused to be put down. When new appropriations for "beauty and conveniency" of the House and gardens were made and exhausted, the members of the Assembly began to refer to the edifice as "The Palace," and that name has clung to it ever since.

In November 1720 the Assembly, determined not to be obligated to him, requested Spotswood to walk around the garden to "view all the Improvements that had been made since Christmas 1717 in the Gardens for the ornament and preservation thereof and compute the Charge of the whole." He told them, essentially, to go jump in a lake and that from then on they could hire their own overseer. Accordingly, they appointed a committee,



of which James Blair was a conspicuous member, to compute charges for work to be done; significantly, the committee allowed no money whatever for more gardening. Spotswood, then, washed his hands of the entire matter, and by mid-1721 was concentrating his energies on his private house and gardens in Germanna, Virginia, and had resigned the governorship.

Though his ideas may have been lavish, his manners overbearing and high-handed, and he advanced his private cultural aspirations as a "country squire" at public expense, Spotswood was probably privately given grudging credit by the townspeople for all he managed to accomplish within the town to its improvement.

The "Palace" was completed in its first form in 1722. Subsequent repairs in 1751-2 and the addition of the Ballroom wing in 1757 enlarged and improved the structure.

At any rate, Robert Beverley praised the gardens in his 1722 History, giving Spotswood full credit for their beauty. And two years after Spotswood had been removed from office, Hugh Jones in his Present State of Virginia (1724) published this resounding endorsement of Spotswood's gardens: "The Palace, or governor's house, is a magnificent structure, finished and beautified with gates, fine gardens, offices, walks, a fine canal, orchards...."

Williamsburg continued as a maturing town and political center as the eighteenth century wore on. The gardens matured and new practitioners of the gardener's art made their mark upon the townscape through the improvements they made to their individual properties: Benjamin Waller, Thomas Crease, George Wythe, Thomas Everard, Robert Carter, Peyton Randolph, Joseph Prentis, and Saint George Tucker. All of these men carried on the gardening tradition that they had inherited from the early pioneers in Catesby, Custis, and Spotswood. The town and its gardens continued to flourish until the spectre of war brought damages and neglect from occupation by the British, then American, and then French troops. Coming so swiftly on the heels of the devastation wrought by war, the removal of the state capital to Richmond in 1781 spelled doom for the town and its commerce and livelihood. Its subsequent decline was swift and inexorable, and its days of glory as the bright, innovative "star" of the gardening world was gone forever.

The town slept through the nineteenth century and another war's depredations to arise once more, as it once did two hundred years before, in the 1920s. The "Governor's Palace" stands, once again, on its original foundations, and the gardens, created at such expense by Alexander Spotswood, are, at least partially, a faithful reconstruction based on written accounts, archaeological evidence and the Bodelian Plate. The canal, terraces, and fishpond, were cleaned of two hundred years of sediment and debris, and were restored to their appearance of long ago. The gardens are now carefully and faithfully maintained by a crew of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation gardeners and groundskeepers to ensure that they are preserved for the enjoyment and study of future generations of Americans who can, indeed, be as proud of our garden heritage as that of our freedom as Americans; both of which had their beginnings in the dusty town of Colonial Williamsburg.

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## EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF WILLIAMSBURG IN THE 18th and 19th CENTURIES

Excerpts compiled by M. Kent Brinkley, ASLA, Landscape Architect-CWF from: *We Were There: Descriptions of Williamsburg, 1699-1859*, by Jane Carson, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg: 1965.

### General Appearance of Town and/or Setting

"Here are great helps and advances made already towards the beginning of a Town, a church, an ordinary, several stores, two mills, a smiths shop a Grammar School, and above all the Colledge."

Anonymous student - 1699 (p. 1)

\* \* \*

...Middle Plantation, which is now called Williamsburg is, moreover, because of the many springs which are there, a large place, where a city is intended and staked out to be built. There are at present, besides the Church, College and State House, together with the residence of the Bishop, some stores and houses of gentlemen, and also eight ordinaries or inns, together with the magazine. More dwell'igs will be built year after year....

Francis Louis Michel - 1702 (p. 2)

\* \* \*

....This imaginary city is yet advanced no further, than only to have a few Publick Houses, and a Store-House, more than were built upon the Place before 1705...[next, he describes all the public buildings such as the College, Capitol, Palace, church, magazine; etc., as they appeared in 1722, in a subsequent account] These are all erected at Middle-Plantation, now nam'd Williamsburgh, where Land is laid out for a Town....

Robert Beverley -1705 & 1722 (p. 3)

\* \* \*

Here he (Gov. Francis Nicholson) laid out the city of Williamsburgh (in the form of a cypher, made of W. and M.) on a ridge at the head springs of two great creeks, one running into James, and the other into York River and lots laid out, and dwelling houses and ware houses built; so that this town is most conveniently situated, in the middle of the lower part of Virginia, commanding two noble rivers, not above four miles from either, and is much more commodious and healthful, than if built upon a river....

Rev. Hugh Jones - circa 1722 (pp. 6-7)

\* \* \*

"Wmsbergh is the Metropolis it has near about 100 houses that by the Manner of building the offices separately it shows to be 300. it is a full mile long & 1 mile Broad...."

William Hugh Grove - 1731-2 (p. 12)

\* \* \*

...set out Early for Williamsburg, 12 miles Distn. [from Yorktown] fine road and pleasant Country. at 9 arived at this Capital, which at a Distance looks like a large town, but is far from it and very Iregular haveing only one street which Can be Called so, which makes a very good apearance....

Anonymous French Traveller - 1765 (p. 19)

\* \* \*

"Yesterday I made an excursion to Williamsburgh, [from Yorktown], the metropolis of Virginia, the situation of which is by no means equal to York Town I was, however, greatly entertained by the variegated beautiful prospects, lofty woods, and highly cultivated plantations, which presented themselves to me in every direction."

William Eddis - 1769 (p. 23)

\* \* \*

"Williamsburg is an inland town on the highest land about the middle between the rivers of York, on the north, and James, on the south, at the distance of seven miles from the nearest, and is healthy for the climate There are races at Williamsburgh twice a year; that is early spring and fall, or autumn. Adjoining to the town is a very excellent course, for either two, three or four mile heats the races commonly continuing for a week the inhabitants, almost to a man, being quite devoted to the diversion of horse racing."

John F. D. Smyth - 1770 (pp. 24-25)

\* \* \*

"May 30th.... Lodged at Cartwright's, a good House, 16 Miles from Williamsburgh. 31st. Breakfasted at Williamsburgh. The Road from Cartwright's is very sandy & deep. Williamsburgh is the Capital of Virginia, situated partly in York & partly in James City Counties.... June 6th. The water at Williamsburgh is very bad... 7th. Williamsburgh is situated upon a Ridge between the Rivers York on the North & James on the South, about 3 Miles from each of them... 9th ... Williamsburgh, in a few Words is a small, regular, sandy, dusty, wooden, unpaved City."

Ebenezer Hazard - 1777 (pp. 28, 32, 33, 34)

\* \* \*

"Sept. 15th Williamsburg is a very handsome place, not so populous as Richmond, but situated on evenly, pretty ground; streets and lots spacious --- does not appear to be a place of much business."

Ebenezer Denny - 1781 (p. 47)

\* \* \*

"22 Oct....A short account of Williamsburg: This city consists of approximately 300 houses, and is fairly built up for a mile in length The city lies upon an agreeable open plain.

While it is not, it is true, so very large, one may nevertheless count it among the most beautiful cities of America."

Johann Conrad Doehla - 1781 (p. 49)

\* \* \*

"...it (Williamsburg) is situated upon a plain, level piece of land Williamsburg does not contain above a hundred and fifty houses, and is the only town we have yet seen in Virginia worth mentioning not situated on the banks of any river, it stands an equal distance from two small ones, one of which falls into York, the other into James River. It is subject to the inconveniency of scarcity of good water. What makes the situation of this place valuable, is the neighborhood of James and York rivers, between which grows the best tobacco in the whole State, and for this reason it seems to have been built where it is...."

Claude C. Robin - 1781 (pp. 57 & 58)

\* \* \*

"...The place [Williamsburg] lies in a pleasant, open plain, and even from a distance commends itself to the traveller by a particularly cheerful and stately appearance, and the impression is confirmed on entering the town. One may count this among the handsomer towns of America, even if not among the larger, the number of houses being only about 230."

Johann David Schoepf - 1783 (p. 64)

\* \* \*

"December 2nd. This [Williamsburg] is the most beautiful city in Virginia. It is situated on a sandy plain about 4 miles from James River...It consists of 230 houses well built and regular...but they are decaying, & so is the City, by reason of the removal of the seat of Government to Richmond."

Noah Webster - 1785 (p. 69)

\* \* \*

"Feb. 25, 1786...We left York at ten and rode to Williamsburg - a fine road partly through the woods, the rest a very pleasant country...The situation of Williamsburg is a dead level, with a pretty country round it."

Robert Hunter, Jr. - 1786 (pp. 70, 71)

\* \* \*

"April 5, 1796...The City of Williamsburg is 12 miles from Yorktown. We arrived there about 5 o'clock havg. passed through a hilly country pleasantly enough variegated by wood, water, & open fields, but, upon the whole, of the same cast as the last stage...."

Benjamin Henry Latrobe - 1796

\* \* \* \* \*

## Layout, Appearance, Character of the Streets

### Introduction

The name Duke of Gloucester Street dates from the act of 1699 for building the City of Williamsburg; and the names of the two streets which now run parallel to a portion of the main street, Francis and Nicholson, date back to 1700. Other street names were given as lots were laid out, although often the cross streets were, in the early court records and deeds, referred to simply as "Lanes." Governor Francis Nicholson, one of the first "Directors" for the city, had considerable influence on its design and its streets. The Virginia historian, Robert Beverley, who was one of Nicholson's detractors, wrote in 1705 of this influence:

"Soon after his (Governor Nicholson's) Accession to Government, he caused the Assembly, and Courts of Judicature, to be remov'd from James-Town ....to Middle-Plantation,...There he flatter'd himself with the fond Imagination, of being the Founder of a new City. He mark'd out the Streets in many Places, so as that they might represent the Figure of a W, in Memory of his late Majesty King William [III], after whose Name the Town was call'd Williamsburg...."

In a later edition of his History (1722), Beverley noted that Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Spotswood (who arrived in Williamsburg in June, 1710, and who was obviously admired by Beverley) had altered some of the streets:

"In his [Spotswood's] time was also built a new Brick Church, and Brick Magazine for Arms and Ammunition: and the Streets of the Town altered from the fanciful Forms of Ws. and Ms. to much more Conveniences."

In a speech made to the House of Burgesses on November 6, 1713, at the opening of the second session of the 1712-1714 General Assembly, Spotswood called attention to certain needs in the "infant Town":

"...Some timely Repairs for the Capitol And of the Trustees for the City of Williamsburgh, being Accountable to none but the General Assembly; I think it proper to Informe you that there has been a necessity of Resurveying and marking out a new the bounds and Streets of this place; And I wish you Joyned in opinion with me, that to Give Some Assistance to this Infant Town, towards building a Market House, bettering the Landings, and Securing a few Publick Springs, would not only Redound to the Credit of the Country when Strangers Resort hither, but would likewise be for the benefit of all those whose business calls them to the Assemblys and General Courts."

These matters were turned over to a committee, who presented their report, and, on November 23, 1713 the House resolved:

"That John Holloway and John Clayton Gent be impower'd to Account with and Receive of the Trustees for the City of Williamsburg and all others Concerned All Such Sum or Sums of Money as have been by them Received for Lots taken up in the Said City And all Such Moneys as have been Lodged in the hands of any other person for the use of the Said City And that So much thereof as Shall be Necessary for Defraying the Charge of Resurveying and Marking out a New the Bounds and

Streets of the Said City And for Repairing the Capitol be appropriated for those purposes....”

In November, 1714, the House of Burgesses took into their consideration a report from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances concerning the petition of "the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the city of Williamsburg Seting forth the Damage done to the Streets of the Said City and other inconveniences to the Petitioners by the Number of Hoggs kept in and about the Said City," and a bill was ordered to be prepared to prevent the "Inconviences complained of..."

Some of the work resurveying the streets and "marking out a new" their bounds was doubtless done soon after Spotswood's suggestions to the Assembly in 1713, (possibly Nicholson's "Ws and Ms" were done away with then). However, more needed doing, for in November, 1720, the inhabitants of Williamsburg presented a petition "complaining of the Irregularitys of their principal Street and of the want of a Market house..., and the House of Burgesses ordered that "the Sum of One hundred and fifty pounds be given towards making Bridges and Causeways in the Main street," the money to be paid to Mr. Speaker [John Holloway], Mr. Clayton, and Archibald Blair, who were to see that it was applied to the work and accounted for to the Assembly. In May, 1722, the Committee of Public Claims reported on their examination of "the Accounts and Vouchers of the persons intrusted with the Sum of One hundred and fifty pounds given by the last Assembly towards the making of Causwaies and repairing the Streets in the City of Wmsburgh," and reported a sum of 17:2: 3 pounds due to Mr. John Holloway, which was ordered paid. On the same day a petition of "Sundry Inhabitants of the City of Wmsburgh praying a further Sum for the compleatitig and finishing the Causwaies and Repairs, in the Streets of the said City" was rejected by the House. The inhabitants then suggested that a tax or "Imposition" be "laid upon the Owners of houses and Lands" in Williamsburg and "parts adjacent or that Some other Method may be taken for Repairing the Highwaies in and about the said Town." Upon consideration of this petition complaining that the "Roads in and near the Said City being much worn and likely to become Unpassable and praying to be relieved by and Imposition or Some other method," a bill was ordered to be drawn up, but it seems to have been dropped when, on May 28, 1722, another petition was presented from "the freeholders and Inhabitants of the City of Williamsburgh, "urging the House to make application to the Governor to "Incorporate the Inhabitants of the Said City."

\* \* \*

#### Accounts

"...Here Governor Nicholson projected a large Town, and laid out the Streets in the Form of a W, calling the same Williamsburgh, in Honour of the reigning King..."

Sir William Keith - 1715 (p. 8)

\* \* \*

"...and the Streets of the Town altered from the fanciful Forms of Ws and Ms to much more conveniences...."

Robert Beverley - 1722 (p. 4)

\* \* \*

"Here he [Governor Francis Nicholson] laid out the City of Williamsburg (in the Form of a Cypher, made of W. and M....) Fronting the College at near its whole Breadth, is extended a noble Street mathematically streicjht (for the first Design of the Town's Form is changed to a much better) just three Quarters of a Mile in Length: At the other End of which stands the Capitol. . . Parallel to the main Street mentioned is a Street on each Side of it, but neither quite so long nor broad; and at proper Distances are small cross Streets, for the Convenience of Communication. Near the Middle stands the Church called Bruton Church, where I had the Favour of being Lecturer. Near this is a large Octogon Tower, which is the Magazine. . . standing far from any House except James Town Court-House; . . . Not far from hence is a large Area for a Market Place; near which is a Play House and good Bowling Green. From the Church runs a Street Northward called Palace Street; at the other End of which stands the Palace or Governor's House, a magnificent Structure, . . . In every Part of this Town are excellent Springs of good Water, or else may be made good Wells; and the Ground falling on both Sides, conveys the water and Rain by small Channels into the Creeks; but to make the main Street exactly level, the Assembly lately gave a considerable Sum, which was expended in removing Earth in some Places, and building a Bridge over a low Channel; so that it is now a pleasant, long dry Walk, broad and almost level from the College to the Capitol." Rev. Hugh Jones - circa 1722 (Pp. 6-7, 9-10)

\* \* \*

"...there are 3 streets parallel the whole length of the town & 6 cross Streets laid out & a magazine or square erected in the Centre of the town which is situate on an Isthmus between 2 creeks a mile from each...." William Hugh Grove - 1731-2 (p. 13)

\* \* \*

"...there is nothing considerable in it, but the College, the Governor's House, and one or two more, which are no bad Piles; and the prodigious Number of Coaches that crowd the deep, sandy Streets of this little City..." Edward Kimber - 1742 (p. 14)

\* \* \*

.... It [Williamsburg] is regularly laid out in parallel streets intersected by others at right angles; has a handsome square in the center, through which runs the principal street, one of the most spacious in North-America, three quarters of a mile in length, and about a hundred feet wide...The streets are not paved, and are consequently very dusty, the soil hereabout consisting chiefly of sand...." Rev. Andrew Burnaby - 1759-60 (p. 15)

\* \* \*

"...There is one handsome street in it (Williamsburg), just a mile in length, where the view is terminated by a commanding object each way All the publick edifices are built of brick, but the generality of the houses are of wood, chiefly painted white, and are every one detached from each other: which, with the street deep with sand, (not being paved) makes a singular appearance to an European; and is very disagreeable to walk in, especially in summer, when the rays of the sun are intensely hot, and not a little increased by the

reflection of the white sand, wherein every step is almost above the shoe, and where there is no shade or shelter to walk under, unless you carry an umbrella...There is a whimsical circumstance attends Williamsburg; which is, a part of the town (that has been added to it since it was first built) having the streets laid out in the form of a W...."

John F. D. Smyth - 1770 (pp. 24-25)

\* \* \*

"...9<sup>th</sup>...Williamsburgh, in a few words is a small, regular, sandy, dusty, wooden, unpaved City."

Ebenezer Hazard - 1777 (p. 34)

\* \* \*

"...This city consists of two large, parallel streets and of three of four lesser ones that bisect them perpendicularly. Not all the streets are paved, but there are some sidewalks (kept in good repair) along the main ones...."

Jean Christophe L. F. Closen - 1781 (p. 43)

\* \* \*

"...It consists of two parallel streets, and two or three which cross the streets. These are perfectly straight, but they are not paved...."

Baron Marie François J. M. Cromot  
du Bourg 1781 (p. 45)

\* \* \*

"...A principal street, about one mile in length, runs through the whole town; the other streets are very irregular."

Chaplain ? Evans - 1781 (p. 51)

\* \* \*

"...The streets are not paved, they are very inconvenient in summer and in winter...."

Louis Jean Baptiste Silvestre de  
Robertmier 1781 (p. 56)

\* \* \*

"...the main street, passing through the midst of it (the town), is more than one hundred feet in width...."

Claude C. Robin - 1781 (p. 57)

\* \* \*

"...The straight, broad, high-street is almost a mile long; several off-streets, running to the south and east, are planned in the-form of the letter W. The streets are not paved, and thus are very tedious to the foot-passenger during the hot summer, from the burning sand and dust...."

Johann David Schoepf 1783(p. 65)

\* \* \*



"...The town is one straight street of about a mile long, with the capitol at one end and the college at the other..."

Robert Hunter, Jr. - 1786 (p. 71)

\* \* \*

"...It is regularly laid out in parallel streets, with a square in the center, through which runs the principal street, E. and W. about a mile in length, and more than 100 feet wide...."

Jedidiah Morse - 1787 (p. 73)

\* \* \*

"...The town consists of one principal street, and two others which run parallel to it. At one end of the main street stands the college, and at the other end the old capitol or statehouse...now crumbling to pieces from negligence."

Isaac Weld - 1796 (p. 85)

\* \* \*

"...It is said also that, in a whimsical spirit of flattery, he [Gov. Francis Nicholson] laid out the town in the form of a W. Either however he made his letter very badly, or Time has taken the liberty to rub some part of it out; for its form cannot be very clearly placed at present. The principal streets now run parallel, and are crossed by smaller ones at right angles...All the streets are very wide, and handsomely paved with grass; which, indeed, is more agreeable any where than in a street...."

Anonymous - possibly George Tucker - circa 1816 (pp. 90-91)

\* \* \*

"...The streets give an idea of the wonderful fertility of this soil, by there being covered with grass, and several cows, pigs, horses, mules and goats are to be seen pasturing undisturbed along them. I thought I was transported to Noah's Ark when I first came into this town, so prodigious was the quantity of animals I met with, without seeing a single person...It is one of the curiosities of this place...."

C. De La Pena - 1827 (p. 95)

\* \* \*

"...the main street, a broad avenue pleasantly shaded, and almost as quiet as a rural lane...."

J. Benson Lossing - 1848 (p. 103)

\* \* \*

### **Buildings**

"Here are great helps and advances made already towards the beginning of a Town, a church, an ordinary, several stores, two mills, a smiths shop a Grammar School, and above all the Colledge."

Anonymous student - 1699 (p. 1)

\* \* \*

"...There are at present, besides the Church, College and State House, together with the residence of the Bishop, some stores and houses of gentlemen, and also eight ordinaries or inns, together with the magazine. More dwellings will be built year after year...."

Francis Louis Michel - 1702 (p. 2)

\* \* \*

"This imaginary city is yet advanced no further, than only to have a few Publick Houses, and a Store-House, more than were built upon the Place before 1705." (Next, he describes all the public buildings such as the College, Capitol, Palace, church, magazine; etc., as they appeared in 1722, in a subsequent account)"...These are all erected at Middle-Plantation, now nam'd Williamsburgh, where Land is laid out for a Town...."

Robert Beverley - 1705 & 1722 (p. 3)

\* \* \*

"...Publick buildings here of note, are the College, the Capitol, the Governor's House, and the Church....The town is laid out regularly in lots or square portions, sufficient each for a house and garden....Here, as in other parts, they build with brick, but most commonly with timber lined with cieling, and cased with feather-edged planks, painted with white lead and oil, covered with shingles of cedar, etc. tarred over at first...."

Rev. Hugh Jones - circa 1722 (pp. 7, 10-11)

\* \* \*

"Wmsbergh is the Metropolis it has near about 100 houses that by the Manner of building the offices separately it shows to be 300. It is a full mile long & 1 mile Broad There are about 20 good houses the rest but ordinary...."

William Hugh Grove - 1731-2 (pp. 12-13)

\* \* \*

"...At the ends of this street (D. O. G. Street) are two public buildings, the College and the Capitol: and although the houses are of wood, covered with shingles, and but indifferently built, the whole makes a handsome appearance...."

Rev. Andrew Burnaby - 1759-60

\* \* \*

"...All the publick edifices are built of brick, but the generality of the houses are of wood, chiefly painted white, and are every one detached from each other: which, with the street deep with sand, (not being paved) makes a singular appearance to an European; and is very disagreeable to walk in, especially in summer, when the rays of the sun are intensely hot, and not a little increased by the reflection of the white sand, wherein every step is almost above the shoe, and where there is no shade or shelter to walk under, unless you carry and umbrella...."

John F. D. Smyth - 1770 (p. 25)

\* \* \*

"...The houses are chiefly framed, the Streets are straight. The Principal Buildings are the College, the Mad House, the Palace & the Capitol, all of Brick. The first is badly contrived, & the Inside of it is shabby...the College has been on the Decline for some years. The Top of this Building affords a beautiful Prospect of the City & the adjacent Country; James River may be seen from it, as' may York River in a clear Day...Williamsburgh, in a few words is a small, regular, sandy, dusty, wooden, unpaved City...."

Ebenezer Hazard 1777 (pp. 34-35)

\* \* \*

"...This city consists of approximately 300 houses, and is fairly built up for a mile in length ...it has some beautiful churches and steeples with clocks to see, and also some buildings otherwise worth seeing....In the middle [of the town] is also an arsenal which is surrounded by a wall. opposite this stands the Court House, from which one can look out over the whole city....Here also were many French and American hospitals, where they had brought all their sick and wounded. Also, there was still in the city a strong garrison of about 1,000 French and Americans...."

Johann Conrad Doehla - 1781

(p. 49)

\* \* \*

"...There are about 300 houses in this town, some of which are very good, but the greater number are very mean. [The College and Capitol]....are both very grand buildings. The Courthouse and church are also good buildings. Besides these there are a few very good private houses...."

Chaplain ? Evans - 1781 (p. 51)

\* \* \*

"...one may count this among the handsomer towns of America, even if not among the larger, the number of houses being only about 230...The houses stand at convenient distances apart, have a good exterior, and on account of the general white paint, a neat look. They are commonly of but one story above the parterre, and (except the public buildings) mainly timbered...All the public buildings are of brick, and several of them comely...."

Johann David Schoepf 1783

(pp. 64-65)

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"December 2nd. This [Williamsburg] is the most beautiful city in Virginia. It is situated on a sandy plain about 4 miles from James River....It consists of 230 houses well built and regular....but they are decaying, & so is the City, by reason of the removal of the seat of Government to Richmond. Here is the only public clock & bell of consequence in Virginia."

Noah Webster - 1785 (p. 69)

\* \* \*

"...The houses in general are built of wood and, when they were kept well-painted before the war, would look extremely neat. There are some handsome brick houses in the environs of the city...Very little or no trade is carried since the seat of government has been removed...."

Robert Hunter, Jr. - 1786 (p. 71)

\* \* \*

"...It [Williamsburg] consists of about 200 houses, going fast to decay, and has about 1400 inhabitants....The Capitol is little better than in ruins Everything in Williamsburg appears dull, forsaken and melancholy - no trade - no amusements...The unprosperous state of the college, but principally the removal of the seat of government, have contributed much to the decline of this city."

Jedidiah Morse - 1787 (pp. 73-74)

\* \* \*

"...I believe it (Williamsburg) never could boast of more than two hundred houses or, eighteen hundred inhabitants. Many of the houses were pleasantly situated, and though neither elegant, nor in general built of durable materials, were neat and comfortable; most of them had gardens...Not a few private houses have tumbled down; others are daily crumbling into ruins; there are, however, many comfortable houses left, which having undergone some repairs, contribute to vary the scene, and there are still some neat gardens and pleasant situations...."

St. George Tucker - 1795 (pp. 76, 78)

\* \* \*

"...The town consists of one principal street, and two others which run parallel to it. At one end of the main street stands the college, and at the other end the old capitol or statehouse...now crumbling to pieces from negligence. The houses around it are mostly uninhabited, and present a melancholy picture...The episcopalian church stands in the middle of the main street; it is much out of repair The town contains about twelve hundred inhabitants...No manufactures are carried on here, and scarcely any trade...."

Isaac Weld - 1796 (p. 85)

\* \* \*

"...The capitol is a heavy brick pile with a two story portico towards the street the wooden pillars of which are stripped of their Mouldings, & are twisted & forced out of their places in all directions. They seem to be perfectly rotten, & I am astonished that the pediment and roof still stands. A beautiful Marble statue of Lord Bottetourt, a popular governor of Virginia before the war, is deprived of its head & mutilated in many other respects. This is not the only proof of the decay of Williamsburg. The Courthouse, which stands on the North side of the street, has lost all the Columns of its Portico, & the Pediment sticks out like a Penthouse carried only by timbers that bind into the roof. Many ruined & uninhabited houses disgrace the street...."

Benjamin Henry Latrobe - 1796

\* \* \*

"...The houses are mostly indifferent ones of wood, old, and shabby for the want of repairs and a little paint...."

Anonymous possibly  
George Tucker circa 1816 (p.91)

\* \* \*

(There are)... " many half ruined wooden houses which afford a tranquil and peaceful asylum to insects of every description...." C. De La Pena – 1827 (p. 95)

\* \* \*

"...It now contains about 200 dwelling houses, some of which are going fast to decay, and more than 1500 inhabitants, many of whom are wealthy...."

Joseph Martin – 1835 (p. 97)

\* \* \*

## Landscapes/Gardens

### College

The first indication of the gardens at the College was made by the English horticulturist Sir John Evelyn in a letter written to John Walker in 1694 in which he informs him that a gardener had been sent to Virginia... "on purpose to make and plant the Garden designed for the new Colledge...." This gardener is thought to have been one James Road, who was an assistant to George London, Royal Gardener at Hampton Court Palace, in 1693. It is known that Road came to Virginia sometime in 1694, although his activities here and length of stay are unknown.

If Road, indeed, was the gentleman responsible for the installation of the College garden(s), it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the design(s) might be attributable to London and/or his partner Henry Wise, although this possibility can neither be proven nor disproved at this time, due to the lack of documentation regarding this subject. The extent of Evelyn's involvement, if any, is also unclear. The earliest garden was to the west followed by those in College Yard upon completion of buildings there.

\* \* \*

"...there is a spacious piazza on the west side It [the College] is approached by a good walk, and a grand entrance by steps, with good courts and gardens about it...and a large pasture enclosed like a park with about 150 acres of land adjoining for occasional uses...."

Rev. Hugh Jones – circa 1722  
(p. 97)

\* \* \*

"... the College is very large and well built, with gardens and outhouses proportioned."

Gov. William Gooch - 1727

\* \* \*

"...The foundations of a common brick house [for the College President] are to be laid opposite to Brafferton "so that the two buildings" will appear at a small Distance form the East Front of the College," symmetrically and elegantly framing an existing "Garden planted with Ever-Greens kept in very good order...the (Great) Hall and Chapel, joining to the West-Front towards the Kitchen-Garden form two handsome Wings."

Rev. William Dawson - 1732

\* \* \*

"...The college makes a very agreeable appearance, and the large garden before it is of ornament and use...."

Josiah Quincy - 1773 (p. 271)

\* \* \*

"...At this [East] Front of the College is a large Court Yard, ornamented with Gravel Walks, Trees cut into different Forms, & Grass. - The Wings are on the West Front, between them is a covered Parade [piazza], which reaches from one to the other, the Portico is supported by stone Pillars: opposite to this Parade is a Court Yard & a large Kitchen Garden...."

Ebenezer Hazard - 1777 (pp. 34-35)

\* \* \*

"...A window to the south opened into a row of the most elegant elm trees whose shade and beauty always called forth the most pleasurable ideas. On the east it opened to the College yard, a more beautiful view it could not well present."

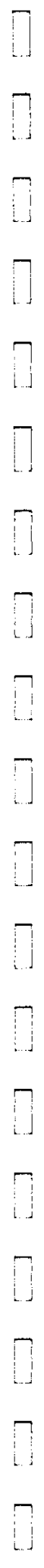
Powhatan Robertson - 1816 (p. 89)

\* \* \*

"...There is a large botanical garden in the rear of the buildings, apparently well stocked with cabbages, and other plants equally rare and curious, which the Professors no doubt find very useful upon occasion...."

Anonymous - possibly George Tucker  
circa 1816 (p. 92)

\* \* \* \* \*



**CONTEST FOR THE  
OHIO COUNTRY**





## THE FIRST SETTLERS IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

In this reading, the opening chapter of his book, The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest 1720-1830, R. Douglas Hurt tracks the settlement history of the upper Ohio River Country. In doing so, he explains why Indians, the English, and the French were drawn to this region in the 1740s and 50s.

In 1843, the July sun fell heavy on the Wyandots, and the dust rose in a haze from beneath the horses' hooves and wagon wheels as they moved slowly south toward Cincinnati and the waiting steamboats that would take them from Ohio forever. The Wyandots had once been a powerful people, but since the Treaty of Fort Meigs, which they had signed on September 29, 1817, they had been confined to reservation lands in northwestern Ohio. In 1832, political pressure by whites to gain access to those rich lands resulted in a new treaty that extinguished all title to their lands except for a "Grand Reserve" Of 146,316 acres near Upper Sandusky to be shared with the Senecas and Shawnees. Still, whites cast a covetous eye on these Indian lands, and they continued to pressure the state and federal governments to reach a new accommodation with the Indians that would further alienate the lands. Congress did not turn a deaf ear, and on April 23, 1836, the federal government struck a new treaty that further reduced the lands to 109,144 acres in a tract twelve by fourteen miles.

The land cession in 1836, however, did not satisfy the insatiable hunger for Indian lands in Ohio, and Native American contact with white civilization often proved intimidating, humiliating, and demoralizing. By 1839, only the Wyandots remained, and they did not have the political power to resist white encroachments much longer. In March 1840, the Wyandots were comforted when the federal government appointed John Johnston to negotiate with them for the cession of their remaining lands. Johnston had considerable experience working as an Indian agent for the federal government in Ohio, and he had gained a reputation for honesty and trustworthiness. With his help, they might make the best of a bad situation. Although delays occurred, Johnston and the Wyandots signed a treaty at Upper Sandusky on March 17, 1842.

In the Wyandot Treaty of 1842, the tribe agreed to terminate all title to their Ohio lands in exchange for 148,000 acres west of the Mississippi River, a perpetual annuity of \$17,500 annually, and \$10,000 to pay for removal to their new home as well as financial support for a school. The federal government also agreed to pay for the improvements that the Wyandots had made on their lands as well as to assume the tribal debt, which amounted to \$23,860. During the course of the next year, the Wyandots made plans for removal and disposal of their property. When they congregated on Sunday, July 9, for their trek south to Cincinnati and the awaiting steamboats that would take them to present-day Kansas, however, Subagent Purdy McElvain told them they still had saved too much. During the next two days they looked on heartbroken as the agent sold many of their personal belongings at public auction. By Wednesday everything was ready, and 674 men, women, and children, 120 wagons, 300 horses, and a contingent of buggies headed south. About 50 Wyandots remained behind because they were too ill to travel, but some of the sick were loaded on the wagons to make do as best they could during the long journey ahead.

The Wyandots moved slowly south toward the river without a fight or any resistance. McElvain said they showed only "perfect resignation." Charles Dickens, traveling though western Ohio on his way from St. Louis to New York, saw the Wyandots

on the road and likened them to the "meaner sort of gipsies." Had he seen them in England, Dickens remarked, he would have thought them to be a "wandering and restless people." No matter who saw the Wyandots or how they judged them, all agreed that the sight was a "melancholy one," and a far cry from the days when these Huron people were known as the "Iroquois of the West," and when they controlled the northern half of Ohio with a ferocity that few tribes challenged. Now, in July 1843, their council fires had been cold for a long time.

When the Wyandots passed through Logan on Thursday after a day on the trail, the local editor remarked, "Most of them are noble looking fellows, stout of limb, athletic and agile; devoted in their attachments to their squaws and families and brave and generous to a fault. Among the squaws are some really beautiful women." He did not note, as did another editor from Cincinnati, that many in the entourage were white men with Wyandot wives and white women with Indian husbands as well as a host of mixed-bloods. That observer believed that the Wyandots as a people would have disappeared in the "process of amalgamation" within a decade if they had been allowed to remain in Ohio. Some of the young women wore the fashions of "white belles" and had their forms "shaped into civilized proportions" with tightly cinched corsets. During the two days that it took the Wyandots to pass through Logan, they conducted themselves with "decorum." Only one drunken Indian marred the event for the curious onlookers, who felt "more or less sympathy" for them and who came from the surrounding countryside to see history in the making. Indeed, they realized that the Wyandots no longer belonged to Ohio and that their mutual ties through history were now broken.

When the Wyandots passed through Xenia on Sunday morning, an observer noted that they were all "decently dressed," mostly in the clothes of white civilization. Half of them allegedly practiced Christianity, and on that Sabbath, few could look upon them without praying that the "Great Spirit would guide and protect them on their journey, and carefully preserve them as a people in the far, far west." When they reached Cincinnati on Wednesday the 19th, one hardened newspaperman thought that they looked like "sheep among wolves." By then, several Wyandots were drunk, and as they camped on the landing while waiting to board the steamboats the next day, one drowned. After seven days of the trail, the Wyandots were now a "sorry specimen" of the "Noble Indian." With few exceptions, they were tired and "dirty and greasy"-an observation that reflected a prejudice that would not die. The weariness on their faces now betrayed their inner feelings and revealed the "canker of secret grief." On Thursday, July 20, they all boarded the steamboats with their few possessions, and the paddle wheels of the *Nodaway* and *Republic* churned white wakes down the Ohio River. Soon they were out of sight. The last remnant of Ohio's Indian people were gone.

During the long struggle to control and settle the Ohio country -- a conflict fraught with violence, cruelty, and hardship on all sides -- the Native Americans became the symbol of that frontier. Although the Ohio frontier had ended at least a decade before the removal of the Wyandots, these Native Americans had remained a visible symbol of a bygone age. But now, in the summer of 1843, Indian Ohio ceased to exist. Thereafter, the Ohio frontier lived only in memory and history.

The Native Americans who migrated to the Ohio country during the early eighteenth century found a land of rugged hills, dense forest, and open prairies. Above all, however, the forest dominated the landscape, and it spread with both grandeur and foreboding across Ohio like a heavy green blanket. Where the foothills of the Appalachians

formed the southeastern third of Ohio, a forest of red and white oak (many six feet or more in diameter and fifty to sixty feet in height), sugar maple, hickory, black walnut, sycamore, hemlock, cedar, beech, and buckeye trees covered the rolling landscape. In this unglaciated region, steep hills, narrow ravines, and sluggish streams provided an unsurpassed area for hunting and fishing to sustain Indian families. Later these lands proved less than desirable, with the exception of the rich soils in the river valleys, for white settlers who wanted to use the land for farming.

The glaciated till plains that spread to the west also had a forest cover consisting primarily of beech, elm, cherry, and ash. Along the river bottoms natural meadows occasionally opened, where deer, elk, and bison grazed on a luxuriant cover of bluegrass, white clover, and wild rye. The soils in the till plains proved the richest and most productive. Not long after the close of the frontier period, when the Indians no longer hunted over this area, it became the eastern edge of the Corn Belt. In the glaciated western and north-central portions of Ohio, the latter area known as the Lake Plains, prairies that extended several miles occasionally provided a welcome relief from the forest's canopy, and sunlight enabled the grass to grow as high as a horse's back. In the northwestern corner, the Great Black Swamp that spread 40 miles wide and 120 miles long loomed as a barrier to settlement either Indian or white. It became inhabitable only after drainage in the late nineteenth century, well after the close of the frontier. Across these Ohio lands approximately thirty-eight inches of precipitation fall annually, and the growing season ranges from 120 to 200 days, climatic features that became more important to the white immigrants who followed the Indians into Ohio.

Retreating glaciers created a visually imperceptible continental divide that runs roughly from east to west approximately thirty to fifty miles south of Lake Erie. The northern-flowing waters, such as the Maumee, Auglaize, St. Joseph, Tiffin, Grand, Portage, Sandusky, Vermillion, Black, and Cuyahoga, run north into Lake Erie and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River system, while the southern-flowing rivers, such as the Tuscarawas, Kokosing, Licking, Muskingum, Scioto, Hocking, Olentangy, Great Miami, Killbuck, and Whitewoman's, drain into the Ohio-Mississippi river valleys. Lake Erie and the Ohio River provided transportation for both Indians and whites, and both cultures viewed these waters as their own.

Although the white-tailed deer was the most numerous and important animal to both Indian and white immigrants, black bears, wolves, and pumas also roamed the countryside. Wild turkeys, grouse, quail, Canadian geese, ducks, passenger pigeons, Carolina parakeets, and gray squirrels lived in abundance in the forests and river valleys, while catfish, muskellunge, walleye, perch, sturgeon, and bass thrived in the river and streams. Deer provided the most important food source for the Indians who migrated into Ohio, and skins quickly became a commodity for trade with whites. The Indians also used the black bear for meat and cooking grease and its hide for trade, but white immigrants who came later would consider the black bears and timber wolves to be animals worthy only of extermination, because the former raided pig pens, while the latter played havoc with flocks of sheep.

Similarly, where the Indians would gain limited control of their environment by maintaining natural meadows in the forest, along river valleys, or on the open prairies by using fire to kill woody plants that would choke the grass and prevent cultivation, white settlers would use both fire and ax to remove the trees in great blocks from the landscape in order to use the land for commercial agriculture rather than for hunting and subsistence

farming. With the arrival of white settlers, bounties would be paid for wolf and panther scalps, and on some occasions for those of the Native Americans. Many boys, both Indians and white, sharpened their rifle skills on squirrels that scolded from above or too carelessly peeked over a hickory branch. While the Native Americans considered deer, bears, wolves, passenger pigeons, Carolina parakeets, and other animals and birds part of the environment, where nature struck a balance between all living things, white settlers saw them as a menace to agriculture and sought to eliminate many of the native birds and animals as quickly as possible. Although the Native Americans used the environment and changed it (notably with the use of fire to clear land and to drive game), white settlers changed it for all time by essentially destroying the forest, tilling the land, and driving many animals and birds either away or to extinction. The Native Americans and whites who migrated into Ohio, then, used the environment for their own purposes. Neither kept Ohio's environment in an entirely natural state, but after the arrival of white settlers, it would never look as it did when the Native Americans first moved into the Ohio country.

Nearly two centuries passed between the first European contact with the Ohio country and the close of the frontier soon after the end of the War of 1812. During that time, the Native Americans left an indelible mark on the history of Ohio, which they stamped with both peace and war. Until the mid-seventeenth century, however, the Ohio country remained a vast "no man's land," occasionally marked by mysterious monuments of ancient peoples whose civilizations had disappeared long before. Few Native Americans hunted in Ohio, although the Iroquois considered it their land by right of conquest. The contest for the control of Ohio and the clash of cultures that it wrought did not come until the 1730s, when the Wyandots, Shawnees, and Delawares moved into the region and claimed it as their own, while both France and Great Britain cast their own designs upon it. Until that conflict began, few Europeans ventured into the Ohio country, and their knowledge of the Native American inhabitants depended on reports given to them by other Indians.

Apparently, at the time of French contact and development of the fur trade in present-day Canada and New York, a Native American people lived along the southern shore of Lake Erie, perhaps as far west as the Cuyahoga River and present-day Cleveland. Known as the Erie, they were an Iroquoian-speaking people who lived in forty villages and fortified towns. Most of the population of approximately twelve thousand lived between present-day Erie and Buffalo, but a few settlements extended west into the Ohio country. The French first learned about the Erie, or "Eriehronon" as they were called by the Huron, in 1623. A decade later, the French referred to them as "la Nation du Chat," the Cat Nation, more appropriately translated as the "Raccoon Nation." Indeed, it was from these masked bandits that the Erie secured much of their food and the skins for their robes and blankets, which they fringed with the animals' ringed tails.

About 1575, Hiawatha forged the Iroquois Confederation in central New York. Known as the League of Five Nations, based on the membership of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, and Senecas, the Iroquois, who numbered between twenty and thirty thousand, became dependent on trade with the French during the early seventeenth century. As with other Native Americans who would learn the advantages of iron axes and knives, brass cooking pots, wool blankets, guns, black powder, and lead, their wants became insatiable, and the French proved willing traders for a price. At first the French, and later the English and Dutch, wanted so little in return for the goods that made Indian life easier and more secure—beaver skins. The streams and lakes had plentiful beaver

populations, and the trapping and hunting of these animals that provided fashionable pelts for hatmakers in Europe proved relatively easy. Quickly, beaver became the first cash crop of North America and beaver skins the monetary medium of exchange. The Iroquois, however, took too many beaver, and their home country became trapped out by the 1640s. Consequently, the Iroquois sought control of the fur trade that originated deep in the interior of Canada and the Ohio country.

Iroquois pressure to gain control of the fur country to the west culminated with the "Beaver Wars" or the "Wars of the Iroquois," which began in 1649. With speed and brutal force, the Iroquois destroyed the Huron, the Tobacco Nation, the Neutral Nation, and the Attiwandaron, who resisted their control along the Niagara River and north of Lakes Erie and Ontario and east of Lake Huron in an area known as the "Ontario Peninsula." By 1654, this area had become the Iroquois preserve for hunting beaver, deer, bear, and elk. Then, with a diplomatic guile that surely impressed the Machiavellian French at Montreal, they established themselves as the power brokers and chief suppliers of the fur trade and welcomed the black-robed Jesuits to their villages. Only the Erie stood in the way of their gaining complete control of the fur trade from the Great Lakes region.

The Five Nations did not take the Erie lightly. The Cat Nation had experienced leaders and a well-organized tribe. Most important, they had defeated the Iroquois in the past. The Dutch considered them to be better fighters than the Iroquois and called them "satanas" or devils. Yet the Erie suffered from a monumental disadvantage that resulted from the fur trade and the long contact of the Iroquois with European civilization. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Erie essentially remained a Stone Age people and isolated from the European technology dispensed at Montreal. They fought primarily with bows and arrows, while the Iroquois had guns, which they acquired from the British and Dutch.

During the spring of 1654, the Iroquois moved to consolidate their control of the fur trade along Lake Erie. In May they informed the French at Montreal that the Erie had recently burned a Seneca village, killed members of an Onondaga war party returning from the west, and captured an Onondaga chief. The Iroquois could not let these challenges pass unanswered, and they told the French that while they would no longer wage war against them, they would fight the Erie. Besides, they noted, their young men were too "warlike to abandon that pursuit," and they planned to wage a war against the Erie that summer. Prophetically, they told the French: "The earth is trembling yonder and here all is quiet." Although the French recognized this ingenious explanation to gain control of the fur trade in the Ohio country, they were delighted that the Iroquois professed peace with them and intended to deliver the goods, that is furs, to Montreal. Although the Erie sent a party of thirty emissaries on a peace mission to the Seneca, their hosts executed all but five in retaliation for a recent killing of a Seneca by an Erie. With encouragement from the French, the Iroquois sent nearly eighteen hundred warriors west in August with their faces painted red and black for war.

Although the Erie villages fell to the Iroquois war parties, the Cat Nation did not crumble easily or immediately. As they fled west, one Jesuit reported that "they fight like Frenchmen, bravely sustaining the first discharge of the Iroquois, who are armed with our muskets, and then falling upon them with a hailstorm of poisoned arrows, which they discharge eight or ten times before a musket can be reloaded." Soon, however, the Iroquois destroyed the major towns, but sporadic fighting continued for the next two years as the Iroquois sought and destroyed the remote villages to the west. By the spring of 1656, the war had ended. Most of the Erie had been killed in battle or tortured to death as captives.

The Five Nations absorbed those who remained into their tribes, and the Erie disappeared as a nation during the early 1680s.

Although the Erie had never occupied more than a portion of northeastern Ohio before contact with European civilization, after the Iroquois defeated them, Ohio came under the nominal control of the Five Nations. Yet the Iroquois did not establish villages south of Lake Erie before 1700, in part because the Andaste people who lived south and east of Lake Erie prevented them from doing so. By the 1680s, the territory along the southern shore of Lake Erie served only as a commonly used warpath for the Iroquois going west to strike the Miami, Illinois, and other tribes and for the Illinois and Miami warriors raiding eastward. Although the Iroquois sent hunting parties into the region, one Frenchman wrote that it was "very dangerous to stop there." The war road, then, prevented steady use or settlement of the Ohio country by any Native Americans. Essentially, Ohio remained unoccupied. Still, the Iroquois claimed this ambiguous empire by the right of the conqueror, and they attempted to hold it by military force until the early eighteenth century, when it became a refuge and a homeland for other tribes who fled both the Iroquois and French and British encroachment and domination.

Between the late 1730s and the early 1750s, the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares moved into the Ohio country and claimed it as their own. Of these three cultural groups, the Shawnees personified the Native Americans on the Ohio frontier and exemplified their aggressiveness and bravery as well as their reserve and reasonableness. They did so primarily because they fought the longest and because the actions and fate of their leaders, such as Cornstalk and Tecumseh, became common knowledge among Ohio's frontier people. The Iroquois called them "Ontouagannaha," a people who spoke an unintelligible language, while the Shawnees referred to themselves as "sa wanna," which meant "person of the South." Linked linguistically to the Algonquian, the Shawnees may have originated in the Ohio country from the Fort Ancient culture. Or they may have migrated into Ohio from the northeastern Great Lakes region, perhaps driven by the Iroquois before European contact. Whatever its origin, Shawnee culture was centered in the Cumberland River valley by the mid-seventeenth century.

By 1692, the Shawnees had established settlements in Pennsylvania along the Delaware and Susquehanna river valleys, where they lived peacefully near the Quakers. When William Penn, who had tried to follow a humanitarian policy by treating the Indians fairly in matters of land acquisition and human relationships, died in 1718, Shawnee relations with the colonial government began to deteriorate. In 1736, Pennsylvania granted the Iroquois hegemony over all other tribes in the colony because of their military power and successful brokerage as middlemen in the fur trade between the western tribes and the English and Dutch. Pennsylvania authorities intended to use the Iroquois to control the other tribes in the colony in order to forge a military force that would deter French expansion in the Ohio country. The Pennsylvanians believed that the nation that achieved the strongest Indian alliance would have the balance of power tipped in its favor. For them, the Iroquois provided more than a counterbalance in the contest for empire. At the same time that the Iroquois prevented French encroachments, the League of Five Nations would also keep the peace and ensure cooperation among the tribes by creating a "Covenant Chain" or "chain of friendship" in which each tribe would provide the essential links.

The Shawnees and later the Delawares, however, thought less about peaceful cooperation with the Iroquois than about their festering grievances against them that demanded resolution, either by fight or by flight. Increased population growth and pressure

for Indian lands along the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers gave another push to the Shawnees, while French overtures pulled them west to trade on more favorable terms than with the British. In 1728, the Marquis de Beauharnois, governor of New France, reported: "It would promote in considerable degree the prosperity and security of the Colony, could these Indians settle between Lake Erie and the Ohio River." He did not need to add that in doing so, they would help France secure its claim to the Ohio country.

Pennsylvania's action merely followed the policy of New York, which in 1701 recognized the Iroquois claim to the Ohio country, subject to ultimate British sovereignty, and promised protection of this hunting ground from seizure by the French. The Shawnees, however, had suffered the wrath of Iroquois war parties in Ohio and the Illinois country after the defeat of the Erie. Consequently, when the Iroquois began to consolidate their control over the tribes in Pennsylvania during the 1720s, the Shawnees began to move west, perhaps crossing the Ohio River by 1730. Although the government of Pennsylvania tried to lure the Shawnees back near the settlements where it could more easily regulate the fur trade and keep a watchful eye and shield them from French influence, it failed. When the Iroquois also ordered the Shawnees to return to the colony, they too met rejection.

Although the Iroquois had a long arm that could reach into the Ohio country, it was not well muscled. In fact, the Iroquois, who by now had become known as the Six Nations after the Tuscaroras joined the league during the early eighteenth century, had limited influence in the Ohio country. The "Covenant Chain" among the tribes had become little more than a series of temporary agreements. Moreover, the Iroquois could not unite on many matters of policy, which further weakened their diplomatic and military effectiveness in the western country. By the early 1730s, the Ohio country was less an Iroquois empire than a refuge from the Six Nations for a host of tribes, none of whom claimed the right to use Ohio exclusively as their own. Tanacharison, a Seneca headman, called it the "country in between."

While the Iroquois theoretically exercised control over the Ohio country, and while some tribes such as the Senecas and Cayugas held specific land claims based on use and occupation in northeastern Ohio, the region had little order except that which the Shawnees and other migrating tribes gave it. In 1732 the Iroquois finally ordered the Shawnees out of Pennsylvania and "back toward Ohio, the place from whence you came," because they would not join an alliance to curb colonial expansion. But the Iroquois had little power to enforce their will in the West, and the Shawnees were leaving anyway. On the Ohio frontier, distance became the great equalizer of military power. Soon the Shawnees developed their own economic network with traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia, some, such as George Croghan, operating from Pennsylvania as far west as the shore of Lake Erie and the Maumee and Miami river valleys.

By 1738, the Shawnees had founded a town at the mouth of the Scioto. This settlement began the regathering of the tribe and the creation of a quasi-Shawnee republic which by late 1747 had kindled its own council fire and, thereby, symbolically and literally cast off all claims of the Six Nations to manage its affairs. When the French party, under Pierre-Joseph de Céloron de Blainville, visited this Lower Shawnee Town in late August 1749, they found it a "pleasant" location of about sixty houses and partially inhabited by Iroquois, Delawares, and Miamis and others from "nearly all the nations of the Upper County," who had been drawn there by the "lavish markets of the English." Although the Shawnees had been pro-French at the time of their settlement in Ohio, they were now entirely devoted to the English.



Céloron ordered the five English traders at Lower Shawnee Town to leave, and they agreed, but those traders still remained when the French continued down the Ohio River. Céloron wisely recognized that he did not have sufficient power to seize their goods, and, given their protection by the Shawnees, an attack would have "brought discredit on the French." Father Bonnecamps, a priest traveling with Céloron's party, noted that "la belle riviere," or "beautiful river," as the French called the Ohio, was "little known to the French and, unfortunately, too well known to the English," who relied on a "crowd of savages," such as these Shawnees, for protection. By the mid-eighteenth century, then, the Shawnees were well established at the junction of the Ohio and Scioto rivers, where they had become "great Friends to the English."

In the winter Of 1752-53, a flood destroyed Lower Shawnee Town, and the residents moved out of the river bottom to higher ground and rebuilt the village on the site of present-day Portsmouth. The Shawnees established other towns along the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, the village of Wakatomica on the site of present-day Dresden being the most important on the latter river. When they abandoned Lower Shawnee Town, they also moved up the Scioto River valley to establish the town of Chillicothe, also known as Upper Shawnee Town, on the plains about fifteen miles south of Circleville. This town became one of five villages so named in Ohio, including one near present-day Chillicothe. Unlike white settlers, the Indians did not give every town a unique name. Rather, they associated their villages with some quality or feature. The Chillicothe towns, for example, simply meant that the Shawnees of the Chillicothe division lived there. By the mid-1760s, the Shawnees had migrated westward and established towns on the Little Miami and Mad rivers. At "Old Chillicothe," located on the Little Miami River near modern-day Xenia, Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton would one day be held prisoner. A dozen miles to the north, the Shawnees also founded another Chillicothe town near Pickawillany, on a site previously occupied by the Miamis. The village was the probable birthplace of Tecumseh in 1768. About 1780, the Shawnees renamed it Piqua. Wherever the Shawnees went, however, the English traders operating out of Pennsylvania quickly followed with the intent of tying them to the British Empire and preventing an alliance with the French.

Other Native Americans settled in northern Ohio about the same time that the Shawnees migrated to the Scioto and Muskingum river valleys. The people whom the British called "Wyandot" and whom the French knew as the Tionontati or Petun (Tobacco) Hurons had been driven west from southern Ontario to the Upper Great Lakes by the Iroquois during the mid-seventeenth century. In 1701, when Antoine Laumet de la Mothe Cadillac built Fort Pontchartrain and established the nucleus of the French outpost at Detroit, he intended to gain the support of the Wyandots and the other tribes who lived in the region to help keep the British out of the Ohio Valley. Not long after the Wyandots settled near Detroit, they began hunting south of Lake Erie in the Sandusky and Maumee river valleys for both food and furs to trade at Detroit. From their winter camps in northwestern Ohio, the Wyandots also ranged southward to the upper branches of the Scioto and the western reaches of the Muskingum rivers. Perhaps as early as 1738, a band of Wyandots under the leadership of Nicholas Orontony settled near present-day Castalia, a few miles below modern Sandusky.

The British did not concede the Ohio country to French territorial claims and control of the fur trade. To lure the Wyandots away from French influence at Detroit, the British sent traders from Pennsylvania, and by 1747 they had built a blockhouse at the Wyandots' settlement at Sandusky to facilitate trade, provide protection, and help ensure

their claims to the region. Still, the relationship of the Wyandots to the French and British remained fluid, and they skillfully drifted toward one or the other as their needs or circumstances dictated. In 1747, for example, they moved closer to the British camp when five French traders returning from hunting and trapping along the Cuyahoga River in northeastern Ohio, a region known as the White River country, were killed and their furs stolen along Sandusky Bay. Although the French never learned the identity of the Indians, they assumed the Sandusky Wyandots had made the attack. In late August of that year, Nicholas, probably encouraged by the British, also planned to attack Detroit and, with the help of other tribes in the area, drive the French from the Great Lakes region. But when the French learned of this plot, the conspiracy failed and the Wyandots withdrew.

During the winter Of 1747-48, British traders visited the Wyandots twice and perhaps, together with the hostility of the French, persuaded them to move closer to them on the Cuyahoga River. Or perhaps the Wyandots grew weary of the French, because they complained in 1748 to Conrad Weiser, a German-born agent for Pennsylvania, that they were tired of their "hard Usage" by the French, and because the French took their young men to war yet charged them "dear" prices for their trade goods. Indeed, the French officers and traders gained a notorious reputation for speculation and corruption by trying to gain exorbitant profits from the fur trade. Whatever the reason for their removal from Sandusky, Nicholas had burned his village by March 1748 and moved his people, including 119 warriors and more than 300 women, children, and old men, to the mouth of the Cuyahoga.

In November 1750, George Croghan reported to the governor of Pennsylvania that the Wyandots were "Steady and well attached to the English interest." Given the work of the Pennsylvania traders to win their friendship, he believed the French would "make but a poor hand of those Indians." Croghan, who was usually right in his assessment of Indian affairs, missed his mark this time. During the French and Indian War, which began only a few years later, the Wyandots fought with the French against the British, but their loyalty shifted back to the British during the American Revolution. In the War of 1812, the Sandusky Wyandots would side with the Americans, while those near Detroit gave their allegiance to Tecumseh and his Indian confederacy.

By December 1750, the Wyandots under Nicholas had moved south along the Tuscarawas and down the Muskingum rivers, where they established a town, known as "Conchake" to the French or "Muskingum" to the English, near the present site of Coshocton. At that time Christopher Gist, an agent for the Ohio Company of Virginia, who scouted in Ohio to find good lands, reported that the town consisted of a hundred families. He also discovered that George Croghan already had built a trading post for the Wyandots and that he and Nicholas flew "English Colours" above their houses to signify a safe haven for other English traders operating out of Pennsylvania. The Wyandots stayed at Conchake until 1753, when most of them returned to the Sandusky Bay area. The last Wyandots moved back north two years later. In early January 1751, a trader reported that the Wyandots had told him that the French claimed all the rivers that drained into Lake Erie but that the tributaries of the Ohio belonged to them and "their Brothers the English, and that the French had no Business there."

The Delawares became the third major Native American people to migrate to the Ohio country. These Algonquian-speaking Indians called themselves Lenni Lenape, which means "common people." The Dutch, Swedes, and English discovered the Lenape in the Delaware River valley when they began colonization during the mid-seventeenth century.

The origin of these people remains a mystery. Perhaps, as tribal tradition contends, they migrated from west of the Mississippi River; or perhaps they descended from the Paleo-Indians who lived along the Atlantic seaboard. In any event, when the English settlers named the Delaware Bay in honor of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, whom the Crown appointed governor of Virginia in 1610, the river that emptied into it and the Native Americans who lived along it in time also became known as Delaware.

The Delawares were a peaceful people who maintained a loose association and lived in semi-permanent villages in present-day Pennsylvania, southwestern New York, western New Jersey, and northern Delaware. They did not form a "Delaware Nation" or recognize an authoritarian chief or ruler who spoke for them. Instead, they submitted to the domination of the Iroquois, who represented the Delawares on all diplomatic matters with whites and prohibited them from making war or peace with either whites or Indians without their permission. The Iroquois also spoke of them as "women." Although the Delawares greatly resented this humiliation, the Iroquois were too powerful to resist. After Pennsylvania took most of the Delawares' land during the 1740s by purchasing it from the Iroquois, they began to move into western Pennsylvania and the Ohio country. There, the French supplied them with guns and provisions and urged them to attack the white settlers on the Pennsylvania frontier. By the 1750s, the Delawares had allied with the Shawnees, and their war parties asserted tribal independence from the Six Nations. Few frontiersmen considered the Delawares to be effeminate fighters. Indeed, the Delaware war parties operating from the Ohio country became the most feared on the frontier. With great confidence they told the Six Nations: "We are men and are determined not to be ruled any longer by you as Women, and we are determined to cut off all the English, except those that may make their Escape from us in Ships."

Although the Wyandots claimed all land immediately west of the Ohio River and north to Lake Erie as well as the right to light all intertribal council fires, they had granted the Shawnees permission to hunt in that region, and they now came to the aid of the Delawares by permitting them to settle in eastern Ohio. They may have done so based on Native American cultural tradition that allowed the temporary loan of hunting lands during time of need by others. Or the Wyandots may have used the dispossessed Delawares to create a buffer between them and the already relentlessly westering frontiersmen. By 1750, the Delawares had established major villages along the Tuscarawas. There, an abundance of elk browsed in the river valley. In mid-January 1751, Christopher Gist reported several small Delaware towns in south-central Ohio, including Hockhocking or French Margaret's Town at present-day Lancaster, and Maguck, located on the Pickaway Plains near modern Circleville, all of which contained only a few families.

The Delawares established other towns in eastern and southern Ohio. In 1752, Shingas, chief of the Turkey division, whom Pennsylvania frontiersmen called "Shingas the Terrible," established a village known as Shingas Town at the mouth of the Big Sandy Creek on the Tuscarawas near present-day Bolivar. In 1764, after tribal authority had passed to his brother "King Beaver," it became known as Beaver's Town. At that same time, Netawatwees or New Comer, chief of the Turtle division, who founded a town on the Cuyahoga River near present-day Cuyahoga Falls in 1759, established Newcomer's Town east of Coshocton. He called it "Gekelmukpechunk," which means "still water," but it soon became Newcomerstown to the white traders and settlers and the largest Delaware town on the Tuscarawas River. In 1771 it had a hundred dwellings, including the Great Council house; by the American Revolution approximately seven hundred Delawares lived there. At

that time, the Delawares also had villages on the Mahoning River near Warren and Youngstown as well as on the Kokosing, Walhonding, and Cuyahoga rivers and their branches. When the Wyandots abandoned Conchake, the Delawares occupied that site, and Coshocton became the tribal center. By 1765, Delaware villages were so common that British Brigadier General Henry Bouquet referred to the Upper Muskingum region as the "Country of the Delawares," and George Croghan estimated that three thousand Delawares lived between the Ohio and Lake Erie. With an estimated fighting force of five hundred men, and reported to be "firmly attached to the English Interest," they too pledged that they would not "hear the Voice of any other Nation" except their "Brothers the English."

The Christian Delawares were the last major group of Native Americans to settle in Ohio. These Indians were under the influence of the church of the Unity of the Brethren, commonly known as the Moravians. In the summer of 1772, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder led a group of Delawares from Friedensstadt, Pennsylvania, to the Tuscarawas River, where other Delawares under the leadership of Beaver had settled earlier. Zeisberger selected a site about two miles southeast of present-day New Philadelphia for their settlement, and he called it Schoenbrunn, which means "beautiful spring." The Delawares called it Welhik-Tupeek. The Moravians, whom the Delawares called "Blackcoats," and who, in turn, referred to the Indians as "Brown Brethren," had been invited to Ohio along with the "praying Indians" by Netawatwees, the first among equals of the Delaware chiefs, to strengthen the tribal force at one location, both Christians and nativists (that is, those who observed traditional religious practices) alike. Earlier, in 1761, the Moravians had sent the Reverend Christian Frederick Post to the Muskingum River country to spread the Gospel in the wilderness.

Although Post and his assistant John Heckewelder, who joined him the next year, failed to establish a mission among the Delawares and fled back to Pennsylvania in fear for their lives, the Moravians did not give up. In 1771, David Zeisberger met a more favorable reception when the Moravians tried again, unmindful of the political and military realities that Netawatwees attempted to balance. Nor did they understand that Netawatwees had invited them in order to use their spiritual powers secretly to end an epidemic that had taken Delaware lives and which the tribe blamed on sorcery or witchcraft. If things went right, Netawatwees reasoned, both the health and the power of the Delawares would soon be improved. Although the disease that swept among them evidently ran its course, the Delawares would soon blame these Christians for the terrible bloodshed that followed.

The Moravians and their Delaware converts quickly began building sixty log cabins and a church as well as tilling the rich soil and clearing pastures along the Tuscarawas River. The Moravians required their charges to observe Christian rituals and to work in the fields or at a craft. When the Moravians baptized an Indian, he or she gave up his or her native name and adopted a new one, preferably of biblical origin. They also stressed the sanctity of monogamous marriages, obedience to the missionaries, and the importance of Sunday as a day of rest. The Christian Delawares could not go hunting without permission, nor could they paint their faces, wear a scalp lock, shave their heads, or make war. The Moravians required all Delaware converts to settle near Schoenbrunn to avoid the distractions of the nativists and any lapse of their commitment to Christianity and their new way of life. Delaware children also went to school and learned the English language. Systematically, the Moravians worked to remake the economic, social, and political structure of Delaware society.

Despite the cultural challenges from associating with the Moravians, many Delawares were receptive to living like their relatives who had joined the "Black Coats." As the Delaware converts increased, the mission at Schoenbrunn could not meet their religious, educational, and economic needs. As a result, in 1772 the Moravians founded the sister towns of Gnadenhutten, or "Tents of Grace," about ten miles downstream, and the village of Lichtenau, or "Meadow of Light," below Coshocton four years later. These new villages were also located on the east side of the Tuscarawas to maintain a separation of at least ten miles between the missions and nativist towns. By so doing, the Moravians hoped to keep their converts from the trader's whiskey which flowed too easily and frequently in the nativist villages as well as from traditional religious practices. The Moravians preferred for their converts to sing hymns in the mission villages rather than war chants with the nativists at the other towns. Moreover, some Delaware leaders such as Killbuck, Netawatwees's eldest son, resented the presence of the Moravians and argued that each convert to the Moravian pacifists depleted the ability of the Delawares to defend themselves from an attack by Indians or whites. The Christian Delawares, then, who settled with the Moravians, divided the Delaware nation rather than united it. That division would have terrible consequences for both the Christian and nativist Delawares.

In addition to the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares, several other tribes also settled in Ohio. And as many eastern tribes were forced to move west because of population pressures that ruined their food supply or by colonial government policy, several other tribes moved into the region from the west. As a result, Ohio no longer remained a great uninhabited hunting land. In 1747, a pro-English Miami of Algonquian heritage, whose traditional name, "Twaatwaa," imitated the alarm cry of the crane, founded Pickawillany or Twighwees Town on the west bank of the Great Miami River at the mouth of Loramie Creek, near present-day Piqua. Pickawillany was the largest of the Miami towns in Ohio, with approximately four hundred families in 1751. Gist reported: "They are accounted the most powerful People to the westward of the English settlements." Although the Miamis had been in the "French Interest," they too grew tired of their price gouging and had become "well affected to the English traders." In 1750, they warned the French and their Indian allies to stay out of Miami hunting grounds or they would be taken prisoner. At that time several traders from Pennsylvania lived among them, while others operated in the general vicinity and conducted business with the Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas, and Iroquois who also hunted in western Ohio. At midcentury, a small group of Miamis also occupied a village, known as Le Baril's [The Barrel's] Town, at the mouth of the Little Miami River. The Miamis did not stay long in Ohio, however, and about 1752 they moved back to northeastern Indiana, near present-day Fort Wayne.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Six Nations tribes in Ohio were known as "Mingos." Along with the Loups, Moraignans, Ottawas, Abenakis of St. Francis, and Ojibwas (Chippewas), they had established villages, with a total population of about twenty-five hundred, in the Cuyahoga River region of northeastern Ohio. The hunting remained good in that area in contrast to the depleted lands to the east. The French at Detroit quickly made contact with these tribes to keep them from British influence. In 1743, a French trader brought about two hundred packs of furs to Detroit from the Cuyahoga region, but only the Senecas proved friendly to the French and warned the British to stay away. And when Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island fell to the British in 1745 during King George's War, the British temporarily strangled the supply of French trade goods to the interior. As a result, the Ohio tribes became increasingly pro-British.

Despite these new settlements and economic and diplomatic linkages with the British and French, the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares depended on agriculture and hunting for their daily living. These new settlers were the first farmers in the Ohio country. They cultivated a variety of crops with skill and followed a well-developed system of land tenure. Although the Indian women had the responsibility for raising the crops, among the Wyandots and Shawnees the men participated to a greater extent in the farming process than they did among many other tribes. They cleared the trees and brush from the fields by cutting and burning. The women, however, still had the task of clearing the land between the tree stumps and grubbing the roots from the ground. Women also cultivated and harvested the traditional crops of corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, and tobacco. Among the Ohio tribes, corn served as the primary crop, and the women gave careful attention to it. Before planting time in the spring, they selected the best seeds and soaked them for several days in warm water or greased them with deer brains or tallow to soften the seed and enhance germination. The women planted several kernels in holes spaced about three feet apart. As the corn grew, they hoed up the soil around the stalks during cultivation to give the plants support. After the corn sprouted a few inches, they planted beans in the hills and pumpkins between the rows. This intercropping enabled each crop to be mutually supporting. The corn, for example, provided a pole for the beans to climb, while the leaves of the pumpkins shaded the ground and retarded the growth of weeds. Although they did not use fertilizer, the beans returned nitrogen to the soil and, when eaten with corn, provided a high-protein meal. The Ohio Indians knew that these crops provided the greatest return for their labors, and each stored for a long time. For them, corn, beans, and pumpkins became the "three sisters," which they emphasized above all other crops.

Because the women did not have horse-drawn plows to turn the soil, their fields were relegated to the river bottoms, where the rich alluvial soil tilled easily with bone, flint, or iron hoes. During the 1770s, David Zeisberger observed that the Delawares along the Tuscarawas River planted their corn along the river bottom. He wrote: "This sort of land is chosen by the Indians for agricultural purposes not only because it is easily worked, but also because it yields abundant crops for many years." He noted, however, that when "their fields begin to grow grass, they leave them and break new land, for they regard it as too troublesome to root out the grasses."

Sometimes the women combined their fields with the lands of close relatives and shared the work and the harvest. Like the white farmers who would soon come after them, they too prayed to their Creator for rain. When the green corn was ready to harvest in August, the women picked it to feed their families. The remainder stayed on the stalks for harvesting and shelling and grinding into flour in the autumn. The women stored the mature ears by stripping the husks back and braiding them into bundles to hang from the ceilings of their lodges; or they shelled the corn and stored the grain in large baskets in their houses. Each family raised about one acre of corn, and if each family had four or more people, they no doubt consumed it before the next harvest. These corn fields were so important to Shawnee sustenance that they became military targets when war came with the Americans.

After the harvest of the corn crop, the Ohio tribes often broke up into small groups and left their villages for winter camps along the streams and rivers to lessen the strain of limited food supplies on the entire group. During the winter months the men hunted deer, bear, and turkey for food and clothing, and trapped beaver and other fur-bearing animals which, along with deerskins, provided staples for trade with the British. In the summer the

men also trapped and speared fish to supplement family diets. When their fields were destroyed by white war parties, usually Kentuckians, they had little choice but to rely on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of nuts, wild roots, and berries to meet their food needs. At first, hunting and fishing were not arduous tasks. The streams and lake allegedly were "alive with fish." Passenger pigeons darkened the skies and provided roasted fowl and squab, while turkeys, ducks, and geese were abundant.

None of the Ohio or other eastern tribes used fertilizer, but they prolonged the use of their fields by burning the stubble in addition to planting beans among the corn hills. By burning the brush from the fields before planting time, they unknowingly added magnesium, calcium, potash, and phosphorus to the soil. Burning also reduced soil acidity and thereby promoted bacterial activity and the formation of nitrogen. The prolonged practice of burning, however, decreased organic soil material. Consequently, the Ohio Indians had to relocate their fields periodically when productivity declined. Since the Ohio Indians, like the other eastern agricultural tribes, did not plant corn in straight rows, the irregularly spaced hills helped retard soil erosion. By the late eighteenth century, the Delawares living among the Moravians on the Tuscarawas obtained cattle from white settlers, but they neither made any effort to feed their livestock during the winter -- a negligent practice as well among white farmers in the Old Northwest -- nor used the manure for fertilizer. Instead, they let their cattle forage in the woods.

The Indian farmers in Ohio, like those throughout eastern North America, believed the land had been given to them by the "Great Spirit." Since the land was a gift from him, only he could take it from them. In contrast to colonial and American legal ownership systems, land tenure among the Ohio Indians depended on tribal sovereignty and actual use. Each tribe claimed sovereignty over an area that was fairly well recognized by other tribes. In contrast to the white farmers, Indian women rather than the men controlled the use of the agricultural lands. Although the tribe claimed the land communally, the women farmers controlled the use of the fields. Each woman claimed as much land as she needed to meet the food needs of her family. If she cleared a plot and planted crops, the woman automatically removed it from the communal domain as long as she continued to cultivate it. If she abandoned the field, it reverted to communal or tribal property, where it could be freely taken up and farmed by someone else. If the village moved, the chief allotted new lands based on family need, but usage rights passed down to the women in the lineage as long as they remained on that land, and they, not their husbands, owned the produce from their fields. Tribal lands not under cultivation could be used by all members of the tribe for hunting, fishing, berry picking, or wood gathering. Generally, land could not be sold or inherited.

Indeed, the land of the Native Americans could not be sold because it did not belong to the present generation. The present generation acted only as a trustee of the land for the generations yet unborn. Consequently, the land was in the care of the generation presently inhabiting it, but it could be loaned to other Indians in need of it, such as the Wyandots' loan to the Shawnees and Delawares, subject to their good behavior. The effect of this practice was to distribute land equitably so that each family had enough land to meet its farming needs. In this respect, then, the Indians neither accepted nor understood the white man's concept of land sales and absolute ownership.

The Ohio Indians, particularly the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares, also made maple sugar. The sugar-making usually began in February or March, when the temperature dropped below freezing during the night but warmed with the sun during the day, and it

lasted about a month. Customarily, each family or group of two or three families controlled a stand of sugar trees, just as each owned or had priority over a certain plot of land. The number of "taps" on this stand of trees, called a "sugar bush," determined the capacity of the maple trees. Commonly, the Indians made two or three taps on a large tree, and about nine hundred taps on an average sugar bush. Each tap, located about three feet above the ground, consisted of a diagonal gash about three and one-half inches long. At the lower end of the cut, a four-inch long piece of bark was removed from the trunk. A blow from a hatchet at the base of that section opened a hole, into which the Indians inserted a wooden spout. The spouts were about six inches long and two inches wide; the Indians placed a sap dish or bucket beneath each spout.

The men and women emptied the pans into larger containers each day and carried the sap back to the camp, where they poured it into the boiling kettles or troughs in front of the sugar house. Before the arrival of the Europeans, these Native Americans boiled the sap by dropping red-hot stones into wooden vessels or by heating clay pots. This task took considerable time because seven or eight gallons of sap provided only one pound of sugar. Still, large sugar maples might yield sixty gallons of sap, and David Zeisberger reported that because the Delawares had "numerous kettles and troughs they can make much sugar, for there is no lack of trees." With iron kettles the Ohio Indians could slowly boil the sap to prevent scorching until it reached the consistency of molasses. At that point, the syrup could be poured into a pot for storage; or it could be boiled further until it granulated and became "as fine as West Indian sugar." Then they formed it into cakes for storage in a kettle or basket. Because of the great abundance of maple trees, the Ohio tribes used a sugar bush for only three or four years, after which they located a new stand of trees for tapping. Zeisberger reported that a woman with only a few kettles could make several hundred pounds of sugar and a "Quantity of Molasses" each year. The Ohio Indians mixed their maple sugar with corn or bear's fat to make a garnish for roasted venison, as well as with water for a sweet, refreshing drink, and they used it for an important trade item. In these ways, the Ohio Indians drew upon the bounty of the land according to the rhythm of the seasons.

Indian culture in the Ohio country depended not only on agriculture and hunting but also on a social organization that centered in the village. Among the Shawnees, the village band was more important than the lineage. There the village chief supervised daily affairs and appointed individuals for various rituals and duties. The households of the Ohio Indians were based on the nuclear family, although the Shawnees practiced sororal polygamy. A man was required to marry the widow of his brother; thus the woman and her children gained a provider rather than became dependent on the tribe for support. Within the family, children learned respect for their elders from their parents and grandparents, as well as life skills, depending on gender, and tribal history. Families lived in individual bark-covered houses, called wigwams. Each major town had a council house for meetings and rituals. Some of these houses were quite large. The Shawnee council house at Old Chillicothe, for example, was approximately sixty feet square, while that at Lower Shawnee Town reached ninety feet long. These council houses also served as forts during emergencies. With saws and axes acquired from the white traders, the Shawnees began to build log houses. By 1771, most of the one hundred houses at Newcomerstown were log cabins.

Politically, the Ohio tribes had a loose unity. The Shawnees, whose organization was the most complex, divided into five groups the Chillicothe, Hathawekela, Kispoko,



Mequachake, and Piqua. The entire village identified with a particular group, each of which signified a special political, religious, or military division of labor. Yet each division functioned autonomously. The tribal chiefs, or "grand chiefs" or "kings," as the French and British called them, came from the Chillicothe and perhaps from the Hathawekela divisions and the Great Lynx clan, while the Mequachake provided the medicine men and the priests. The warriors primarily came from the Kispoko, while the Piqua division oversaw the rituals. The designation of chief was inherited patrilineally without consideration of age. Primogeniture, that is, inheritance by the eldest son, did not play a role in the transfer of power. Among the Ohio tribes, each band had a peace and a war chief, the latter of which had to be earned by bravery. Among the Shawnees, a man became a war chief by leading four raids in which his party took at least one scalp without the loss of a man. Tribal councils consisted of both peace and war chiefs, although the war chiefs had the most power and convened their own councils. Elderly men attended the councils and provided advice, but they could not vote. Tecumseh is the preeminent example of a war chief, while Little Turtle won that reputation among the Miamis. Women were also recognized as peace and war chiefs by the Shawnees and Miamis, but they did not sit in council with the men. Although women chiefs marshaled considerable influence, they primarily supervised ceremonial practices, directed the planting of crops, determined life or death for captives, and controlled the affairs of the women. Nevertheless, they could ask a war chief to abandon an attack.

The Delawares organized under the Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey divisions. Traditionally, a particular lineage within a village chose its chief, who served as an adviser and the first-among-equals at a council of village elders. There, the chief's powers were ceremonial rather than coercive. Matrilineal succession predominated. During the eighteenth century, tribal leadership became more effective, probably in response to the colonial officials who attempted to impose their own concepts of leadership and organization on those who represented tribal bands. In time, the Delawares recognized the chief of the Turtle clan to be preeminent, because the turtle symbolized Mother Earth, the first of all living things. Unlike the wolf, who roamed the earth, or the turkey, who could survive only on land, the turtle could live either on the land or in the water. The preeminence of the chief of the Turtle clan may have become institutionalized with Netawatwees when the Delawares moved into eastern Ohio. The Delawares recognized the hereditary and civil authority of the chiefs but, as with the Shawnees, their war leaders earned their reputations in battle and directed tribal affairs during times of conflict. The political organization of the Wyandots is not clearly understood after their migration to the Upper Great Lakes region.

The Shawnees recognized many deities under the influence of the "Great Spirit," whom the Miamis also called the "Master of Life." Prayers and communal dances served as the primary medium of worship and thanksgiving. The Wyandots believed the sun, moon, wind, and thunder had supernatural powers and that the Milky Way served as the path of souls to eternity. The nativist religious practices of the Delawares remain unclear, but they involved the use of a supernatural tutelary, such as an animal or bird, by each individual.

The cultures of the Iroquois and Algonquian tribes in Ohio permitted great personal affection and the ability to forgive one's enemies as well as terrifying violence and retribution. These attributes characterized their practice of war and peace, and each is exemplified in their treatment of prisoners. After a battle with another tribe or the French, English, or Americans, the women of the tribe determined the fate of the prisoners.

Among the Shawnees, the female civil chiefs and women who wanted to adopt a prisoner to take the place of a dead husband or son could prevent their execution. If a group led by four old women, known as the Miseekwaaweekwaakee, touched the prisoners first, they would be roasted alive and eaten. Among the Miamis, prisoners who were not killed passed to the village chief, who distributed them to the children or the families of the deceased, who decided whether to accept adoption or enslavement. Although captives, both Indian and white, usually received kind treatment, physical abuse also occurred.

British and American adult prisoners seldom gained complete acceptance in the tribe. The children, however, adapted relatively quickly to Native American culture and essentially became "white Indians." In January 1751, for example, Christopher Gist met a white woman along Wallhonding Creek near the Wyandot town of Conchake. Her name was Mary Harris, and Gist thought she had been captured at Deerfield, Massachusetts, in late February 1704, when she was ten years old. Gist reported that "she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how the White Men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these woods."

Adoption and acceptance into an Ohio tribe, however, required reciprocity by the captives, both red and white. The Ohio tribes accepted their adopted children, husbands, and wives as their own, but they expected their white captives to accept their new life. Gist reported that a woman who had been a captive at Conchake for a long time tried to escape. The Wyandots captured her and carried her about the town. Then, like a cat playing with a mouse, they cut her loose, but when she tried to run away, her executioners struck her on the side of the head with a club, stabbed her several times through the heart, scalped her, and cut off her head. On another occasion, a white female captive of a Delaware village tried to escape, for which her captors built a fire and "long made her writhe in the flames," while the other white captives watched as a deterrent to further escapes. Yet these cultural practices were neither cruel, pagan, nor silly to the Native Americans in the Ohio country. Their beliefs and practices met specific economic, religious, political, and social needs. Only an alien culture that held vastly different beliefs would deprecate those of the Ohio tribes and seek to destroy them.

The Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares as well as the other tribal cultures that settled in Ohio during the seventeenth century had little peace and isolation to live their lives in traditional fashion. These Indian people had been forced into the Ohio country either directly or indirectly by white civilization. Although each tribe had been influenced by white culture for a long time, in Ohio that influence had greater consequences than ever before. Far away, fashionable Europeans demanded beaver hats and deerskin jackets and pants. When a trader demanded the payment of a "buck" for a particular item, the Indians knew what he meant. In time, bucks would mean paper money, but on the Ohio frontier the term meant "skins." The colonial legislature in Pennsylvania authorized its traders to charge a price of five bucks for a cask of whiskey in the Ohio country. If a trader tried to charge more, the Indians could legally take it from him. Bearskins for making robes and coats maintained a ready market, and traders also sought fox, otter, and muskrat skins.

The demands of the European traders brought great cultural and ecological change to the Native Americans in the Ohio country. The traders brought guns, powder, and lead that made hunting easier and more reliable than with a bow and arrow, and their metal fishhooks improved the catch. They also brought other wonderful things - iron hoes, axes, and knives that eased the burden of clearing land, cultivating crops, and skinning game. Wool blankets, shirts, dresses, and coats meant the women no longer had to make clothing

from skins or use bone needles and sinews for thread. Iron and brass cooking pots improved food preparation over pottery vessels and reed baskets.

Unfortunately, the Ohio Indians did not have the skills or the technology to produce these items independent from British and French civilization. Indeed, they could pay for these trade goods only with furs and skins. Yet their wants became insatiable, and the more they demanded, the more furs and skins were required for payment. In time, they overhunted and trapped their lands. Zeisberger reported that the Delaware men each shot between 50 and 150 deer each fall, while fellow Moravian John Heckewelder observed that a trader on the Cuyahoga once purchased twenty-three "Horseload" of peltry from the Indians in that area. With hunting and trapping such as this, the game population disappeared, and the Indians had to range farther into the interior on their hunting expeditions. The Ohio Indians also became reliant on the traders and later blacksmiths to mend their broken firearms, knives, axes, and other tools. Moreover, without powder their guns were useless. By the time tribal cultures arrived in Ohio, then, the Native Americans were already dependent on European traders for the maintenance of a lifestyle that was no longer traditional. Indeed, they had lost much of their self-sufficiency. Ultimately, the Native Americans in the Ohio country would be overwhelmed by the technology they coveted and by a new form of military and political organization and economic culture.

The traders continued to desecrate traditional tribal culture with the liberal use of liquor, which they plied to gain a trading advantage or to facilitate outright theft when bargains were struck with drunken Indians. The Moravians and the other white settlers who came after them also were convinced that agriculture offered the best opportunity for the Ohio Indians to become acculturated and assimilated into American life. Yet farming had been primarily the domain of the women, and the Indian men viewed this policy as nothing less than their emasculation. Nor did they understand the concept of land sales. Traditionally, these Indian cultures had loaned their lands to other tribal groups in need, but permanent transfer of property rights and the accumulation of property for wealth were concepts that they did not understand. Nor could many of these Indian people easily accept the necessity of learning the new religion that the missionaries preached; after all, their own religious and ceremonial practices had served them well since the formation of their societies. Tribal culture also changed in another manner. As the traders visited the villages, established trading posts, lived among the Indian people, and took native wives, they also taught them the English language, but some of the first words were profane. The Moravian missionaries were particularly shocked by the felicity with which the Indians swore, especially using the terms "God damn" and "son of a bitch."

By the mid-seventeenth century, then, the lives of the Indian settlers in the Ohio country were on the verge of great change. They had become caught in the netherland between the French on the north and west and the English on the east, both of whom wanted their lands not so much for the trade of furs and deerskins but for its own sake. Certainly, control of the fur trade remained important, because it brought influence over the friendly nations. But influence had consequences beyond the fur trade, because it meant power over the allied tribes, and power enabled control not only of peoples but also of land. Most important, the control of the land meant empire. By 1750, the Delaware chief "King, Beaver" clearly sensed the danger ahead for the Ohio country, and he could not have been more prophetic when he warned the Iroquois that "a high Wind is rising." Only trouble could come from it.

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### A VIRGINIA FRONTIERSMAN TRAVELS DOWN THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS, 1742.

A brief account of the travels of John Peter Salley, a German who lives in the county of Augusta in Virginia.

It may be necessary before I enter upon the particular passage of my Travels, to inform my Reader, that what they are to meet with in the following Narrative, is only what I retained in my Memory; For when we were taken by the French we were robbed of all our papers, that contained any writings relative to our Travels.

1740. In the year 1740, I came from Pennsylvania to that part of Orange County now called Augusta; and settled in a fork of James River close under the Blue Ridge of Mountains on the West Side, where I now live.

1741/2. In the month of March, 1741/2 One John Howard came to my house, and told me, that he had received a Commission from our Governor to travel to the westward of his Colony, as far as the River Mississippi, in order to make Discovery of the Country, and that as a reward for his Labour, he had the promise of an Order of Council for Ten Thousand Acres of Land; and at the same time obliged himself to give equal Shares of said Land to such men as would go in Company with him to search the Country as above. Whereupon I and other two men, Vizt. [John Poteat] and Charles Sinclair (his own Son Josiah Harwood having already joined with him) entered into Covenant with him, binding ourselves to each other in a certain writing, and accordingly prepared for our Journey in a very unlucky hour to me and my poor Family.

1741/2. On the sixteenth of March, 1742, we set off from my House and went to Cedar Creek about five miles, where is a Natural Bridge over said Creek, reaching from the Hill on the one side to the Hill on the other. It is a solid Rock and is two hundred and three feet high, having a very large Spacious arch, where the Water runs thro', we then proceeded as far as Mondongachate, now called Woods River, which is eighty-five Miles, where we killed five Buffoloes, and with their hides covered the Frame of a Boat; which was so large as to carry all our Company, and all our provisions and Utensels, with which we passed down the said River two hundred and fifty-two miles as we supposed, and found it very Rocky, having a great many Falls therein, one of which we computed to be thirty feet perpendicular and all along surrounded with inaccessible Mountains, high precipices, which obliged us to leave said River...travelled by Land for two Days and then we came to a large River, where we enlarged our Barge, so as she carried all our Company and whatever Loading we had to put into her...Where we came to this River the Country is mountainous, but the farther down the plainer in those Mountains, we found great plenty of Coals, for which we named it Coal River. Where this River and Woods river meets the North Mountains end, and the Country appears very plain and is well water'd, there are plenty of Rivulets, clear Fountains and running Streams and very fertile Soil...on the sixth day of May we came to Alegany which we supposed to be three Quarters of a mile, [broad]...The Falls [of the Ohio] are three miles long in which is a small Island, the body of the Steam running

on the North side, through which is no passing by reason of great Rocks and large Whirlpools, by which we went down on the south side of said Island without much Danger or Difficulty and in time of a Fresh in the River, men may pass either up or down, they being active or careful. About twenty Miles below the Falls the Land appeared to be somewhat Hilly the Ridges being higher, and continued so for the Space of fifty Miles down the River, but neither Rocky nor Stony, but a rich Soil as is above mentioned. Joyning this high Land below is a very level flat Country on both sides of the River, and is so for an Hundred and fifty Miles,...On the seventh day of June we entered into the River Mississippi, which we computed to be five miles wide, and yet in some places it is not above one mile over, having in most places very high Banks, and in other places it overflows. The current is not swift but easy to pass either up or down...In the River Mississippi above the mouth of Allegany is a large Island on which are three Towns inhabited by the French, who maintain Commerce and Trade both with the French of Canada, and those French on the mouth of the said River...from thence to the Town of New Orleans is One Thousand four Hundred and ten Miles, and is Uninhabited excepting fifty Leagues above New Orleans. It is a large spacious plain Country endowed with all the natural Advantages, that is a moderate healthy Climate, Sweet water, rich Soil, and a pure fresh Air, which contribute to the Benefit of Mankind. We held on our passage down the River Mississippi [until] the second day of July, and about nine o' the Clock in the Morning we went on Shore to cook our Breakfast. But we were suddenly surprised by a Company of Men, Viz. to the Number of Ninety, Consisting of French men Negroes, & Indians, who took us prisoners and carried us to the Town of New Orleans...All together, we were committed to close Prison, we not knowing then (nor even yet) how long they intended to confine us there...

After I had been confined in close Prison above two Years, and all Expectation of being set at Liberty failing, I begun to think of making my Escape out of Prison, one of which I put in Practice, and which Succeeded in the following Manner...There was a certain French Man,...he being tired with the Misery and Oppression under which the poor Country People Labour, formed a Design of removing his Family to South Carolina. Which Design was discovered, and he was put in Prison in the Dungeon...With this Miserable French Man I became intimate & familiar, and as he was an active man, and knew the Country he promised, if I could help him off with his Irons, and we all got clear of the Prison, he would conduct us safe untill we were out of Danger...on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of October, 1744 we put our Design in Practice...by three of the Clock in the Morning with the help of a Rope which I had provided beforehand, we let our Selves down over the Prison Walls and made our Escape...On the Eighth Day after we made our Escape, we came to a Lake seven Leagues from the Town but by this Time we had got a Gun and some Ammunition, the next Day we shot two large Bulls, and with their Hides made us a boat, in which we passed the Lake in the Night...After we had gone by Water sixty miles we went on Shore, we left our Boat as a Witness of our Escape to the French. We travelled thirty miles by Land to the River Shoktare, where our French man's father lived. In this Journey we passed thro' a Nation of Indians, who were very kind to us, and Carried us over two large Bays...on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January our French man and one Negro boy (which he took to wait on him) and another French man and we being all armed and well provided for our Voyage, we set off at a place called the belle Fountain (or in English fine Spring) and Sailed fifty Leagues to the head of S<sup>t</sup>Rose's Bay, and there left our Vessel and travelled by Land Thirty Leagues to the Fork Indians, where the English trade...on the tenth of February we set off and Travelled by Land up the River Giscaculfufa or Biscaculfufa, one Hundred and thirty five Miles,

passing several Indian Towns the Natives being very hospitable and kind, and came to one Finlas an Indian Trader, who lives among the Ugu Nation. On the first of March we left M<sup>c</sup>Finlas, and on the sixteenth we arrived at fort Augustus in the Province of Georgia. On the nineteenth instant we left fort Augustus and on the first of April we arrived at Charles Town, and waited on the Governor, who examined us Concerning our Travels &c. and he detained us in Charles Town eighteen Days, and made us a present of eighteen pounds of their Money, which did no more than defray our Expences whilst in that Town.

I had delivered to the Governor a Copy of my Journal, which when I asked again he refused to give me, but having obtained from him a Pass we went on board of a small Vessel bound for Virginia. On the Thirteenth of April, the same Day about two of the Clock we were taken by the French in Cape Roman and kept Prisoners till eleven of the Clock next Day, at which time the French after having robbed us of all the Provisions we had for our Voyage or Journey, put us into a Boat we being twelve men in Number, and so left us to the Mercy of the Seas and Winds.

On the fifteenth instant we arrived again at Charles Town and were examined before the Governor concerning our being taken by the French...and then were dismissed, being in a strange Place, far from Home, destitute of Friends, Cloathing, Money and Arms, and in that deplorable Condition had been obliged to undertake a Journey of five Hundred Miles, but a Gentleman, who was Commander of a Privateer, and then lay at Charles Town with whom we had discoursed several times, gave to each of us a Gun and a Sword, and would have given us Ammunition, but that he had but little. On the Eighteenth Day of April, we left Charles Town, the second time, and travelled by Land, and on the seventeenth Day of May, 1745 we arrived at my House, having been absent three years Two Months and one Day, from my family, having in that time by the nicest Calculation I am able to make, travelled by Land and Water four thousand six hundred and six Miles since I left my own House till I returned Home again.

p John Peter Salley.

Source: Fairfax Harrison. "The Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 30(1922) 211-222.

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**GOVERNOR GOOCH, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL, GRANTS  
1,950,000 ACRES ON WESTERN RIVERS**

**At a Council held July the Twelfth 1749**

Present

The Governor

John Robinson

Thomas Lee

Lewis Burwell

John Blair Esq<sup>rs</sup>

William Dawson D.D. &

John Lewis Esq.

...In Pursuance of his Majesty's Instructions of March last communicated by the Governor to the Board, Leave is granted to John Hanbury of London Merchant, Thomas Lee Esq, Thomas Nelson Esq, Colonel Cressup, Colonel William Thornton, Daniel Cressup, John Carlyle, Lawrence Washington, Augustine Washington, George Fairfax, Jacob

Gyles, Nathaniel Chapman, and James Woodrop Esq<sup>s</sup> to take up and Survey two Hundred thousand Acres betwixt Romanetto's and Buffalo Creek, on the South Side of the River Alligane, otherwise the Ohio, and betwixt the two Creeks and the yellow Creek on the North Side of the River, or in such other Parts of the West of the Great Mountains, as shall be adjudged most proper by the Petitioners for making Settlements thereon, free from the Payment of any Rights, as also from the Payment of any Quit Rents for the Space of Ten Years, and then to pay only the usual Quit Rents for so much of the said Lands as they shall have cultivated within that Time, on Condition that they erect a Fort on the said Lands, and place a sufficient Garrison therein for the Security and Protection of the Settlers, and likewise, seat at their proper Expence an Hundred Families thereon in seven Years, and that no Person already possessed of Lands in this Colony, held of his Majesty by Quit Rent be admitted to take up or settle any of the Lands granted to the Petitioners without giving Security for continuing the Payment of the Quit Rents for the Lands by them heretofore possessed, notwithstanding their Removal; and that they do not interfere with any Grants already made, And as soon as the said two hundred thousand Acres shall be settled, a Fort erected, and a sufficient Garrison placed therein, they have Leave to take up and survey three hundred thousand Acres more, under the like Restrictions and Conditions as for the first two hundred thousand Acres, and adjoining thereto within the said Limits.

On the petition of Barnard Moore, Benjamin Hubbard, Philip Aylett, Thomas Dansie, John Snelson, George Carrington, James Power, Duncan Graham, William Taylor, and Job Thomas, Leave is granted them to take up and survey one hundred thousand Acres of Land on the Waters of Mississippi River, beginning at ten Trees marked PTG standing in a Fork of a Branch of the said River, known by the Name of New River, and so down the said River, and the Waters of the said Mississippi River, and to be allowed four Years Time to survey and pay Rights for the same upon Return of the Plans to the Secretary's Office.

On the Petition of John Lewis Esq<sup>s</sup> Thomas Walker, John Meriwether, Charles Lewis, James Power, Peter Jefferson, Charles Dick, Charles Barrett, Joshua Fry, Thomas Turpin, John Harvey, Thomas Meriweather, Thomas Meriweather jun<sup>r</sup> John Baylor, Samuel Waddy, Robert Barrett, Henry Willis, Peachy Gilmer, John Lewis, James Maury, Thomas Lewis, Peter Hedgeman, John Moore, Robert Martin, Henry Tate, Richard Jones, William Wood, Samuel Dalton, Francis Thornton, Francis Thornton jun<sup>r</sup>, John Thornton, John Pierce, William Stevenson, Nicholas Lewis, Lewis Nicholas Meriwether, William Hudson, Francis Meriwether, Humphry Hill and John Dixon, Leave is given them to take up and survey Eight Hundred Thousand Acres of Land in one or more Surveys, beginning on the Bounds between this Colony and North Carolina, and running to the Westward and to the North so as to include the said Quantity, and they are allowed four Years Time to survey and pay Rights for the same, upon Return of the Plans to the Secretary's Office.

On the Petition of Peyton Randolph, Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie, Robert Tucker, John Tucker, George Gilmer, Benjamin Waller, William Parks, Armistead Burwell, Edmund Pendleton, John Willoughby, John Madison, John Shelton, John Garland, Thomas Williamson, Maximilian Colvert, Cornelius Colvert, Paul Loyal, and George Logan, Leave is granted them to take up and survey four hundred thousand Acres of Land, in one or more Surveys, lying on New River commonly call'd Wood's River, and the Waters thereof, and four Years Time allowed them to survey and pay Rights for the same, upon Return of the Plans to the Secretary's office.

On the Petition of William Winstone jun<sup>r</sup>, Isaac Winstone jun<sup>r</sup>, Peter Fontaine jun<sup>r</sup>, Edmond Winstone, and Samuel Red, Leave is granted them to take up and survey fifty

thousand Acres of Land, beginning at Old Fort between Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, running up the Western Side of Ohio, and Eastern Side of Mississippi, in one or more Surveys, between the said Rivers and four Years Times allowed them to survey and pay rights for the same, upon Return of the Plans to the Secretary's Office.

On the Petition of John Tayloe, William Parks, and James Wood on Behalf of themselves and Company, Leave is given them to renew their Grant for one hundred thousand Acres of Land, lying in Augusta County, on three Branches of the Missisipi River, the one known by the Name of Wood's River, the other two to the Westward thereof, and on the waters of the said Rivers, and two Years longer Time allowed to compleat their Surveys.

The following Petitions for Land were also read and granted.

To Hugh Miller two thousand Acres, including the Land he bought of John M'Donald on Mountain Creek in Lunenburg.

To Edward Harris Eight hundred Acres including his Land surveyed on Thominsons Branch in Lunenburg.

To Joseph John Clinch, Peter Warren, Thomas Adams, and Samuel Judkins, four thousand Acres in Lunenburg, beginning where the County Line shall cross the little Fork of Dan River, thence up the said River, or it's Branches.

To Daniel Maupin leave to include in one Patent one hundred and ten Acres, three hundred and Eighty Eight, and two Surveys of four hundred each, and two more of four hundred each, all adjoining in Albemarle.

To Robert Walton one thousand five hundred Acres including four hundred and Eighty already surveyed, on Pig River at the Mouth of Frying Pan Creek, and to include one thousand Acres with his two thousand already surveyed on the South Fork of Mayo River in Lunenburg.

To Edward Thweet one thousand two hundred Acres joining Samuel Baker and others, on the Head of Tossakia Creek in Lunenburg.

To Richard Callaway five thousand Acres on the North Branches of Otter River, beginning on the Hurricane Fork of Minikin Creek in Lunenburg.

To Jeremiah White one thousand Acres including his Land surveyed on the Branches of the Horsepen Creek in Lunenburg.

Source: Wilmer L. Hall (ed.). Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, Vol. V (November 1, 1739-May 7, 1754). Richmond: The Virginia State Library, Commonwealth of Virginia, 1945. Pp. 295-298.

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### **THE FRENCH RENEW THEIR LONG-HELD CLAIM TO THE OHIO COUNTRY IN 1749**

Journal of the expedition which I, Céloron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain, commanding a detachment sent down the Beautiful River by the orders of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere Governor-General of all New France, and of the Country of Louisiana.

I set out from La Chine on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June with a detachment composed of one Captain, eight subaltern officers, six Cadets, one Chaplain, twenty soldiers, one hundred and



eighty Canadians, and about thirty Indians, there being as many Iroquois as Abinakis...The 14<sup>th</sup> of the same month I entered Lake Erie, where a strong gale made me encamp at some leagues above the little rapids; there I had some squadrons formed to keep sentry, which consisted of forty men commanded by an officer. The 15<sup>th</sup>, I set out at early morning in the hope of having a fine day and of arriving at the Portage of Chatakuin, which I was not able to do; a strong gale having risen, just as on the previous day, I was obliged to go ashore. The lake is extremely shallow, there is no protection, and if you did not sail before the wind you would run the risk of perishing when landing. Large rocks are found to a distance of more than three-fourths of a mile from the shore, upon which you are in danger of perishing. I fell upon one, and without prompt assistance I should have been drowned with all on board. I landed to repair my canoe which had been broken in several places. The 16<sup>th</sup>, at noon, I arrived at the portage of Chatakuin...The 17<sup>th</sup>, at break of day, we commenced our portage which was vigorously prosecuted, since all the canoes, provisions, munitions of war and merchandise destined as presents for the nations of the Beautiful River, were carried the three-quarters of a league which had been cleared the day previous. This road is very difficult be reason of numerous hills and mountains which are met with thereon; our men were also very tired. The 18<sup>th</sup>, I continued my portage, but the bad weather hindered me from pushing on as far as the preceding day...The 22<sup>d</sup>, we finished the portage which may be counted as four leagues, and we arrived at the head of Lake Chataquin;...At noon on the 22<sup>d</sup>, I set out and encamped at the outlet of the lake, which may have been nine leagues. In the evening our Indians, who had been fishing in the lake, told me that they had seen people who concealed themselves in the woods as soon as they had been perceived...The 25<sup>th</sup>, before setting out on the march, at the representations of the Indians of my detachment, I called a council composed of Messrs. The officers and the nations I had with me to deliberate together upon the measures we ought to take on the occasion of the vestiges we had found the day before of several cabins abandoned with so much precipitation that the Indians had left behind a part of their utensils, their canoes, and even their provisions, to seek the woods. This action gave us proof of the terror of these Indians, and that they withdrew only through fear, and that they would consequently bear the alarm into all the villages, would put them also to flight, or make them adopt the plan of assembling to form considerable bodies, and lay an ambush for us. The country was extremely advantageous for them, and for us of very difficult access on account of the small amount of water there was in the river...

...The 26<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>, I continued my voyage, not without many obstacles; and despite all the precautions I took to manage my canoes, they often sustained great injury on account of the dearth of water. The 29<sup>th</sup>, at noon, I entered the Beautiful River. I had a leaden plate buried on which was engraved the taking possession which I made, in the name of the King, of this river and of all those which fall into it. I had also attached to a tree the arms of the King, struck on a plate of sheet iron, and of all this I drew up an official statement, which Messrs. The officers and I have signed.

Copy of written record of the position of the leaden plate and of the arms of the King, deposited at the entrance of the Beautiful River, together with the inscription:

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, we Céloron, Knight of the Royal Military Order of St. Louis, Captain commanding a detachment sent by the orders of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France, on the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Oyo, accompanied by the principal officers

of our detachment, buried at the foot of a red oak, on the southern bank of the river Oyo and of Kanaougon, and at 40° 5' 23", a leaden plate, with this inscription thereon engraven:

#### INSCRIPTION.

In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis the XV, King of France, we Céloron, commander of the detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France, to establish peace in some villages of these Cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanazaiagon, the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, for a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which fall into it, and of all the territories on both sides as far as the source of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have possessed or should possess them, and as they are maintained therein by arms and by treaties, and especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht and of Aix la Chapelle; have moreover affixed to a tree the arms of the King. In testimony whereof, we have drawn up and signed the present written record. Made at the entrance of the Beautiful River, the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, 1749. All the officers signed.

...The 30<sup>th</sup>, I betook myself to Cut Straw...As soon as I arrived the Chiefs assembled and came to my tent. The following is their opening speech:

Speech of the Sonontouans established at the village of Cut Straw, otherwise called Kachinodiagon, and of Kanaouagon, to M. de Céloron, accompanied by two belts of wampum, the 30<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1749.

"My Father, we come to give testimony of the joy which we feel at seeing you arrived at our villages in good health. It is a long time since we have had the pleasure of seeing our Father in these territories, and the expedition of which we have been apprised for a month has caused much uneasiness and fear not only in our villages, but in all those of the Beautiful River. Thou hast perceived it, my Father, and to reassure thy children, frightened and without courage, thou hast done well to send us our son Joncaire to tell us to be calm and to await in our villages thy arrival, to hear the word of our father Onontio, this thou bringest us. The belts of wampum have entirely calmed our mind of all the fears which had seized us; our bundles were prepared for fleeing, and we were like drunken people. All has passed away, and we have remained as thou wished it to hear what thou hast to tell us. We are delighted that our father Onontio has made choice of thee to make his intentions known to us. It is not to-day that we know thee; thou didst govern us at Niagara, and thou knowest that we never did aught but thy will."

"My father, you have told us that some little birds had given you word that a house was being built for the English, and that if we suffered them to do so, they would shortly raise here a considerable establishment for driving us away, because they would render themselves masters of our lands. You have invited us to discontinue this work. This is what we promise you, and this house which is almost finished, will serve only for a recreation place for the youth. We promise you also not to touch the arms of the King which you have planted on this river, and which will prove to the English that they have no right in this part of the country."

Two belts of wampum to the Indians of the detachment.

“My brothers, we are delighted to see you accompany our father on his voyage; you have told us that you have no other sentiments than those of Onontio. We invite you to follow the counsels which he desires to give you, and we have taken the resolution to do only his will. We thank you for what you have told us, and we will pay attention to it.”

The council over, I made presents to the Indians, which gave them great pleasure, and in return they assured me anew that they would never receive the English in their homes, and that they would go down next spring to see their father Onontio.

...The 2d, I spoke to the Indians in the name of M. the Governor...A belt.

“My children, the Loups, the reason which determined your father Onontio to send me into this part of the country, was the information he had received that the English proposed to form posts considerable enough to invade one day these lands and to increase therein in such a way, if they were let do so, that they would render themselves masters of them, and you would be the victims...Remember that you formerly possessed at Philadelphia, beautiful lands, upon which you found in abundance wherewith to sustain your families. They [English] drew near you under pretext of ministering to your wants, and little by little, without you perceiving it, they established forts and afterwards towns, and when they grew powerful enough, they drove you away...What they did at Philadelphia they proposed doing to-day upon the Beautiful River by the posts which they wish to establish there...The English have much less right to come since the Kings of France and England have agreed in all the treaties of peace; and particularly in the last which terminated the war, that the English should never put their foot on these lands...Depute next spring some persons of your nation with your old men to come and see me, and you will see by the reception I will give you, how much I love you, and that I seek only to do you good....”

...I continued my route as far as the village at the River aux Boeufs, which is only of nine or ten cabins. As soon as they perceived me they fired a salute. I had their salute returned, and landed. As I had been informed that there was at this place a blacksmith and an English merchant, I wished to speak to them; but the English, as well as the Indians, had gained the woods. There remained only five or six Iroquois, who presented themselves with their arms in their hands. I rebuked them for their manner of showing themselves, and made them lower their arms. They made many excuses, and told me they would not have come with their guns, except that they had them to salute me. I spoke to them in almost the same terms as I had done to the Loups, and immediately embarked. That evening I had a leaden plate buried, and had the arms of the king attached to a tree....

...I re-embarked and the same day I passed by the ancient village of the Chauenons...At this place I fell in with six English soldiers, with fifty horses and about one hundred fifty bales of furs, who were returning from there to Philadelphia. I summoned them in writing to withdraw to their own territory, that the land whither they had come on business belonged to the King (of France), and not to the King of England, that if they came again they would be pillaged; that I desired this time to treat them with kindness, and

that they should profit of the advice I gave them. They assured me, either through fear or otherwise, that they would not come back any more...

Source: A.A. Lambing (ed.). "Céloron's Journal." *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX (1920).

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### 1750: DR. THOMAS WALKER LEADS A PARTY OF FIVE THROUGH SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA, ACROSS THE CUMBERLAND GAP, AND BACK

Having, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December last, [1749] been employed for a certain consideration to go to the Westward in order to discover a proper Place for a Settlement, I left my house on the Sixth day of March, at ten o'clock, 1749-50, in the Company with Ambrose Powell, William Tomlinson, Colby Chew, Henry Lawless and John Hughs. Each man had a horse and we had two to carry the baggage. I lodged this night at Col. Joshua Fry's in Albemarle, which County includes the Chief of the head branches of James River on the East side of the Blue Ridge.

March 7. We set off about 8, but the day proving wet, we only went to Thomas Joplin's on Rockfish. This is a pretty River, which might at a small expense be made fit for transporting Tobacco; but it has been lately stopped by a Mill Dam near the Mouth to the prejudice of the upper inhabitants who would at their own expense clear and make it navigable, were they permitted.

March 8. We left Joplin's early. It began to rain about noon. I left my people at Thomas Jones's and went to the Reverend Mr. Robert Roses's on Tye River. This is about the size of Rockfish, as yet open, but how long the Avarice of Miller's will permit it to be so, I know not. At present, the Inhabitants enjoy plenty of fine fish, as Shad in their season, Carp, Rocks, Fat-Backs which I suppose to be Tench, Perch, Mulletts etc.

9<sup>th</sup>. As the weather continues unlikely, I moved only to Baylor Walker's Quarters.

March 10<sup>th</sup>. The weather is still cloudy, and leaving my People at the Quarter, I rode to Mr. John Harvie's, where I dined and return'd to the Quarter in ye evening.

11<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath.

March 12<sup>th</sup>. We crossed the Fluvanna and lodged at Thomas Hunt's.

13<sup>th</sup>. We went early to William Calloway's and supplied ourselves with Rum, Thread, and other necessaries and from thence took the main wagon road leading to Wood's or the New River. It is not well cleared or beaten yet, but will be a very good one with proper management. This night we lodged in Adam Beard's low grounds. Beard is an ignorant, impudent, brutish fellow, and would have taken us up, had it not been for a reason, easily to be suggested.

14<sup>th</sup>. We went from Beard's to Nicholas Welches, where we bought corn for our horses, and had some Victuals dress'd for Breakfast, afterwards we crossed the Blue Ridge. The Ascent and Descent is so easie that a Stranger would not know when he crossed the Ridge. It began to rain about Noon and continued till night. We lodged at William Armstrong's. Corn is very scarce in these parts.

March 15<sup>th</sup>. We went to the great Lick on A Branch of the Staunton and bought Corn of Michael Campbell for our horses. This Lick has been one of the best places for Game in these parts and would have been of much greater advantage to the Inhabitants than it has been if the Hunters had not killed the Buffaloes for diversion, and the Elks and

Deer for their skins. This afternoon we got to the Staunton where the Houses of the Inhabitants had been carryed off with their grain and Fences by the Fresh last Summer, and lodged at James Robinson's, the only place I could hear of where they had corn to spare, notwithstanding the land is such that an industrious man might make 100 barrels a share in a Seasonable year.

16<sup>th</sup> March . We kept up at the Staunton to William Englishes. He lives on a small Branch, and was not much hurt by the Fresh. He has a mill, which is the furtherest back except one lately built by the Sect of People who call themselves of the Brotherhood of Euphrates, and are commonly called the Duncards, who are the upper Inhabitants of the New River, which is about 400 yards wide at this place. They live on the west side, and we were obliged to swim our horses over. The Duncards are an odd set of people, who make it a matter of Religion not to Shave their Beards, ly on beds, or eat flesh, though at present, in the last, they transgress, being constrained to it, they say, by the want of a sufficiency of Grain and Roots, they have not long been seated here. I doubt the plenty and deliciousness of the Venison and Turkeys has contributed not a little to this. The unmarried have no Property but live on a common Stock. They don't baptize either Young or Old, they keep their Sabbath on Saturday, and hold that all men shall be happy hereafter, but first must pass through punishment according to their Sins. They are very hospitable.

March 18<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath.

19<sup>th</sup>. We could not find our horses and spent the day in Looking for them. In the evening we found their track.

20<sup>th</sup>. We went very early to the track of our Horses and after following them six or seven miles, we found them all together. we returned to the Duncards about 10 O'clock, and having purchased a half a Bussell of Meal and as much small Homony we set off and lodged on a small Run between Peak Creek and Reedy Creek.

March 21<sup>st</sup>. We got to Reedy Creek and camped near James McCall's' I went to his house and Lodged and bought some Bacon, I wanted.

22<sup>nd</sup>. I returned to my people early. We got to a large Spring about five miles below Davises Bottom on Holstons River and Camped.

23<sup>rd</sup>. We kept down the Holston River about four miles and Camped; and then Mr. Powell and I went to look for Samuel Stalnaker who I had been inform'd was just moved out to settle. We found his camp, and returned to our own in the evening.

24<sup>th</sup>. We went to Stalnaker's, helped him to raise his house and camped about a quarter of a mile below him. In April, 1748, I met the above mentioned Stalnaker between Reedy Creek Settlement and Holstons River, on his way to the Cherokee Indians and expected him to pilate me as far as he knew but his affairs would not permit him to go with me.

March 25<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath. Grass is plenty in the low grounds.

26<sup>th</sup>. We left the Inhabitants, and kept nigh West, to a large Spring on a Branch of the North Fork of the Holston. Thunder, Lightning, and Rain before Day.

27<sup>th</sup>. It began to snow in the morning and continued till Noon. The Land is very Hilly from West to North. Some snow lies on the tops of the mountains N.W. from us.

28<sup>th</sup>. We travelled to the lower end of Giant's Ditch on Reedy Creek.

29<sup>th</sup>. Our Dogs were very uneasie most of this night.

30<sup>th</sup>. We kept down Reedy Creek and discover'd the tracks of about 20 Indians, that had gone up the Creek between the time we camped last night, and set off this morning. We suppose they made our Dogs so restless last night. We camped on Reedy Creek.

March 30<sup>th</sup>. We caught two young Buffaloes one of which we killed, and having cut and marked the other we turn'd him out.

31<sup>st</sup>. We kept down Reedy Creek to Holston where we measured an Elm 25ft. round 3 ft. from the ground. we saw young Sheldrakes we went down the River to the north Fork and up the north fork about a quarter of a mile to a Ford, and then crossed it. In the Fork between the Holstons and the North River, are five Indian Houses built with loggs and covered with bark, and there were abundance of Bones, some whole Pots and Pans some broken. we went four miles below the North River and camped on the Bank of the Holstons, opposite to a large Indian Fort.

April ye 1<sup>st</sup>. The Sabbath. We saw Perch, Mulletts, and Carp in plenty, and caught one of the large Sort of Cat Fish. I marked my name, the day of the Month, and date of the year on Several Beech Trees.

2<sup>nd</sup>. we left Holston and travelled through Small Hills till about Noon, when one of our horses being choaked by eating Reeds too greedily, we stopped having travelled 7 miles.

3<sup>rd</sup>. Our horse being recover'd, we travelled to the Rocky Ridge. I went up to the top, to look for a pass but found it so rocky that I concluded not to attempt it there. This ridge may be known by Sight, at a distance. To the eastward are many small mountains, and a Buffaloe Road between them & the Ridge. The growth is Pine on the top and the rocks look white at a distance. we went Seven miles this day.

4<sup>th</sup>. We kept under the Rocky Ridge crossing several small Branches to the head of Holly Creek. we saw many small licks and plenty of Deer.

5<sup>th</sup>. we went down Holly Creek. There is much Holly in the Low Grounds and some Laurel and Ivy. About three in the afternoon, the Ridge appeared less stony and we passed it, and camped on a small Branch about a mile from the top. my riding Horse choaked himself this evening and I drenched him with water to wash down the Reeds, and it answered the End.

6<sup>th</sup>. It proving wet we did not move.

7<sup>th</sup>. We rode 8 miles over Broken ground. It snowed most of the day. In the evening our dogs caught a large He Bear, which before we could come up to shoot him had wounded a dog of mine, so that he could not travel, and we carried him on Horseback till he recovered.

8<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath. Still Snow.

9<sup>th</sup>. We travelled to a river, which I suppose to be that which the Hunters call Clinches River from one Clinch a Hunter, who first found it. we marked several Beeches on the East Side. we could not find a ford Shallow enough to carry our Baggage over on our Horses. Ambrose Powell Forded over on one horse and we drove the others after him. We then made a raft and carried over one load of Baggage, but when the raft was brought back, it was so heavy that it would not carry anything more dry.

April 10<sup>th</sup>. we waded and carried the remainder of our Baggage on our shoulders at two turns over the River, which is about one hundred and thirty yards wide, we went on about five miles and Camped on a Small Branch.

April 11<sup>th</sup>. Having travelled 5 miles to and over an High Mountain, Cumberland Gap, we came to Turkey Creek, which we kept down 4 miles. It lies between two Ridges of Mountains, that to the Eastward being the highest.

12<sup>th</sup>. We kept down the creek 2 miles further, where it meets with a large Branch coming from the South West and thence runs through the East Ridge making a very good pass; and a large Buffaloe Road goes from that Fork to the Creek over the west ridge, which

we took and found the Ascent and Descent tollerably easie. From this Mountain we rode on four miles to Beargrass River. Small Cedar Trees are very plenty on the flat ground nigh the River, and some Barberry trees on the East side of the River. on the Banks is some Beargrass. We kept up the River 2 miles. I found Small pieces of Coal and a great plenty of very good yellow flint. The water is the most transparent I ever saw. It is about 70 yds. Wide.

April 13<sup>th</sup>. We went four miles to large Creek which we called Cedar Creek being a Branch of Bear-Grass, and from thence Six miles to Cave Gap, the land being Levil. On the North side of the Gap is a large Spring, which falls very fast, and just above the Spring is a small Entrance to a Large Cave, which the spring runs through, and there is a constant Stream of Cool air issuing out. The Spring is sufficient to turn a Mill. Just at the Foot of the Hill is a Laurel Thicket and the spring Water runs through it. On the South side is a Plain Indian Road. on the top of the Ridge are Laurel Trees marked with Crosses, others Blazed and several Figures on them. As I went down the other Side, I soon came to some Laurel in the head of the Branch. A Beech stands on the left hand, on which I cut my name. This Gap may be seen at a considerable distance, and there is no other, that I know of, except one about two miles to the North of it which does not appear to be So low as the other. The Mountain on the North Side of the Gap is very Steep and Rocky, but on the South side it is not so. We Called it Steep Ridge. At the foot of the hill on the North West side we came to a Branch, that made a great deal of flat land. We kept down it 2 miles, several other Branches Coming in to make it a large Creek, and we called it Flat Creek. We camped on the bank where we found very good coal I did not Se any Lime Stone beyond this ridge. We rode 13 miles this day.

April 14<sup>th</sup>. We kept down the Creek 5 miles chiefly along the Indian Road.

April 15<sup>th</sup>. Easter Sunday. Being in bad grounds for our Horses we moved 7 miles along the Indian Road, to Clover Creek. Clover and Hop vines are plenty here.

April 16<sup>th</sup>. Rai(n). I made a pair of Indian Shoes, those I brought out being bad.

17<sup>th</sup>. Still Rain. I went down the Creek a hunting and found that it went into a River about a mile below our camp. This, which is Flat Creek and some others join'd I called Cumberland River.

18<sup>th</sup>. Still Cloudy. We kept down the Creek to the River along the Indians Road to where it crosses. Indians have lived about this Ford some years ago. We kept on down the South Side. After riding 5 miles from our Camp, we left the River, it being very crooked. In Rideing 3 miles we came on it again. It is about 60 or 70 yds. Wide. We rode 8(?) miles this day.

19<sup>th</sup>. We left the River but in four miles we came on it again at the Mouth of Licking Creek, which we went up and down another. In the Fork of Licking Creek is a Lick much used by Buffaloes and many large Roads lead to it. This afternoon Ambrose Powell was bit by a Bear in his Knee. We rode 7 miles this day.

20<sup>th</sup>. we kept down the Creek 2 miles to the River again. It appears not any wider here at the mouth of Clover Creek, but much deeper. I though it proper to Cross the River and begin a bark Conoe.

April 21<sup>st</sup>. We finished the Conoe and tried her. About Noon it began to Thunder, lighten, hail and rain prodigously and continued about 2 hours.

22d. The Sabbath. One of the Horses was found unable to walk this morning. I then propos'd that with two of the company I would proceed, and the other three should continue here till our return, which was agreed to, and lots were drawn to determine who

should go, they all being desirous of it. Ambrose Powell, and Colby Chew were the fortunate Persons.

23<sup>rd</sup>. Having carried our Baggage over in the Bark Conoe, and Swam our Horses, we all crossed the River. Then Ambrose Powell, Colby Chew, and I departed Leaving the others to provide and salt some Bear, build an house, and plant some peach stones and corn. We travelled about 12 miles and encamped on Crooked Creek. The Mountains hereabouts are very small and here is a great deal of flat Land. We got through the Coal today.

April 24<sup>th</sup>. We kept on Westerly 18 miles, got clear of the Mountains and found the Land poor and the Woods very thick beyond them, and Laurel and Ivy in and near the Branches. Our horses suffered very much here for want of food. This day we came on a fresh track of 7 or 8 Indians but could not overtake them.

25<sup>th</sup>. We kept on West 5 miles, the Land continuing much Same, the Laurel rather growing worse, and the food scarcer. I got up a tree on a Ridge and saw the Growth of the Land much the same as Far as my Sight could reach. I then concluded to return to the rest of my Company. I kept on my track 1 mile then turn'd southerly and went to Cumberland River at the mouth of a water Course, that I named Rocky Creek.

April 27<sup>th</sup>. We crossed Indian Creek and went down Meadow Creek to the River. There comes in another from the Southward as big as this one we are on. Below the mouth of this Creek, and above the Mouth are the remains of several Indian Cabbins amongst them a round Hill made by Art about 20 feet high and 60 over the Top. we went up the River, and Camped on the Bank.

28<sup>th</sup>. We kept up the River to our Company whom we found all well, but the lame horse was as bad as we left him, and another had been bit in the Nose by a Snake. I rub'd the wound with Bears oil, and gave him a drench of the same and another of the decoction of Rattle Snake root some time after. The People had built a house 12 by 8, clear'd and broken some ground, and planted some Corn and Peach Stones. They also had killed several Bears and cured the Meat. This day Colby Chew and his Horse fell down the Bank. I Bled and gave him Volatile drops, and he soon recovered.

April 29<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath. The Bitten Horse is better. 3 Quarters of A mile below the house is a Pond in the Low ground of the River, a quarter of a mile in length and 200 yds. Wide much frequented by Fowl.

30<sup>th</sup>. I blazed a way from our House to the River. On the other side of the River is a large Elm cut down and barked about 20 feet and another standing just by it with the Bark cut around at the root and about 15 feet above. About 200 yards below this is a white Hicory Barked about 15 feet. The depth of the water here, when the lowest that I have seen it, is 7 or 8 feet, the Bottom of the River Sandy, ye Banks very high, and the Current very slow. The Bitten horse being much mended, we set off and left the lame one. He is white, branded on the near Buttock with a swivil Stirrup Iron, and is old. We left the River and having crossed several Hills and Branches, camped in a Valley North from the House.

May the 1<sup>st</sup>. Another Horse being Bitten, I applied Bears Oil as before Mention'd. We got to Powell's River in the afternoon and went down it along an Indian Road, much frequented, to the mouth of a Creek on the West side of the River, where we camped. The Indian Road goes up the Creek, and I think it is that Which goes through Cave Gap.

2d. We kept down the River. At the Mouth of a Creek that comes in on the East side there is a Lick, and I believe there was a hundred Buffaloes at it. About 2 o'clock we had a shower of Rain. We Camped on the River which is very crooked.



May 3<sup>rd</sup>. We crosses a narrow Neck of Land, came on the River again and kept down it to an Indian Camp, that had been built this Spring, and in it we took up our Quarters. It began to Rain about Noon and continued till Night.

4<sup>th</sup>. We crossed a narrow Neck of Land and came on the River again, which we kept down till it turn'd to the Westward, we then left it, and went up a Creek which we called Colby's Creek. The River is about 50 yards over where we left it.

5<sup>th</sup>. We got to Tomlinson's River, which is about the size of Powell's River, and I cut my name on a Beech, that stands on the North side of the River. Here is plenty of Coal in the South Bank opposite to our Camp.

6<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath. I saw Goslings, which shows that Wild Geese stay here all the year. Ambrose Powell had the misfortune to sprain his well Knee.

7<sup>th</sup>. We went down Tomlinson's River the Land being very broken and our way being embarrassed by trees, that had been blown down about 2 years ago.

May 8<sup>th</sup>. We went up a creek on the North side of the River.

9<sup>th</sup>. We got to Lawless River, which is much like the others. The Mountains here are very Steep and on Some of them there is Laurel and Ivy. The tops of the mountains are very Rocky and some parts of the Rocks seem to be composed of Shells, Nuts and many other Substances petrified and cemented together with a kind of Flint. We left the River and after travelling some Miles we got among some Trees that had been blown down about 2 years, and we were obliged to go down a Creek to the River again, the Small Branches and Mountains being impassable.

10<sup>th</sup>. We staid on the River and dressed an Elk skin to make Indian Shoes – ours being quite worn out.

11<sup>th</sup>. We left the River, found the Mountains very bad, and got to a Rock by the side of a Creek Sufficient to shelter 200 men from Rain. Finding it so convenient, we concluded to stay and put our Elk skin in order for shoes and make them.

May 12<sup>th</sup>. Under the Rock is a Soft Kind of Stone almost like Allum in taste; below it A Layer of Coal about 12 inches thick and a white Clay under that. I called the Run Allum Creek. I have observed several mornings past, that the Trees begin to drop just before day & continue dripping till almost Sunrise, as if it rain'd slowly. we had some rain this day.

13<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath.

14<sup>th</sup>. When our Elk's skin was prepared we had lost every awl that we brought out, and I made one with the shank of an old Fishing hook, the other People made two of Horse Shoe Nails, and with these we made our Shoes or Moccasos. We wrote several of our Names with Coal under the Rock, and I wrote our names, the time of our coming and leaving this place on paper and stuck it to the Rock with Morter, and then set off. We crossed Hughes's River and Lay on a large branch of it. There is no dew this morning but a shower of Rain about 6 o'Clock. The River is about 50 yards wide.

May 15<sup>th</sup>. Laurel and Ivy increase upon us as we go up the Branch. About noon it began to rain & we took up our quarters in a valley between very Steep Hills.

16<sup>th</sup>. We crossed several Ridges and Branches. About two in the afternoon I was taken with Violent Pains in my hip.

17<sup>th</sup>. Laurel and Ivy are very plenty and the Hills still very Steep. The Woods have been burnt some years past, and are not very thick, the Timber being almost all kill'd. We camped on a Branch of Naked Creek. The pain in my hip is somewhat asswaged.

18<sup>th</sup>. We went up Naked Creek to the head and had a plain Buffaloe Road most of the way. From thence we proceeded down Wolf Creek and on it we Camped.

19<sup>th</sup>. We kept down ye Hunting Creek which we crossed and left. It rained most of the afternoon.

May 20<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath. It began to Rain about noon and continued till next Day.

21<sup>st</sup>. It left off raining about 8. we crossed several Ridges and small Branches and Camped on a Branch of Hunting Creek. in the Evening it rained very hard.

22<sup>d</sup>. We went down the Branch to Hunting Creek and kept it to Milley's River.

23<sup>rd</sup>. We attempted to go down the River but could not. We then Crossed Hunting Creek and attempted to go up the River but could not. it being very deep we began a Bark Canoe. The River is about 90 or 100 yards wide. I blazed several Trees in the Fork and marked T.W. on a Sycomore Tree 40 feet around. It has a large hole on the N:W: side about 20 feet from the ground and is divided into 3 branches just by the hole, and it stands about 80 yards above the mouth of Hunting Creek.

May 24<sup>th</sup>. We finished the Canoe and crossed the River about noon, and I marked the Sycomore 30 feet round and several Beeches on the North side of the River opposite the mouth of the Creek. Game is very scarce hereabouts.

25<sup>th</sup>. It began to Rain before Day and continued till about Noon. We travelled about 4 miles on a Ridge and Camped on a Small Branch.

26<sup>th</sup>. We kept down the Branch almost to the River, and up a Creek, and then along a Ridge till our Dogs roused a Large Buck Elk, which we followed down to a Creek. He killed Ambrose Powell's Dog in the Chase, and we named the Run Tumbler's Creek, the Dog being of that name.

27<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath.

28<sup>th</sup>. Cloudy. We could not get our Horses till almost night, when we went down the Branch. We lay on to the Main Creek and turn'd up it.

May 29<sup>th</sup>. We proceeded up the Creek 7 miles and then took a North Branch and went up it 5 miles and then encamped on it.

30<sup>th</sup>. We went to the head of the Branch we lay on 12 miles. A shower of Rain fell this day. The Woods are burnt fresh about here and are the only Fresh burnt Woods we have seen these six Weeks.

31<sup>st</sup>. We crossed 2 Mountains and camped just by a Wolf's Den. They were very impudent and after they had twice been shot at, they kept howling about the Camp. It rained till Noon this day.

June ye 1<sup>st</sup>. We found a Wolf's den and caught 4 of the young ones. It rained this morning. we went up a creek crossed a Mountain and went through a Gap, and then, camped on the head of A Branch.

2<sup>d</sup>. We went down the Branch to a River 70 yards wide, which I called Fredericks River. we kept up it a half mile to a Ford, where we crossed and proceeded up the North side 3 miles. It rained most of the afternoon. Elks are very plenty on this River.

June 3<sup>rd</sup>. Whit-Sunday. It rained most of the day.

4<sup>th</sup>. I blazed several trees four ways on the outside of the low Grounds by a Buffaloe Road, and marked my name on Several Beech Trees. Also I marked some by the River side just below a mossaing place with an Island in it. We left the River about ten O'clock & got to Falling Creek, and went up it till 5 in the afternoon, when a very Black Cloud appearing we turn'd out our horses got tent Poles up and were just stretching a Tent, when it began to rain and hail and was succeeded by a violent Wind which blew down our

Tent & a great many Trees about it, several large ones within 30 yds of the Tent. we all left the place in confusion and ran different ways for shelter. After the Storm was over, we met at the Tent, and found that all was safe.

5<sup>th</sup>. There was a violent Shower of Rain before day. This morning we went up the Creek about 3 miles and then were obliged to leave it, the Timber being so blown down we could not get through. After we left the Creek we kept on a Ridge 4 miles, then turned down the head of a branch it began to rain and continued raining very hard till Night.

June 6<sup>th</sup>. We went down the Branch till it became a Large Creek. It runs very swift, falling more than any of the Branches we have been on of late. I called it Rapid Creek. After we had gone eight miles we could not ford, and we camped in the low Ground. There is a great sign of Indians on this Creek.

7<sup>th</sup>. The Creek being fordable, we crossed it and kept down 12 miles to a River about 100 yards over, which we called Louisa River. The creek is about 30 yds. wide and part of ye River breakes into ye Creek – making an Island on which we camped.

8<sup>th</sup>. The River is so deep we cannot ford it and as it is falling we conclude to stay and hunt. In the afternoon Mr. Powell and my Self was a hunting about a mile and a half from the camp, and heard a gun just below us on the other side of the River, and as none of our People could cross, I was in hopes of getting some direction from him, but I could not find him.

June 9<sup>th</sup>. We crossed the River and went down it to the mouth of a Creek & up the Creek to the head and over a Ridge into a Steep Valley and Camped.

June 10<sup>th</sup>. Trinity Sunday. Being in very bad Ground for our Horses we concluded to move. we were very much hindered by the Trees, that were blown down on Monday last. We Camped on a Small Branch.

11<sup>th</sup>. It rained violently the Latter part of the night till 9 o'clock. The Branch is impassable at present. We lost a Tomohawk and a Cann by the Flood.

12<sup>th</sup>. The water being low we went down the Branch to a large Creek, and up the Creek. Many trees in the Branches are Wash'd up by the Roots and others barked by the old trees, that went down ye stream. The Roots in the Bottom of the Run are Barked by the Stones.

June 13<sup>th</sup>. We are much hindered by the Gust & a shower of Rain about Noon. Game is very scarce here, and the mountains very bad, the tops of the Ridges being so covered with ivy and the sides so steep and stony, that we were obliged to cut our way through with our Tomohawks.

14<sup>th</sup> The woods are still bad and game scarce. It rained today about Noon & we camped on the top of a Ridge.

15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>. We got on a large creek where Turkey are plenty and some Elks. we went a hunting and killed 3 turkies. Hunted and killed 3 Bears and some Turkeys.

17<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath. We killed a large Buck Elk.

18<sup>th</sup>. having prepared a good stock of meat we left the Creek crossing several Branches and Ridges. the woods still continue bad the weather hot and our horses so far spent, that we are all forced to walk.

June 19<sup>th</sup>. We got to Laurel Creek early this morning, and met with so impudent a Bull Buffaloe that we were obliged to shoot him, or he would have been amongst us. we then went up the Creek six miles, thence up a North Branch to its head, and attempted to cross a mountain, but it proved so high and difficult, that we were obliged to camp on the side of it. This ridge is nigh the eastern edg of the Coal Land.

20<sup>th</sup>. We got to the top of the Mountain and could discover a Flat to the South and South East. we went down from the Ridge to a Branch and down the Branch to Laurel Creek not far from where we left it yesterday and Camped. my riding horse was bit by a Snake this day, and having no Bears Oil I rub'd the place with a piece of fat meat which had the desired effect.

21<sup>st</sup>. We found the Level nigh the Creek so full of Laurel that we were obliged to go up a Small Branch, and from the head of it to the Creek again, and found it good travelling a Small distance from the Creek. we camped on the Creek. Deer are very scarce on the Coal Land. I having seen but 4 since the 30<sup>th</sup>. of April.

June 22<sup>nd</sup>. We kept up to the head of the Creek, the Land being Leveller than we have lately seen, and here are some large Savanna's Most of the Branches are full of Laurel and Ivy. Deer and Bears are plenty.

23<sup>rd</sup>. Land continues level with Laurel and Ivy and we got to a large Creek with very high and steep Banks full of rocks, which I call'd Clifty Creek, the Rocks are 100 feet perpendicular in some places.

24<sup>th</sup>. The Sabbath.

25<sup>th</sup>. We crossed Clifty Creek. Here is a little Coal and the Land still flat.

26<sup>th</sup>. We crossed a Creek that we called Dismal Creek, the Banks being the worst and the Laurel the thickest I have ever seen. The Land is Mountainous on the East Side of the Dismal Creek, and the Laurels end in a few miles. We camped on a Small Branch.

27<sup>th</sup>. The Land is very High and we crossed several Ridges and camped on a small Branch. it rained about Noon and continued till the next day.

28<sup>th</sup>. It continued raining till Noon, and we set off as soon as it ceased and went down the Branch we lay on to the New River, just below the Mouth of the Green Bryer. Powell, Tomlinson and myself striped, and went into the New River to try if we could wade over at any point. After some time having found a place we return'd to the others and took such things as would take damage by water on our shoulders, and waded over Leading our Horses. The Bottom is very uneven, the Rocks very slippery and the Current strong most of the way. We camped in the low Ground opposite the mouth of the Green Bryer.

29<sup>th</sup>. We kept up Green Bryer. It being a wet day we went only 2 miles, and camped on the North side.

June 30<sup>th</sup>. We went 7 miles up the River which is very Crooked.

July ye 1<sup>st</sup>. The Sabbath. Our Salt being almost spent, we travelled 10 miles sometimes on the River, and sometimes at a distance from it.

2<sup>nd</sup>. We kept up the River the chief part of this day and we travelled about 10 miles.

3<sup>rd</sup>. we went up the River 10 miles today.

4<sup>th</sup>. We went up the River 10 miles through very bad Woods.

5<sup>th</sup>. The way growing worse, we travelled 9 mile only.

6<sup>th</sup>. We left the River. The low Grounds on it are of Little value, but on the Branches are very good, and there is a great deal of it, and the high land is very good in many places. We got on a large Creek called Anthony's Creek which affords a great deal of Very good Land, and is chiefly Bought. we kept up the Creek 4 miles and Camped. This Creek took its name from an Indian, called John Anthony, that frequently hunts in these Woods. There are some inhabitants of the Branches of Green Bryer, but we missed their Plantations.

July 7. We kept up the Creek, and about Noon 5 men overtook us and inform'd that we were only 8 miles from the inhabitants on a Branch of James River called Jackson's

River. We exchanged some Tallow for Metal and Parted. We camped on a Creek nigh the Top of the Alleghaney Ridge, which we named Ragged Creek.

8<sup>th</sup>. Having Shaved, Shifted and made New shoes we left our useless raggs at ye camp and got to Walker Johnston's about Noon. We moved over to Robert Armstrong's and staid there all night. The People here are very Hospitable and would be better able to support Travellers was it not for the great number of Indian Warriars that frequently take what they want from them, much to their prejudice.

July 9<sup>th</sup>. We went to the Hot Springs and found Six Invalids there. The Spring Water is very Clear and warmer than New Milk, and there is a Spring of cold Water within 20 feet of the warm one. I left one of my company this day.

10<sup>th</sup>. Having a Path, we rode 20 miles and lodged at Captain Jemyson's below the Panther Gap. Two of my Company went to a Smith to get their Horses shod.

11<sup>th</sup>. Our way mending, we travelled 30 miles to Augusta Court House, where I found Mr. Andrew Johnston, the first of my acquaintance I had seen, since the 26<sup>th</sup> day of March.

12<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Johnston lent me a fresh horse and sent my horses to Mr. David Stewards who was so kind as to give them Pastureage. About 8 o'Clock I set off leaving my Company. It began to Rain about 2 in the afternoon and I lodged at Captain David Lewis's about 34 miles from Augusta Court House.

13<sup>th</sup>. I got home about Noon.  
We killed in the journey 13 Buffaloes, 8 Elks, 53 Bears, 20 Deer, 4 wild Geese, about 150 Turkeys, besides small game. We might have killed three times as much meat, if we had wanted it.

Source: Lewis Preston Summers (ed.) "The Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1749-1750." *Annals of Southwest Virginia 1769-1800*. Abingdon, Va.: Published by Lewis Preston Summers, 1929. Pp. 8-26.

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## **CHRISTOPHER GIST SCOUTS OUT LAND FOR THE OHIO COMPANY, 1750**

Instructions given M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Gist by the Committee of the Ohio Company the 11<sup>th</sup> Day of September 1750.

You are to go out as soon as possible to the Westward of the great Mountains, and carry with you such a Number of Men, as You think necessary, in Order to search out and discover the Lands upon the River Ohio, & other adjoining Branches of the Mississippi down as low as the great Falls thereof: You are particularly to observe the Ways & Passes thro all the Mountains you can cross, & take an exact Account of the Soil, Quality, & Product of the Land, and the Wideness and Deepness of the Rivers, & the several Falls belonging to them, together with the Courses & Bearings of the Rivers & Mountains as near as you conveniently can: You are also to observe what Nations of Indians inhabit there, their Strength & Numbers, who they trade with, & in what Comodities they deal.

When you find a large Quantity of good, level Land, such as you think will suit the Company, You are to measure the Breadth of it, in three or four different Places, & take the Courses of the River and Mountains on which it binds in Order to judge the Quantity: You are to fix the Beginning & Bounds in such a Manner that they may be easily found again by

your Description; the nearer in the Land lies, the better, provided it be good & level, but we had rather go quite down the Mississippi than take mean broken Land. After finding a large Body of good level Land, you are not to stop, but proceed farther, as low as the Falls of the Ohio, that We may be informed of that Navigation; And You are to take an exact Account of all the large Bodies of good level Land, in the same Manner as above directed, that the Company may the better judge where it will be most convenient for them to take their Land.

You are to note all the Bodies of good Land as you go along, tho there is not a sufficient Quantity for the Company's Grant, but You need not be so particular in the Mensuration of that, as in the larger Bodies of Land.

You are to draw as good a Plan as you can of the Country You pass thro: You are to take an exact and particular Journal of all your Proceedings, and make a true Report thereof to the Ohio Company.

1750 – In Compliance with my Instructions from the Committee of the OHIO COMPANY bearing Date the 11<sup>th</sup> Day of September 1750.

Wednesday Oct<sup>r</sup> 31.- Set out from Col<sup>o</sup> Thomas Cresap's at the old Town on Potomack River in Maryland, and went along an old Indian Path N 30 E about 11 Miles.

Thursday, Nov 1. – Then N 1 Mile N 30 E 3 M here I was taken sick and stayed all Night.

Friday 2. – N 30 E 6 M, here I was so bad that I was not able to proceed any farther that Night, but grew better in the Morning.

Saturday 3. – N 8 M to Juniatta, a large Branch of Susquehannah, where I stayed all Night.

Sunday 4. – Crossed Juniatta and went up it S 55 W about 16 M.

Monday 5. – Continued the same Course S 55 W 6 M to the Top of a large Mountain called the Allegany Mountain, here our Path turned, & we went N 45 W 6 M here we encamped.

Tuesday 6 Wednesday 7 and Thursday 8. – Had Snow and such bad Weather that We could not travel for three Days; but I killed a young Bear so that we had Provision enough.

Friday 9. – Set out N 70 W about 8 M here I crossed a Creek of Susquehannah and it raining hard, I went into an old Indian Cabbin where I stay'd all Night.

Saturday 10. – Rain and Snow all Day but cleared away in the Evening.

Sunday 11. – Set out late in the Morning N 70 W 6 M crossing two Forks of a Creek of Susquehannah, here the Way being bad, We encamped and I killed a Turkey.

Monday 12. – Set out N 45 W 8 crossed a great Laurel Mountain.

Tuesday 13. – Rain and Snow.

Wednesday 14. – Set out N 45 W 6 M to Loylhannan an old Indian Town on a Creek of Ohio called Kiscominatis, then N 1 M NW 1 M to an Indian's Camp on the said Creek.

Thursday 15. – The Weather being bad and I unwell I stayed here all Day: The Indian to whom this Camp belonged spoke good English and directed Me the Way to his Town, which is called Shannopini Town: He said it was 60 M and a pretty good Way.

Friday 16. – Set out S 70 W 10 M.

Saturday 17. – The same Course (S 70 W) 15 M to an old Indian's Camp.

Sunday 18. – I was very sick, and sweated myself according to the Indian Custom in a Sweat-House, which gave Me Ease, and my Fever abated.

Monday 19. – Set out early in the Morning the same Course (S 70 W) travelled very hard about 20 M to a small Indian Town of the Delawares called Shannopin on the SE Side of the River Ohio, where We rested and got Corn for our Horses.

Tuesday 20 Wednesday 21 Thursday 22 and Friday 23. – I was unwell and stayed in this Town to recover myself; While I was here I took an Opportunity to set my Compass privately, & took the Distance across the River, for I understood it was dangerous to let a Compass be seen among these Indians: The River Ohio is 76 Poles wide at Shannopin Town: There are about twenty Families in this Town: The Land in general from Potomack to this Place is mean stony and broken, here and there good Spots upon the Creeks and Branches but no Body of it.

Saturday 24. – Set out from Shannopin's Town, and swam our Horses across the River Ohio, & went down the River S 75 W 4 M, N 75 W 7 M W 2 M, all the Land from Shannopin's town is good along the River, but the Bottoms not broad; At a Distance from the River good Land for Farming, covered with small white and red Oaks and tolerable level; fine Runs for Mills &c.

Sunday Nov 25. – Down the River W 3 M, NW 5 M to Loggs Town; the Lands these last 8 M very rich in Bottoms about a Mile wide, but on the SE side, scarce a Mile wide, the Hills high and steep. In the Loggs Town, I found scarce any Body but a Parcel of reprobate Indian Traders, the Chiefs of the Indians being out a hunting; here I was informed that George Croghan & Andrew Montour who were sent upon an Embassy from Pennsylvania to the Indians, were passed about a Week before me. The People in this Town, began to enquire my Business, and because I did not readily inform them, they began to suspect me, and said I was come to settle the Indians' Lands and they knew I should never go Home again safe; I found this Discourse was like to be of ill Consequence to me, so I pretended to speak very slightly of what they had said to me, and enquired for Croghan (who is a meer Idol among his Countrymen the Irish Traders) and Andrew Montour the Interpreter for Pennsylvania, and told them I had a Message to deliver the Indians from the King, by Order of the President of Virginia, & for that Reason wanted to see M. Montour: This made them all pretty easy (being afraid to interrupt the King's Message) and obtained me Quiet and Respect among them, otherwise I doubt not they would have contrived some Evil against me – I immediately wrote to M. Croghan, by one of the Trader's People.

Monday 26. – Tho I was unwell, I preferred the Woods to such Company & set out from the Loggs Town down the River NW 6 M to great Beaver Creek where I met one Barny Curran a Trader for the Ohio Company, and We continued together as far as Muskingum. The Bottoms upon the River below the Logg's Town very rich but narrow, the high Land pretty good but not very rich, the Land upon Beaver Creek the same kind; From this Place We left the River Ohio to the SE & travelled across the Country.

Tuesday 27. – Set out from E side of Beaver Creek NW 6 M, W 4 M; up these two last Courses very good high Land, not very broken, fit for farming.

Wednesday 28. – Rained, We could not travel.

Thursday 29. – W 6 M thro good Land, the same Course continued 6 M farther thro very broken Land; here I found myself pretty well recovered, & being in Want of Provision, I went out and killed a Deer.

Friday 30. – Set out S 45 W 12 M crossed the last Branch of Beaver Creek where one of Curran's Men & myself killed 12 Turkeys.

Saturday Dec' 1. – N 45 W 10 M the Land high and tolerable good.

Note; by M<sup>r</sup> Gist's Plat he makes these 2 Courses N 45 W 10 M, & N 45 W 8 M, to be W 8 M and N 45 W 6 M.

Sunday 2. – N 45 W 8M the same Sort of Land, but near the Creeks bushy and very full of Thorns.

Monday 3. – Killed a Deer, and stayed in our Camp all Day.

Tuesday 4. Set out late S 45 W about 4 M here I killed three fine fat Deer, so that tho we were eleven in Company, We had great Plenty of Provision.

Wednesday 5. – Set out down the Side of a Creek called Elk's Eye Creek S 70 W 6 M, good Land, but void of Timber, Meadows upon the Creek, fine Runs for Mills.

Thursday 6. – Rained all Day so that we were obliged to continue in our Camp.

Friday 7. – Set out SW 8 M crossing the said Elk's Eye Creek to a Town of the Ottaways, a Nation of French Indians; an old French Man (named Mark Coonce) who had married an Indian Woman of the six Nations lived here; the Indians were all out a hunting; the old Man was very civil to me, but after I was gone to my Camp, upon his understanding I came from Virginia, he called Me the Big Knife. There are not above six or eight Families belonging to this Town.

Saturday 8. – Stayed in the Town.

Sunday 9. – Set out down the said Elk's Eye Creek S 45 W 6 M to Margarets Creek a Branch of the said Elk's Eye Creek.

Monday Dec 10. – The same Course (S 45 W) 2 M to a large Creek.

Tuesday 11. – The same Course 12 M killed 2 Deer.

Wednesday 12. – The same Course 8 M encamped by the Side of Elk's Eye Creek.

Thursday 13. – Rained all Day.

Friday 14. – Set out W 5 M to Muskingum a Town of the Wyendotts. The Land upon Elk's Eye Creek is in general very broken, the Bottoms narrow. The Wyendotts or little Mingoes are divided between the French and English, one half of them adhere to the first, and the other half are firmly attached to the latter. The Town of Muskingum consists of about one hundred Families. When We came within Sight of the Town, We perceived English Colours hoisted on the King's House, and at George Croghan's; upon enquiring the Reason I was Informed that the French had lately taken several English Traders, and that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had ordered all the White Men to come into this Town, and had sent Expresses to the Traders of the lower Towns, and among the Pickweylinees; and the Indians had sent to their People to come to Council about it.

Saturday 15 & Sunday 16. – Nothing remarkable happened.

Monday 17. – Came into Town two Traders belonging to M Croghan, and informed Us that two of his People were taken by 40 French Men, & twenty French Indians who had carried them with seven Horse Loads of Skins to a new Fort that the French were building on one of the Branches of Lake Erie.

Tuesday 18. – I acquainted M<sup>r</sup> Croghan and Andrew Montour with my Business with the Indians, & talked much of a Regulation of Trade with which they were much pleased, and treated Me very kindly.

From Wednesday 19 to Monday 24. – Nothing remarkable.

Tuesday 25. – This being Christmas Day, I intended to read Prayers, but after inviting some of the White Men, they informed each other of my Intentions, and being of several different Persuasions, and few of them inclined to hear any Good, they refused to come. But one Thomas Burney a Black Smith who is settled there went about and talked to them, & then several of them came; and Andrew Montour invited several of the well



disposed Indians, who came freely; by this Time the Morning was spent, and I had given over all Thoughts of them, but seeing Them come, to oblige All, and offend None, I stood up and said, Gentlemen, I have no Design or Intention to give Offence to any particular Sectary or Religion, but as our King indulges Us all in a Liberty of Conscience and hinders none of You in the Exercise of your religious Worship, so it would be unjust in You, to endeavour to stop the Propagation of His; The Doctrine of Salvation Faith, and good Works, is what I only propose to treat of, as I find it extracted from the Homilies of the Church of England, which I then read them in the best Manner I could, and after I had done the Interpreter told the Indians what I had read, and that it was the true Faith which the great King and His Church recomended to his Children: the Indians seemed well pleased, and came up to Me and returned Me their Thanks; and then invited Me to live among Them, and gave Me a Name in their Language Annosanah: the Interpreter told Me this was a Name of a good Man that had formerly lived among them, and their King said that must be always my Name, for which I returned them Thanks; but as to living among them I excused myself by saying I did not know whether the Governor would give Me Leave, and if he did the French would come and carry me away as they had done the English Traders, to which they answered I might bring great Guns and make a Fort, that they had now left the French, and were very desirous of being instructed in the Principles of Christianity; that they liked Me very well and wanted Me to marry Them after the Christian Manner, and baptize their Children; and then they said they would never desire to return to the French, or suffer Them or their Priests to come near them more, for they loved the English, but had seen little Religion among Them: and some of their great Men came and wanted Me to baptize their Children; for as I had read to Them and appeared to talk about Religion they took Me to be a Minister of the Gospel; Upon which I desired M<sup>r</sup> Montour (the Interpreter) to tell Them, that no Minister could venture to baptize any Children, until those that were to be Sureties for Them, were well instructed in the Faith themselves, and that this was according to the great King's Religion, in which He desired his Children should be instructed & We dare not do it in any other Way, than was by Law established, but I hoped if I could not be admitted to live among them, that the great King would send Them proper Ministers to exercise that Office among them, at which they seemed well pleased; and one of Them went and brought Me his Book (which was a Kind contrived for Them by the French in which the Days of the Week were so marked that by moving a Pin every Morning they kept a pretty exact Account of the Time) to shew Me that He understood Me, and that He and his Family always observed the Sabbath Day.

Wednesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 26. – This Day a Woman, who had been a long Time a Prisoner, and had deserted, & been retaken, and brought into the Town on Christmass Eve, was put to Death in the following manner: They carried her without the Town, & let her loose, and when she attempted to run away, the Persons appointed for that Purpose pursued her, & struck Her on the Ear, on the right Side of her Head, which beat her flat on her Face on the Ground; they then stuck her several Times, thro the Back with a Dart, to the Heart, scalped Her, & threw the Scalp in the Air, and another cut off her Head: There the dismal Spectacle lay till the Evening, & then Barney Curran desired Leave to bury Her, which He, and his Men, and some of the Indians did just at Dark.

From Thursday Dec<sup>r</sup> 27 to Thursday Jan<sup>y</sup> 3 1751. – Nothing remarkable happened in the Town.

Friday Jan 4. – One Teafe (an Indian Trader) came to Town from near Lake Erie, & informed Us, that the Wyendott Indians had advised Him to keep clear of the Ottaways

(these are a Nation of Indians firmly attached to the French, & inhabit near the Lakes) & told Him that the Branches of the Lakes are claimed by the French; but that all the Branches of Ohio belonged to Them, and their Brothers the English, and that the French had no Business there, & that it was expected that the other Part of the Wyendott Nation woud desert the French and come over to the English Interest, & join their Brethren on the Elk's Eye Creek, & build a strong Fort and Town there.

From Saturday 5 to Tuesday 8. – The Weather still continuing bad, I stayed in the Town to recruit my Horses, and tho Corn was very dear among the Indians, I was obliged to feed them well, or run the Risque of losing them as I had a great Way to travel.

Wednesday 9. – The Wind Southerly, and the Weather something warmer: this Day came into Town two Traders from among the Pickwaylinees (these are a Tribe of the Twigtwees) and brought News that another English Trader was taken prisoner by the French, and that three French Soldiers had deserted and come over to the English, and surrendered themselves to some of the Traders of the Pick Town, & that the Indians woud have put them to Death, to revenge their taking our Traders, but as the French Prisoners had surrendered themselves, the English woud not let the Indians hurt them, but had ordered them to be sent under the Care of three of our Traders and delivered at this Town, to George Croghan.

Thursday 10. – Wind still at South and warm.

Friday 11. – This Day came into Town an Indian from over the Lakes & confirmed the News we had heard.

Saturday 12. – We sent away our People towards the lower Town intending to follow them the next Morning, and this Evening We went into Council in the Wyendott's King's House – The Council had been put off a long Time expecting some of their great Men in, but few of them came, & this Evening some of the King's Council being a little disordered with Liquor, no Business could be done, but We were desired to come next Day.

Sunday Jan<sup>7</sup> 13. – No Business done.

Monday 14. – This Day George Croghan, by the Assistance of Andrew Montour, acquainted the King and Council of this Nation (by presenting them four Strings of Wampum) that the great King over the Water, their Roggony [Father] had sent under the Care of the Governor of Virginia, their Brother, a large Present of Goods which was now landed safe in Virginia, & the Governor had sent Me to invite Them to come and see Him, & partake of their Father's Charity to all his Children on the Branches of Ohio. In Answer to which one of the Chiefs stood up and said, "That their King and all of Them thanked their Brother the Governor of Virginia for his Care, and Me for bringing them the News, but they could not give Me an Answer untill they had a full or general Council of the several Nations of Indians which could not be till next Spring: & so the King and Council shaking Hands with Us, We took our Leave.

Tuesday 15. – We left Muskingum, and went W 5 M, to the White Woman's Creek, on which is a small Town; this White Woman was taken away from New England, when she was not above ten Years old, by the French Indians; She is now upwards of fifty, and has an Indian Husband and several Children – Her name is Mary Harris, she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how the White Men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these Woods.

Wednesday 16. – Set out SW 25 M, to Licking Creek – The Land from Muskingum to this Place rich but broken – Upon the N Side of Licking Creek about 6 M from the Mouth, are several Salt Licks, or Ponds, formed by little Streams or Dreins of Water, clear

but of a blueish Colour, & salt Taste the Traders and Indians boil their Meat in this Water, which (if proper Care be not taken) will sometimes make it too salt to eat.

Thursday 17. – Set out W 5 M, SW 15 M, to a great Swamp.

Friday 18. – Set out from the great Swamp SW 15 M.

Saturday 19. – W 15 M to Hockhockin a small Town with only four or five Delaware Families.

Sunday 20. – The Snow began to grow thin, and the Weather warmer; Set out from Hockhockin S 5 M, then W 5 M, then SW 5 M to the Maguck a little Delaware Town of about ten Families by the N Side of a plain or clear Field about 5 M in Length NE & SW & 2 M broad, which a small Rising in the Middle, which gives a fine Prospect over the whole Plain, and a large Creek on the N Side of it called Sciodoe Creek. All the Way from Licking Creek to this Place is a fine rich level Land, with large Meadows, fine Clover Bottoms & spacious Plains covered with wild Rye: the Wood chiefly large Walnuts and Hickories, here and there mixed with Poplars Cherry Trees and Sugar Trees.

From Monday 21 to Wednesday 23. – Stayed in Maguck Town.

Thursday 24. – Set out from the Maguck Town S about 15 M, thro fine rich level Land to a small Town called Harrickintoms consisting of about five or six Delaware Families, on the SW Sciodoe Creek.

Friday 25. – The Creek being very high and full of Ice, We could not ford it, and were obliged to go down it on the SE Side SE 4 M to the Salt Lick Creek – about 1 M up this Creek on the S Side is a very large Salt Lick, the Streams which run into this Lick are very salt, & tho clear leave a blueish Sediment: The Indians and Traders make salt for their Horses of this Water, by boiling it; it has at first a blueish Colour, and somewhat bitter Taste, but upon being dissolved in fair Water and boiled a second Time, it becomes tolerable pure Salt.

Saturday 26. – Set out S 2 M, SW 14 M.

Sunday 27. – S 12 M to a small Delaware Town of about twenty Families on the SE Side of Sciodoe Creek – we lodged at the House of an Indian whose name was Windaughalah, a great Man and Chief of this Town, & much in the English Interest. He entertained Us very kindly, and ordered a Negro Man that belonged to him to feed our Horses well; this Night it snowed, and in the Morning tho the Snow was six or seven inches deep, the wild rye appeared very green and flourishing thro it, and our horses had fine feeding.

Monday Jan<sup>r</sup> 28. – We went into Council with the Indians in this Town, and after the Interpreter had informed them of his Instructions from the Governor of Pennsylvania, and given them some Cautions in Regard to the French, they returned for Answer as follows: The Speaker with four Strings of Wampum in his Hand stood up, and addressing Himself as to the Governor of Pennsylvania, said, “Brothers, We the Delawares return You our hearty Thanks for the News you have sent Us, and We assure You, We will not hear the Voice of any other Nation for We are to be directed by You our Brothers the English, & by none else: We shall be glad to hear what our Brothers have to say to Us at the Loggs Town in the Spring, and to assure You of our hearty Good will & Love to our Brothers We present You with these four Strings of Wampum” This is the last Town of the Delawares to the Westward – the Delaware Indians by the best Accounts I could gather consist of about 500 fighting Men all firmly attached to the English Interest, they are not properly a Part of the six Nations, but are scattered about among most of the Indians upon the Ohio,

and some of them among the six Nations, from whom they have Leave to hunt upon their Lands.

Tuesday 29. Set out SW 5 M, S 5 M, to the Mouth of Sciodoe Creek opposite to the Shannoah Town, here We fired our Guns to alarm the Traders, who soon answered, and came and ferryed Us over to the Town – The Land about the Mouth of Sciodoe Creek is rich but broken fine Bottoms upon the River & Creek – The Shannoah Town is situate upon both Sides the River Ohio, just below the Mouth of Sciodoe Creek, and contains about 300 Men, there are about 40 Houses on the S Side of the River and about 100 on the N side, with a Kind of State-House of about 90 Feet long, with a light Cover of Bark in w<sup>ch</sup> they hold their Councils – The Shanaws are not a Part of the six Nations, but were formerly at Variance with them, tho now reconciled: They are great Friends to the English who once protected them from the Fury of the six Nations, which they gratefully remember.

Wednesday 30. – We were conducted into Council, where George Croghan delivered sundry Speeches from the Government of Pensylvania to the Chiefs of this Nation, in which He informed them, “That two Prisoners who had been taken by the French, and had made their Escape from the French Officer at Lake Erie as he was carrying them towards Canada brought News that the French offered a large Sum of Money to any Person who would bring to them the said Croghan and Andrew Montour the Interpreter alive, or if dead their Scalps; and that the French also threatened these Indians and the Wyendotts with War in the Spring” the same Persons farther said “that they had seen ten French Canoes loaded with Stores for a new Fort they designed on the S Side Lake Erie. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan also informed them of several of our Traders having been taken, and advised them to keep their Warriors at Home, until they could see what the French intended which he doubted not woud appear in the Spring – Then Andrew Montour informed this Nation as He had done the Wyendotts & Delaware’s “That the King of Great Britain had sent Them a large Present of Goods, in Company with the six Nations, which was under the Care of the Governor of Virginia, who had sent Me out to invite them to come and see him & partake of their Father’s Present next Summer to which we received this Answer – Big Hannaona their Speaker taking in his Hand the several Strings of Wampum which had been given by the English, He said, “These are the Speeches received by Us from your great Men: From the Beginning of our Friendship, all that our Brothers the English have told Us has been good and true, for which We return our hearty Thanks” Then taking up four other Strings of Wampum in his Hand, He said “Brothers I now speak the Sentiments of all our People, when first our forefathers did meet the English, our Brothers, they found what our Brothers the English have told Us has been good and true, and so have We – We are but a small People, & it is not to Us only that You speak, but to all Nations – We shall be glad to hear what our Brothers will say to Us at the Loggs Town in the Spring, & We hope that the friendship now subsisting between Us & our Brothers, will last as long as the Sun shines, or the Moon gives Light – We hope that our Children will hear and believe what our Brothers say to them, as We have always done, and to assure You of our hearty Good-Will towards you our Brothers, We present You with these four Strings of Wampum” After the Council was over they had much Talk about sending a Guard with Us to the Pickwaylinees Towns (these are a Tribe of Twigtwees) which was reckoned near 200 Miles, but after long Consultation (their King being sick) they came to no Determination about it.

From Thursday Jan 31 To Monday Feb<sup>y</sup> 11. – Stayed in the Shannoah Town, while I was here the Indians had a very extraordinary Kind of a Festival, at which I was present and which I have exactly described at the End of my Journal – As I had particular Instructions

from the President of Virginia to discover the Strength & Numbers of some Indian Nations to the Westward of Ohio who had lately revolted from the French, and had some Messages to deliver them from Him, I resolved to set out for the Twigtwee Town.

Tuesday 12. – Having left my Boy to take Care of my Horses in the Shannoah Town, & supplied myself with a fresh Horse to ride, I set out with my old Company viz George Croghan Andrew Montour, Robert Kallandar, and a Servant to carry our Provisions &c NW 10 M.

Wednesday 13. – The same Course (NW) about 35 M.

Thursday 14. – The same Course about 30 M.

Friday 14. – The same Course 15 M. We met with nine Shannoah Indians coming from one of the Pickwaylinees Towns, where they had been to Council, they told Us there were fifteen more of them behind at the Twigtwee Town, waiting for the Arrival of the Wawaughtanneys, who are a Tribe of the Twigtwees, and were to bring with them a Shannoah Woman and Child to deliver to their Men that were behind: this Woman they informed Us had been taken Prisoner last Fall, by some of the Wawaughtanney Warriors thro a Mistake, which had like to have engaged these Nations in a War.

Saturday 16. – Set out the same Course (NW) about 35 M, to the little Miamee River or Creek.

Sunday 17. – Crossed the little Miamee River, and altering our Course We went SW 25 M, to the big Miamee River, opposite the Twigtwee Town. All the Way from the Shannoah Town to this Place (except the first 20 M which is broken) is fine, rich level Land, well timbered with large Walnut, Ash, Sugar Trees, Cherry Trees &c, it is well watered with a great Number of little Streams or Rivulets, and full of beautiful natural Meadows, covered with wild Rye, blue Grass and Clover, and abounds with Turkeys, Deer, Elks and most Sorts of Game particularly Buffaloes, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding in one Meadow: In short it wants Nothing but Cultivation to make it a most delightfull Country – The Ohio and all the large Branches are said to be full of fine Fish of several Kinds, particularly a Sort of Cat Fish of a prodigious Size; but as I was not there at the proper Season, I had not an opportunity of seeing any of them – The Traders had always reckoned it 200 M, from the Shannoah Town to the Twigtwee Town, but by my Computation I could make it no more than 150 – The Miamee River being high, We were obliged to make a Raft of old Loggs to transport our Goods and Saddles and swim our Horses over – After firing a few Guns and Pistols, & smoaking in the Warriours Pipe, who came to invite Us to the Town (according to their Custom of inviting and welcoming Strangers and Great Men) We entered the Town with English Colours before Us, and were kindly received by their King, who invited Us into his own House, & set our Colours upon the Top of it – The Firing of Guns held about a Quarter of an Hour, and then all the white Men and Traders that were there, came and welcomed Us to the Twigtwee Town – This Town is situate on the NW Side of the Big Miamee River about 150 M from the Mouth thereof; it consists of about 400 Families, & daily encreasing, it is accounted one of the strongest Indian Towns upon this Part of the Continent – The Twigtwees are a very numerous People consisting of many different Tribes under the same Form of Government. Each tribe has a particular Chief or King, one of which is chosen indifferently out of any Tribe to rule the whole Nation, and is vested with greater Authorities than any of the others – They are accounted the most powerful People to the Westward of the English Settlements, & much superior to the six Nations with whom they are now in Amity: their Strength and Numbers are not thoroughly known, as they have but lately traded with the English, and indeed have very little Trade

among them: they deal in much the same Commodities with the Northern Indians. There are other Nations or Tribes still further to the Westward daily coming in to see them, & 'tis thought their Power and Interest reaches to the Westward of the Mississippi, if not across the Continent; they are at present very well affected to the English, and seem fond of an Alliance with them – they formerly lived on the farther Side of the Obache, and were in the French Interest, who supplied them with some few Trifles at a most exorbitant Price – they were called by the French Miamees; but they have now revolted from them, and left their former Habitations for the Sake of trading with the English; and notwithstanding all the Artifices the French have used, they have not been able to recall them.

Source: William M. Dadington (ed.). "Christopher Gist's Journal 1750." *Journals with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his Contemporaries*. New York. Published for University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, by Argonaut Press Ltd., New York 1966. Pp. 31-55.

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### A SHORT HISTORY OF THE LOYAL COMPANY

During the earlier decades of the eighteenth century, a great stimulus to colonization in the unsettled portions of the commonwealth of Virginia was given by the action of the Governor and Council of Virginia in making many and large grants of lands. For a decade following August 27, 1754, the date of the Governor's instructions, no tracts larger than 1000 acres to any individual were granted for land "lying to the Westward of the ridge of Mountains which separate the Rivers Roanoke, James and Potomac from the Mississippi." But for a quarter of a century prior to August 27, 1754, vast tracts of land were granted to groups of individuals, ranging from 10,000 to 800,000 acres. The spirit of speculation was rife in Virginia; and Walker's surveying expedition in locating Colonel Patton's grant, while it doubtless genuinely stimulated interest in the rich lands on the Western waters, may rather be interpreted as symbolic of the feverish speculative activity of the times. Within a space of little more than two years, immense grants were made to three important land companies, including among the co-partners many of the leading Virginians of the day, as well as men of prominence in the adjoining colonies. Among the members of the three land companies appear such representative Virginia names as Washington, Lee, Dinwiddie, Taylor, Mason, Pendleton, Carter, Nelson, Lewis, Walker, Jefferson, Meriwether, Fry, Maury, Willis, Henry, Mercer, Preston.

The first of these large companies to secure a grant was the Loyal Company of Virginia, headed by John Lewis who emigrated from Pennsylvania in 1732 and founded Staunton, Virginia. There is little doubt that, on account of his superior knowledge of the Western country, Walker was influential in organizing the company, his name appearing second in the list of grantees. On July 12, 1749, according to the Virginia Council records, a grant was made: "To John Lewis Esq. & others eight hundred thousand acres in one or more surveys, beginning on the bounds between this colony and North Carolina, and running to the Westward and to the North, so as to include the said Quantity." The full list of names is as follows: John Lewis, Thomas Walker, John Meriwether, Charles Lewis, James Power, Peter Jefferson, Charles Dick, Charles Barrett, Joshua Fry, Thomas Turpin, John Harvie, Thomas Meriwether, Thomas Meriwether, Jr., John Baylor, Samuel Waddy, Robert Barrett, Henry Willis, Peachy Gilmer, John Lewis, James Maury, Thomas Lewis,

Peter Hedgman, John Moore, Robert Martin, Henry Tate, Richard Jones, William Wood, Samuel Dalton, Francis Thornton, Francis Thornton, Jr., John Thornton, John Pierce, William Stephenson, Nicholas Lewis, Nicholas Meriwether, William Hudson, Francis Meriwether, Humphrey Hill, John Dixon, and Edmund Pendleton.

Peter Jefferson and Joshua Fry, neighbors of Thomas Walker in Albemarle County, who completed the running of the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia the very year of the grant, were undoubtedly active in the organization of the company, having examined and surveyed the lands contiguous to those sought by the company. The western point of the boundary line run by Fry and Jefferson was on Steep Rock Creek, now known as Laurel Fork, a tributary of the Holston River, some twenty-five miles southeast of Abingdon, Va. At this time there was no line delimiting any bounds to western settlement. The more magnificent lands in the "back parts of Virginia," north and west of the western end of the dividing line on Steep Rock Creek, were available to the forty grantees headed by John Lewis, Esq.

Doubtless at the first meeting of the association, a name was chosen, notably the Loyal Land Company of Virginia. It is usually spoken of as the Loyal Company of Virginia. John Lewis acted as the directive head of the company for four years. In launching the company, he proceeded energetically, securing the appointment on December 12, 1749, of Dr. Thomas Walker, as agent, for the purpose of exploring the Western wilderness where the lands were to be taken up. Walker set off from Castle Hill on March 6, 1749-1750, accompanied by Ambrose Powell, great-grandfather of the Confederate general Ambrose Powell Hill; William Tomlinson, who afterwards settled in Kentucky; Colby Chew, connected through his mother with Presidents Taylor and Madison and a captain under Washington in the French and Indian War; Henry Lawless and John Hughes. Each man had a horse, and two more horses were taken along to carry the baggage. The party made a wide cast through eastern Kentucky, traversing Cumberland and Ouasioto Gaps, and passing by or near present Barbourville, Paintsville, Hot Springs and Staunton. By April 28, Lawless and Hughes had erected a small cabin eight by twelve feet, some four miles below present Barbourville. This cabin, evidently intended to serve as a record of the Loyal Company's claim, and also to house the company's surveyors, is historic as the first house built in Kentucky by white men. It appears on De Vaugondy's map (1755) and also on Mitchell's map (1755), on the latter with the legend: "Walkers - the extent of the English settlements 1750."

Upon the return of their agent, Walker, from Kentucky, the Loyal Company entered actively upon the prosecution of the business of locating and selling lands. It was not long before they ran afoul of the conflicting claims of the Ohio Company, which issued a caveat to stop the activities of the Loyal Company. While the matters at issue were pending, the Loyal Company circulated advertisements throughout the British colonies, "inviting settlers to come and settle their lands by promising to survey for them the place & quantity of land they should choose, at the cheap rate of £3 per hundred acres with the Surveyors' fees, right or composition money and patent fee; at the same time offering if required a reasonable time for payment, in which case the company was to retain the title as security for the purchase money and receive interest after a limited time."

The four years, allowed by the Council for completing the surveys, now being nearly expired, the Council on June 14, 1753, acting upon the petition of the Loyal Company, granted the company four years more to enable them to complete the surveying and selling of the lands. At this time John Lewis gave up the active leadership of the company, and

was succeeded by Thomas Walker, under the specific title of Agent, which post he held until his death on November 9, 1794. Throughout this entire period, save for the interruption of his official activities for the company during the French and Indian War, Walker was energetic and tireless in furthering the business of the company. So actively did he enter upon the duties of Agent that many surveys were immediately made and a great quantity of land was sold. The terms were satisfactory to intending settlers; and before the autumn of 1754 lands were sold to about two hundred families, already settled upon the lands. In the second letter to Walker which has been preserved, his factor Robert Jackson writes from Fredericksburg, July 12, 1753, regarding a visit to Stafford, Prince William County: "I am not forgetting that your affairs with ye Loyal Company give seeming pleasure to every man there, when we understood ye matter was agreed."

The operations of the Loyal Company had been completely stopped by the French and Indian War. Moreover the four-years' extension of time for complying with the terms of the grant, allowed the company by the Governor's Council in 1753, expired in 1757. Nothing daunted, however, the company on the expiration of the war petitioned the Governor and Council on May 25, 1763, for a renewal and confirmation of their grant. In their petition the company set forth that "inasmuch as the completion of their surveys were [sic] obstructed by a public enemy for the want of that protection which Government was bound to afford them, the Crown could not justifiably take advantage of their failure to complete their survey within the time prescribed, as the war occurred during that time..." The answer of the Council was in the negative, on the ground that they were restrained by the King's instructions in 1761 (shortly afterwards promulgated in the royal proclamation of 1763) from "encouraging or any wise facilitating the settlement of the Western Frontier of the Colonies."

...Undismayed by the adverse decision of the Governor and Council, Walker and his associates of the Loyal Company proceeded in open and flagrant prosecution of their plans. Their conduct, extraordinary and lawless as it undoubtedly was, is explainable only on the ground that they acted with the tacit encouragement if not the actual collusion of Governor and Council. In later *pieces justificatives*, the company explained that they were "nevertheless encouraged by sentiments expressed by members of the Council of the Justice of their claims, to persevere and perform their contracts with their settlers..." Thirty-three years later, in pleading the company's cause before the Virginia Court of Appeals, Edmund Pendleton, leading member of the company, somewhat speciously though probably truthfully argued that the denial of the company's petition for renewal or confirmation of the grant "arose not from want of equity in its foundation, but because the British ministry designing to oppress America and stop the settlement of that frontier (too remote to be easily subjugated)" had "instructed their governors not to grant any lands on the waters of the Mississippi; and a royal proclamation had issued prohibiting all persons from settling on any of those lands, and even requiring those, settled under patents, to remove to the interior parts of the country."

In consequence of the representation of the Loyal Company, most of the former settlers returned after 1763 to the company's lands which had been surveyed for them. Moreover, many others applied to Dr. Walker, the Agent of the Company, and had lands surveyed for them - "on being truly informed of the condition of the company's grants, and on being assured that they should have the lands on the same terms as the former settlers, if the company should confirm their titles." Indeed, Walker in 1766 published broadcast throughout the Old Southwest advertisements "requesting all persons who had



contracted for any of the company's land and were driven off their settlements during the recent war, to return and claim the same or it would be sold to others."

Ever since 1763, Thomas Walker, as Agent of the Loyal Company, had been acting in open disregard of the King's instructions, the action of the Governor and Council, and the royal proclamation of 1763. A menace from a new quarter now arose to jeopardize the interests of the Loyal Company. In 1754 Governor Dinwiddie had offered bounty lands to the extent of 200,000 acres to the officers and soldiers who should fight in the French and Indian War. This offer was confirmed in the royal proclamation of 1763; and later still the amounts of bounty land to be granted each soldier were greatly increased. No active steps to obtain this land were taken until Col. George Washington, on behalf of himself and other officers and soldiers of the first Virginia regiment, petitioned the Governor and Council on November 4, 1772, that more than twenty surveys be allowed and that directions be given in what manner patents ought to issue for the land already surveyed. Two days later Washington appeared in person before the Council and presented a scheme of partition of certain surveys, whereupon the Council immediately ordered that patents be issued, according to this scheme, to a considerable number of officers and soldiers mentioned by name, including Washington, who was to receive 20,147 acres. Washington volunteered to present this arrangement to a meeting of the several claimants, to be held at Fredericksburg, for their ratification; and this plan was finally effectuated by Washington on November 23, following. According to the Council's order, the patents were to issue without rights and with a reservation of quitrents from the Feast of St. Michael, next after 15 years from the date of the grants, according to the proclamation. On November 3, 1773, a memorial of Col. George Washington was presented to the Council, which validated five more surveys for the officers and soldiers, totaling 72,299 acres.

Some of these surveys were laid on lands of the Loyal and Greenbrier Companies; and the inevitable explosion occurred. On December 15, 1773, petitions were received from Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis and sundry inhabitants settled on grants of the two companies; and also a counter petition from Hugh Mercer and sundry other officers. The following day the Council ordered that the officers and soldiers might settle wherever they chose, save on land settled and cleared; and that every such settler be allowed 50 acres, and 50 acres for every 3 acres cleared, such lands to be taken as part of the grants to the Loyal and Greenbrier Companies.

This order of the Council was eminently satisfactory to the land companies, the members of which chose to interpret it as a confirmation by the Council of the original grant. Accordingly, in 1774 and 1775, on this vague authorization which Edmund Pendleton called their "gleam of hope," the companies proceeded as usual, had surveys made, and were preparing to carry them into grant when the flight of Governor Dunmore put a temporary stop to the audacious activities. By the 16<sup>th</sup> of December, 1773, Walker had made 980 surveys and sold 201,554 acres, slightly more than one-fourth of the original grant.

After July 4, 1776, Virginia, now an American state, took an adverse attitude generally toward the various land companies, especially those which had secured land by purchase from the Indian tribes. On October 27, 1778, Thomas Walker, on behalf of himself and the Loyal Company, presented a memorial to the Virginia House of Delegates, praying that their titles be confirmed to them; and a little later sundry purchasers of lands under the grant of the Loyal Company presented a petition, "setting forth that they are content to hold their several purchases on the terms stipulated with the said company; that

they are in possession of and have improved the land which they have bought; and praying that their titles may be confirmed." On November 3, Walker's memorial was referred to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances; and there were also before the committee several petitions in opposition to Walker's memorial and two in its support. On November 11, Mr. Cary submitted an elaborate report from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances. After setting forth in detail the activities of the Loyal Company and their agent, Thomas Walker, the report continued:

It further appears to the committee, that the conduct of the company, and their said agent, hath been fair and upright in every instance, constantly adhering to the terms of sale, and never demanding a higher price, or refusing to sell to any settler the land he chose, unless when he desired to have a large tract, which the agent always refused, as it would have enabled the purchaser to extort an advanced price from other settlers, or have kept the land unseated, and weakened the settlement...

It further appears, from the testimony of Robert Preston and John Floyd, formerly assistant surveyors of Fincastle county, that, in their opinion there are between one thousand and twelve hundred settlers in the counties of Montgomery and Washington, who expect to obtain titles to their lands from this company. But it appears that in 1776, an advertisement was published by Col. Wm. Preston, importing that he was empowered by the agent to take bond and security for three pounds per 100 acres, for all lands surveyed and sold by the company, appointing a time and place when he would attend for that purpose, and that he was ready, upon receiving such bonds, and the surveyor's fees, to deliver the surveys; and it is admitted by the agent that no such bonds were then given.

Whereupon, the committee have come to the following resolutions:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, That so much of the memorial of the said Thomas Walker, Esq. as prays that he may be enabled agreeable to the tenor of his contracts, and the conditions of the grant to the Loyal Company to make conveyances for 254 surveys, made before the 14<sup>th</sup> day of January 1757, and containing 45,164 acres of land, is reasonable.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, That so much of the memorial of the said Thomas Walker, as relates to the 756 surveys, containing 156,164 acres of land, so far as there are actual contracts or entries made with the said Walker, or his agent, and as to all those who have signed a petition in favor of the Loyal Company's grant, is reasonable; and that the said Walker ought to be empowered to make titles for the same.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, That so much of the memorial of the said Thomas Walker and Company; as prays, to be allowed so much time, to complete their surveys, as they had to come when hostilities commenced, be rejected.

It was ordered that the said report and resolutions do lie on the table. On November 28 the resolutions of the Committee of Proposition and Grievances were adopted without modification.

It was expected that at the 1778 session the General Assembly would pass an act for opening a land office and provide for adjusting old claims; but this was not done until 1779, when there were passed: an act for establishing a land office; and another, very elaborate act for determining the terms on which titles should be granted, for the vacant lands of the commonwealth. The surveys of the land companies came under the provisions of the Virginia land act; and on December 16, 1779, Walker laid the case of the Loyal Company, with the list of all the surveys and accompanying documents, before the Virginia Court of Appeals. The final hearing came four years later, on May 2, 1783, at which time the Attorney General was heard in opposition to the claims of the Loyal and Greenbrier Company. The decision of the Court of Appeals was as follows:

The several claims of Thomas Walker, esquire, on behalf of himself and the other members of the Loyal Company, and Thomas Nelson, esquire, on behalf of the Greenbrier company, to grants of all the land surveyed under several orders of council, bearing date the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, 1749, the 29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1751, the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, 1753, and the 16<sup>th</sup> of December, 1773, came on to be heard yesterday and this day; and thereupon, the arguments of the counsel for the claimants and of the attorney general of the commonwealth, having been fully heard and considered. It is the opinion of the court, and accordingly decreed and ordered, that all surveys made by a country surveyor, or his deputy, properly qualified, according to law, previous to the year 1776, and certified to have been made by virtue of the orders of council to the Loyal and Greenbrier companies, or either of them, ought to be confirmed; and that the register be directed to issue patents upon all such surveys as shall be returned, and so certified.

On November 25, 1783, the Committee of Propositions and Grievances reported upon the petition of divers inhabitants of Greenbrier County. In accordance with the decree of the Court of Appeals, rendered May 2, 1783, the committee were of the opinion that "the greater part of the lands for which certificates were given to the petitioners as aforesaid, are included in the surveys of the said Greenbrier Company, confirmed by the said decree." According it was

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, That the petition of divers inhabitants of the said county of Greenbrier praying that patents may issue for the lands contained in the said certificates, is reasonable.

This resolution was recommitted to the same committee; and no further mention of either the Loyal or Greenbrier Company is made in the records of this session of the Assembly.

Source: Archibald Henderson. "Dr. Thomas Walker and the Loyal Company of Virginia." Reprinted from *The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1931*. Worcester, MA: The Davis Press, 1931. Pp. 13-16, 18-20, 26-28, 33-35, 37-42.

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## UNREALIZED GOALS: THE SAD HISTORY OF THE OHIO COMPANY

Memorial of the Ohio Company  
November 20, 1778

To the honourable the General Assembly of Virginia, The Memorial and petition of the Ohio Company. Humbly sheweth That sundry Gentlemen of Virginia, Maryland and Great Britain, in or about the Year 1748, formed a Copartnership, by the Name and Stile of the Ohio Company, for exploring the Country westward of the Great Mountain upon both Sides the Ohio River (at that time known only by Name to the People of Virginia) for taking up five hundred thousand acres of Land upon the Waters of the said River, and carrying on a Trade with the Indians; and thereupon presented a petition to his late Majesty King George the second in Consequence whereof Additional royal Instructions bearing Date of the Court at St. James's the 16<sup>th</sup>. Day of March 1748/9, was given to Sr. William Gooch Bart. then Governour of Virginia, to make a Grant or Grants, upon certain Conditions therein specified "to John Hanbury of London Merchant, the honble Thomas Lee Esqr., the honble Thomas Nellson Esqr. Colo. Thomas Cresap, Colo. William Thornton, William Nimmo, Daniel Cresap, John Carlyle, Lawrence Washington, Augustine Washington, George Fairfax, Jacob Giles, Nathaniel Chapman, and James Wardrope Esqrs. And their Associates...That in the month of June 1749, the following Gentlemen, whose Names has been inserted in the said petition and Royal Instruction; vizt. the honble Thomas Nellson Esqr. Colo. Francis Thornton (who thro' Mistake had been mis-called Colo. William Thornton) William Nimmo, John Carlyle, and George Fairfax Esqrs., desired to resign their Shares and Interest in the said Company, which Resignations were accordingly accepted, and entered in the Company's Journals; and such of them as had advanced anything had their Money returned to them: And that Mr. Daniel Cresap (whose Name was inserted in the petition and Royal Instruction [never was] a member of the said Ohio Company, never advanced a Shilling, [or hath] had any Manner of Concern, or Interest whatever, in the said Undertaking, or Copartnership; But the Governor and Council, not at that time having proper Notice of the before mentioned Resignations, or knowing who were the real Members of the said Ohio Company, and literally pursuing the words of the Royal Instruction; which was communicated by the Governor to the Board, on the 12<sup>th</sup> Day of July 1749, caused an Entry to be made in the Council Books, in the Name of the first mentioned Gentlemen,...Your Memorialists beg Leave to refer. IN PURSUANCE OF THEIR SAID PLAN THAT your Memorialists erected large Store houses and other Buildings, at a very great Expence, upon Potomack River, opposite the place where Fort Cumberland was afterwards fixed, purchased a Number of Horses, and imported several large Cargoes of Goods, to the amount of several thousand pounds Sterling, from London; for the purpose of carrying on an extensive Indian Trade.

That in the Year 1750, they employed Mr. Christopher Gist, at the Expence of one hundred and fifty pounds, to explore the Country on the North Side the Ohio River, as low as the Great Falls, and upon the Great and Little Miami Rivers, to discover what Tribes of Indians inhabited there, and endeavour to conciliate them to the Interest and Friendship of Virginia; And the Year following, they employed the said Christopher Gist, at the Expence of fifty pounds, to explore and examine the Country upon the South Side the Ohio River, from the Monongahaly to the Great Conhaway; as will appear by the said Gist's Journals.

That in the same Year 1751, there having been considerable Changes made by Resignations and Alienations of Shares, the Members of the said Ohio Company entered

into and executed, regular Articles of Agreement and Copartnership for the Space [and Term] of twenty Years: And in the two Years following, were at considerable [charge in] laying off and clearing a Road from the Mouth of Will's Creek on Potomack River, over the Alleghany Mountains, to the Waters of the Ohio; and in building a warehouse near the Mouth of Red-Stone Creek, on the Monongahaly.

That as the Location of the Company's claim, from the words of the Royal Instruction, and their Entry on the Council-Books, was so very extensive, affecting any Lands TO THE WESTWARD OF THE GREAT Mountains, on either Side the Ohio River, where no Settlements had been yet made or Countys established, Your Memorialists obtained, from the President and Professors of William and Mary College, in the Year 1753, a special Commission for the before mentioned Christopher Gist, appointing him Surveyor of the Lands belonging to the Ohio Company; and began to survey some of the Lands upon the waters of the Monongaly and Yough-Youghgaine (about the place now called the Red-Stone Settlement) and at the Confluence of the Ohio and Monongaly Rivers (where Fort Pitt now stands) and settled the said Christopher Gist's, and several other Families thereon. They also imported, from London, twenty new Swivel Guns, with a Quantity of suitable Ball, small-arms, Blunderbusses, Tools, and other Military Stores, prepared Materials, and were erecting a Fort, on the Spot where Fort pit now stands, under the Direction of Captain William Trent, the Company's Agent; when about seven hundred French and Indians, commanded by a regular officer, with several pieces of Cannon, came down the River in Battoes, and landing within a small Distance, drove away Your Memorialists' Workmen and People, took possession of the place, and built their Fort Du Quesne there.

That upon this Occasion, and by the french and Indian War which followed, Your Memorialists were not only prevented from proceeding further in the Execution of their plan, but sustained very great Losses, to the amount of [several hundred] pounds, in their Materials, Tools, Stores, Horses, and other Effects in that Country, and even in their Houses and property upon Potomack River; which were wantonly destroyed by our own Troops, and the Lands the Company had purchased near Fort Cumberland entirely pillaged of Timber, for the public buildings, and for Beef, Pork & flour-Barrels; without Your Memorialists ever being able to obtain the least Satisfaction or Redress. AND THAT the Nature of the Trade Your Memorialists were engaged in was such, that they were obliged to give large Credits to the Indian-Traders, most of whom were killed, captivated, or ruined in the Course of the War, and the Debts due to Your Memorialists thereby lost.

That by these Events, which are faithfully recited, and generally known, Your Memorialists were prevented from proceeding in their Surveys during the last War; as they were also, after the Conclusion of the War, by the King's Proclamation, prohibiting the setting or granting any Lands to the westward of the Great Mountains.

That Your Memorialists, finding the Land they had begun to survey about Fort-pit was appropriated to the use of a public Garrison, and the Lands they had surveyed upon the Branches of Monongahaly and Youghyoughgaine were claimed by the Province of Pennsylvania, as well as by another Company in Virginia, and not caring to contend with such powerful adversaries, determined to take their Land lower down the Ohio, between the Monongahaly and the Great Conhaway, as soon as the Government would permit them to make Surveys; but afterwards, at the particular Request of General Washington, and some of the Members of the Council, Your Memorialists promised not to interfere with the said [Virginia...Claim of] two hundred [thousand] acres of Land under Gover[nor] Dinwiddies

proclamation, and to suffer that to be first laid off; by which all the good Bodys of Land, upon the Ohio, between the Great and Little Conhaway, in the Country your memorialists had been at the charge of exploring many years before, were taken up.

That in the year 1772, Your Memorialists, apprehending that the former proclamation, prohibiting the setting or granting Lands to the Westward of the Great Mountains, was repealed by a late royal Instruction for running a western Line, presented a Representation and petition to the Governor and Council, setting forth the Difficulties they had laboured under, and how they had been prevented from surveying by the late War, and afterwards by the King's Proclamation; complaining of their Agent Colo. George Mercer having undertaken, without their Consent or authority, to make an Agreement of Copartnership between them and Thomas Walpole Esqr. and others, his Associates in Great Britain; which they disclaimed; and praying for a new order or Warrant to survey their Land. Upon which the Council was pleased, on the 27<sup>th</sup> Day of July in the said Year 1772, to order the Substance of the said Representation to be entered upon their Journals, and make an order of Council recognising, confirming, and declaring still in Force Your Memorialists first Entry and order for the two hundred thousand Acres herein before mentioned, and therefore that any further or other Warrant or order was unnecessary; to which order, together with a Letter from the Clerk of the Council, wrote by order of the Board, Your Memorialists beg Leave to refer.

THAT in the Year 1773 (their former Surveyor Mr. Gist being dead) Your Memorialists obtained, from the President and Professors of William & Mary College a special Commission, appointing Mr. William Crawford Surveyor of their Lands; who had a year or two before, by Virtue of a like special Commission, [for] that purpose, from the said President and Professors, surveyed the two hundred thousand Acres for General Washington, and the officers and Soldiers of his Regiment; upon which Surveys, regular patents had been granted and passed. AND the year following they also obtained, from the said President and Professor, a Commission for Mr. Hancock Lee, as Deputy Surveyor to the said William Crawford: and they were proceeding down the River, in order to begin their Surveys; but had the Misfortune to have their Cannoes overset, in attempting to pass the Falls of Yough-youghgana, and to lose all their provision, arms, and amunition, and have two of their men drowned; which, together with the Indian War that Summer, prevented their further progress.

THAT in the next Year, 1775, your Memorialists had their before mentioned Quantity of two hundred thousand Acres Land surveyed, laid off, marked, and bounded, all in one compact well shaped Tract, upon both Sides the main South Fork of Great Licking Creek, in Fincastle now Kentucky County; as will appear by the Certificate of Survey, and plat thereof, returned under the Hands of the said William Crawford, and Hancock Lee, the Surveyors, clear of any prior Titles, or Surveys; but the Confusion of the present Troubles preventing any Land-Office being open'd, Your Memorialists knew not where, or how [to make...of the said survey...being expired] and several of the Members residing in Great Britain, with whom the Members in America can now have no Communication, they are utterly at a Loss how to proceed, or in what Manner to secure the Lands, to which they have acquired a just Title, at so great Expence, without the Interposition of the Legislature.

THAT the said Ohio Company was always intended to consist, and doth at present consist of twenty Shares, of which the following persons are at this time the proprietors, vizt. eleven Shares belonging to Persons residing in Virginia; One held by the honble John Tayloe Esqr. one by the late Thomas Ludwell Lee Esqr. one by Richard Lee Esqr. one by

James Scott Clerk, one by George Mason Esqr. one by Peter Presley Thornton Esqr. one by Thomas Lomax Esqr. one by the Heirs of John Mercer Esqr. decd. one by the Heirs of the honble Philip Ludwell Lee Esqr. decd. and two by the honble Robert Carter Esqr. three shares belonging to persons residing in Maryland; one held by Colo. Thomas Cresap, one by Jacob Giles Esqr. and one by Pearson Chapman Esqr. and six Shares held by persons residing in Great Britain; one held by Osgood Hanbury Merchant, one by the Heirs of Capel Hanbury Merchant decd. one by the Heirs of the Honble Robert Dinwiddie decd. one by the Heirs of the honble Arthur Dobbs Esqr. decd. one by the Heirs of James Wardrope Esqr. and one by Colo. George Mercer; Some of which Shares in Great Britain are considerably in arrear to the Company, for their Quota of Stock not paid up.

THAT the Term of their Co. Partnership being expired, in the present dispersed Situation of their Members, and a War carried on against America by Great Britain, Your Memorialists...Such of the Members of the said Company as reside in Virginia and Maryland are willing and desirous to receive a separate Grant or Patent, each in his own Name, for his due Share or proportion of the said two hundred thousand Acres of Land, in the common Form...to pay for the same the ancient accustomed Right-Money, of ten Shillings Sterling per hundred acres; but do not care to advance their Money for others; especially for those beyond Sea, in the present Situation of Affairs.

YOUR PETITIONERS are not able to suggest any Method of settling this Matter so unexceptionable as that they have proposed; but thoroughly confiding in the Wisdom and Justice of this honorable Assembly, they humbly beg Leave to submit the Case to their Consideration; not doubting but that such Remedy will be granted to Your Petitioners, and such order made therein as shall be judged just and reasonable. AND YOUR PETITIONERS WILL EVER PRAY.

G. Mason for the Ohio Company

Source: Kenneth P. Bailey. The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement 1748-1792: A Chapter in the History of the Colonial Frontier. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1939. Pp. 320-327.

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### **MAJOR GEORGE WASHINGTON DELIVERS GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S LETTER TO THE FRENCH IN THE OHIO COUNTRY, 1753**

Wednesday, October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1753,

I was commissioned and appointed by the Honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq; Governor, &c. of Virginia, to visit and deliver a Letter to the Commandant of the French Forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended Journey the same Day; the next, I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam, to be my French Interpreter; and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided Necessaries; from thence we went to Winchester, and got Baggage, Horses, &c. and from thence we pursued the new Road to Wills-Creek, where we arrived the 14<sup>th</sup> of November.

Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as Servitors, Barnaby Currin, and John MacQuire, Indian Traders, Henry Steward, and William Jenkins, and in Company with those Persons, left the Inhabitants the Day following.

The Waters were quite impassable, without swimming our Horses; which obliged us to get the Loan of a Canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin, and Henry Steward, down Monongahela, with our Baggage, to meet us at the Forks of Ohio, about 10 Miles, to cross Alligany.

As I got down before the Canoe, I spent some Time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has the absolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water, and a considerable Bottom of flat, well-timbered Land all around it, very convenient for Building: The Rivers are each a Quarter of a Mile, or more, across, and run here very near at right Angles: Aligany bearing N.E. and Monongahela S.E. the former of these two is very rapid and swift running Water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible Fall...

25<sup>th</sup>. About 3 o'Clock this Evening the Half-King came to Town; I went up and invited him and Davison, privately, to my Tent, and desir'd him to relate some of the Particulars of his Journey to the French Commandant, and Reception there; and to give me an Account of the Ways and Distance. He told me, that the nearest and levellest Way was now impassable, by Reason of many large miry Savannas; that we must be obliged to go by Venango, and should not get to the near Fort under 5 or 6 Night's Sleep, good Travelling...

26<sup>th</sup>. We met in Council at the Long-House, about 9 o'Clock, where I spoke to them as follows,

Brothers, I have called you together in Council, by Order of your Brother the Governor of Virginia, to acquaint you that I am sent, with all possible Dispatch, to visit, and deliver a Letter to the French Commandant, of very great Importance to your Brothers the English; and I dare say, to you their Friends and Allies.

I was desired, Brothers, by your Brother the Governor, to call upon you, the Sachems of the Nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your Advice and Assistance to proceed the nearest and best Road to the French. You see, Brothers, I have got thus far on my Journey.

His Honour likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young Men, to conduct and provide Provisions for us on our Way, and be a Safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the Hatchet against us. I have spoke this particularly to you, Brothers, because his Honour our Governor treats you as good Friends and Allies, and holds you in great Esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this String of Wampum.

After they had considered some Time on the above, the Half-King got up and spoke.

Now, my Brothers, in Regard to what my Brother the Governor has desired of me, I return you this Answer.

I rely upon you as a Brother ought to do, as you say we are Brothers and one People: We shall put Heart in Hand, and speak to our Fathers the French concerning the Speech they made to me, and you may depend that we will endeavour to be your Guard.



Brother, as you have asked my Advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay till I can provide a Company to go with you: The French Speech-Belt is not here, I have it to go for to my hunting Cabbin; likewise the People which I have ordered in, are not yet come, nor cannot till the third Night from this, till which Time, Brother, I must beg you to stay.

I intend to send a Guard of Mingo's, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our Brothers may see the Love and Loyalty we bear them.

As I had Orders to make all possible Dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my Inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable Manner I could, and told him that my Business required the greatest Expedition, and would not admit of that Delay; He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the Time he had appointed, and told me that he could not consent to our going without a Guard, for Fear some Accident should befall us, and draw a Reflection upon him; besides, says he, this is a Matter of no small Moment, and must not be entered into without due Consideration; for now I intend to deliver up the French-Speech-Belt, and make the Shanoahs and Delawares do the same: and accordingly he gave Orders to King Shingiss, who was present, to attend on Wednesday Night with the Wampum, and two Men of their Nation to be in Readiness to set out with us next Morning. As I found it was impossible to get off without affronting them in the most egregious Manner, I consented to stay...

30<sup>th</sup>. Last Night the great Men assembled to their Council-House, to consult further about this Journey, and who were to go; the Result of which was, that only three of their Chiefs, with one of the best Hunters, should be our Convoy: The Reason which they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at Council the 26<sup>th</sup>, was, that a greater Number might give the French Suspicions of some bad Design, and cause them to be treated rudely: But I rather think they could not get their Hunters in.

We set out about 9 o'Clock with the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Hunter, and travelled on the Road to Venango, where we arrived the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, without any Thing remarkable happening but a continued Series of bad Weather.

This is an old Indian Town, situated at the Mouth of French Creek in Ohio, and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the Loggs-Town, but more than 70 the Way we were obliged to go.

We found the French Colours hoisted at a House which they drove Mr. John Frazier, an English Subject, from; I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commandant resided: There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. Joncaire, inform'd me, that he had the Command of the Ohio, but that there was a General Officer at the near Fort, which he advised me to for an Answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest Complaisance.

The Wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the Restraint which at first appear'd in their Conversation, and give a License to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely.

They told me, That it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the Ohio, and by G— they would do it; for that they were sensible the English could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew, their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from Discovery made by one La Sol 60 Years ago; and the Rise of this Expedition is, to prevent

our settling on the River or Waters of it, as they have heard some Families moving out in Order thereto....

7<sup>th</sup>. At 11 o'Clock we set out for the Fort, and were prevented from arriving there 'til the 11<sup>th</sup> by excessive Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps, which we were obliged to pass, to avoid crossing the Creek, which was impossible, either by fording or rafting, the Water so high and rapid.

We passed over much good Land since we left Venango, and through several extensive and very rich Meadows; one of which I believe was near four Miles in Length, and considerably wide in some Places.

12<sup>th</sup>, I prepar'd early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second Officer in Command; I acquainted him with my Business, and offer'd my Commission and Letter, both of which he desired me to keep 'til the Arrival of Monsieur Riparti, Captain, at the next Fort, who was sent for and expected every Hour.

This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. Lewis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier; he was sent over to take the Command, immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about seven Days before me.

At 2 o'Clock the Gentleman that was sent for arrived, when I offer'd the Letter, &c. again; which they receiv'd, and adjourn'd into a private Apartment for the Captain to translate, who understood a little English; after he had done it, the Commander desired I would walk in, and bring my Interpreter to peruse and correct it, which I did.

13<sup>th</sup>, The chief Officers retired, to hold a Council of War, which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimensions of the Fort, and making what Observations I could.

It is situated on the South, or West Fork of French Creek, near the Water, and is almost surrounded by the Creek, and a small Branch of it which forms a Kind of an Island; four Houses compose the Sides; the Bastions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, and about 12 Feet above, and sharp at Top, with Port-Holes cut for Cannon and Loop-Holes for the small Arms to fire through; there are eight 6 lb. Pieces mounted, two in each Bastion, and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate; in the Bastions are a Guard-House, Chapel, Doctor's Lodging, and the Commander's private store, round which are laid Plat-Forms for the Cannon and Men to stand on: There are several Barracks without the Fort, for the Soldiers Dwelling, covered, some with Bark, and some with Boards, and made chiefly of Loggs: There are also several other Houses, such as Stables, Smiths Shop, &c....

16<sup>th</sup>. We had a tedious and very fatiguing Passage down the Creek, several Times we had like to have been shaved against Rocks, and many Times were obliged all Hands to get out and remain in the Water Half an Hour or more, getting over the Shoals; at one Place the Ice had lodged and made it impassable by Water; therefore we were obliged to carry our Canoe across a Neck of Land, a Quarter of a Mile over...

23<sup>d</sup>. Our Horses were now so weak and feeble, and the Baggage heavy, as we here obliged to provide all the Necessaries that the Journey would require; that we doubted much their performing it: therefore myself and others (except the Drivers which were obliged to ride) gave up our Horses for Packs, to assist along with the Baggage; I put myself in an Indian walking Dress, and continued with them three Days, till I found there was no Probability of their getting in, in any reasonable Time; the Horses grew less able to travel every Day; the Cold increased very fast, and the Roads were becoming much worse by a deep Snow, continually freezing; and as I was uneasy to get back, to make Report of my

Proceedings to his Honour the Governor, I determined to prosecute my Journey the nearest Way through the Woods, on Foot.

I took my necessary Papers, pulled off my Cloaths; tied myself up in a Match Coat; and with my Pack at my Back with my Papers and Provisions in it, and a Gun, set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same Manner, on Wednesday the 26<sup>th</sup>. The Day following, just after we had passed a Place called the Murdering-Town, where we intended to quit the Path, and steer across the Country for Shannapins Town, we fell in with a Party of French Indians, who had lain in Wait for us; one of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not 15 Steps, but fortunately missed. We took this Fellow into Custody, and kept him till about 9 o'Clock at Night, and then let him go, and walked all the remaining Part of the Night without making any Stop, that we might get the Start, so far, as to be out of the Reach of their Pursuit the next Day, as we were well assured they would follow our Tract as soon as it was light: The next Day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the River about two Miles above Shannapins; we expected to have found the River frozen, but it was not, only about 50 Yards from each Shore; the Ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast Quantities.

There was no Way for getting over but on a Raft, which we set about, with but one poor Hatchet, and got finished just after Sun-setting, after a whole Days Work; we got it launched, and on Board of it, and set off; but before we were Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice in such a Manner that we expected every Moment our Raft to sink, and ourselves to perish; I put out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by, when the Rapidity of the Stream threw it with so much Violence against the Pole, that it jirked me out into ten Feet Water, but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs; notwithstanding all our Efforts, we could not get the Raft to either Shore, but were obliged, as we were near an Island, to quit our Raft and make to it.

The Cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist, had all his Fingers, and some of his Toes frozen, and the Water was shut up so hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting off the Island, on the Ice, in the Morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's....

Tuesday the 1<sup>st</sup> Day of January, we left Mr. Frazier's House, and arrived at Mr. Gist's at Monongahela the 2d, where I bought Horse, Saddle, &c. the 6<sup>th</sup> we met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores for a Fort at the Forks of Ohio, and the Day after some Families going out to settle: This Day we arrived at Wills-Creek, after as fatiguing a Journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad Weather: From the first Day of December to the 15<sup>th</sup> there was but one Day but it rained or snowed incessantly and throughout the whole Journey we met with nothing but one continued Series of cold wet Weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable Lodgings, especially after we had left our Tent, which was some Screen from the Inclemency of it.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> I got to Belvoir where I stopped one Day to take necessary Rest, and then set out, and arrived in Williamsburg the 16<sup>th</sup>, and waited upon his Honour the Governor with the Letter I had brought from the French Commandant, and to give an Account of the Proceedings of my Journey, which I beg Leave to do by offering the foregoing, as it contains the most remarkable Occurences that happened to me....

Source: "The Journal of Major George Washington, sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of Virginia, to the Commandant of the French Forces on Ohio. To which are added, the Governor's Letter, and a Translation of the French Officer's Answer." Printed by William Hunter, Williamsburg, 1754. Pp. 3-4, 6, 9-10, 13-14, 16-17, 19-23.

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**THE EXPERIENCED BACKWOODSMAN, CHRISTOPHER GIST,  
ACCOMPANIED MAJOR WASHINGTON, 1753**

Wednesday 15 November, 1753. – Then Major George Washington came to my house at Will's Creek, and delivered me a letter from the council in Virginia, requesting me to attend him up to the commandant of the French fort on the Ohio River.

Thursday 15. – We set out, and at night encamped at George's Creek, about eight miles, where a messenger came with letters from my son, who was just returned from his people at the Cherokees, and lay sick at the mouth of Conegocheague. But as I found myself entered again on public business, and Major Washington and all the company unwilling I should return I wrote and sent medicines to my son, and so continued my journey, and encamped at a big hill in the forks of Youghiogany, about eighteen miles.

Thursday 22. – We set out and came to the mouth of Turtle Creek, about twelve miles, to John Frazier's; and he was very kind to us, and lent us a canoe to carry our baggage to the forks, about ten miles.

Friday 23. – Set out, rid to Shannopin's town, and down Allegheny to the mouth of Monongahela, where we met our baggage, and swimm'd our horses over Allegheny, and there encamped that night.

Saturday 24. – Set out; we went to king Shingiss, and he and Lawmolach went with us to the Logstown, and we spoke to the chiefs this evening, and repaired to our camp.

Sunday 25. – They sent out for their people to come in. The Half-King came in this afternoon.

Monday 26. – We delivered our message to the Half-King and they promised by him that we should set out three nights after.

Friday 30. – We set out, and the Half-King and two old men and one young warrior, with us. At night we encamped at the Murthering town, about fifteen miles, on a branch of Great Beaver Creek. Got some corn and dried meat.

Tuesday 5. – Set out about fifteen miles, to the town of Venango, where we were kindly and complaisantly received by Monsieur Joncaire, the French interpreter for the Six Nations.

Wednesday 6. - Rain all day. Our Indians were in council with the Delawares, who lived under the French colors, and ordered them to deliver up to the French the belt, with the marks of the four towns, according to the desire of King Shingiss. But the chief of these Delawares said, "It was true King Shingiss was a great man, but he sent no speech, and," said he, "I cannot pretend to make a speech for a King." So our Indians could not prevail with them to deliver their belt; but the Half-King did deliver his belt, as he had determined. Joncaire did everything he could to prevail on our Indians to stay behind us, and I took all care to have them along with us.

Monday 10. – Set out, travelled about eight miles, and encamped. Our Indians killed a bear. Here we had a creek to cross, very deep; we got over on a tree, and got our goods over.

Tuesday 11. – We set out, travelled about fifteen miles to the French fort, the sun being set. Our interpreter gave the commandant notice of our being over the creek; upon

which he sent several officers to conduct us to the fort, and they received us with a great deal of complaisance.

Wednesday 12. — The Major gave the passport, showed his commission, and offered the Governor's letter to the commandant; but he desired not to receive them, until the other commander from Lake Erie came, whom he had sent for, and expected next day by twelve o'clock.

Thursday 13. — The other General came. The Major delivered the letter, and desired a speedy answer; the time of year and business required it. They took our Indians into private council, and gave them several presents.

Friday 14. — When we had done our business, they delayed and kept our Indians, until Sunday; and then we set out with two canoes, one for our Indians, and the other for ourselves. Our horses we had sent away some days before, to wait at Venango, if ice appeared on the rivers and creeks.

Sunday 16. — We set out by water about sixteen miles, and encamped.

Monday 24. — Here Major Washington set out on foot in Indian dress. Our horses grew weak, that we were mostly obliged to travel on foot, and had snow all day. Encamped near the barrens.

Wednesday 26. — The Major desired me to set out on foot, and leave our company, as the creeks were frozen, and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it, I set out with our packs, like Indians, and travelled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the Major was much fatigued. It was very cold; all the small runs were frozen, that we could hardly get water to drink.

Thursday 27. — We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to the Murthering town, on the southeast fork of Beaver creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there, etc. Major Washington insisted on travelling on the nearest way to the forks of Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We travelled very brisk for eight or ten miles, when the Major's feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much north-eastwardly. The Major desired to encamp, to which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and they would scalp us if we lay out; but to go to his cabin, and we should be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further; then the Major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow; it was very light, and snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, turned about; the Major saw him point his gun toward us and fire. Said the Major, "Are you shot?" "No," said I. Upon which the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him; but the Major would not suffer me to kill him. We let him charge his gun; we found he put in a ball; then we

took care of him. The Major or I always stood by the guns; we made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, "As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night." Upon which I said to the Indian, "I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun." He said, he knew the way to his cabin, and 'twas but a little way. "Well," said I, "do you go home; and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning." He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was fairly out of the way, and then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set out compass, and fixed our course, and travelled all night, and in the morning we were on the head of Piney creek.

Saturday 29. — We set out early, got to Alleghany, made a raft, and with much difficulty got over to an island, a little above Shannopin's town. The Major having fallen in from off the raft, and my fingers frost-bitten, and the sun down, and very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon that island. It was deep water between us and the shore; but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice.

Tuesday January 1, 1754. — We set out from John Frazier's and at night encamped at Jacob's cabins.

Wednesday 2. — Set out and crossed Youghiogany on the ice. Got to my house in the new settlement.

Thursday 3. — Rain.

Friday 4. — Set out for Will's creek, where we arrived on Sunday January 6.

Source: William M. Darlington. "Christopher Gist's Journal, 1753." *Journals with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his Contemporaries*. New York: Published by University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, by Argonaut Press Ltd., 1966. Pp. 80-87.

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### THE STORY OF MARY DRAPER INGLES' CAPTURE AND ESCAPE FROM THE SHAWNEE

At the repeated solicitations of my relations and friends of which letters in my possession are sufficient evidence, I have consented to write the following short history. The application has been made to me as I am the only branch of my Father's family now in existence, who knows of the difficulties and sufferings my father's own family had to undergo at that early day, in attempting to settle this Western World....

John Ingles Sr.

My Father William Ingles moved to the Western part of Virginia sometime about the year 1750 with my Grandfather his father in law George Draper and his family and settled nearley on the top of the Alleganey mountains at a place then called Drapers Meadows now called Smithfield and at this time owned by Col. James Preston at that time there was but few family if any besides their own on the west side of the alleganey in this section of the country. However other families shortly after emigrated to it and made scattering settlements at some distance from each other and continued to enjoy peace and harmony among them for 3 or 4 years in the meantime there had been several parteyes of

the northern Indians, to wit, the Shawneys passed by where my Grandfather lived on their way to the South and wood Commit depredations on the Cawtauba Indians but was still friendly to the Whites at that time however this happy state of things did not last long the Indians found out that they [ ] gratify their Hethan thirst for bloodshed and plunder much nearer Home and at length commenced a warfair on the fronteer settlements & at a time it was little expected a party of Shawneys fell in upon my fathers family and an uncles family John Drapers which lived at the same place and killed severale and took the balance prisoners, to wit, my mother and her 2 children Thos. 4 yrs & George 2 & Aunt Draper & others My grandmother Draper being a widow at that time & living with my father was killed [ ] Col. Patton who was there who had a large claim of land in [ ] waters was killed, also & some other persons not recolected My mother and her two children, Thos. The older 4 years old, and George abot 2 years old was taken as prisoners also my Aunt Draper who was wounded in her arm and Broke by a Ball which was shot at her in attempting to escape & severale others it so happened they made the attack on their harvest day and although there were severale men at the place the Indians took the advantage of attacking the Hows while the men [ ] at their work in the harvest field and the field being some distance [ ] the howse new nothing of the attack untill it was Intierly out of Their power to render any survice to the family...The Indians went off entierly unmolested they gathered up their prisoners & plunder and started & steared their course down the New River They made but slow progress in getting on as their way was much Impeded by the thickness of the forrest & undergroath which covered the whole country However on striking New River they persued on down it. The Indians having several Horses along packed with their plunder which they Had taken & the prisoners very roughly treated However from some cause [ ] my mother said that they always treated her with more respect [ ] any of the other prisoners and permitted her to ride on one of the horses the greater part of the rod and to carry her children though my Aunt Draper who had her arm broke was principally put under her care and my mother had to dress her wound and to procure stuff to dress it and wood frequently send her off by herself into the woods to Hunt the wild comphisey to put to the broken arm and would be gone a considerable time and said she might had frequent oppertuniteys of leaving them but could not think of leaving her children still Harbouring a hope that they might be persued or they might be all released together in some way or Other They still worked on in this way untill they got down some little Distance above the mouth of the great Kanawa They came to a little salt spring in the Bank of the river the Indians stoped there and rested for a day or two there & with what kittles they Had with them boiled & made some salt They then started on from there & persued this journey untill they got to the nation where the Indians lived which was at the mouth of the Bigg Sioto & which took them about one month to performe from the time they were taken untill they arived at the nation. The next day after they got to the nation the prisoners had to undergo the Indian custom of running the gauntlett...However my mother said she was exempted from that punishment and although she was treated with considerable [ ] more than the other prisoners met with all the comfort left her was the hope that she might keep her two children with Her and to render [ ] such survice as occation might need However a few days Baffled all Her hopes The Indians party collected in a few days after [ ] who took prisoners and made a division of all the prisoners and her children taken away from her and consigned to different owners & was not permitted to asoiate to geather a tall Though trying as this circumstance was to her she was obliged to bear it and wore on under her applications in the best way she coud It so

happened that there was some french traders there from detroit with some good trading with the Indians and as linen or Check shirts was great articles among the Indians and as my mother was a very good sewer she undertook to make some shirts for the traders at times when she was not Employed Otherweys and as shirts was a scarce article among them as a dress her permance pleased them...She continued on in making shirts for them in this way while she stayed in this town which was two or three weeks & was making money very fast at about that time a party of the Indians started to the Bigg Bone lick which is now in the state of Kentucky and took my mother & severale other of the prisoners to make salt my mother being so distressed in being seperated from her children & her situation such a disagreeable one that she came to the determined resolution that she wood leave them & try to get Home or dy in the woods & prevailed on an old duch woman that was there and a prisoner too to engage with her in the seemingly Hopeless & daring attempt...as the Bigg Bone lick was 90 or 100 miles farther off than the camp and some little distance from the Ohio River they started in the after part of the day & steered their course to strike the Ohio River which was all the guide they had to direct them...However on their getting to the river persued on up it & in the course of 4 or 5 days reache the Indian town or rather on the opposite side of the Ohio river where there was a little corn raised & a cabbin...There was a little river emptid into the Ohio (to wit) Lyching river on the side they ware and was two deap for them to wade all their chance was to travell up it untill they could find a passage and after traveleing up Liching 2 or 3 days found a place where the freshes had Drifted up timber across that afforded themselves a passage...& then moved down untill they struck the Ohio again & then persued on up the Ohio and thus was the Cource they had to persuee at every stream of water that came in Their way of aney size & which there was severale & they could never have surmounted that defiqualty Had it not been at a season of the year when the water cources was very low & more so than common at the season eaven in this case was obliged to travele severale days Journey up severale of them before they could wade them & then down again to the Ohio which was their onley guide...Under these defiqualteys and nothing to sustain nature but what they picked up in the woods such as black walnuts grapes pap-paws etc. & very often so pushed with hunger that they wood dig up roots & eate that they knew nothing of and in all this extrematy the old duch woman getting disheartened & discouraged got very ill natured to my mother & made some attempts to kill her blaiming my mother for perswaiding her away & that they wood dye in the woods and as she was a good deal stouter & stronger than my mother she used every means to try to please the old woman & keep her in good Humer and at length get to the mouth of the great Kanawa & then had performed but very little more on up the Kanawa in the same manner as they did the Ohio untill they got within 40 or 50 miles of where my mother was taken prisoner (from) & the old woman became more illnatured and made another attempt to kill my mother & she thinks wood have affected it Had she not by accident got loos from the old woman & being somewhat more active & out run her...However loth as my mother was to leave her after reflecting on how the old woman had treated her she thought perhaps the old woman might kill her and concluded that as she was out of her reach she had best keep so...the balance of the way she wood have to travele was a very rough one and although the little clothing which she had started with was nearley or entierly worn out or dragged off of her by the Brush on her long Journey & her mocosans intierly worn out that she had become litteralery naked and the weather growing cooler that her prospect of succeeding was almost a Hopeless one However, her resolution bore her up...pursuing on in this manner for 4 or 5 days after leaving the old woman



travelling through the frost and wading waters & round cliffs of rocks that made in close to the river She Became so frosted & her limbs so swelled that it wood have been imposible she could have got aney farther but that kind providence which had sustained her through a Journey estimated not less than from 7 to 900 miles the rout which she was nessesarily obliged to travele exposed to the Inclemancy of the weather & verosity of wild beasts Hunger & starvation for forty two days and a half in an unknown willderness still profided for her releaf it so happened that a man of the name of Adam Harmon and two of his Sones was at a place on New River where they had settled and raised some corn that summer securing their corn and Hunting When my mother got to the improvement not seeing aney Howse began to Hollow Harmon on hearing the voyce of a woman was a good deal alarmed on listening being an old neighbour of my mother and well acquainted with her voyce said to his sons it certainly was Mary Ingles voice & knowing that she was taken prisoner by the Indians was cautious there might be Indians with her him and his sons Caught up their guns and run on to where my mother was & you may expect it was a Joyfull meating especialey to my mother...at the time my mother got Back my Father and uncle John Draper had been gone sometime to the Cherokee Nation of Indians with a view to get some of them to go to the Shawneys & try to purchace their wives & children or to try to procure their releas in some way or other Those two tribes being at peace with each other and thinking this plan might be the most favorable one they could devise, and on the very night after my mother returned to the fort at the Dunkerd Bottom my Father & Uncle Draper lay within a bout 7 miles of the fort on their return & you may guess what was the sensation and feeling of my Father & mother at his arriving at the fort the next day at so unexpected meting (my Aunt Draper did not get released untill about 6 years afterwards, the Circumstances of her Releas is not recolected) However my Father and mother continued at the Dunkert bottom untill the next spring and as the settlers in this country was likely to be Harrassed by the Indians again that season my mother became very restless and uneasy and could not be reconsiled to stay there. My father to gratify her moved her about 20 miles to another fort called Vauses fort on the Head of roanoke where there was more famileys collected & a much stronger fort and more men to gard it but as the Indians was making Depredations on the fronteers she still could not rest reconsiled to stay there my father then moved Her down into Bedford Countey below the blue ridge...My father & mother continued to live in Bedford County for severale years in the menetime the settlers was still moving to the Western Watters & extending the settlements to a considerable extent west of New River my father returned to New River with his familey and got himself settled again although the Indians still was harrassing the fronteer every season for many years after his return his familey escaped their depredations although the familieys in the neighborhood was obliged almost every season to collect in forts...My father and mother lived and raised a small familey of 5 children 2 sons & 3 daughters who sustained as respectable Charactors as aney in the whole country my father died in the year 1782 at the age of 53 years my mother still continued to live in New River & Injoyed an extraordinary portion of good health after all her tryals & Defiqualteys untile the year 1815 & dyed at the advanced age of 83 or 84 years of age.

I now return to give a narative of the life and acurrences which Hapened to the two Infant children which were taken captives with my mother shortley after they were separated from my mother at the nation & my mother taken on to the big bone Lick or left the Indians the youngest brother George dyed in the nation the elder brother Thos

continued thirteen years & trained up in their savage state that he became intierly accustomed to their Habits & much of an Indian as any of them.

My father had tried many means to try to recover him failed in all untile there was a man of the name of Thos Baker who had been prisoner with the Indians & had lived in the same nation with my brother Thos Had by some means got redeemed & came home...my Father hiered Baker to go with him & started the second time with ale nessesarey preparations for the Journey which was a very disastrous one in having to go by the way of Winchester thence on by pitsburgh and down on the other side of the Ohio River & through severale of the Indian towns to where my brother lived...on my brothers lerning who my father was he took an attachment to him and was perfectly willing to come home with him and after paying his old Indian father a pritey round price for him again started on toward home the little fellow never showing any Disposition to leave him & becoming more & more attached to my father tile he got home it is hard for me to express the feelings of a tender mother of Once more receiving to her arnes her Affectionat child that had been absent 13 long years from her little Thomas as he might be Justly called so altho 17 years old at that time was very much under the common size of common boys of his age & an entier Indian in his manner & apearance & could not speake one word of English...However by Indulging him & Humouring him in all his little fits become more and more reconciled it was with considerable defequalty in getting him to change his Indian custom of wearing his clothes & shooting with his Bows & Arroes & such arnusements as he had been accustomed to but by using a good deal of pains to Improve him & to lern him to speak the English language and got him some what sivolized my father sent him down the Country to Abemarl County to old Dr. Walkers to go to school after being there a while he Improved very much in manners & also in learning & became a very good English schollar but never became entierly broke of some of his little Indian actions....

Source: Roberta Ingles Steele and Andrew Lewis Ingles (eds.). The Story of Mary Draper Ingles and son Thomas Ingles as told by John Ingles, Sr. Radford, VA: Commonwealth Press Inc., 1969. Pp. 7-16, 18-23, 25-27.

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### **COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON RECEIVES HIS COMMISSION AND HIS MARCHING ORDERS FROM GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE, 1755**

Rob't Dinwidie, Esq<sup>r</sup>, His Majesty's L't G'r, &c., to George Washington, Esq<sup>r</sup>:

By Virtue of H. M'y's Royal Com'o. and Instruct's appoint'g me L't G'r and Com'd'r-in-Chief in and over y's his Colony and Dom'n of Virg'a, with full Power and Authority to appoint all Officers, both Civil and Military, within the same, I, repos'g especial Trust in Y'r Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct, do by these Presents appoint you COLONEL of the Virg'a Regim't and Com'd'r-in-Chief of all the Forces now rais'd and to be rais'd for the Defence of y's H. M'y's Colony, and for repell'g the unjust and hostile Invasions of the Fr. and their Ind'n Allies. And You are hereby charg'd with full Power and Authority to act defensively or Offensively, as You shall think for the good and Wellfare of the Service. And I DO hereby strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under Y'r Com'd to be obedient to Y'r Orders and diligent in the Exercise of Y'r several Duties. And I do also strongly enjoin and require You to be Careful in execut'g the great Trust and

Confidence y't is repos'd in Y'r Managem't by seeing y't strict Discipline and Order is carefully observ'd in the Army, and y't the Soldiers are duly exercis'd and provided with all convenient Necessaries. And You are to regulate Y'r Conduct in every Respect by the Rules and Discipline of War (as herewith given You) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and Direct's from Time to Time as You shall receive from me.

Given under my Hand, &c., Aug'st 14<sup>th</sup>, 1755. Pay to commence 1<sup>st</sup> Sep'r.

### Instructions for Colonel Washington

WHEREAS, the Fr. Have unjustly invaded H. M'y's Lands on the Ohio, and have sent flying Parties of Fr. And Ind's to rob and murder our back Settlers to the Westw'd, w'ch the Legislature of Y's Dom'n hav'g seriously taken into their Considerat'n and voted Money for the Protect'n of our Frontiers and for conduct'g the necessary Expedit'n to drive the Fr. from the Ohio. In Consequence thereof I have granted Comissions for rais'g sixteen Compa's of Men to be form'd into a Regim't. The Com'd of w'ch Regim't, together with all the Forces that now are or may be employ'd in the Co'try Service, being given to You You are, as soon as possible, to use Y'r utmost Endeavours to compleat the s'd Regim't by send'g the officers to recruit in the different Counties of y's Dom'n, as You shall see most convenient, leav'g six to do Duty with the Men who remain at F't Cumb'l'd. As it will facilitate the Recruit'g Service to have the Regim't separated, You are to divide them into three Places – viz't, at Winchester, Alexandria, and Frederiksburg – at each of w'ch Place a Field Officer is to reside to receive such Recruits as are fit for the Service, w'ch shall be sent by the Officers in his Division. As Winchester is the highest Place of rendezvous w'ch is expos'd to the Enemy, You are hereby requir'd to make y't Y'r head quarters. The Clothing of the Reg't is to be provided by the Co'try, and to be sent to You in order to be delivered to the Effective Men of each Company. The Men to be regularly p'd their full Subsistence with't any Deductions, except'g two Pence Month from each Non-Comission'd Officer and Private Man, for the Surgeon to purchase Medicines. Y's Money to be stopped by the Pay M'r and to be p'd to the Surgeon quarterly, as also six Pence Month from the Drumers, to be p'd to the Drum Maj'r to repair the Drums and teach the Drumers. You are hereby requir'd to preserve good Order and Discipline among the Officers and Private Men of the Regim't under Y'r Com'd, and to conform Y'r Self in every Respect to the Rules and Articles of War. You are to transmit to me Weekly Returns of the Regiment, and a Return the first Day of every Month with the Variations y't may have happen'd the preceding Month. When any of the Non-Comission'd Officers or Private Men shall happen to die they are to be continued on the Returns and Rolls as Effective Men for Twenty Eight Days to pay for his Coffin, y't the Com'd. of the Com'y may be no Loser by his Death. It is strictly recommended to You to take particular Care y't no Officer Com'd'g a Co'y shall supply the Men with Necessaries, deduct'g the Price out the Men's Pay. They are only to take Care to see the Men layout their Money in purchas'g w't they may stand in need of, and in order y't the Men may not suffer for want of those Necessaries, You are hereby empowered to contract with any Person or Persons to supply the Camp with such necessary Cloath'g, &c., as is requisite.

You are also empower'd to purchase suitable Goods for Ind's to offer them Presents in such Manner and at such Times as You shall think advisable, either for attain'g their Int't or promot'g the Service. You will be entrusted with a Military Chest, w'ch You are to use as You see the Nature and Good of the Service requires. As it will be necessary,

in Order to fill any Measures y't may be taken next Spring to lay in Stores of Provis's, &c., &c., at F't Cumb'l'd, or some other convenient Place, and to make all the necessary Advances y't the Season and other Conveniences will admit, You are hereby order'd to take such steps to do it as Your own Prudence or my further Orders shall direct. As an Aid-de-Camp, and Sec'ry are necessary to ease the Duty of Y'r Com'd, I do hereby invest You with full Power and Authority to appoint and Commiss'n such Person and Persons as You shall think most advisable, and as Mr. Dick has declar'd his Intent's of declin'g any further Services as Commissary, I also impower You to appoint a Commissary in his room, together with an Adjut't, Q'r Master, and such other inferior officers as You shall find absolutely necessary to carry on the Service with Spirit and Vigour. And as the Conduct and Success of the whole must entirely depend upon the Regulat'n and Discipline of the Forces, w'ch cannot be attain'd but by a due and proper exertion of the Military, You are therefore to conform Y'r Self in every Respect to the Rules and Articles of War herewith given You, for w'ch I will see You justified in the just and due Conformance thereto. I sincerely desire that You will inculcate Morality and Virtue among Y'r Men – to punish Drunkenness and Swearing. Wishing You Health and recomen'g You to the Protect'n of God, I am, S'r, Y'r F'd and H'ble serv't.

#### **Memorandum for Colonel Washington.**

Take a particular Acc't of the Cloth'g at Maj'r Carlyle's and those at Winchester, and send me an Acc't of the Whole. The Prvis's y't rema. at Alexa'a belong'g to y's Colony are to be shipt to N. York. Desire Mr. Carlyle to have the Pork and Beef trim'd and Pickled, and hire a small Sloop for y't Purpose. Consign the same to [ ]Robinson, Esq'r, and desire Remittances in Flour. Speak to the Treasurer for a L'r on y't head. If Mr. Dick does not incline to continue Commissary, w'n You find a proper Person to succeed him You must take Security for the due discharge of his Duty, and it's necessary he rema. at the Fort the Time they are salt'g the Provis's to prevent embezzlem't. Endeavour to get Mr. Dick's Acc't Settled, y't the true Balla. due him may be known, y't he may be paid. You have a Power to appoint an Aid-de-Camp and Sec'ry. Write me their Names, y't they may be on the List with the other Officers and y't their Pay may be Settled; the same as to an Adjut't and Q'r Master. You, no doubt, will have regard to a prudent Frugality, y't the Money voted by the Assembly may be properly manag'd; and as the Paym'ts must be by my Warrants I must know the stand'g and daily Charge of Y'r Regim't's Pay. Whatever may be due from the Co'try at Ft. Cumb'l'd or any other Place, endeav'r to ascertain the same, in order for Paym't, y't You may begin Y'r Operat's on a new and clear Proceed'g, y't You may be free from all Old Dem'ds and the Credit of the Country Supported.

Source: R.A. Brock (ed.). Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758. Vol. II. Reprinted from the edition of 1883. New York: AMS Press, 1971. Pp. 184-187.

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**COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON BRIEFS COUNCIL  
PRESIDENT JOHN BLAIR ON THE COLONY'S STATE OF AFFAIRS**

Honble Sir.

Williamsburgh 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1758.

I came here at this critical juncture, by the express order of Sr John St Clair, to represent in the fullest manner, the posture of our Affairs at Winchester, and to obviate any doubts that might arise from the best written narrative – I shall make use of the following method as the most effectual I can at present suggest, to lay sundry matters before you for your information – approbation – and direction. And I hope when your Honor considers how we are circumstanced, and how absolutely necessary dispatch; that you will please to give me explicit and speedy answers on the several points which are submitted.

For, without the latter, the Service will be greatly impeded, and wanting the former, my conduct may be liable to error, and to censure.

To begin: 1<sup>st</sup> Sr John St Clair's letter will, I apprehend; inform your Honor of our principal Wants; namely, Arms, Tents, and other sorts of Field Equipage, articles so absolutely, and obviously necessary, as to need no argument to prove that the men will be useless without them: and that the vast sums of money which have been expended in levying and marching them to the place of Rendezvous, will be entirely lost: besides impeding if not defeating the Expedition, and loosing every Indian now on our frontiers by delay.

2<sup>nd</sup> The Officers will be entirely unprovided with the means of taking the Field, till they have an allowance made to them of Baggage, forage, and bat-money.

Governor Dinwiddie, from what cause I could never yet learn, thought proper to discontinue this allowance to the Companies that remained in Virginia, at the same time that he allowed it to those who went to Carolina: and altho' I produced, from under Genl Stanwix's hand (he then commanding officer on this Quarter) that all Officers were entitled to it, and that it was indispensably necessary to equip them for, and enable them to take the Field.

Genl Forbes has obtained this allowance for the Pennsylvania Troops, and desired Sir John St Clair (who has given me a copy of it, signed) to urge it strongly on this Government also: see the copy.

3<sup>rd</sup> The different Pay of the two Virginia Regiments will, I conceive, if a stop is not put to it, be productive of great discontent, and many Evils. For the Soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment, think their claim upon the Country equally good, if not *better* than that of the Second: because their Services are not limited – They have lacked the *great* Bounty, which the others have received; and have had no cloths for near 2 years, when in *strictness* they have an annual call for, and an equal right to expect them.

4<sup>ly</sup> As our Regimental clothing can not possibly last the campaign, will it not be advisable to send for a supply against next winter? I have sent to Philadelphia for 1,000 pair of Indian Stocking (Leggings) the better to equip my men for the woods, and should be glad to know whether I am to pay for them in behalf of the Country, or deduct the cost out of their pay? As they have not received the clothing they are entitled to, they may think this latter rather hard.

5<sup>th</sup> Should not the Pay of the Surgeon's mate in the First Regiment be equal to that of those in the *Second*. The latter have 4 and the former only 3/ per day. And should there not be the same number of S. mates allowed to the old, as are to the new Regiment?

6<sup>th</sup> It will cause great dissatisfaction in the Regiment, if Lt. Baker is put over the heads of older officers – It is granted, that Mr Baker is a very *deserving* officer; but there are others equally deserving – and have adventured equally to seek *Glory*, and to *merit* applause! Ensign Chew, for instance, was with him when the scalps were taken; Capt. McKenzie, Lt Gist, Mr Woodward, and many others have adventured as far into the Enemy's Country, tho' with less success.

I therefore hope (to prevent the Disorders consequent upon his advancement) that your Honor will suffer Colo. Mercers company to be given to Mr Stewart, the oldest Lieutenant; as Captn Lewis's, in the like case, was to Mr Bullet.

7<sup>th</sup> Sir John St Clair directs, in consequence of Orders from the General, that the First Virginia Regiment shall immediately be completed; and leaves the *mode* of doing it, to your Honor. I should be glad of Direction in this affair. The season, I fear, is too far advanced, to attempt it *now* by Recruiting.

8<sup>th</sup> Lt. Steenbu[r]gen having been guilty of several irregular, and ungentlemanly practises; and finding his conduct was about to be enquired into; begged leave to resign – which I granted, so far as depended upon me: Because the crimes he was then accused of, were not sufficient to break him – altho' quite sufficient to give the whole Corps, the most indifferent opinion of his morals. This resignation, and Captn Lt Stewart's promotion, will cause two vacancies in the Regiment; to fill up which, and to make the several promotions hereby occasioned, will require five blank commissions.

9<sup>th</sup> I should be glad to know if the works at Fort Loudoun are still to go on? In what manner to be forwarded? and under whose direction? Nothing surely will contribute more to the public weal, than this Fort when completed: Because it will be a valuable repository for our Stores, if the event of our Enterprize prove successful; and an assylum for the Inhabitants, (and place of retreat for our Troops) in case of a *Defeat*.

10<sup>th</sup> Great advantages must consequently arise, by appointing Lt Smith to that direction, and to the Command of Fort Loudoun: First, because he has had the overlooking of the Works for near 2 years – is, by that means, become perfectly well acquainted with every thing intended to be done – and is exceedingly industrious.

Secondly, because there must necessarily be many sick and lame Soldiers left at that Garrison, who may require the eye of a diligent officer, to keep them together – Thirdly, because all the Regimental stores and Baggage must be left at that place; and ought to be under the care of an officer who can be made accountable for his conduct: and not left to the mercy of an ungovernable and refractory militia: and, forethly – it is necessary, if for no other reason than to preserve the materials for finishing the works that are now lying there.

11<sup>th</sup> I conceive we shall be ordered to take with us the greatest part of the ammunition now at Fort Loudoun: It will [be] necessary, therefore, to have a supply laid in there, for the use of the frontier Garrisons.

12<sup>th</sup> I did, in a late letter, endeavour to point out in what manner the Service would be benefited by continuing Rutherford's Rangers in the Parts they now are; and sending the Militia of Prince William to the Branch, in their stead – And again recommend it, for the reasons then given, and for many others which might be *given*.

I must now conclude, with once more begging that Your Honor would come to some speedy determination on these several matters – From what Sir John St Clair has wrote – from my Orders – and from what I have here set forth, I conceive it must sufficiently appear, that the greatest dispatch is absolutely necessary; the success of our

Expeditions in a manner, depending upon the early commencement of it: Every delay therefore, may be attended with pernicious consequences.

The Indians, glad of any pretence for returning home, will make use of delays for a handle: and a spirit of discontent and desertion may spring up among the *New Levies* for want of Employment.

These are matters obvious to me; and my Duty requires that I represent *them* in this free and candid manner. I am your Honor's most obedt. And most humble Servant,

G.W.

Source: W.W. Abbot (ed.). "George Washington to John Blair, May 28, 1758." The Papers of George Washington, October 1757-September 1758. Colonial Series 5. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988. Pp. 199-203

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### COLONEL JAMES SMITH REMEMBERS HIS LIFE AS A CAPTIVE WITH THE OHIO COUNTRY INDIANS 1757-1758

In May 1755, the province of Pennsylvania, agreed to send out three hundred men, in order to cut a waggon road from Fort Loudon, to join Braddock's road, near the Turkey Foot, or three forks of Yohogania. My brother-in-law, William Smith esq. of Conococheague, was appointed commissioner, to have the oversight of these road-cutters.

Though I was at that time only eighteen years of age, I had fallen violently in love with a young lady, whom I apprehended was possessed of a large share of both beauty and virtue; - but being born between Venus and Mars, I concluded I must also leave my dear fair one, and go out with this company of road-cutters, to see the event of this campaign; but still expecting that some time in the course of this summer, I should again return to the arms of my beloved.

We went on with the road, without interruption, until near the Allegheny Mountain; when I was sent back, in order to hurry up some provisions waggons that were on the way after us; I proceeded down the road as far as the crossings of Juniata, where, finding the waggons were coming on as fast as possible, I returned up the road again towards the Allegheny Mountain, in company with one Arnold Vigoras. About four or five miles above Bedford, three Indians had made a blind of bushes, stuck in the ground, as though they grew naturally, where they concealed themselves, about fifteen yards from the road. When we came opposite to them, they fired upon us, at this short distance, and killed my fellow traveller, yet their bullets did not touch me; but my horse making a violent start, threw me, and the Indians immediately ran up, and took me prisoner. The one that laid hold on me was a Canasatauga, the other two were Delawares. One of them could speak English, and asked me if there were any more white men coming after? I told them not any near, that I knew of. Two of these Indians stood by me, whilst the other scalped my comrade: they then set off and ran at a smart rat, through the woods, for some fifteen miles, and that night we slept on the Alegheny Mountain, without fire.

The next morning they divided the last of their provision which they had brought from Fort DuQuesne, and gave me an equal share, which was about two or three ounces of mouldy biscuit - this and a young Ground-Hog, about as large as a Rabbit, roasted, and also equally divided, was all the provision we had until we came to the Loyal-Hannan, which was about fifty miles; and a great part of the way we came through exceeding rocky Laurel-

thickets, without any path. When we came to the West side of Laurel-Hill, they gave the scalp halloo, as usual, which is a long yell or halloo, for every scalp or prisoner they have in possession; the last of these scalp halloos were followed with quick and sudden shrill shouts of joy and triumph. On their performing this, we were answered by the firing of a number of guns on the Loyal-Hannan, one after another, quicker than one could count, by another party of Indians, who were encamped near where Ligonier now stands. As we advanced near this party, they increased with repeated shouts of joy and triumph; but I did not share with them in their excessive mirth. When we came to this camp, we found they had plenty of Turkeys and other meat, there; and though I never before eat venison without bread or salt, yet as I was hungry, it relished very well. There we lay that night, and the next morning the whole of us marched on our way for Fort DuQuesne. The night after we joined another camp of Indians, with nearly the same ceremony, attended with great noise, and apparent joy, among all, except one. The next morning we continued our march, and in the afternoon we came in full view of the fort, which stood on the point, near where Fort Pitt now stands. We then made a halt on the bank of the Allegheny, and repeated the scalp halloo, which was answered by the firing of all the firelocks in the hands of both Indians and French who were in and about the fort, in the aforesaid manner, and also the great guns, which were followed by the continued shouts and yells of the different savage tribes who were then collected there.

As I was at this time unacquainted with this mode of firing and yelling of savages, I concluded that there were thousands of Indians there, ready to receive General Braddock; but what added to my surprize, I saw numbers running towards me, stripped naked, excepting breech-clouts, and painted in the most hideous manner, of various colours, though the principal color was vermilion, or a bright red; yet there was annexed to this, black, brown, blue, &c. As they approached, they formed themselves into two long ranks, about two or three rods apart. I was told by an Indian that could speak English, that I must run betwixt these ranks, and that they would flog me all the way, as I ran, and if I ran quick, it would be so much the better, as they would quit when I got to the end of the ranks. There appeared to be a general rejoicing around me, yet, I could find nothing like joy in my breast; but I started to the race with all the resolution and vigor I was capable of exerting, and found that it was as I had been told, for I was flogged the whole way. When I had got near the end of the lines, I was struck with something that appeared to me to be a stick, or the handle of a tomahawk, which caused me to fall to the ground. On my recovering my senses, I endeavored to renew my race: but as I arose, some one cast sand in my eyes, which blinded me so, that I could not see where to run. They continued beating me most intolerably, until I was at length insensible; but before I lost my senses, I remember my wishing them to strike the fatal blow, for I thought they intended killing me, but apprehended they were too long about it.

The first thing I remember was my being in the fort, amidst the French and Indians, and a French doctor standing by me, who had opened a vein in my left arm: after which, the interpreter asked me how I did, I told him I felt much pain; the doctor then washed my wounds, and the bruised places of my body, with French brandy. As I felt faint, and the brandy smelt well, I asked for some inwardly, but the doctor told me, by the interpreter, that it did not suit my case.

When they found I could speak, a number of Indians came around me, and examined me, with threats of cruel death, if I did not tell the truth. The first question they asked me, was, how many men were there in the party that were coming from Pennsylvania,



to join Braddock? I told them the truth, that there were three hundred. The next question was, were they well armed, (meaning the arm of flesh) for they had only about thirty guns among the whole of them; which if the Indians had known, they would certainly have gone and cut them all off; therefore, I could not in conscience let them know the defenceless situation of these road-cutters. I was then sent to the hospital, and carefully attended by the doctors, and recovered quicker than what I expected.

Some time after I was there, I was visited by the Delaware Indian already mentioned, who was at the taking of me, and could speak some English. Though he spoke but bad English, yet I found him to be a man of considerable understanding. I asked him if I had done any thing that had offended the Indians, which caused them to treat me so unmercifully? He said no, it was only an old custom the Indians had, and it was like how do you do; after that he said I would be well used. I asked him if I should be admitted to remain with the French? He said no – and told me that as soon as I recovered, I must not only go with the Indians, but must be made an Indian myself. I asked him what news from Braddock's army? He said the Indians spied them every day, and he showed me by making marks on the ground with a stick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very close order, and that the Indians would surround them, take trees, and (as he expressed it) shoot um down all one pigeon.

Shortly after this, on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of July 1755, in the morning I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate, where were the barrels of powder, bullets, flints, &c. and every one taking what suited; I saw the Indians also march off in rank, intire – likewise the French Canadians, and some regulars, after viewing the Indians and French in different positions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I was then in high hopes that I would soon see them fly before the British troops, and that general Braddock would take the fort and rescue me.

I remained anxious to know the event of this day; and in the afternoon I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of Joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch, as I spoke Dutch I went to one of them, and asked him, what was the news? he told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man left alive before sun down. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloo's and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets &c. with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that, another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of waggon-horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hedious shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose.

About sun down I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked – these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Alegheny River opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men, they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with fire-brands, red-hot irons, &c. and he screaming in a most doleful manner, - the Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry.

When I came into my longings I saw Russel's Seven Sermons, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present of to me. From the best information I could receive there were only seven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred British lay dead in the field besides what were killed in the river on their retreat.

The morning after the battle I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort, the same day I also saw several Indians in British-officers' dress with sash, half-moon laced hats &c. which the British then wore.

A few days after this the Indians demanded me and I was obliged to go with them. I was not yet well able to march, but they took me in a canoe, up the Alegheny River to an Indian town that was on the north side of the river, about forty miles above Fort DuQuesne. Here I remained about three weeks, and was then taken to an Indian town on the west branch of Muskingum, about twenty miles above the forks, which was called Tullihias, inhabited by Delawares, Caughnewagos and Mohicans. – On our rout betwixt the aforesaid towns, the country was chiefly Black-oak and white-oak land, which appeared generally to be good wheat land, chiefly second and third rate, intermixed with some rich bottoms.

The day after my arrival at the aforesaid town, a number of Indians collected about me, and one of them began to pull the hair out of my head. He had some ashes on a piece of bark, in which he frequently dipped his fingers in order to take the firmer hold, and so he went on, as if he had been plucking a turkey, until he had all the hair clean out of my head, except for a small spot about three or four inches square on my crown; this they cut off with a pair of scissors, excepting three locks, which they dressed up in their own mode. Two of these they wrapped round with a narrow beaded garter made by themselves for that purpose, and the other they platted at full length, and then stuck it full of silver broches. After this they bored my nose and ears, and fixed me off with ear rings and nose jewels, then they ordered me to strip off my clothes and put on a breech-clout, which I did; they then painted my head, face, and body in various colours. They put a large belt of wampom on my neck, and silver bands on my hands and right arm; and so an old chief led me out in the street and gave the alarm halloo, coo-wig, several times, repeated quick, and on this all that were in the town came running and stood round the old chief, who held me by the hand in the midst. – As I at that time knew nothing of their mode of adoption, and had seen them put to death all they had taken, and as I never could find that they saved a man alive at Braddock's defeat, I made no doubt but they were about putting me to death in some cruel manner. The old chief holding me by the hand, made a long speech very loud, and when he had done he handed me to three young squaws, who led me by the hand down the bank into the river until the water was up to our middle. The squaws then made signs to me to plunge myself into the water, but I did not understand them; I thought that the result of the council was that I should be drowned, and that these young ladies were to

be the executioners. They all three laid violent hold of me, and I for some time opposed them with all my might, which occasioned loud laughter by the multitude that were on the bank of the river. At length one of the squaws made out to speak a little English (for I believe they began to be afraid of me) and said, no hurt you; on this I gave myself up to their ladyships, who were as good as their word; for though they plunged me under water, and washed and rubbed me severely, yet I could not say they hurt me much.

These young women then led me up to the council house, where some of the tribe were ready with new cloths for me. They gave me a new ruffled shirt, which I put on, also a pair of leggins done off with ribbons and beads, likewise a pair of mockasons, and garters dressed with beads, Porcupine-quills, and redhair – also a tinsel of laced cappo. They again painted my head and face with various colors, and tied a bunch of red feathers to one of these locks they had left on the crown of my head, which stood up five or six inches. They seated me on a bear skin, and gave me a pipe, tomahawk, and polecat skin pouch, which had been skinned pocket fashion, and contained tobacco, killegencio, or dry sumach leaves, which they mix with their tobacco, - also spunk, flint and steel. When I was thus seated, the Indians came in dressed and painted in their grandest manner. As they came in they took their seats and for a considerable time there was a profound silence, every one was smoking, - but not a word was spoken among them. – At length one of the chiefs made a speech, which was delivered to me by an interpreter, - and was as followeth: - “My son, you are now flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone. By the ceremony which was performed this day, every drop of white blood was washed out of your veins; you are taken into the Caughnewago nation, and initiated into a warlike tribe; you are adopted into a great family, and now received with great seriousness and solemnity in the room and place of a great man; after what has passed this day, you are now one of us by an old strong law and custom – My son, you have now, nothing to fear, we are now under the same obligations to love, support and defend one another, therefore you are to consider yourself as one of our people.” – At this time I did not believe this fine speech, especially that of the white blood being washed out of me; but since that time I have found that there was much sincerity in said speech, - for, from that day I never knew them to make any distinction between me and themselves in any respect whatever until I left them – If they had plenty of cloathing I had plenty, if we were scarce we all shared one fate.

After this ceremony was over, I was introduced to my new kin, and told that I was to attend a feast that evening, which I did. And as the custom was, they gave me also a bowl and wooden spoon, which I carried with me to the place, where there was a number of large brass kettles full of boiled venison and green corn; every one advanced with his bowl and spoon and had his share given him. – After this, one of the chiefs made a short speech, and then we began to eat.

The name of one of the chiefs in this town was Tecanyaterighto, alias Pluggy, and the other Asallecoa, alias Mohawk Solomon. – As Pluggy and his party were to start the next day to war, to the frontiers of Virginia, the next thing to be performed was the war dance, and their war songs. At their war dance, they had both vocal and instrumental music. They has a short hollow gum close in one end, with water in it, and parchment stretched over the open end thereof, which they beat with one stick, and made a sound nearly like a muffled drum, - all those who were going on this expedition collected together and formed. An old Indian then began to sing, and timed the music by beating on this drum, as the ancients formerly timed their music be beating the tabor. On this the warriors began to advance, or move forward in concert, like well disciplined troops would march to

the fife and drum. Each warrior had a tomahawk, spear or warmallet in his hand, and they all moved regularly towards the east, or the way they intended to go to war. At length they all stretched their tomahawks towards the Potomack, and giving a hideous shout or yell, they wheeled quick about, and danced in the same manner back. The next was the war song. In performing this, only one sung at a time, in a moving posture, with a tomahawk in his hand, while all the other warriors were engaged in calling aloud he-uh, he-uh, which they constantly repeated, while the war song was going on. When the warrior that was singing had ended his song, he struck a war-post with his tomahawk, and with a loud voice told what warlike exploits he had done, and what he now intended to do: which were answered by the other warriors with loud shouts of applause. Some who had not before intended to go to war, at this time were so animated by this performance, that they took up the tomahawk and sung the war song which was answered with shouts of joy, as they were then initiated into the present marching company. The next morning this company all collected at one place, with their heads and faces painted with various colors, and packs upon their backs: they marched off, all silent, except the commander, who, in the front, sung the travelling song, which began in this manner: hoo caught-tainte heegana. Just as the rear passed the end of the town, they began to fire in their slow manner, from the front to the rear, which was accompanied with shouts and yells from all quarters.

This evening I was invited to another sort of dance, which was a kind of promiscuous dance. The young men stood in one rank, and the young women in another, about one rod apart, facing each other. The one that raised the tune, or started the song, held a small gourd or dry shell of a squash in his hand, which contained beads or small stones, which rattled. When he began to sing, he timed the tune with his rattle; both men and women danced and sung together, advancing towards each other, stooping until their heads would be touching together, and then ceased from dancing, with loud shouts, and retreated and formed again, and so repeated the same thing over and over, for three or four hours, without intermission. This exercise appeared to me at first, irrational and insipid; but I found that in singing their tunes, they used ya ne no hoo wa ne, &c. like our fa sol la, and though they have no such thing as jingling verse, yet they can intermix sentences with their notes, and say what they please to each other, and carry on the tune in concert. I found that this was a kind of wooing or courting dance, and as they advanced stooping with their heads together, they could say what they pleased in each others ear, without disconcerting their rough music, and the others, or those near, not hear what they say.

...After this I was again out after nuts, and on my return beheld a new erection, which were two white oak saplings, that were forked about twelve feet high, and stood about fifteen apart. They had cut these saplings at the forks and laid a strong pole across which appeared in the form of a gallows, and the poles they had shaved very smooth and painted in places with vermilion. I could not conceive the use of this piece of work, and at length concluded it was a gallows, I thought that I had displeased them by reading my books, and that they were about putting me to death. — The next morning I observed them bringing their skins all to this place and hanging them over this pole, so as to preserve them from being injured by the weather, this removed my fears. They also buried their large canoe in the ground, which is the way they took to preserve this sort of a canoe in the winter season.

About the latter end of March we began to prepare for moving into town, in order to plant corn:....

...we proceeded, and arrived safe at Sunyendeand, which was a Wiandot town, that lay upon a small creek which empties into the Little Lake below the mouth of Sandusky.

The town was about eighty rood above the mouth of the creek, on the south side of a large plain, on which timber grew, and nothing more but grass or nettles. In some places there were large flats, where nothing but grass grew, about three feet high when grown, and in other places nothing but nettles, very rank, where the soil was extremely rich and loose – here they planted corn. In this town there were also French traders, who purchased our skins and fur, and we all got new clothes, paint, tobacco, &c.

After I had got my new clothes, and my head done off like a red-headed woodpecker, I, in company with a number of young Indians, went down to the corn-field, to see the squaws at work. When we came there, they asked me to take a hoe, which I did, and hoed for some time. The squaws applauded me as a good hand at the business; but when I returned to town, the old men hearing of what I had done, chid me, and said that I was adopted in the place of a great man, and must not hoe corn like a squaw. They never had occasion to reprove me for any thing like this again: as I never was extremely fond of work, I readily complied with their orders.

As the Indians on their return from their winter hunt, bring in with them large quantities of bears oil, sugar, dried venison, &c. at this time they have plenty, and do not spare eating or giving – thus they make way with their provision as quick as possible. They have no such thing as regular meals, breakfast, dinner or supper; but if any one, even the town folks, would go to the same house, several times in one day, he would be invited to eat of the best – and with them it is bad manners to refuse to eat when it is offered. If they will not eat it is interpreted as a symptom of displeasure, or that the persons refusing to eat, were angry with those who had invited them.

The Indians were then in great hopes that they would drive all the Virginians over the lake, which is all the name they know for the sea. They had some cause for this hope, because at this time, the Americans were altogether unacquainted with war of any kind, and consequently very unfit to stand their hand with such subtil enemies as the Indians were. The two old Indians asked me if I did not think that the Indians and French would subdue all America, except New-England, which they said they had tried in old times. I told them, I thought not: they said they had already drove them all out of the mountains, and had chiefly laid waste the great valley, betwixt the North and South mountain, from Potomack to James River, which is a considerable part of the best land in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and that the white people appeared to them like fools; they could neither guard against surprize, run or fight. These, they said, were their reasons for saying that they would subdue the whites. They asked me to offer my reasons for my opinion, and told me to speak my mind freely. I told them that the white people to the East were very numerous, like the trees, and though they appeared to them to be fools, as they were not acquainted with their way or war, yet they were not fools; therefore, after some time they will learn your mode of war, and turn upon you, or least defend themselves. I found that the old men themselves did not believe they could conquer America, yet they were willing to propagate the idea, in order to encourage the young men to go to war.

There was a number of prisoners brought in by these parties, and when they were to run the gauntlet, I went and told them how they were to act. One John Savage, was brought in, a middle aged man, or about forty years old. He was to run the gauntlet. I told him what he had to do; and after this I fell into one of the ranks with the Indians, shouting

and yelling like them; and as they were not very severe on him, as he passed me, I hit him with a piece of pumpkin – which pleased the Indians much, but hurt my feelings.

About the time that these warriors came in, the green corn was beginning to be of use; so that we had either green corn or venison, and sometimes both – which was comparatively, high living. When we could have plenty of green corn, or roasting-ears, the hunters became lazy, and spent their time as already mentioned, in singing and dancing &c. They appeared to be fulfilling the scriptures beyond those who profess to believe them, in that of taking no thought of to-morrow: and also in living in love, peace, and friendship together, without disputes. In this respect, they shame those who profess Christianity.

In this manner we lived, until October, then the geese, swans, ducks, cranes, &c. came from the north, and alighted on this little Lake, without number or innumerable. Sunyendeand is a remarkable place for fish, in the spring, and fowl both in the fall and spring.

Some time in October, another adopted brother, older than Tontileaugo, came to pay us a visit at Sunyendeand, and he asked me to take a hunt with him on Cayahaga. As they always used me as a free man, and gave me liberty of choosing, I told him I was attached to Tontileaugo – had never seen him before, and therefore, asked sometime to consider of this. He told me that the party he was going with would not be along, or at the mouth of his little lake, in less than six days, and I could in this time be acquainted with him, and judge for myself. I consulted with Tontileaugo on this occasion, and he told me that our old brother Tecaughretanego, (which was his name) was a chief, and a better man than he was; and if I went with him I might expect to be well used, but he said I might do as I pleased; and if I staid he would use me as he had done. I told him that he had acted in every respect as a brother to me; yet I was much pleased with my old brother's conduct and conversation; and as he was going to a part of the country I had never been in, I wished to go with him – he said that he was perfectly willing....

After this a number of young Indians were getting their ears cut, and they urged me to have mine cut likewise; but they did not attempt to compel me, though they endeavoured to persuade me. The principal arguments they used were its being a very great ornament, and also the common fashion – The former I did not believe, and the latter I could not deny. They way they performed this operation was by cutting the fleshy part of the circle of the ear close to the gristle quite through. When this was done they wrapt rags round this fleshy part until it was entirely healed; then they hung lead to it and stretched it to a wonderful length: when it was sufficiently stretched, they wrapt the fleshy part round with brass wire, which formed it into a semi circle about four inches in diameter.

Many of the young men were now exercising themselves in a game resembling foot ball; though they commonly struck the ball with a crooked stick, made for that purpose; also a game something like this, wherein they used a wooden ball, about three inches diameter, and the instrument they moved it with a strong staff about five feet long, with a hoop net on the end of it, large enough to contain the ball. Before they begin the play, they lay off about half a mile distance in a clear plain, and the opposite parties all attend at the centre, where a disinterested person casts up the ball then the opposite parties all contend for it. If any one gets it into his net, he runs with it the way he wishes it to go, and they all pursue him. If one of the opposite party overtakes the person with the ball, he gives the staff a stroke which causes the ball to fly out of the net; then they have another debate for it; and if the one that gets it can outrun all the opposite party, and can carry it quite out, or over the line at the end, the game is won; but this seldom happens. When any one is running

away with the ball, and is likely to be overtaken, he commonly throws it, and with this instrument can cast it fifty or sixty yards. Sometimes when the ball is almost at the one end, matters will take a sudden turn, and the opposite party may quickly carry it out at the other end. Often times they will work a long while back and forward before they can get the ball over the line, or win the game....

We remained here until some time in April 1758. At this time Tecaughretanego had recovered so, that he could walk about. We made a bark canoe, embarked, and went down Ollentangy some distance, but the water being low, we were in danger of splitting our canoe upon the rocks: therefore Tecaughretanego made himself a sweat-house; which he did by sticking a number of hoops in the ground, each hoop forming a semi-circle – this he covered all round with blankets and skins; he then prepared hot stones, which he rolled into this hut, and then went into it himself, with a little kettle of water in his hand, mixed with a variety of herbs, which he had formerly cured, and had now with him in his pack – they afforded an odoriferous perfume. When he was in, he told me to pull down the blankets behind him, and cover all up close, which I did, and then he began to pour water upon the hot stones, and to sing aloud. He continued in this vehement hot place about fifteen minutes: - all this he did in order to purify himself before he would address the Supreme Being. When he came out of his sweat-house, he began to burn tobacco and pray. He began each petition with oh, ho, ho, ho, which is a kind of aspiration, and signifies an ardent wish. I observed that all his petitions were only for immediate or present temporal blessings. He began his address by thanksgiving, in the following manner:

“O great being! I thank thee that I have obtained the use of my legs again – that I am now able to walk about and kill turkeys, &c. without feeling exquisite pain and misery: I know that thou are a hearer and a helper, and therefore I will call upon thee.

Source: John J. Barsotti (ed.). *Scoouwa: James Smith's Indian Captivity Narrative*. William M. Darlington's illustrative notes from the 1870 Clarke edition are included with additional annotation by John J. Barsotti, Assistant Curator. Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1996. Pp. 18-26, 28-33, 33-39, 44-55, 59-66, 91-92, 105-113.

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## GOVERNOR FRANCIS FAUQUIER REPORTS ON THE STATE OF THE COLONY, 1763

**Answers to the Queries sent to me by the right honble the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation Affairs.**

By their Lordships most obedient Servant

Fran: Fauquier

Janry. 30<sup>th</sup> 1763

**Query 1<sup>st</sup>.** What is the Situation of the Colony under your Government, the Nature of the Country, Soil, & Climate?

**Answer.** Virginia as properly now call'd is situated between the Latitudes 36d. 30m. and 40d. 15m. North for so far northwards the North-West Corner extends. The Capes are in 75d. West Longitude from London...The Country is in general Flat for near 200 Miles from the Sea Coast, where some Hills begin to rise to the Westward, and about 25 or 30 Miles at a medium beyond these lesser Hills, lies the first great chain of Mountains call'd the

blue Ridge. From this Ridge to the westward are several; other Ridges the Country being mountainous between the blue and the Alleghany Ridge which is the last to the westward, at some distance from which runs the Ohio, and other Waters of the Missisipi. This mountainous Country divides the Waters which fall into the Bay of Chesapeak and the Missisipi. The Soil is in general extremely good producing Wheat in great Abundance after it has been tended in Tobacco and Indian Corn; and this without Manure, for all the Manure produced on every Plantation is appropriated to the Culture of Tobacco only...The chief Rivers on the eastern Side the Mountains are Potomack, Rappahanock, York and James Rivers; all which run by a south-west Course and divide the Colony into narrow Necks of Land. There are no Harbours of great Note, for the Ships all run up the Rivers into the Freshes as far as they can with Safety, to avoid the Worm which bites in the salt Water....

**Query 2d.** What are the Boundaries? have those Boundaries been settled and ascertain'd, and by what Authority?

**Answer.** Virginia is bounded on the East by the great Atlantic Ocean, on the South by an artificial Line run due westward from Curratuck Inlet which divides this Colony from north Carolina...On the westward the Boundary is unlimited, ...On the northward it is bounded by the Course of the River Potomack which divides it from Maryland...The River forms the Boundary from its Mouth at the head of the Northern Branch thereof: from which a Line run due North makes the Boundary till the said Line meets the Pennsylvania Line, then it runs westward along that Line to the utmost Extent thereof; then by another Line run due North to the Lake Erie. These Bounds are not at present disputed, but Disputes are soon likely to arise. The proprietors of Pennsylvania and Maryland are now at work actually running their Line of Division. The Pennsylvanians say; when that Line comes to be run, the Proprietors of Pennsylvania will be found to have a Right to a large Tract of Land now reputed to be in the Colony of Virginia,...

**Query 8<sup>th</sup>.** What Mines are there?

**Answer.** There are Coals found in various parts of the Colony especially near the Falls of James River which Pits have been lately open'd and work'd and Coal exported to the northern Colonies. The Country is also full of Iron Stone,...There have been Mines both of Copper and Lead discover'd but neither of them work'd, excepting one Mine very rich in Lead lying on a branch of new River in the road to the upper Cherokee Nation. The proprietors of this are now beginning to work it, of which number I was one my self but quitted it on a Doubt whether Lead would bear the Expence of so long a Land Carriage as is necessary to bring it to market...

**Query 13<sup>th</sup>.** What is the Number of Indians inhabiting those parts of America lying within or bordering upon your Colony?...

**Answer.** The Number of Indians residing in the known parts of this Colony, is very small, there being only some Remains of the Eastern Shore and Pamunky Indians, who are so far civilized as to wear the European dress, and in part follow the Customs of the common Planters. Besides these there are some of the Nottoways, Meherrins Tuscaroras, and Saponys; who tho' they live in peace in the midst of us, lead in great Measure the lives of wild Indians...The nearest Indians who do not live among us are the Shawanese situated on the north-west towards the Ohio; and the Cherokees inhabiting the south-west in the provinces of the Carolina. The Shawanese are computed to be about 500 fighting Men, the Cherokees about 4,000 including the upper, middle and lower Towns...The Trade between this Colony and the Indians is at present inconsiderable, tho' it seems to be increasing. The



Inhabitants of Pennsylvania have the chief Trade with the northern, and those of Carolina with the southern Indians...I did recommend it to my Assembly to pass some Act, conformable to that pass'd by the Assembly of South Carolina, to regulate the Trade with the Indians, but they declined it.

Source: George Reese (ed.). "Report on the Colony 30 January 1763." The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia 1758-1768. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1981. Pp. 1009-1011, 1015-1017.

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**ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS OF 1763: ESTABLISHING NEW GOVERNMENTS AND, INCIDENTLY, LIMITING SETTLEMENT WEST OF THE MOUNTAINS**

**1763, October 7.**

**[Establishing New Governments in America.]**

**BY THE KING.**

**A PROCLAMATION**

George R.

Whereas We have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to Our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris the Tenth Day of February last; and being desirous, that all Our loving Subjects, as well of Our Kingdoms as of Our Colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation; We have thought fit, with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all Our loving Subjects, that We have, with the Advice of Our said Privy Council, granted Our Letters Patent under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, Four distinct and separate Governments, stiled and called by the Names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows; viz.

**First.** The Government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River through the Lake St. John to the South End of the Lake nigh Pissin; from whence the said Line crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in Forty five Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Sea; and also along the North Coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cap Rosieres, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence by the West End of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River of St. John.

**Secondly.** The Government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico, and the Apalachicola River; to the Northward, by a Line drawn from that Part of the said River where the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the Source of St. Mary's River, and by the Course of the said River to the Atlantick Ocean; and to the Eastward and Southward, by the Atlantick Ocean, and the Gulph of Florida, including all Islands within Six leagues of the Sea Coast.

**Thirdly.** The Government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pentchartrain; to the Westward, by the said Lake, and Lake Mauripas, and the River Mississippi; to the Northward, by a Line drawn due East from that Part of the River Mississippi which lies in the Thirty one Degrees North Latitude, to the River Apalachicola or Chatachouchee; and to the Eastward by the said River.

**Fourthly.** The Government of Grenada, comprehending the Island of that Name, together with the Grenadines, and the Islands of Dominico, St. Vincents, and Tobago.

And, to the end that the open and free Fishery of Our Subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the Coast of Labrador and the adjacent Islands, We have thought fit, with the Advice of Our said Privy Council, to put all that Coast, from the River St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the Island of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller Islands lying upon the said Coast, under the Care and Inspection of Our Governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the Advice of Our Privy Council, thought fit to annex the Islands of St. John's, and Cape Breton or Isle Royale, with the lesser Islands adjacent thereto, to Our Government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the Advice of Our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to Our Province of Georgia all the Lands lying between the Rivers Attamaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling Our said new Governments, that Our loving Subjects should be informed of Our Paternal Care for the Security of the Liberties and Properties of those who are and shall become Inhabitants thereof; We have thought fit to publish and declare, by this Our Proclamation, that We have, in the Letters Patent under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, by which the said Governments are constituted, given express Power and Direction to Our Governors of Our said Colonies respectively, that so soon as the State and Circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the Advice and Consent of the Members of Our Council, summon and call General Assemblies within the said Governments respectively, in such Manner and Form as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces in America, which are under Our immediate Government; and We have also give Power to the said Governors, with the Consent of Our said Councils, and the Representatives of the People, so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, Statutes, and Ordinances for the Publick Peace, Welfare, and Good Government of Our said Colonies, and of the People and Inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the Law of England, and under such Regulations and Restrictions as are used in other Colonies: And in the mean Time, and until such Assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all Persons inhabiting in, or resorting to Our said Colonies, may confide in Our Royal Protection for the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of Our Realm of England; for which Purpose, We have given Power under Our Great Seal to the Governors of Our said Colonies respectively to erect and constitute, with the Advice of Our said Councils respectively, Courts of Judicature and Publick Justice, within Our said Colonies, for the hearing and determining all Causes, as well Criminal as Civil, according to Law and Equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, with Liberty to all Persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the Sentences of such Courts, in all Civil Cases, to appeal, under the usual Limitations and Restrictions, to Us in Our Privy Council.

We have also thought fit, with the Advice of Our Privy Council as aforesaid, to give until the Governors and Councils of Our said Three New Colonies upon the Continent, full Power and Authority to settle and agree with the Inhabitants of Our said New Colonies, or with any other Persons who shall resort thereto, for such Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as are now, or hereafter shall be in Our Power to dispose of, and them to grant to any such Person or

Persons, upon such Terms, and under such moderate Quit-Rents, Services, and Acknowledgements as have been appointed and settled in Our other Colonies, and under such other Conditions as shall appear to Us to be necessary and expedient for the Advantage of the Grantees, and the Improvement and Settlement of our said Colonies.

As whereas We are desirous upon all Occasions, to testify Our Royal Sense and Approbation of the Conduct and Bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of Our Armies, and to reward the same, We do hereby command and empower Our Governors of Our said Three New Colonies, and all other Our Governors of Our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant, without Fee or Reward, to such Reduced Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Private Soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following Quantities of Lands, subject at the Expiration of Ten Years to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement; viz.

To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer, Five thousand Acres. -- To every Captain, Three thousand Acres. -- To every Subaltern or Staff Officer, Two thousand Acres. -- To every Non-Commission Officer, Two hundred Acres. -- To every Private Man, Fifty Acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all Our said Colonies upon the Continent of North America, to grant the like Quantities of Land, and upon the same Conditions, to such Reduced Officers of Our Navy, with like Rank, as served on Board Our ships of War in North America at the Times of the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late War, and who shall personally apply to Our respective Governors for such Grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to Our Interest and the Security of Our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom We are connected, and who live under Our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not have been ceded to, or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds; We do therefore, with the Advice of Our Privy Council, declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of Our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments, as described in their Commissions; as also, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of Our other Colonies or Plantations in America, do presume, for the present, and until Our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantick Ocean from the West and North-West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them,

**And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under Our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the Use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three New Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West, as aforesaid, and We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of Our Displeasure, all Our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without Our especial Leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained.**

**And We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other Lands, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.**

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in the purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of Our Interests, and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order therefore to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the End that the Indians may be convinced of Our Justice, and determined resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do, with the Advice of Our Privy Council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any Purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those Parts of Our Colonies where We have thought proper to allow Settlement; but that if, at any Time, any of the said Indians should be included to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be purchased only for Us, in Our name, at some publick Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of Our Colonies respectively, within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the Limits of any Proprietary Government, they shall be purchased only for the Use and in the Name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that Purpose: And we do, by the Advice of Our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever; provided that every Person, who may incline to trade with the said Indians, do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of Our Colonies respectively, where such Person shall reside; and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit, by Ourselves or by Our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade; And We do hereby authorize for the Benefit of the said Trade; And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all Our Colonies respectively, as well Those under Our immediate Government as those under the Government and Direction of Proprietaries, to grant such Licenses without Fee or Reward, taking especial Care to insert therein a Condition, that such Licence shall be void, and the Security forfeited, in Case the Person, to whom the same is granted, shall refuse or neglect to observe such Regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And We do further expressly enjoin and require all Officers whatever, as well Military as those employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the Use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever who, standing charged with Treasons, Misprisions of Treason, Murders, or other Felonies or Misdemeanors, shall fly from Justice, and take Refuge in the said Territory, and to send them under a proper Guard to the Colony where the Crime was committed of which they stand accused, in order to take their Tryal for the same.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the Seventh Day of October; One thousand seven hundred and sixty three, in the Third Year of Our Reign.

**GOD SAVE THE KING.**

**London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of Robert Baskett. 1763.**

Source: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Vol. 12, 1911.

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**GOVERNOR FAUQUIER EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT PATENTS WEST  
OF THE 1763 PROCLAMATION LINE**

My Lords

Wmsburgh Febry 13<sup>th</sup> 1764

...I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Lordships Favours of Sepr. 28<sup>th</sup> Octr. 7<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> to all which I will endeavor to pay a strict Obedience. But there are some difficulties relating to his Majestys Proclamation, arising from the present State of this Colony in Regard to some of the Lands which are the Subject of the said Proclamation. This I shall endeavor to set in a clear Light to your Lordships for your Consideration, and then request your Directions how I am to proceed.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> April 1745 Colonel James Patton & al. obtained an Order of Council for the taking up certain Lands in the following Words. "On the Petition of James Patton & al. Leave is granted them to take up one hundred Thousand Acres lying in Augusta County on three Branches of Missisipi River, the one known by the name of Woods River, the other two to the westward thereof..." Upon this Order of Council Colonel Patton did not immediately make Surveys of the said Lands and mark out his Bounds, but waited till some Persons made choice of particular Spots of rich Land and were willing to purchase of him; then these Spots were surveyed, the Rules of Government comply'd with and Patents taken out, to make a Title to the Purchasers of the said Tracts of Lands. A List of these Patents from the Secretary's Office, I enclose to your Lordships;...These people thus settled according to the Rules of Government have the same Right to their Lands as the other Land owners in the Colony who hold under his Majesty's Grants...I need not point out to your Lordships the Situation of these Lands, which are all without the Bounds prescribed by his Majestys late royal proclamation, and are part of the Lands reserved as hunting Grounds for the Indians, til his Majestys pleasure is further made known. These Settlements have constantly been broken up and the Families driven off on every Quarrel the Indians have commenced against us...This is a Case in which I desire your Lordships Directions for my future Conduct, whether these Peoples are not to be always protected and defended in their property in these Lands, tho' such protection seems in some measure to clash with the Words of the Proclamation, or whether they are to be given up and must apply to the Crown for Relief...His Majesty has also granted two very large Tracts of 500,000 Acres to the Ohio Company the other of 800,000 to a Company who call them[selves] the Loyal Company: But as the Disturbances from the French took place soon after the making these, I am informed not much has hitherto been done in consequence of either of them...

It may be necessary to observe to your Lordships, that the head Branches of the Waters which empty themselves into the Atlantic Ocean, on which by the Proclamation I am at Liberty to grant patents for Lands, interlock with the head Branches of the Waters which are discharged by the Missisipi into the Golf of Mexico on which I am restrained from granting Patents, therefore I beg the Favor of your Lordships to give me Directions with respect to all the Lands lying between these heads which thus interlock with each other.

...The honble. Wm. Byrd who was at the head of a Regiment raised by this Colony, has applied for a Grant of five thousand Acres lying on the head Branches of New River. this will include the Lead-mine lately discovered and now began to be worked which I mentioned to your Lordships in my Answers to the Queries some time since...But as the

Land applied for lies to the westward of the Alleghenny Hills and on the Waters of the Missisipi, I have done noting in it, more than to let his Application be entered in the Journals of the Council as a prior Claim, to any which shall hereafter be made. This Step is the only one I have taken in relation to all applications for Grants of Lands to the westwards of the Alleghenny Hills, since the first Letter I received from your Lordships on that Subject....

Enclosure: List of Surveys

A List of Surveys of Land in Augusta belonging to James Patton deceased remaining in the Secretary's Office not yet patented. [Number of Surveys: 34, range 70 acres to 4,400 acres, mean average: 623 acres.]

A List of Patents for Lands in Augusta granted to Colo. James Patton. [Number of Patents: 106, range 35 acres to 4,470 acres, mean average: 224 acres.]

Source: George Reese (ed). "F. Fauquier to the Board of Trade, February 13, 1764." The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia 1758-1768. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1983. Pp. 1076-1079, 1081.

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### THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF 1763: ITS EFFECT UPON VIRGINIA LAND COMPANIES

In this article, Eugene Del Papa points out that the Proclamation of 1763 was only indirectly aimed at settlers. Rather, it was intended to curb the activities of the Virginia Land Companies.

One of the major sources of discontent among the Indian tribes of colonial North America was the illegal encroachment of English settlers upon their land. In an endeavor to eradicate this problem, George III issued a royal proclamation in 1763 which expressly forbade his subjects in the colonies from settling west of a line drawn along the crest of the Appalachian Mountain range from Nova Scotia in the North to Georgia in the South. The king's action met with little hostility. A number of His Majesty's subjects in the American colonies viewed the proclamation as a temporary prohibition which would soon give way to the opening up of the proscribed area for settlement. George Washington expressed the thoughts of many of his fellow colonists when he wrote, "I can never look upon that Proclamation in any other light...than as a temporary expedient to quiet the Minds of Indians and must fall of course in a few years especially when those Indians are consenting to our Occupying the Lands."

Washington's prophecy was shortly proved correct. In the summer of 1768, less than five years after the publication of the proclamation, Sir William Johnson, His Majesty's Superintendent for Indian Affairs for the northern district, arranged a general congress of all important Indian tribes at Fort Stanwix, New York. The treaty which resulted from this congress called for the surveying and establishment of an Indian boundary line. This new boundary line, located further westward than the Proclamation Line of 1763 and superseding it, opened up for settlement large areas of the formerly proscribed trans-Appalachian region.

Most historians have accepted the interpretation of the Proclamation of 1763 as a temporary measure aimed at prohibiting settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains from the date of its publication until the establishment of the Indian Boundary Line in 1768. A number of historians have also agreed with the interpretation that, even as a temporary device, the proclamation was a dismal failure in preventing individual, unorganized settlement of the trans-Appalachian region by frontier farmers. What historians have not agreed upon, indeed, what they have not even taken into consideration, is the question whether or not the proclamation was a success or failure in preventing collective, organized settlement of the area west of the Appalachians, settlement undertaken by colonial land companies. Yet an examination of the activities of three Virginia land companies, the Ohio, Loyal, and Mississippi land companies, reveals that during the entire period the proclamation was in force, none of these enterprises was successful in carrying out collective, organized settlement in the trans-Appalachian region.

The most important and influential of the three companies was the Ohio Company, formed in 1747 by Thomas Lee for the purpose of trade and land speculation. During its long history, the company was comprised almost exclusively of members of the Virginia "aristocracy" who possessed the political and commercial expertise necessary to insure the success of the venture. On March 16, 1749, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations (or the Board of Trade as it was commonly referred to), the agency primarily responsible for the affairs of the North American colonies, approved the Ohio Company's petition for a grant of 200,000 acres on the Ohio River. At this period Great Britain was fearful that the area of the Ohio Valley might become exclusively French territory, with the understandable consequence that the English colonies would be limited to the region east of the Appalachian Mountains. Accordingly, the Mother Country adopted an energetic policy of western colonization, one manifestation of which was the granting of large tracts of land to the Ohio and other land companies.

From the date of its inception, the Ohio Company grant was a constant source of irritation and discontent to the Indians of the Ohio Valley. In his correspondence with the Board of Trade, Peter Wraxall, secretary to Sir William Johnson, pointed out the Indian "jealousies & uneasiness at the claim made by the English upon the Ohio -- that of the Ohio Company in particular." Despite the hostility of the natives, the company proceeded with its plans for settling the area. A survey was made, a fort erected at the forks of Ohio, and slowly settlers began to arrive. Then disaster struck. With the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, the Ohio Company was forced to abandon its land. From 1754 to 1761, the region of the Ohio Valley was unsafe for any Englishman.

In the summer of 1760, officials of the company tried to persuade Colonel Henry Bouquet, commander of Fort Pitt, to join their organization, hoping perhaps to gain military protection for the future resettlement of their land. Bouquet declined to accept their offer, however, warning them instead that according to the terms of the Treaty of Easton, signed in 1758, the colony of Pennsylvania had promised the Delaware Indians to prohibit trans-Appalachian settlement. This treaty had been approved by His Majesty George II, Bouquet informed the leaders of the Ohio Company, "and tho' the Government of Virgn. and Maryland did not accede to that Treaty, I conceive that they are equally bound by it, and that no settlement will be permitted upon the Ohio till the Consent of the Indians can be procured." Heedless of the colonel's warning, the company proceeded with plans for resettlement of its grant. Before any of these schemes came to fruition, however, Bouquet

issued a formal proclamation on October 31, 1761, banning any and all settlement in the region west of the Appalachian Mountains.

Shocked by what they considered to be Bouquet's precipitous and illegal action, members of the Ohio Company protested to the governor of Virginia and the House of Burgesses. Francis Fauquier, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, was persuaded to write to Bouquet and inform him that "the Proclamation issued by you concerning the settling and hunting on the Lands to the Westward of the Allegenny Hills, gives Rise to...uneasiness in this Colony...as it seems to tend to obstruct the resettling the Lands by the Persons who have taken up Lands by patent under his Majesty." Obtaining no satisfaction from Colonel Bouquet, the company decided to petition the new monarch, George III, for a redress of grievances. On July 8, 1763, George Mercer was sent to London in the capacity of personal representative of the Ohio Company. A little over three months after his departure, the Proclamation of 1763 was issued. This setback proved to be only one of a series which affected the company. In all, Mercer spent six years in England impotently pleading the company's case. As late as January 3, 1770, the Board of Trade was still considering "the petition of George Mercer in behalf of the Ohio Company, praying that the King would renew the grant made by His late Majesty to them of certain lands lying on the back part of Virginia."

The effective checkmating of the Ohio Company's plans for settling its lands west of the Appalachian Mountains represents but one example of the success of the Proclamation of 1763 in preventing collective, organized settlement in this region. Another such example can be found in an examination of the history of the Loyal Land Company. This organization was established in 1745, when John Robinson, a native Virginian, obtained a grant of 100,000 acres on the Greenbrier River, in the present-day state of West Virginia. Upon hearing news of the large land grant received by the Ohio Company, Robinson joined forces with nine other Virginians and petitioned the Crown for a more extensive land grant. In 1749 the Loyal Land Company's petition was approved and it received title to 800,000 acres on the southwest frontier of Virginia, comprising territory in the present-day state of Kentucky.

The outbreak of the French and Indian War put a stop to the settlement activities of the Loyal Land Company, as it had done with the Ohio Company, and with the issuance of the Proclamation of 1763, the company ceased all operations. Uncertain as to what to do, the company beseeched the governor of Virginia and the House of Burgesses for a renewal of its grant. Both refused, for to have done otherwise would have meant going against the expressed policy of the Mother Country. For a few years, the company did nothing. Finally in 1766, it urged all those settlers who had abandoned their claims on Loyal Land Company property to return or face the possibility of forfeiting their land.

By the summer of 1768, more than 200,000 acres of the company's grant had been surveyed, sold, and largely settled. But all of this acreage was located east of the Appalachian Mountains. None of the company's land west of the Proclamation Line of 1763 had even been surveyed. Virginia officials consistently refused to repudiate the policy announced in the proclamation and renew the company's grant to land in the trans-Appalachian region. The Loyal Land Company had to await the establishment of the Indian Boundary Line before embarking upon settlement activities in this area. Thus in the case of the Loyal Land Company, as with the Ohio Company, the Proclamation of 1763 had proved successful in preventing collective, organized settlement west of the Appalachians.



The third and final Virginia land company affected by the proclamation was the Mississippi Land Company. Established in the same year the proclamation was issued, this company was comprised of influential men from Virginia and Maryland. Among its membership were several participants in the Ohio Company, including George Washington, Presley Thornton, and four members of the influential Lee family. Shortly after its formation, the company petitioned George III for a grant of land near the Mississippi River, twenty miles north of the Ohio River. To further its chances of receiving such a grant, the company sent Arthur Lee to London to act as personal representative of the company. But Lee enjoyed even less success than George Mercer, his counterpart in the Ohio Company. Having so recently promulgated the Proclamation of 1763, the British government was in no mood to reverse itself and issue grants to land west of the Appalachians. Thus Lee's petitions on behalf of the Mississippi Land Company did not even receive consideration from King George III or the Board of Trade. The company's hopes for success died amidst the shuffling of papers within the British government.

From the evidence presented, it is apparent that the Proclamation of 1763 was markedly successful in preventing the Ohio, Loyal, and Mississippi land companies from undertaking collective, organized settlement in the trans-Appalachian region from 1763 to 1768. This fact obligates historians to reexamine and reevaluate the proclamation in a new light. Indeed, it raises a number of questions which most historians have failed to ask, let alone answer. What exactly was the primary purpose of the proclamation? Was its prohibition of settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains aimed at the frontier farmer or the colonial land company? If the latter, how can it be labeled a dismal failure when the evidence indicates that it was an overwhelming success? These questions have gone too long unasked. Let us hope they will not go too long unanswered.

Source: Eugene M. Del Papa. "The Royal Proclamation of 1763: Its Effect upon Virginia Land Companies." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 83, (1975) 406-411.

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## LORD BOTETOURT LEARNS ABOUT FRONTIER UNREST

At a Council held August 8<sup>th</sup> 1769

Present

His Excellency

John Blair

Richard Corbin

William Nelson

William Byrd

Thomas Nelson

Robert Carter Esqrs.

...His Excellency also communicated a Letter from Col. Adam Stephen informing of the late hostile behaviour of some Indians about Fort Pitt, and of several of the Settlers beyond the Allegany Mountains having thereupon left their habitations.

Upon which the Council express'd their surprize that the Indians should so soon discover an hostile disposition after the solemn Treaty lately confirm'd at Fort Stanwix with Sir William Johnson his Majesty's Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Northern District: They cannot however help observing that Col. Stephen's information was merely from report, unsupported by any Affidavit, and they incline to think that the mischief done to the

Cattle and Horses, if any, was committed by some of the young Indians, who, in their first Sallies out to War, are not always to be kept within bounds...

**At a Council held October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1769**

Present

His Excellency

John Blair

Thomas Nelson

Robert Carter Esqrs.

His Excellency was pleas'd to communicate a letter from Col. Adam Stephen dated September 27<sup>th</sup> signifying the Murder of two Indians; that the Indians highly resent the conduct of our people, and threaten immediate revenge; advising a Person of Weight being sent to assure the Indians that the behaviour of those men is repugnant to the sentiments of Government; and that orders issue for apprehending and bringing to justice, the Malefactors; and referring for further particulars to Col. Wilson of Hampshire, the bearer of his letter.

Also a letter from Col. Felix Seymour of Hampshire dated September 22<sup>d</sup> signifying his apprehension that they are at the verge of a War with the Indians, enraged by a sett of fellows denominated Black Boys; residing he believes, chiefly in Pensylvania and Maryland – and informing of the late murder of several Indians – that one John Ryan had left his family at Green Bryar, gone out, and kill'd two Indians that three Indians were also kill'd up that River some time ago and that the poor people are daily running in from that back Country.

Col. Wilson appearing before the Board confirm'd the substance of the two letters above mention'd, and affirm'd that three Indians had been lately murder'd within six miles of his house.

Col. Wilson was requir'd by the Board to reduce his information into writing, and make oath to it.

The Council advis'd, they being but three present, that the consideration of these letters, and information be pospon'd to the beginning of the ensuing General Court for a fuller Board: And that his Lordship would be pleas'd in his answer to Col. Stephen, and Col. Seymour, to signify his detestation and abhorrence of the late outrages committed against the Indians, and his desire, that they would make the same known to them, upon any occasion that may offer, and assure them that all possible and legal Measures shall be taken to bring the present Offenders to Justice, and to prevent any violences of the kind hereafter.

**At a Council held October 17<sup>th</sup> 1769**

Present

His Excellency

John Blair

William Nelson

Richard Corbin

William Byrd

John Tayloe

Robert Carter

Presley Thornton

Robert Burwell

George William Fairfax

John Page Esquires

The Board this day having maturely consider'd the information communication the 3<sup>d</sup> of this instant, it was the advice of the Council, and accordingly order'd that a

Proclamation immediately issue, offering a reward of One hundred Pounds, for the apprehending and bringing to justice, each of the following persons, to wit, Henry Judey, and John Ryan, otherwise called Crow Ryan, charged with being principally concern'd in the late murders of Indians: and fifty pounds for each one who shall be convicted of having been aiding or assisting therein.

**At a Council held October 31st 1769**

Present

His Excellency

John Blair

William Nelson

Thomas Nelson

Richard Corbin

William Byrd

Philip Ludwell Lee

Robert Carter

Presley Thornton

Robert Burwell

Geo. Wm. Fairfax Esquires

...His Excellency communicated a letter from Col: Adam Stephen dated Winchester October 22<sup>nd</sup> informing that one White, and a Convict Servant of Capt. Crawford, who had some time before kill'd an Indian nam'd Stephen had been apprehended, and committed to jail in Winchester, and been since rescued – that Abraham Fry at the head of about Seventy men, with three of his brothers Jacob, Joseph, and Benjamin Fry, and one Joseph Black were the most active in the said rescue.

Upon which the Council advis'd that the Attorney General be directed to take such measures as he should judge most proper for bringing the Offenders to justice....

Source: Benjamin J. Hillman (ed.). Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, Vol. VI (June 20, 1754-May 3, 1775). Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966. Pp. 326-329, 331, 340, 428, 543-544.

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**TREATY OF HARD LABOR WITH CHEROKEES**

[October 14, 1768]

At a Congress of the Principal Chiefs and Warriars of the Cherokee Nation of Indians, Held at hard labour, in the Province of South Carolina the fourteenth day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty eight, by John Steward Esquire his Majesty's Agent for and Superintendant of the affairs of the Indian Nations in the Southern district of North Carolina.

A Treaty for the Ratification and Confirmation of several Cessions to his Most Sacred Majesty George the third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King defender of the Faith and so forth, made at different times by the said Nation of Cherokee Indians, of certain Lands lying within the limits of the provinces of South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, and for the continuance and preservation of Peace between his Majesty and the said Cherokee Indians...

...And Whereas the said Nation of Indians did by their Deputies, on the thirteenth day of June in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty seven, likewise Cede to His Majesty and His heirs forever, all the lands formerly belonging to and claimed by the said Indians, lying within the province of North Carolina, to the Eastward of a

certain line...beginning at Waughoe or Elm Tree on the South side of Reedy River, standing on the South side of said river, where the South Carolina line terminates, and running thence a North course about Fifty Miles to the Mountains, to a Spanish Oak,...standing on the top of a Mountain, now called Tryon Mountain...it was agreed upon by the Parties that the line dividing the lands ceded to His Majesty, in North Carolina, from those reserved by the Cherokee Indians, for their Hunting Grounds, should be continued as follows, Viz. From the top of Tryon Mountain beginning at the marked Trees thereon in a straight line to Colo. Chiswell's Mine, on the Eastern Bank of the great Conhoway River in Virginia being a North and B.E. course, And Whereas in several Talks and Messages from the great Council of the Cherokee Nation assembled at Chote to John Stuart Esquire His Majesty's Superintendant, the said Indians declared their Determination of ceding to His Majesty and His Heirs forever, all the lands formerly claimed by and belonging to said Nation of Indians, lying within the province of Virginia, to the Eastward of the line already described, as far as Chiswell's Mine as well to the Eastward of a line to be marked by Deputies from said Nation of Cherokees, in Conjunction with the Superintendant of the Southern District of His Deputy and certain Commissioners to be appointed by the aforesaid province of Virginia, running in a straight line from Chiswell's Mine on the great Conhoway aforesaid to the confluence to said River with the Ohio; where the Boundary Line behind the Northern District terminates...

In Testimony Whereof the said Superintendant on behalf of His Majesty, and the underwritten Cherokee Chiefs on behalf of their Nation, have signed and Sealed this present Treaty at the Time and Place aforesaid.

JOHN STUART [L.S.]

Superintendant of and Agent for Indian Affairs, Southern District.

	His Mark		His Mark
Oucconnastotah	X	Cotchatoy	X
Willinawaw	X	Chinistoe	X
Usteneca	X	Raven of Tugaloo	X
Ecu	X	Otacite of Quaratrie	X
Saliey	X	Raven of Newcassie	X
Warrior of Cowie	X	Tuckassie Keowee	X
The Wolf of Keowee	X	Conanannah	X

Source: Alden T. Vaughan (General Editor). Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Vol. V, Virginia Treaties, 1723-1775. W. Stitt Robinson, editor. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc. 1983. Pp. 326-330.

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## TREATY OF FORT STANWIX

[November 5, 1768]

To all to whom these presents shall come or may concern, we, the Sachems and Chiefs of the Six United Nations, and of the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and other dependant Tribes on behalf of Ourselves and the rest of our several Nations, the Chiefs and Warriors of whom are now here convened by Sir William Johnson, Baronet His Majesty's Superintendant of our affairs, send Greeting. Whereas, His Majesty was graciously pleased to propose to us in the year 1765 that a Boundary Line should be fixed between the English and us...And whereas at the setting of the said line it appeared that the Line described by His Majesty's order was not extended to the Northward of Oswegy, of the Southward of Great Kanawha River. We have agreed to and continued the line to the Northward, on a supposition that it was omitted by reason of our not having come to any determination concerning its course, at the Congress held in 1765...We have likewise continued it South to Cherokee River, because the same is and we do declare it to be our true bounds with the Southern Indians, and that we have an undoubted right to the country as far South as that River, which makes our cession to His Majesty much more advantageous than that proposed...We, the said Indians, have for us our heirs and successors granted, bargained, sold, released, and confirmed, unto our said Sovereign Lord, King George the Third, All that Tract of Land situate in North America at the Back of the British Settlements, bounded by a Line which we have now agreed upon,...Beginning at the mouth of the Cherokee or Hozohege River, where it emptys into the River Ohio and running from thence upwards along the South side of the said River to Kittanning, which is above Fort Pitt; from thence, by a direct line, to the nearest Fork of the West Branch of Susquehannah, thence thro' the Alegany Mountains along the South side of the said West Branch...

In witness whereof, we, the chiefs of the Confederacy, have hereunto set our Marks and seals at Fort Stanwix the 5<sup>th</sup> day of November, 1768, in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of His Majesty's reign.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of --

TEYANHASIRE, or Abraham  
CONAQUIESO.  
SESQUARESSURA,  
BLUNT or Chenughiata  
TEGAYA,  
GOSTRAX,

[L.S.] Mohock.  
[L.S.] Onida.  
[L.S.] Tuscarora.  
[L.S.] Onandago.  
[L.S.] Cayuga.  
[L.S.] Seneca.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN,  
FREDERICK SMITH  
RICHARD PETERS  
JAMES TILGHMAN,

Govr. N. Jersey.  
Chief Justice of N. Jersey.  
Of the Council of Pennsylvia.  
Of the Council of Pennsylvia.

Source: Alden T. Vaughan (General Editor). Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Vol. V. Virginia Treaties, 1723-1775. W. Stitt Robinson, editor. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc. 1983. Pp. 332-335.

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**MEMORIAL OF HOUSE OF BURGESSES ABOUT  
WESTERN LAND BOUNDARIES**

[December 13, 1769]

My Lord,

We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, having, agreeable to our former Assurances, maturely and deliberately considered your Excellency's Speech, beg Leave to renew our unfeigned Thanks for his Majesty's kind Attention to the Interests of this Colony, in so readily approving the Report of the Right Honourable the Board of Trade and Plantation, in Favour of a more extended Boundary to the Westward. We are persuaded that his Majesty's sole Motive for so doing arose from his most gracious Inclination to promote the Security and Happiness of his dutiful Subjects; but permit us, my Lord, with all Humility and Deference to his Royal Wisdom, by an humble Memorial, to express our Apprehensions that his Majesty hath not yet been made properly and fully acquainted with the true Situation of our Frontiers,....

To his Excellency the Right Honourable NORBORNE, Baron de BOTETOURT, his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor General, and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of VIRGINIA and Vice Admiral of the same.

The MEMORIAL of the HOUSE of BURGESSES.

Humbly Represents, ... Your Memorialists beg Leave to observe that the said Line, if extended from the Intersection of Holston's River, the Point, which would terminate the Line dividing this Colony from North Carolina to the Mouth of the great Kanhaway, would be near Two Hundred Miles in Length, and must pass through a Country abounding with high and rugged Mountains,...

That by establishing such Line, a great Part of that most valuable Country, lying on the Ohio, below the Mouth of the great Kanhaway, lately ceded to his Majesty by the Northern Indians, would be separated and divided from the British Territory, ... which your Memorialists humbly conceive must greatly impede, and may totally prevent the Settlement of that fertile and extensive Country,...

Your Memorialists further beg Leave to represent to your Lordship, that Lands, which have been granted by Patents regularly obtained, according to the known and fixed Rules of this Government, if the said Line were to take Place, would be entirely dismembered from this Colony, allotted to the Indians, and entirely lost to the Proprietors, who were authorized by Law, and encouraged by Royal Instruction of his late Majesty to his Governor, to explore and settle this new Country at the risque of their Lives, and at a great Expence.

Your Memorialists, from these weighty Considerations, have been induced to extend their Views, and do humbly offer, as their Opinion, that a Line beginning at the Western Termination of the North-Carolina Line, and running thence in a due West Direction to the River Ohio, may be accomplished at a much less Expence than the other Line proposed; that the Extension of such a Line is necessary for the Safety and Advantage of his Majesty's Subjects, and that it would tend greatly to the Increase of his Majesty's Revenue, and to the Promotion of the Trade and Navigation of the Western Part of this Dominion, if a Purchase were made of the Cherokee Indians of all their Lands, which such due Western Line would include, especially if his Majesty would be graciously pleased, in his Royal

Wisdom, to discourage all Monopolies of those Lands, and strengthen our Barrier, by granting them, in small or Moderate quantities, to such Adventurers as might incline to seat and settle the same.

Your Memorialists, for the better Illustration of the foregoing Observations, beg Leave to lay before your Excellency as exact and perfect a Plan of that Part of the Country as they at present are able to procure, and humbly submit the whole Matter to your Excellency's Judgment....

Source: Alden T. Vaughan (General Editor). Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Vol. V. Virginia Treaties, 1723-1775. W. Stitt Robinson, editor. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc. 1983. Pp. 346-349.

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### GEORGE WASHINGTON INFORMS GOVERNOR BOTETOURT ABOUT THE 1<sup>ST</sup> VIRGINIA VETERANS' LAND CLAIMS

December 8, 1769.

My Lord: When I had the hon'r of seeing your Lordship in May last, I took the liberty of mentioning, in a cursory manner, the claim of Sundry Officers of the first Troops raised in this Colony in behalf of themselves, and the Soldiery of that day, to certain Lands westward of the Aligany Mountains which they humbly conceivd themselves entitled to under and by virtue of a Proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie's; but the number of Grants which appear upon the Council Books, the number of Petitions depending before and exhibited to that hon'ble Board for more Lands, a copy of which by your Excellency's order the House have seen, renders it necessary in my humble opinion to give your Lordship the trouble of receiving a more full and perfect State of the nature of our claim to this quantity of Land containd in the Pro'c and the inevitable consequences which must follow a delay.

In order to do this, my Lord two things may be necessary for me to premise, and those are the number of Men which were raised under, and by means of the Proclamation, and the terms upon which they engaged.

In respect to the first the Council journals, and other records of 1754 will prove that 300 was the number of Men which were voted for the purpose of Erecting a Fort at the Forks of Monogahele and the Proclamation in the Month of Feby. the same year affords ample testimony of the latter. I shall therefore beg leave to refer your Lordship to it.

Small as the number may seem, it is a Fact nevertheless well known, that in the difficulty of enlisting them at that time, in an Infant Country unaccustomed to War, was not more clearly foreseen, than evidently experienced; and evinced to the World the Policy of the then adopted measure to procure Men for a Service which at one view appeared new, difficult, and hazardous, from the length of the March, uninhabited Country, and almost inaccessible Mountains, which were to be passed.

But let the motives which gave rise to this Proclamation have been founded in good, or ill policy, most certain it is the terms were offered; the condition were embraced, and to all Intents and purposes considered, as a mutual contract between the Governm't and Adventurer's; the latter of whom always conceiving that the Lands were as firmly engaged to them as their pay, have omitted no opportunity since of avowing their Pretensions to it.

It is humbly hoped therefore, that your Lordship and Council will be pleas'd to take the matter into consideration, for the reasons which have been offered, but more especially for the two which follow.

One half of the Land promised by the Proclamation is to be laid of contiguous to the Forks of Monogahela, consequently cannot interfere in any manner whatsoever with the boundary lines, admitting, that the most contracted one, is finally established. And next, because the Country in general, but more especially that part of it where the first quantity is located, is settling very fast, and of course, every good, and fertile spot will be engrossed and occupied by others, whilst none but barren Hills, and rugged Mountains; will be left to those, who have toiled, and bled for the Country, and whose right to a part of it is fixed by the strongest Assurances which Governm't could give them so long ago as 1754. Unavailing is it to say, that these settlements of individuals illegal in their nature, are not to be respected, to remove them, would prove a Work of great difficulty; perhaps of equal cruelty, as most of these People are poor swarming with large Families, have sought out these retreats on which perhaps their future prospects in like way wholly depend.

Thus my Lord I have endeavored to give your Lordship a genl. view of the nature of our claim, and of the peculiar hardships which must follow the restriction of our Surveying of it; I shall now beg leave to mention one thing more which occurs on this subject and that is this,

It has been distantly askd, for I must own I never heard the matter regularly questioned, whether the Troops employd in the subsequent campaigns were not entitled to a share also of this 200,000 Acres of Land? to this it may answer'd, that a moments recurrence to the state of Affairs in 1754 and the occ'n of raising Troops at that early period will demonstrate at once the Impropriety of such expect'ns if any such there be; For 300 Men were adjudgd suffic't to the Service then under contemplation, and 200,000 Acres of Land was offered as a bounty to obtain them; and though the number proovd insufft to accomplish the purpose for w'ch they were rais'd (as thousands afterwards likewise did) yet it is a Fact very well known that this body of Troops did actually advance into the Country claimd by the Enemy, and built a Fort there which they were obligd to surrender to sup'r num'brs.

Besides, they would beg leave to make this one observation more, in proof of their exclusive right to this Grant, and that is, that the next Campaign was made by His Majesty's Troops under the Comd. of Genl. Braddock; and that all the Troops enlisted in this Colony after that time; did it upon a quite differ't, and much better establishment, the Officers recg. Higher pay, and the Men greater bountys. It must plainly appear therefore, in my humble opinion at least, that the grant of this Land was merely local, confind to that particular enterprize then in view, and could by no means be construed to extend to the multitude which afterwards engagd in the course of a Ten years War. We rest in full hope therefore my Lord that in this opinion your Excellency and the Council will be, and that we shall be ordered the Lands upon the Terms it was granted to us by Proclamation and as soon as the Affairs of Governm't can possibly admit of it. I beg your Lordships excuse for the prolixity of this Letter. I was desirous that the whole matter should be clearly stated for your Lordships determination and with all imaginable respect I have the hon'r to be, etc.

P.S. Since writing the above I have been informd by Doctr' Walker that the Lands near the Fort are reserved in the Indian Sale for the Traders. If so, as this would have been the most valuable moiety of our grant we shall humbly hope to be indulgd (this being an



event w'ch coud not be foreseen) in laying the like q'ty in some other good spot of Earth rather than wait a determination of that matter in England.

Source: John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.). The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799 (39 vols.) Vol. II. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office. Pp. 528-532.

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# GROWING TENSIONS



## **“THE EXTENTION OF HIS MAJESTIES DOMINIONS”: THE VIRGINIA BACKCOUNTRY AND THE RECONFIGURATION OF IMPERIAL FRONTIERS**

In this essay, Warren Hofstra shows how a distinctive non-tidewater culture developed in the backcountry not, primarily, in response to the settlers' background, but because it was in the interests of the governments in Williamsburg and London that the backcountry act as a buffer zone against the Indians and the French.

During the 1730s, in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge, a settlement frontier developed whose society and culture contrasted sharply with those already established in the colony. A large majority of the new western inhabitants, unlike Virginians elsewhere, were non-English, predominantly German and Scotch-Irish. Called “foreign Protestants” and Irish Protestants, they were almost exclusively white – few Africans or African Americans were among them. Settlers practiced dissenting and sectarian faiths, most stressing a common humanity. Elsewhere, not only was Virginia organized under the Church of England but conforming Virginians largely subscribed to the deferential social practice of the established church. Moreover, western settlers were not tobacco producers. They were yeoman farmers instead of planters – smallholders raising grains and livestock, employing family more often than slave labor, practicing handcrafts, and trading locally in the context of community self-sufficiency.

The initial distinctiveness of the backcountry raises the question: Why did a society develop on the Virginia frontier whose ethnic and religious diversity, mixed economy, and political outlook fundamentally alter the identity of the colony? Although Virginia escaped the violence of the Regulator movements on the Carolina frontier in the 1760s, and of the Whiskey Rebellion that rocked western Pennsylvania in the 1790s, the state would cleave in two along the fault lines of frontier settlement during the American Civil War. Conventional answers to the question of backcountry distinctiveness and its genesis have adopted the perspective of those who took up new lands and highlighted their interests. European refugees wanted land, and Virginia let them have it on very attractive terms. Pouring into Pennsylvania after 1720 from straitened circumstances in Europe and frustrated by high land prices and political disputes, German and Scotch-Irish immigrants turned south to the Shenandoah Valley, where land was good and land prices low.

This school of thought derives from a century of frontier scholarship beginning with Frederick Jackson Turner's arguments that the frontier broke down social conventions and that settlers reconstituted politics on increasingly democratic footings. Postulating that, although at first the “wilderness masters the colonist...little by little he transforms the wilderness,” Turner rested his thesis on what settlers did on the frontier, not why they were there. He convinced generations of Americans that the frontier was the self-creation of those who settled it and that frontier expansion was an American story. The idea that the motive forces of expansion sprang from American conditions fashioned by settlers themselves dominated later interpretations, including Robert D. Mitchell's account of the eighteenth-century Shenandoah Valley, the lone modern survey of the region.

From the perspective of these studies, the question of why Virginia fostered the growth of a society alien to well-established cultural norms is very difficult to answer. Never had Virginia freely distributed land to all takers. Virginia history had been the story of the engrossment of land in larger and larger quantities by social and political elites drawing ever closer in the nexus of kinship, land ownership, and political power. This elite never achieved

stronger and more exclusive control over political power, especially the power to distribute land, then when it was creating a backcountry frontier of outsiders. On the very eve of settlement in the Shenandoah Valley, for instance, Lt. Gov. William Gooch defended the practice of elites' engrossing land in the Piedmont to the east of the Blue Ridge. Writing to the Board of Trade, the English administrative body charged with overseeing colonial affairs, he reasoned that "where the greatest Tracts have been granted & possessed" by "men of substance" the "meaner sort of People [have been encouraged] to seat themselves as it were under the Shade & Protection of the Greater." Occasionally the Virginia Council, the appointed upper house for the colony's legislature, which also served as a high court and the governor's advisory board, turned down land petitions by strangers. In May 1741, for example, it denied a request for three thousand acres, explaining that the "Petitioner is not known to any of the Board and therefore [this quantity is] thought too much for so obscure a Person."

According to another school of thought, Virginia's Blue Ridge frontier was developed by land speculators under the patronage of the colonial government. Thomas Perkins Abernethy and Richard Lee Morton argued that Virginia responded to the pressures of eighteenth-century migrations with speculative ventures benefiting the traditional governing elite. In an explicit attack on Turner's concept of a settler-defined frontier, Abernethy asserted that few pioneers

Would have established themselves there had not the speculators paved the way for them...How different would have been the settlement of our early West had it been carried forward by bands of free spirits setting out upon their own initiative, equipped only with the rifle and the axe, to take possession of unoccupied lands, with no thought of speculators or surveyors!

In Morton's assessment the "gentlemen of eighteenth-century Virginia, like those of the seventeenth century, did not wait for obscure backwoods hunters, fur traders, cattlemen, and small farmers to blaze the trails to the West and subdue the forests for them; they were themselves pioneers in those ventures."

From this perspective, as well, it is difficult to explain the origins of backcountry distinctiveness. In the early 1730s the Virginia Council did issue to individuals grants of land west of the Blue Ridge that were unprecedented in size. Grantees were entitled to profit from land sales at prices six times the cost of crown lands elsewhere in Virginia. But whereas the Council and the families that dominated it were the principal recipients of their own largess in distributing Piedmont lands during the 1720s, most of the massive grants issued between 1730 and 1745 west of the Blue Ridge went to men of non-English origin residing outside Virginia and with neither significant ties to the Council nor the social standing to command its attention. Moreover, conditions placed on the grants attracted the immigrant population that made the colony's mountain region economically and socially distinctive. This region lay outside the bounds of any Virginia county. No sheriff's writ ran there, no deeds could be conveyed or property confiscated for debt, and no justice of the peace held jurisdiction over it. Thus no speculator could be assured of profits from land claims. Virginia was not simply responding conventionally to population pressures with land speculation: it was deliberately provoking a migration to its marchlands where a vacuum of local government and colonial authority existed.

To explain the movement of peoples to the Virginia frontier during the eighteenth century requires a new perspective that connects the concerns of settlers and the interests of speculators with the geopolitical and imperial forces that defined frontiers and made their

settlement both possible and expedient. The buffer settlements of European Protestants that the colonial government established west of the Blue Ridge between 1730 and 1745 were part of a larger effort to check French expansion across the interior of North America, extend English dominion, secure a western periphery destabilized by Indian conflict, and occupy mountain fastnesses otherwise a refuge to runaway slaves. What met the needs of Europeans looking for land and economic competence in property ownership also served the interests of colonial officials. Events in the Virginia backcountry between 1730 to 1750, moreover, reflected imperial responses to developments between 1700 and 1722 when France laid the basis for a continental empire, northern and southern Indians resumed disruptive wars across that continent, and African slavery came to define the southern colonial labor system. English colonial governments sought ways to secure established, plantation regions from the threats posed by those changes. Williamsburg and London therefore provide the perspective for explaining why a society that differed so significantly from Virginia traditions developed on a strategically sensitive frontier and under the auspices of the elite that governed the colony in its own interest.

Developments in Virginia compose a case study of change in the eighteenth-century backcountry, conceived for the first time as extending continuously from Nova Scotia south to the Carolinas and, eventually, to Georgia. As William Gooch and the Virginia Council began issuing orders for land west of the Blue Ridge, the Board of Trade and the governor of South Carolina matured plans to lay out frontier towns surrounding that colony's Low Country plantations. Similarly, the board and the government of New York were negotiating the establishment of a chain of forts and settlements that would extend English control north and west from Albany to the centers of French power along the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Farther east, on the coasts of present-day Maine and Nova Scotia, colonial agents were formulating additional settlement projects. The distinctiveness of the entire backcountry was in part the inevitable consequence of the cultures immigrant peoples brought to the region. But in reconfiguring frontiers, British officials on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean came to see predominantly white, Protestant, yeoman societies as distinctively advantageous to securing a continental frontier. Elsewhere, as in Virginia, backcountry settlement developed out of a coincidence of interests among settlers, speculators, and imperial authorities, but the key to the social construction of this frontier lay with the imperatives of empire.

In Virginia those interests and imperatives met in the forces that transformed what Europeans called wilderness or waste land into property. From the viewpoint of imperial officials, land grants west of the Blue Ridge represented the extension of sovereignty over unorganized territory through the authority of the state in the person of the king to fabricate property. From the viewpoint of European immigrants, however, rights to land meant economic competence and independence from the subject relations of feudal society. Once on the land, these men and women established dispersed communities of enclosed or self-contained farms and household economies lacking the centers of power and forms of administrative control English authorities associated with what the Virginia Council described as "the Extention of His Majesties Dominions."

Exercising dominion in Virginia, therefore, depended upon the formation of county government. The justices of the county court represented the authority of the royal governor, who appointed them, and of the king, who appointed the governor. As the institutional center of the county, the court became the local agent for the transformation of waste land into property. It functioned as a criminal court as well as a court of record for property ownership and conveyance and civil court for resolving disputes over property. By

establishing roads and thus defining the rights and routes by which people could communicate among properties, the court also encouraged economic development and community formation. For the security of the frontier, militia units were mustered in county commands, and the court swore officers to their commissions.

Insofar as England settled its Virginia frontier through the extension of property rights from the Crown to those taking up land and through the authority of county governments to secure property, facilitate economic development, and provide for the common defense, it was colonial officials, not settlers, who defined the process. Officials could exploit it for their speculative interests, but they also had to act on behalf of the Crown.

The frontier then was an imperial story. In Virginia the creation of the backcountry constituted a narrative of property formation and county organization in an unbounded region. Colonial officials timed this process according to the imperial interests new settlements were intended to fulfill. Procedures varied in other colonies. New York, for example, resisted the privatization of property in the hands of smallholders, and the Carolinas delayed the extension of effective county government to backcountry areas. In all cases, however, the English occupation of the North American interior, for the most part by non-English peoples, served the interests of empire.

The forces that set the European occupation of the Virginia backcountry in motion can be traced to three sets of developments in the interlude between the close of the War of the League of Augsburg in 1697 and the opening of the War of the Spanish Succession five years later. Those developments set the stage upon which imperial officials reconceptualized English frontiers in colonial North America. In its influential report of September 8, 1721, the Board of Trade moved beyond a colony-by-colony consideration of defense issues and set forth proposals about the security of English colonies based on a continental reconfiguration of the American backcountry. The implementation of these proposals in the decades after 1720 helps explain events in Virginia and elucidates connections between imperial decision making and the evolution of backcountry society.

The first development occurred in Virginia during the peace of 1697-1702, when a boom in the tobacco economy stimulated investments in land and slaves bringing more than one million acres into private hands and three thousand slaves to the colony. Within two decades the number of slaves brought annually to Virginia approached two thousand, and the black population nearly doubled. Territorial expansion and the continuing threat of war in Europe led to an increased concern for colonial defenses. French Huguenot refugees were established in Manakin Town on the James River beyond the fall line in 1700 and later organized as an infantry company. The colonial Council took steps to improve militia discipline, and the whole legislature, the General Assembly, passed a land act in 1701 that encouraged companies of armed men to take up frontier tracts. Although unsuccessful, these measures helped establish the principle of colonial defense through a combination of military force and induced settlement.

In a second set of developments, the region between English Carolina and Spanish Florida became contested ground for European powers and Native Americans. From 1698 to 1699 France initiated colonizing efforts in the Gulf of Mexico, Spain responded by establishing the presidio of San Carlos de Austria at Pensacola, South Carolina attempted to extend its Indian trade to the Mississippi, and the English colonizer Daniel Coxe endeavored to plant a Huguenot colony at the mouth of that river. Within three years France had extended its grasp on the North American interior with posts and forts at Cahokia and Kaskaskia in the Illinois Country and along the Great Lakes at Detroit. Native Americans

strove to keep all these forces at bay. Virginia governors during the ensuing half century fretted increasingly over the possibility of a French commercial link – an imperial “communication” – between outposts in Canada and Louisiana. But the influence among western Indians that France could achieve through trade and the trouble these Indians could make for Virginia represented a far greater peril to the colony’s security than French military power, at least until 1750.

Thus the French threat magnified the third development of the European peace: the entanglement of the Five Nations of Iroquoia in the imperial contentions of the Southeast. In separate agreements concluded in Montreal and Albany in 1701, the five Nations abandoned violent efforts to engross the northern peltry trade and adopted instead a policy of neutrality between France and England. The Five Nations then resumed domestic mourning-wars against the Cherokees, Catawbias, Creeks, and Yamasees. These conflicts were intended to replenish kinship circles with captives and to vitalize tribal leadership through opportunities for young warriors to gain stature in feats of bravery. The Five Nations could also use threats of southern warfare as a bargaining chip in diplomatic efforts to maintain neutrality with France and England.

War parties crossing Virginia territory threatened the colony’s frontier inhabitants and disrupted Virginia Indians. Meherrins and Nottoways were Iroquoian peoples and Saponies, Siouan. Iroquois-speaking Tuscaroras of Virginia and the Carolinas were linked to the Five Nations and constituted the sixth when some members moved north between 1713 and 1720. Saponies associated with Siouan-speaking Catawbias of the Carolinas. Entwined affiliations inevitably drew Virginia Indians into distant wars, and their tributary agreements with Williamsburg enmeshed the colonial government in those wars. The movement of non-English Europeans into the region west of the Blue Ridge during the next interval in the imperial wars of England and France, 1713-1744, resulted from attempts by Virginia’s governors to resolve the costly conflicts on the colony’s frontiers developing out of Indian hostilities and the French connection.

That the southeastern frontier was now contested territory was borne out during the War of the Spanish Succession. Between 1702 and 1710 South Carolina forces eradicated the Spanish mission presence north of Florida and nearly took forts at St. Augustine and Pensacola, while combined Spanish-French expeditions twice attacked the South Carolina capital at Charles Town. New England forces established a second zone of contention on the northern perimeter of English settlement with the capture of Port Royal, the capital of French Acadia, in 1710. The Peace of Utrecht three years later guaranteed continued conflict over these southern and northern frontiers by failing to establish boundaries between English and French claims in North America and by incorporating three thousand French citizens within the new English province of Nova Scotia. The movement of armies through the Rhine Valley as Catholic France fought to destroy the area’s strategic importance also unleashed the first refugee movement of foreign Protestants to North America under the aegis of the British Crown.

These distant developments intensified Virginians fears about frontier upheavals during the Tuscarora War. Angered by English encroachment on their land and enslavement of their people. Tuscaroras attacked Carolina colonists in 1711. The Tuscaroras’ northern ties ensured the support of the Five Nations against Catawbias, Creeks, and Cherokees, now allied with the English. Hints of Meherrin participation in some of the worst fighting in North Carolina inflamed fears of a French-inspired, Pan-Indian war that would engulf the English colonial world from the Carolinas to New York. Instead, a South Carolina force defeated the Tuscaroras in March 1713. But for Lt. Gov. Alexander



Spotswood and the Virginia government, the conflict carried important lessons about protecting the colony's frontiers. Military units raised in response to the emergency were ineffective and expensive. Rangers often proved too weak to attack Indian counterparts, and many settlers lay beyond what protection rangers could provide. Force alone was clearly not the answer to frontier security.

Spotswood's response developed in two stages. Blaming the conflict on the "Clandestine" nature of the Indian trade, he defined the first stage in 1714 with colonial legislation granting a monopoly of the trade to the Virginia Indian Company. He also set out to establish a series of Indian and European settlement buffers to protect the settled regions of Virginia. With Nottoways, Meherrins, Saponies, and Tuscaroras he concluded treaties that relocated them along the Roanoke, James, and Rappahannock river peripheries of the colony. He next fixed a community of German miners at Germanna to fortify the forks of the Rappahannock as well as to work nearby iron deposits.

This initial defense policy of regulating the Indian trade and establishing settlement buffers proved a failure. The Virginia Indian Company was never successful, and opposition to its monopoly led to its disallowance in 1717. The Indians refused to observe the settlement treaties, and in May 1718 Spotswood complained to the assembly: "if these Tributarys had all of them Complied with their Engagements I cannot but think your ffrontiers might have been constantly provided with a Standing Guard at a very moderate Expence." The Germanna colony, however, did serve as a model for the second stage of Spotswood's frontier defense program.

The Yamasee War provided the immediate stimulus for change. The appropriation of their lands and the enslavement of their people to pay off trading debts had angered the Yamasees. They nearly annihilated South Carolina in 1715 before Cherokee support saved the colony. The war fueled fears in South Carolina that behind all the difficulties with the Indians lay the influence of the French, and the Board of Trade soon passed warnings about French expansion on to Spotswood. The governor responded that a communication between Canadian and Mississippi settlements would allow the French to monopolize the trade with western Indians and harass English settlements. He stressed the urgency of securing newly discovered passes over the Blue Ridge before the French could exploit them to menace Virginia. Fortifying the passes and establishing the Blue Ridge as a barrier against the assaults of the Indians and the designs of the French soon became the key elements in Spotswood's plan for protecting Virginia's frontier.

In November 1720 the governor challenged the assembly to seize the opportunity of promoting the landed interests of Virginia elites, including himself, and to defend the royal prerogative through what he now termed a "Political Creed." "If a Conscientious discharge of our duty engages us Governours to be Specially mindful of Great Britains Interest yet I cannot See why that may not go hand in hand with the prosperity of these plantations." Land granted to Virginians, in other words, could facilitate settlement as a means to secure the colony against the Indians and the French.

The governor then asked the assembly, not to fortify, but to possess the mountain passes. He pointed to the "naked State" of the frontiers and called on members to give "Encouragement for Extending your Out Settlements to the high Ridge of Mountains [as] the best Barrier that nature could form to Secure this Colony, from the Incursions of the Indians and more dangerous Incroachments of the French." The assembly responded by creating two new counties. Spotsylvania County was to command the northern gap over the Blue Ridge at Swift Run while Brunswick defended Rockfish Gap to the south. Incentives for settling the areas spreading eastward from these gaps included a ten-year remission of

local taxes, colonial appropriations for military supplies and public buildings, deferral of land payments, and provision for arms and ammunition at public expense. Spotswood then demonstrated his seriousness about uniting the interests of empire and colonial landowners by obtaining warrants for forty thousand acres of land for himself and petitioning the Crown to exempt everybody who settled in the new counties from quitrents. Rightly concerned that some Virginians would exploit these incentives to engross large speculative tracts in the Piedmont, the Privy Council limited grants to one thousand acres but concurred with the need to secure the mountain passes and granted the quitrent exemption.

Spotswood and the assembly also took decisive steps to end the violence on the Virginia frontier by establishing the Blue Ridge as a barrier between the Five Nations and Indians living in Virginia. Spotswood had already presented the Five Nations with a plan for limiting their travel to a corridor west of the Blue Ridge. He promised that the Virginia Indians would remain to the east. By 1721 all parties had come to terms, and Spotswood traveled to Albany the next year to conclude negotiations personally, making the Albany Treaty the last act of his administration.

By 1722, when Spotswood left office, his administration had hammered out principles that would shape how royal officials established new settlements in Virginia. Spotswood's experiences demonstrated that threats to the colony from the Indians and the French came separately. But trade and diplomacy inextricably linked the fortunes of all nations, Indian and European. Virginia, however, lacked sufficient trade to forge alliances with Native Americans that could secure the colony's frontiers. Military force by itself was also inadequate to safeguard Virginia. Only settlement buffers could accomplish the task. Indians, however, refused to be exploited for this purpose because land to them never entailed dependence on royal authority. Only subject Europeans could be mobilized into settlement buffers through land grants; foreign Protestants seemed most likely to lend themselves to this use. Finally, the Blue Ridge formed a natural barrier against both the French and Indians. Securing it with settlement buffers was a primary objective.

While Governor Spotswood of Virginia pursued the plan of fortifying and settling the Blue Ridge barrier, the Board of Trade conceived its program of defense and security for a continuous English colonial frontier stretching from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas. In that program Spotswood's barrier ridge played a critical role. The compatibility of the board's proposals and Spotswood's actions was a product both of Spotswood's willingness to mesh the imperatives of empire with the interests of Virginia and of the board's procedure of gathering information for its report of September 8, 1721, directly from colonial governors. Just as the Yamasee War had pushed Spotswood and the Virginia government to establish Spotsylvania and Brunswick counties and to negotiate the Albany Treaty, so that conflict raised the issue of colonial defense to the level of imperial decision making.

Wartime disruptions unsettled the proprietary powers governing South Carolina and emboldened the antiproprietary party, which condemned proprietary misgovernment for the colony's distress. Both sides complained to London. Antiproprietary forces blamed the French for inciting the Yamasees and exploited the threat of French encirclement in arguing for royal government. The proprietors sought the aid of the Privy Council, which instructed the Board of Trade to prepare a report on "the state of the government and the trade" of the plantations. Proprietary government fell in November 1719, but Paris negotiations that same year over imperial boundaries in North America, although unsuccessful, heightened the London government's need for information about all the colonies.

The Board of Trade queried colonial governors and agents and others knowledgeable on colonial affairs about the "number of Indians...and how are they inclined," their

“strength,” and the “strength of your neighbouring Europeans.” “What effect,” the board wanted to know, “have the French Settlements on the Continent of America upon H.M. Plantations?” The construction of a fort by the French at Niagara and the growing French influence among the Seneca that blocked the Albany trade were major concerns of New York. From William Keith, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, the board heard that only in cultivating the Indian trade could the English hope to preserve themselves and break the hold of the French on the interior and its inhabitants. Keith drew heavily upon a paper provincial secretary James Logan had prepared in 1718. Logan had observed that the French have “with great care settled a communication between Canada and the Southern countries” on the Mississippi River. He suggested that “to prevent the designs of the French” the English government must “preserve the Iroquese,” “encourage the Government of Virginia to Extend their settlements beyond the mountains,” and advise colonial governors to “take special care of the commerce with the Indians.” “By these means all the Indians...may be very much united to the British interest,” he concluded. The board learned from John Barnwell and Joseph Boone, agents for South Carolina, that the “Method of the French” was to “build Forts on their Frontiers.” The English ought “to do likewise, not only to preserve Our Trade with the Indians and their Dependance upon Us, but to preserve our Boundaries.” Of immediate concern to South Carolina was the exposed region between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers recently vacated by the defeated Yamasees.

After deliberating nearly a year, the board on September 8, 1721, forwarded to the king a report on the “state of your Majesty’s Plantations on the Continent of America.” In most respects the report mirrored the recommendations of colonial governments. About Nova Scotia the board observed that “it is absolutely necessary for your Majesty’s service, that these French inhabitants should be removed.” In New York the board recommended that forts be built “where they may best serve to secure and enlarge our trade and interest with ye Indians, and break the designs of ye French.”

For Virginia, where “strength and security...in a great measure, depend upon their Militia; their plantations being usually at too great a distance from one another to be cover’d by forts or towns,” the board endorsed Spotswood’s “scheme for securing ye passes over the great ridge of mountains.” Of greatest concern were the multiple security risks of South Carolina. The first was internal. Economic growth had increased the “number of black slaves who have lately attempted and were very near succeeding in a new revolution.” Meanwhile, “frequent massacres committed of late years by the neighboring Indians at the instigation of the French and Spaniards, has diminished the white men.” Externally the colony was “exposed in case of a rupture on the one side to the Spaniards, on the other to the French, and surrounded by savages.” As remedies, the Board of Trade called for forts on the colony’s rivers, more British troops, and the immigration of more “white servants for the future.”

Having dealt with each colony separately, the board then addressed common defense and security issues. Because French encirclement threatened all the colonies collectively and the destabilizing influences of Indian conflicts engulfed the inter-colonial interior, the frontier had to be conceived on the scale of the continent. Thus the board called for “making ourselves considerable at the two heads of your Majesty’s Colonies north and south; and [for] building of forts, as the French have done, in proper places on the inland frontiers...naturally fortify’d by a chain of mountains, that run from the back of South Carolina as far as New York, passable but in few places.” Significantly, the board added that “altho these mountains may serve at present for a very good frontier, we should not propose

them for the boundary of your Majesty's Empire in America. On the contrary it were to be wished that the British settlements might be extended beyond them and some small forts be erected on ye great lakes."

Indian relations likewise had to be approached as a matter of imperial interest, and the board reasoned that "the Indian trade, if properly carried on, would greatly contribute to the increase of your Majesty's power and intrest in America." Indians ought to be furnished "at honest and reasonable prices with the several European commodities that they may have occasion for," and commerce with Native Americans ought to be extended "westward upon the lakes and rivers behind the mountains [where] forts should be built and garrisons settled in proper places." To implement all its proposals and "render the several provinces on the Continent of America, from Nova Scotia to South Carolina, mutually subservient to each other's support," the board in conclusion recommended that the king "put the whole under the Government of one Lord Lieut. or Captain General" who with two councilors from each colony would possess the power to issue orders to colonial governors "in all cases for your Majesty's service."

Not only did the board reconfigure the North American frontier as a single entity with an interior mountain barrier and zones of contention at northern and southern perimeters, but the periphery of colonial settlement came to be regarded as an area of internal as well as external threat. Any frontier presented a constant temptation to enslaved Africans to rise up and seek asylum beyond the bounds of British authority. Alexander Spotswood placed this construction on the mountains he himself explored when he reported to the Virginia Council in 1721 that "diverse Negro's...have lately run away & suspected to be gone towards ye Great Mountains, where it may be hard to apprehd 'em, & if they shou'd encrease there, it might prove of ill consequence to ye Peace of this Colony." Unoccupied areas such as the Shenandoah Valley or the region between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers in South Carolina possessed neither Indian nor European inhabitants to thwart maroons or resist French and Spanish intrusions. The dual responsibilities of colonial militias for resisting invasion and quelling domestic unrest were difficult to reconcile in such areas. Mobilization to the frontier to counter foreign assaults could leave interior areas exposed to slave uprisings. European enemies could also disrupt English societies by liberating escaped slaves, an effect Spain achieved in 1733 when it promised freedom to English bondsmen who reached St. Augustine. Not until 1738 did any black refugees from South Carolina receive freedom in Spanish Florida, but the attraction of Florida helped precipitate the Stono rebellion the following year.

By the early 1720s, therefore, the Board of Trade had succeeded in redefining North American frontiers according to the natural and political geography of English, French, Spanish, and Native American settlement. To counter the threats posed by the frontier, the board had developed an arsenal of weapons including forts, garrisons, British regulars, and manipulation of the Indian trade. But most important for the social construction of the emerging backcountry were the numerous proposals for settling vacant and sensitive areas with dependents of the English Crown. From the perspective of imperial officials in London and the colonial capitals, new immigrants annually increasing in numbers during the late 1710s and 1720s from north of Ireland and central Europe possessed characteristics ideal for these backcountry buffer settlements. They were white, Protestant, and yeoman.

The Board of Trade and colonial governors made explicit their intention to populate the backcountry with white people. The report of September 1721 had recommended white servant immigration as an antidote to South Carolina's black majority. Eleven years later the board could advise the Privy Council that "it has been the constant sense of this Board, that

all ye British Colonies and especially the two frontiers, should be peopled as amply and as soon as possible wh. white inhabitants." In the interim the board had endorsed numerous proposals for Swiss, German, or Irish settlements in the backcountry from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas. It acted further to entice white settlers to backcountry areas by remitting quitrents and encouraging colonies to offer settlement bounties and land grants to immigrants. In this light the proscription in the Georgia charter against slavery appears less an attempt to create a preserve for the landless poor of Great Britain than an effort to exploit them as a white buffer for the slave property of Carolina planters. In 1734 the Board of Trade advised the secretary of state that "nothing can be more conducive to the service of the Crown, and the general interest of Great Britain, than that all your Majesty's Colonies in America and particularly the two frontier provinces of Nova Scotia and South Carolina, should be fully peopled with white inhabitants."

Protestantism, too, was a required asset for English buffers against the Catholic monarchies of France and Spain. Imperial wars for territory and trade waged from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries were also religious wars between the cultures of Protestantism and Catholicism for the souls, lands, and wealth of the uncommitted. The dangers posed by Catholic inhabitants of an English frontier were made plain in Nova Scotia, where the Acadians threatened English dominion. In 1735 one correspondent of the Board of Trade advised that "it cannot be presumed that the French inhabitants who remain there by virtue of the Treaty [of Utrecht]...being all papists would be faithful to your Majesty's interest in case of a warr" and recommended that "it would be highly conducive to the intrest of this Kingdom to settle with no loss of time a competent number of industrious protestant familys in this said province, which is the northern frontier of your Majesty's Dominions in America." In the case of the Scotch-Irish, English imperialists had earlier organized the plantation of Ireland by large numbers of Scottish Protestants to neutralize a Catholic presence uncomfortably close to English shores. Among German and Swiss Protestants, recent French occupations of the Rhineland had left a legacy of anti-Catholicism and a sympathy for the commercial values and Protestant temper of Great Britain.

Other qualities of white, Protestant immigrants rendered their communities natural buffers against both internal and external threats to the settled areas of English America. Most came from diversified, small-farm economies in Europe and migrated to the English colonies as families seeking the independence that a competence in landholding, family labor, and diversified agriculture could provide. A mentality of competence combined with modest means to encourage the formation of socially and economically integrated communities of middling landholdings averaging usually less than four hundred acres. Slavery was neither alien nor antithetical to these young yeoman peoples, but mixed farming on small holdings did not generate a significant demand for bonded labor beyond what could be provided by white indentured servants. Yeoman societies did not produce black majorities. And communities of independent smallholders had long been recognized as the essential element of the best militia forces.

If eighteenth-century backcountry societies were culturally diverse and characterized by freeholding yeoman farm families pursuing an array of interdependent economic activities, these traits owed as much to the cultures of constituent peoples as to the use made of those cultures by imperial officials engaged in a struggle for colonial security. The qualities that made the backcountry a distinctive region in early America were not, however, the product of an explicit British colonial policy. The report of September 1721 was not a policy paper. But in effecting a continental reconfiguration of North American frontiers, it

accomplished for all the British mainland colonies what Spotswood achieved for Virginia in the 1720 land act and the Albany Treaty. Moreover, most of the report's recommendations, with the notable exception of the proposal for a captain general, were eventually realized in practice, not because the board imposed its proposals as policy, but because they represented working assumptions widely shared by officials at all ranks in the British colonial system. Insofar as colonial governors and members of colonial councils also shared those assumptions, they possessed a remarkably free hand in acting on them. Thus, imperial efforts varied from colony to colony and from one decade to another. Spotswood's endeavors in Virginia stimulated the westward expansion of plantation culture into that colony's Piedmont. Buffer settlements of predominantly non-English immigrants beyond the Blue Ridge, however, were the work of Spotswood's successor, William Gooch. The steps he took expressed the working assumptions of the report of 1721, the actions of his predecessor in Williamsburg, and his own combined strategy of enlarging English dominion by the extension of property rights in frontier small holdings and the progressive expansion of county government.

On June 8, 1728, William Gooch, in office as lieutenant governor for less than twelve months, informed the Board of Trade that the "great number of Petitions for Land...will be an Evidence of the Increase of the colony, and the flourishing Condition of the King's Revenue." It was one year later that this governor defended large grants in Spotsylvania County on the social theory that the "Shade & Protection of the Greater" gave "encouragement to the meaner sort." But from 1730 to 1732 the governor and Council issued nine grants to individuals and groups for a total of 385,000 acres in the Shenandoah Valley outside the bounds of Spotsylvania County. With the exception of William Beverley, an Essex County planter with close ties to the Council, and his partners, none of these grantees were Virginians, English, or the "men of substance" that Virginia governors and the Council had depended upon to organize settlement in the Piedmont. The governor therefore fixed upon them a requirement to recruit and settle one family for every one thousand acres granted. Settlers were to receive patents for their land through the colony's grantees. That these men's ties lay largely among recent immigrants from the German Palatinate and the north of Ireland practically guaranteed cultured diversity on the Shenandoah Valley frontier. Alexander Spotswood may have established the principle that foreign Protestants made excellent settlement buffers, but Gooch's actions in bringing them into positions customarily reserved for Virginia elites and in locating them outside the limits of established counties, in places where the gentry feared to tread, requires explanation.

By 1730 and the third year of his administration, Gooch was experiencing pressures to expand Virginia's zone of security. Whether or not he read the report of 1721 is unknown. He never explicitly referred to it or its injunction to extend British settlements beyond the mountains with white, Protestant, small-farm buffers. That a Crown appointee would have been unfamiliar with the Board of Trade's thinking on the colonies is unlikely. The pressures that the governor experienced in Virginia were those that shaped the board's recommendations, and Gooch's actions were in tune with the principles of the report. The governor did not notify the Board of Trade of his actions until July 10, 1731, a full year after the first grant had been made, but he justified his efforts in language familiar to the report of 1721. It was, he wrote, "for H.M. interest to encourage such settlements, since by that means we may in a few years get possession of the Lakes, and be in a condition to prevent the French surrounding us by their settlements." Indian troubles were multiplying. A year before Gooch's arrival Senecas had killed a Virginian. The Council pointed out that, if tolerated, such killings would render the Albany Treaty meaningless. Shortly thereafter,

Robert Carter, president of the Council and acting governor, warned the Board of Trade of a "threatened invasion from the Western Indians." Gooch had arrived in Virginia in the midst of disputes among Meherrins, Tuscaroras, Saponies, and Catawbias that reflected ethnic conflicts embroiling the backcountry from New York to the Carolinas. By 1729 the governor complained to the Board of Trade that "I every day expect to hear of an Encounter between them which will certainly happen, whenever they meet in their Hunting...But as our Frontier Inhabitants lye at the same time exposed to the barbarous Insults of these Indians, and the foreign Nations they call in to their aid, this in all probability will involve us in continual Skirmishes & Alarms."

The proprietary of the Northern Neck posed another problem. Proprietary rights to the land between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers had been established by royal charters during the seventeenth century. By the 1720s, these rights had devolved on Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax. On June 11, 1729, Fairfax's agent, who was none less than Robert Carter, petitioned his fellow councilmen "that the governor will not pass any patent or patents for any lands lying" within proprietary boundaries. Quoting a 1707 instruction that the Virginia governor be "very watchful that his Majesty's lands be not invaded under any pretence of a Grant to any Proprietor," Gooch responded that he "absolutely refused the suspension of granting of Patents notwithstanding the remonstrances of the proprietor's Agent." A battle was joined that would soon pit the colony's claim to the entire lower Shenandoah Valley against the proprietary's and give the governor a powerful motive for granting land there as a confirmation of colonial claims.

Gooch perhaps felt an additional pressure to hasten settlement west of the Blue Ridge – the possibility that unoccupied mountain lands would become a haven for runaway slaves and a stimulus for slave uprisings. Spotswood had earlier pointed to this possibility. The English colony of Jamaica lay in the grips of a maroon war that would not be resolved for another decade. Concern for the internal security of black-majority colonies such as South Carolina had produced the "constant sense" among members of the Board of Trade that colonial frontiers must be white. Virginia's slave population had reached thirty thousand, the largest of any in the English mainland colonies. In June 1729 the governor reported to the board that approximately fifteen refugees from a James River plantation "formed a Design to withdraw from their master and to fix themselves in the fastnesses of the neighbouring Mountains." Stealing arms and tools, they settled themselves in a "very obscure place among the 'Mountains', where they had already begun to clear the ground" when they were discovered and forcibly returned to slavery. "So [was] prevented for this time a design," Gooch observed, "which might have proved as dangerous to this country, as is that of the negroes of the mountains of Jamaica to the inhabitants of that island." The governor concluded that "Tho' this attempt has happily been defeated, it ought nevertheless to awaken us into some effectual measure for preventing the like hereafter." In 1729 the assembly had passed an act "for making more effectual provision against Invasions and Insurrections," and the governor had subsequently commissioned an adjutant to train local militias against slave uprisings. The mountains unfortunately lay beyond the pale of militia organization.

Indian conflicts, French expansion, proprietary claims, and black maroons all increased the pressure on the Gooch administration to strengthen and extend western settlement buffers, but the governor turned to foreign Protestants in response to a proposal for a mountain colony of Swiss farmers. Swiss and German promoters had long voiced an interest in colonizing the Virginia mountains. In 1707 Franz Ludwig Michel, a Swiss merchant, had explored and mapped the lower Shenandoah Valley as the likely setting for an

immigrant colony. Two years later he obtain royal orders for land there, but a Swiss nobleman, Christopher, baron de Graffenried, diverted the project to North Carolina. Graffenried's interest in Virginia silver mines, however, led several years later to the immigration of German miners, whom Spotswood appropriated for Germanna.

Gooch's policy of encouraging buffer settlements of foreign Protestants west of the Blue Ridge was apparently stimulated by proposals in the late 1720s from another Swiss entrepreneur, Jacob Stover. Stover had immigrated to New York in 1709 with a group of impoverished Germans and Swiss under the charity of the English Crown. He soon acquired land in Pennsylvania and gained a reputation for developing frontier settlements. After a three-month exploration of the Shenandoah Valley in 1728 or 1729, he proposed a thirteenth mainland colony, named "Georgia," to be settled by German and Swiss immigrants he would recruit. Flattering a monarch with a name indicated Stover's capacity to pull the right strings and to play on fears that Georgia would "not only form a strong and sufficient Barrier to all the British Colonies aforesaid against any opposite Interest or Enemy whatsoever but will also secure the Trade Friendship and Correspondence of the said Western or Naked Indians," objectives of the report of 1721. "If it is neglected to extend the bounds of Great Britain beyond these mountains to the West," he warned, "it is probable that the French in a short time may take possession thereof and if so the English Nation will Loose this fine opportunity."

Stover's proposals were rejected on account of objections by Fairfax and other proprietary claimants to western lands, but William Gooch saw the opportunity. Although Gooch understandably discouraged the Board of Trade from carving new colonies out of Virginia territory, he repeatedly urged the commissioners during the early 1730s to resolve the difficulties with the Northern Neck proprietary quickly so that he could get on with establishing the kind of buffer settlements Stover proposed. Thus he wrote to

Demonstrate to your Lordships how soon that part of Virginia on the other side of the great Mountains may be Peopled, if proper Encouragements for that Purpose were given: Most of these Petitioners are Germans and Swissers lately come into Pensilvania, where being disappointed of the quantity of land they expected...have chosen to fix their habitations in this uninhabited part of Virginia...for by this means a strong Barrier will be Settled between us and the French; and not only so, but if by encouraging more Foreigners to come Hither, we can once gett the Possession of the Lakes, which are not very far distant, we shall be then able to cutt off all Communication between Cannada and Mississippi, and thereby so much weaken the Power of the French as to have little to fear from that Quarter hereafter.

Stover's proposals also contained a strong argument for reversing the theory that new lands could be most effectively settled under the influence of "men of substance." One of Stover's most prominent supporters was William Keith, whose administration in Pennsylvania had ended in 1726. In memorials to the Board of Trade endorsing Stover's plans, Keith contended that "Persons of a low Degree in life who are known amongst their equals to be morally Honest and industrious will sooner persuade a multitude into a Voluntary Expedition of this Nature than those of great Wealth and Higher Rank who are ever liable to the suspicion and Jealousy of the Vulgar." Whether Gooch heard this argument is unknown, but he did appoint persons of a low degree to stimulate settlement in the Shenandoah Valley. An early land grant in the valley went to a partnership headed by Jost Hite and Robert McKay. McKay had Scotch-Irish origins, and Hite was a Pennsylvania German who had accompanied Stover in the 1709 immigration. After petitioning the



Virginia Council on October 21, 1731, that "Families to the number of one hundred are desirous to remove from thence [Pennsylvania] & seat themselves on the back of the great Mountains," he received orders for one hundred thousand acres along the Opequon Creek in the lower Shenandoah Valley with instructions to settle the one hundred families in two years. A year earlier, Alexander Ross, an Irish Quaker immigrant from Pennsylvania, had received a similar grant with Morgan Bryan, another Pennsylvanian. Stover himself settled for ten thousand acres on the South Fork of the Shenandoah in return for recruiting ten families.

Gooch's efforts to establish buffer settlements of white, Protestant, yeoman peoples west of the Blue Ridge by relying upon the attractions of property holding had important consequences for the emerging social landscape of the eighteenth-century frontier. Reflecting the aggregate outcome of individual searches for good land, the morphology of Gooch's settlements was, in an immediate sense, the collective expression of those people who took up the land. The governor's policies, for instance, did not require the concentration of population around fortifications, towns, or townships. Nor did early settlements reflect the controlling hand of Abernethy's "speculators or surveyors" or Morton's "gentlemen." Colonial authorities, however, never lost sight of the larger purposes for which backcountry settlements existed. Having drawn people to the Virginia frontier with the allurements of "free" land and allowed for their "disorderly" dispersal, and governor and Council then overlaid the institutions of county government on the frontier incrementally, during two decades, in a pattern that ordered the backcountry according to the interests of the colony and coincidentally with the concerns of settlers.

The first description of settlements in the Shenandoah Valley came from the Philadelphia naturalist John Bartram. On October 22, 1738, while on a botanizing venture for the British scientist Peter Collinson, this meticulous observer stood on the Blue Ridge and described a "fine prospect of A spacious vail & ye next great ridge northward." During the following two days he traveled through the vale and the Opequon Settlement there, noting that it was "very thinly inhabited with [people] that is lately settled there & lives A lazy life & subsists by hunting." By 1735 the Virginia government had issued eighty-seven patents throughout a broad territory stretching forty-five miles south from the Potomac River and occupied by a total of perhaps 160 families. As a later Virginia governor put it, they "scattered for the Benefit of the best Lands."

Open-county neighborhoods of dispersed small farms clustered fanlike around the drainages of Opequon Creek or tributaries such as Mill Creek. Situated within property holdings and reflecting close attention to topography and resources, dwellings for single families stood at one-quarter – to one-half mile intervals on stream terraces or rudimentary roads. Subsistence farming yielded a familiar patchwork of fields and woodlands. Although by the end of the 1730s many households produced hides, butter, and even linen for market, most families organized the land in a ramshackle pattern of small enclosures, fencing livestock out of planted land around dwellings. "Ye people most of them came from Jersey or Pensilvania," observed Bartram, "sows wheat & oats flax & hemp on ye high ground & hath fine meadows on the low." Although slavery was not unknown, the large majority of laborers were white, and even by the 1750s blacks constituted less than 4 percent of the population in the Shenandoah Valley.

The process of fabricating property out of waste land revealed most clearly how the world of Opequon evolved as the interests of settlers were made to meet the security needs of colonial authorities. Acknowledging "his Majesty having by his Governour & Council agreed to grant us those Lands upon the Consideration of settling so many Families...for the

Defence and Extension of the Frontier of his Government," Jost Hite formed "a Guard to protect them agt. small parties of Hostile Indians, while they were surveying & settling in this Rugged Wilderness." According to Lord Fairfax, who objected to Hite's practices as well as colonial claims, Hite and others had sold land "to that person that would give the greatest Price and that too in such Quantities figures and Positions as the several Purchasers thought proper without Regard to form order Custom Usage Equity or Laws of the Colony." Hite, according to Fairfax, "suffered the Purchasers to make their Surveys in what manner they thought best suited their Interest." Hite responded that

In 1730 when the Country was unsettled, & a Wilderness was to be explored whose Surface was Rocks & Mountains, & its Inhabitants Wildbeasts or Hostile Indians, without any necessarys, but what were carried with them at great expence; nothing but a preference to the choice lands, would tempt men to become adventurers, and therefore the Governor & Council very properly indulged Mr. Hite & his partners in this preference.

William Rogers, a migrant from Pennsylvania, testified to the way the quest for good land also produced a landscape of economic competence and family settlement. "When he came up from Pennsylvania," Rogers observed,

He was an entire Stranger to the methods that he found since used...of getting Orders of Council to take up tracts of Land to make sale of and therefore asked no Questions concerning the same but his business being to seek Land in order to make a Settlement for himself and family did make search to find such as he might think would do for him for that purpose and accordingly found a piece he like very well...[Hite] telling him he should have it as he had let others have hertofore.

Surveyors such as Robert Brooke or speculators such as Hite made no attempt to impose a spatial order on settlement. According to the chain carrier John Dixon, when the surveyor "came to the corner of the line wch was to divide between [John] Keywood and [Abraham] Vanmetre he [Vanmetre] was called on by the surveyor, who said to him, "as you and Keywood has agreed the matter come and set the compass to run this Land" upon wch Vanmetre stepped up, and looking through the sight of the compass turned it a small matter, and raising himself up said, "I believe this will do."

The surveying and dispensing of land in the Shenandoah Valley occurred squarely in the path of the Six Nations, whose right to travel west of the Blue Ridge had been defined by the Albany Treaty in 1722. Ensuing conflicts between settlers and Native Americans drove the colony to complete the settlement process and impose its own order on the backcountry by progressively erecting the institutions of county government. While responding to changing circumstances, the colony remained within the assumptions of the 1721 report. Settlers petitioned the Council in April 1734 that "some persons may be appointed as Magistrates to determine Differences and punish Offenders in regard the Petitioners live far remote from any of the established Counties within the Colony." The Council replied by designating Jost Hite and others who administered colonial land grants as justices of the peace "until there be a sufficient Number of Inhabitants on the North West side of the said Mountains to make a County of itself." The qualification that these men "be not Oblidged to give their Attendance as Justices of the Court of Spotsylvania" was indicative of the caution with which the Council conferred local government on western settlements. Later in 1734 the assembly created Orange County out of the Spotsylvania piedmont and extended it "westerly, by the utmost limits of Virginia" thus incorporating the

Shenandoah Valley settlements for the first time within the bounds and protections of Virginia counties.

When the Williamsburg government subsequently established counties exclusively within the Shenandoah Valley, however, it was responding, not to increases in western population, but to Indian conflicts. During the mid-1730s Gooch and the Council sought a negotiated end to the wars of the northern and southern Indians. On May 5, 1736, the Council noted "the dangers which may happen to the Inhabitants of this Country by the Northern Indians Marching through the Frontiers...in Order to Attack the Cattawbaws, & other Southern Indians with whom they were at War" and ordered that "the Southern & Northern Indians be severally Invited to meet here next April for settling a peace between those Nations as the best way for securing the quiet of Our Frontier Inhabitants." But the Six Nations refused to treat anywhere except Albany, and the Cherokees declined to travel that far north into the heart of Iroquoia. The war continued unabated, so that in April 1738 inhabitants on the Shenandoah River petitioned the Council for arms and ammunition because the "Northern Indians frequently passing through their plantations Commit frequent Outrages and have lately killed one of their men." In the absence of a county militia the governor and Council dispatched munitions from Williamsburg and commissioned local leaders to organize the defense. Later that summer a party of Iroquois, after suffering a defeat by the Catawbas on the banks of the upper Potomac, fell upon an English settlement and killed eleven people from three families. Additional petitions followed that next fall, and when the governor faced the assembly on November 1, he complained of "the last Incursions of the Indians, and the Murders they have perpetrated on the Inhabitants beyond the great Ridge of Mountains." He reviewed his attempts to "negotiate a Peace between the Northern Indians, under the Government of New-York, and the Cattaws and Cherikees" and concluded that "fresh Hostilities committed by the former, leaving no Hopes of Success, the Safety of That Fronter must depend on your Councils and Assistance."

On November 8 the House of Burgesses took up a measure "for making more effectual provision against Invasions and Insurrections," which the governor signed into law on December 21. That same day he approved "An Act, for erecting two new Counties, and Parishes; and granting certain encouragements to the Inhabitants." In an obvious ploy for the extension of royal authority, the new counties were named Frederick and Augusta after the Prince and Princess of Wales. They incorporated all the land Virginia claimed west of the Blue Ridge, including territory disputed by Fairfax. Inhabitants were "exempted from the payment of all public, county, and parish levies," and the governor was authorized to "grant letters of naturalization to any such alien" who took the proper oaths and tests. Like religious toleration, which Gooch extended to western dissenters the next year, easing naturalization had long been a cause among foreign immigrants.

The establishment of local government in the two new counties, however, was delayed until ordered by the governor and Council. The administration was in something of a bind. In conflicts with the Indians the best means of defense clearly lay in settlement and county organization. Gooch assured the Board of Trade that "enlarging the frontier Settlements and Strengthening them by proper encouragements for Cohabitation hath always proved the most effectual Method Securing the Country against the Indians." But in a candid explanation for delaying the appointment of a court, Gooch admitted to the board that "because most of the People likely to settle there are illeterate and many of them not yet understanding the English Language, it is left to the Governor and Council to fix the time, when Justices and other officers are to be established." What the administration wanted was

the power to move quickly, without relying on the legislature, to install local governments and provide for the common defense in case an all-out Indian war engulfed Virginia. But it also needed to buy time in view of doubts about the ability of the new inhabitants to govern themselves. In June 1739 the Council read but declined any action on a petition from more than fifty backcountry inhabitants praying that the "County of Frederica may immediately take place" because the "Difficulty of obtaining Justice" in the distant court of Orange County caused many crimes to go unpunished and encouraged "Persons of a Scandalous life" to settle among them. Efforts by the settlers to establish internal control would not coincide with the colony's need to impose external order for several years to come.

Other Virginians shared both the government's advocacy of backcountry settlement and its mistrust of the settlers. As early as 1728 William Byrd had written that "it therefore concerns his Majesty's Service very nearly, and the Safety of His Subjects on this part of the World, to take Possession of so important a Barrier [the Blue Ridge] in time, lest our good Friends, the French, and the Indians, thro' their Means, prove a perpetual Annoyance to these Colonies." By the mid-1730s, however, he was complaining to his correspondents Collinson and Bartram about the "Scots-Irish...who flock over thither in such numbers, that there is not elbow-room for them. They swarm like the Goths and Vandals of old, & will over-spread our continent soon." But hoping to populate his own western lands, Byrd admitted he would be "glad" to tempt Germans "to remove hither."

Within two months of the passage of the militia and county measures, Gooch was explaining to the Board of Trade that he knew "not in what state they [the Cherokees and Catawbas] are in with the Northern Nations...But if Spring tempts them to renew their Hostilities, and to make the like return of Barbarity through our inhabitants, 'tis not to be imagined that People who have now Arms in their hands, will suffer the Heathens to insult them with Impunity." In July 1739 Gooch received word from the governor of New York that a combined French and Indian force was on its way south to attack Indians friendly to Virginia. New and even more serious difficulties were also developing with the Six Nations. Not only did they now "insist upon it as agreed by the Treaty [of Albany] that as they were not to Pass to the Eastward, the English were not to get to the Westward" of the Blue Ridge, but the Indians also laid exclusive claim "to the Lands on Shenando River." This position varied considerably from the colony's understanding that the treaty conferred only rights of travel, not claims to land. When the Iroquois acted on their interpretation, the Gooch administration moved quickly to effect the final stage of settlement organization west of the Blue Ridge.

On July 19, 1742, William Gooch received a warning from Maryland lieutenant governor Samuel Ogle of an alliance of Indians led by the Six Nations against inhabitants in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. A subsequent letter explained that the Indians planned to attack "if they did not receive Satisfaction for certain Lands lying on Susquehanna Chesapeak Ifanandowa [Shenandoah] & parts adjacent belonging (as they say) to them the said Indians for which they have never been paid and are now possessed by the people of Maryland & Virginia." The Indians sought compensation, but "threaten in Case they have not that they are able & will do themselves Justice."

"Justice" swept down on Virginians the following December. Warriors from the Six Nations appeared in Augusta County "in an hostile manner," reported one white official, "killing and carrying off Horses" and stealing provisions. According to the Indians, however, "there was no more Deer to be killed, and they had been Starved to Death if they not killed a Hog now and then." When an armed force confronted the Indians, a fight broke out, and eleven whites and almost as many Indians died. Both sides claimed they were

fired upon first. One Virginian thought he saw "some white men (whom we believe to be French) among the Indians." The war Virginians had feared for almost half a century seemed to be upon them.

The governor and Council acted quickly. By the end of December, they had dispatched arms and ammunition to the people of Augusta and ordered the militias of Orange and Fairfax counties to "hold themselves in Readiness to March to their Assistance upon any Emergency or Apprehension of another Attack.' But hearing the "Indian side of the Story" and fearing that armed conflict could spread quickly if not checked, George Thomas, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, wrote to Gooch in early 1743 urging caution "that Justice may be done, and the ill Consequences which otherwise might happen to the back parts of most of the British Colonies in America be prevented." In April the Council reconsidered the 1739 petition from backcountry inhabitants, and the governor appointed a commission of the peace for Frederick County to be sworn the following October. In early May, Gooch reassured Thomas that "you may depend upon it no fresh Hostilities shall be Exercised against" the Indians. Forces set in motion as early as 1699 had come to bear on this act, which formalized the settlement of the Virginia backcountry.

On October 29, 1745, the Council ordered that a commission of the peace be appointed for Augusta County. Six months earlier the Privy Council had settled the dispute with the Northern Neck Proprietary in Fairfax's favor while confirming all colonial grants. Winchester, the county town for Frederick, had already been laid out, and Staunton in Augusta was soon to emerge. And Virginia had, at least temporarily, settled its differences with the Six Nations at the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster. There the Indians were compensated for land claims in the Shenandoah Valley and agreed to restrict travel to the so-called Warriors Path along its length. Gooch could tell the legislature that he had "concluded a Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Northern Indians; and procured for our Inhabitants seated to the Westward of the Mountains, a quiet Possession of all the Lands to which those Nations claimed a Right." A good thing it was, too, because England was by then at war with France. Possessing the land and organizing a county court to secure the rights of property and to provide for its development and for common defense would afford Virginia the best protection the colonial and imperial governments could command. Decades of experience had indicated that county militias, when properly trained, could best secure frontier areas and that those militias were natural to settlement buffers of white Protestant smallholders. If European settlers were for the most part Scotch-Irish or German Palatinates, so much the better, because both groups had long served the interests of European states by occupying the contested areas of national and imperial struggle.

By the mid-1740s the period when speculative interests were muted by the coincidence of settler demands for lands and the pursuit of imperial and colonial was over; new land grants were overtly speculative and firmly controlled by Virginia elites. In 1743 the Virginia Council had denied a petition from James Patton for one hundred thousand acres on the New River but promised the grant if war broke out with France. The Council fulfilled its promise in April 1745, simultaneously granting one hundred thousand acres on the Greenbrier River to Council president John Robinson and others who formed the Greenbrier Company. Only with the Privy Council's endorsement and at the recommendation of the Board of Trade, however, did the Council in 1749 grant the Ohio Company two hundred thousand acres at the strategic forks of the Ohio Valley. That same year, 1749, the Council also granted eight hundred thousand acres near Cumberland Gap to the Loyal Company. The members of the land companies, unlike the colony's grantees of the 1730s, were prominent leaders of Virginia's planter class, now eager to take advantage of

the speculative possibilities unleashed by earlier settlement activities. That "foreign Protestants" figured significantly as settlers in all these ventures represented nothing new, but the scale of the efforts and their location deep in the contested interior of North America suggest an unprecedented aggressiveness in British plans for territorial conquest.

This essay began with a question about the origins of the eighteenth-century backcountry, its social construction, and the exercise of power at the highest levels of colonial government. Traditional answers depending on the interests of settlers or speculators alone fail to account for the role of the governor and Council of Virginia in establishing a culturally distinctive frontier. A new frontier narrative requires a different perspective encompassing the entirety of British North America and beginning at the onset of the eighteenth century. Faced with potential French encirclement and, more immediate to this story, with real conflict waged by Native Americans across the continent, colonial governors and their councils explored various defensive strategies to secure their frontiers. Most attractive were the opportunities presented by European migrants uprooted by imperial strife and seeking land and opportunity in America. The interests of white Protestant yeoman peoples stimulated settlement schemes from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas. That speculative interest also helped drive the settlement process is no surprise.

What is new in this story derives from the decades prior to 1730, when colonial experience came to be woven into the process of imperial decision making and forced London officials to conceive a continental frontier and an integrated program for its defense. In Virginia this new way of thinking about the margins of empire assumed material form in the decades after 1730, first in ethnically and economically diverse settlements built upon the institution of private property and then in the incorporation of varied peoples and their dispersed landscape within the polity of the county. Developments in Virginia gained significance through the reconfiguration of colonial frontiers but also through the global conflict they provoked. The settlement activities of the colony forced Native Americans to take a stand during the Seven Years War in defense of tribal homelands and to seek the assistance of the French, themselves eager to contend for the Ohio country. These developments thus bear no small responsibility for the British Empire that emerged from the war and the continuing hostilities that empire spawned.

Source: Warren R. Hofstra. "The Extention of His Majestie's Dominions: The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers." *Journal of American History* 85 (1998).

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## CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

In this chapter from his book, *The Ohio Frontier*, R. Douglas Hurt chronicles the tension that led to the French and Indian War and to repeated violence until Americans broke from Great Britain in 1775.

The Miami women busily hoed the weeds in their corn fields along the plain that rose from the west bank of the Great Miami River opposite the mouth of Loramie's Creek, where their village of Pickawillany nestled in the quiet of a late June morning. Most of the men had left the camp on a hunting expedition. This village, under the leadership of Pianguisha, whom the French called La Demoiselle and the British knew as "Old Briton," had rejected the friendly overtures and veiled threats of the French to return to the

headwaters of the Maumee and the Wabash. They also had refused to join them and their Indian allies against the English who had begun to penetrate the - Ohio country with Pennsylvania traders. Yet few considered the village to be in imminent danger of attack, even though George Croghan, who ranged among the "far Indians" of the Sandusky and Lake Erie region, had built a stockade there. But when the sun reached about nine o'clock high, 250 Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatoni raiders, led by mixed-blood Charles Langlade from Michelimackinac, broke from the surrounding cover of the bushes and trees along the river and swept through the fields and into the village with a rush and ferocity that caught everyone by surprise. Quickly they seized the women and children, but the English traders and La Demoiselle were their goals.

When the commotion of the attack began, three traders realized that they could not make a safe dash to the stockade, where a collection of twenty Miami men and boys and several other white traders had barricaded themselves, and they sought refuge behind the locked door of a nearby cabin. The French-inspired raiders soon broke down the cabin door and seized the cowering traders, who had become so overcome with fear that they had not fired a shot. Under interrogation, these captives soon told the attackers that few men defended the stockade and that it could be easily taken.

Throughout the remainder of the morning, the Indians peppered the stockade with musket fire. In the early afternoon the raiders called to the Miamis in the stockade that they would end the siege and let them go unharmed if they would turn over the white men. Without water in the stockade and with the enemy numbered ten to one against them and holding many families, including the wife and son of La Demoiselle, the Miamis accepted these terms, hoping for mercy rather than betrayal. The Miamis then surrendered five white men, while two others chose to hide under the stockade. Upon the surrender, the raiders immediately seized one trader with a stomach wound, stabbed him in the chest, took his scalp, cut his heart out, and ate it. They then returned the captive women and children and plundered the houses of the English traders. After the attackers had taken what they wanted, they killed La Demoiselle, dismembered his body, boiled it, and ate him before the horrified Miamis and traders. With La Demoiselle's power thus transferred to themselves, the raiders departed, leaving three Miamis, including La Demoiselle, together with one Mingo, a Shawnee, and an Englishman dead as they marched five English traders north to Detroit. They had not suffered any casualties. Chastened by the attack, the Miamis, "making great protestation of fidelity," now moved back west to the Maumee as the French had desired.

With the fall of Pickawillany, the Ohio Valley belonged to the French. Like the Miamis, no Indians in the Ohio country were truly independent. All Native Americans had become dependent on European culture for a variety of trade goods, such as tools, clothing, and food, which they did not believe they could live without. The power that furnished these goods dictated the loyalty and politics of the Indians in Ohio. After Pickawillany, the British traders from Pennsylvania left, the French took their place, and the Ohio Indians adjusted to a new reality.

Although the Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Potawatomis had provided the men for the attack on the Miamis at Pickawillany, the knife had been directed by the French, with the target being Great Britain. On the morning of June 1, 1752, then, the first shots of a new French and Indian War were fired. The final clash between the French and British empires for the control of the North American continent had begun at Pickawillany on the quiet banks of the Miami River. It would not be the last violence between Native Americans, the Europeans, and their descendants for control of the Ohio country.

When King George's War began in 1744, the French quickly sought an alliance with the Native Americans in the Ohio country to block any British attempt to seize the interior. The Iroquois who lived in northeastern Ohio as well as the Shawnees and Miamis accepted these diplomatic overtures and declared support for the French, who hoped to use these tribes to drive out the English traders who were encroaching on their sovereign claims to the region. Although the French and British fought primarily on the high seas and in Europe, the English succeeded in capturing the French stronghold of Louisbourg in 1745 and thereby cut off supplies bound to French traders and military posts for the purpose of keeping the Indian trade away from the British in the Ohio country. This loss, in addition to a French reduction of trade goods as an economy measure, caused serious problems, because the Ohio Indians, that is, the Shawnees, Delawares, and Iroquois or Mingos, had become dependent on European technology, particularly guns. The Miamis also pleaded with the French for "indispensable supplies," but received little at high prices.

In the absence of trade goods and with price gouging common by the French because of supply problems, British traders quickly took advantage of a "fair opportunity," undersold their competitors, and lured the Ohio Indians back into the English fold, where Croghan reported that they remained in "strict friendship." This achievement was not difficult because the French had demanded that their Indian allies take up the hatchet against the English. In the Ohio country, the would-be allies of the French saw that they were constantly asked to fight for France only to be gouged by French traders. By 1748, the Indians of the Ohio country believed that France had broken their alliance, and unfortunate traders began to meet their deaths at the hands of resentful Indians who thought the French cheated them and were not only ungrateful for their allegiance but also greedy.

Sporadic attacks on French traders by the Wyandots of Sandusky, the White River Iroquois of the Cuyahoga region, and the Miamis in the northwest correctly convinced the French that the British were responsible for their problems in the Ohio country. When King George's War ended in 1748, the French made the mistake of demanding that their errant Indian allies return to their protection rather than treating them magnanimously with presents and lucrative trade. For the Native Americans in the Ohio country, whose culture was founded in part on the concept of reciprocity, the French continued to be ungrateful and parsimonious. They also demanded subordination.

In order to reassert the declining influence of France in the Ohio country, Canadian Governor Marquis de la Galissoniere sent Pierre Joseph de Céloron de Blainville, with 250 French regulars, militia, and native allies, into the region during the summer of 1749 to expel the British. Céloron had the mission of forcing the Wyandots at Sandusky under Orontony (Nicholas) to settle at Detroit and to destroy the hostile camp at Sonnentio on the Scioto River. He also boasted that he would "whip home" the Miamis at Pickawillany. At Lower Shawnee Town at the mouth of the Scioto, however, Céloron could merely bury a lead plate and nail a metal sign on a nearby tree that gave France claim to the region. This action introduced the concept of European land ownership and sovereignty to Ohio. With the Shawnees less than hospitable, Céloron admonished the English traders present to leave, then bade a hasty farewell.

Céloron then traveled to the mouth of the Great Miami River, where he turned northward to Pickawillany. There he found the Miamis in an ugly mood, perhaps because he constantly referred to the Ohio country as "my territories." They also had little desire to return to the French outpost of Fort Miami on the Maumee River in present-day northeastern Indiana, where Céloron said they would "enjoy perfect peace." Upon completion of his mission at Detroit, Céloron wrote that the Shawnees and Miamis in Ohio



were "very badly disposed towards the French, and are entirely devoted to the English." To remedy this situation, the French needed a major fortified trading post in Ohio, but they did not have the financial and logistical ability to build and sustain it. At best, they could only try to persuade the Miamis at Pickawillany as well as the Shawnees and Wyandots to look to the French for friendship and support. In time, perhaps the French hoped to regain the trade they had lost to the British during King George's War; until then, they urged the Indians to attack British traders in Ohio.

In the meantime, the British continued to pay high prices for deerskins and furs while spreading the idea that the French wanted to deny the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Miamis their freedom to trade while subjecting them to slavery. With the supply line for traders back to Pennsylvania shorter than the French water route across the Great Lakes to Montreal, the British were able to maintain an economic presence that provided diplomatic and military advantages. James Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, also worked to prevent any rapprochement between the Indians and the French. In the spring of 1750, he authorized George Croghan to tell the Wyandots and the Ohio Iroquois that they should "resent" attempts of the French to trade with them or form alliances.

When Orontony died in 1750, La Demoiselle became the primary thorn in the French side in the Ohio country. La Demoiselle was a chief of the Piankashaw band by birth and a Miami by marriage. By the late 1740s he had broken with the French and as a war leader established the band that settled at Pickawillany in 1747. In that year he also led an attack on a French post at a Miami village on the upper Maumee. This raid marked La Demoiselle as an ally of the Wyandots at Sandusky, the White River Iroquois, and the British who operated with traders out of Pennsylvania. This perceived alliance particularly concerned the French because Orontony had considered the Wyandots and the Iroquois "one people." If the Miami rebels under La Demoiselle's leadership formed an alliance with that group, French efforts to restore their control to the Ohio country would be infinitely more difficult. When La Demoiselle's Miami delegation negotiated a treaty with the British at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in late July 1748, he gained sufficient prestige to maintain his independence from the Miamis, who resided on the upper Maumee and who professed allegiance to France. Yet La Demoiselle's revolt from the other Miamis depended on continued support from, especially trade with, the British.

By 1750, La Demoiselle had attracted perhaps as many as four hundred families to Pickawillany, including Piankashaws and Weas, and he had made overtures to the Ottawas and Ojibwas to join them. He also made British traders welcome, and they did not disappoint the Miamis. Rather than play off the British and French against each other for his own advantage and thereby capitalize on a relative balance of power between the two European empires, La Demoiselle cast his fate with the British. He permitted British traders to build a stockade that served as a supply house and trading station, and they continued to offer goods at lower prices, paid in deerskins and furs, than the French could match. These traders promised even more goods if the Miamis would "preserve the road safe and commodious between Pickawillany & Logstown." Yet this task proved impossible for the Miamis or any other Ohio Indians. By the summer of 1750, the Ohio country was a dangerous place for both Europeans and Native Americans.

The growing influence of La Demoiselle caused the French a great deal of concern, and they began to fear a "revolution" among the villages in the Ohio country. Indeed, the Iroquois in the Cuyahoga region and the Shawnees at Sonnentio (Lower Shawnee Town) now began to act as a "sort of republic" independent of French control. While the French could tolerate, even encourage, subordinate Native American entities within New France,

they could not accept independent nations that functioned with impunity. These republics particularly threatened the communication lines as well as territorial claims between French Canada and Louisiana. Moreover, by the early 1750s, both France and Great Britain realized that the political control of the villages in the Ohio country would determine the imperial control of the North American continent. William Johnson, who soon became the major architect of British Indian policy, observed that to lose the support of the Indians would be "very bad."

The French agreed. By the autumn of 1751, French officials had determined that they had "no other course to adopt than to drive from the Beautiful River any European foreigners who will happen to be there." Accordingly, Marie Francois Picote, Sieur de Bellestre, led an attack on Pickawillany, but most of the villagers were away hunting. As a result, these French raiders captured only two British traders and killed a Miami man and woman. Unable to storm the palisades and strike the remaining villagers, the French expedition returned to Detroit. This attack infuriated La Demoiselle, who later ordered the execution of three captured French soldiers and the ears cut off another, which he sent back to the French with a warning to leave his village alone. The Pickawillany Miamis and their Wea and Shawnee allies also increased their attacks on French traders to the west. Faced with insubordination, the French decided to forsake their policy of accommodation and alliance and determined to use military power to force the wayward tribes back into their sphere of influence. They chose Pickawillany, recently weakened by smallpox and internal dissension, for the first strike.

Great Britain did not respond to the French and Indian attack on Pickawillany with a deliberate policy, because its administrative structure did not yet function that way. Rather, the colonial governments in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York formulated and executed British policy. Although the Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos sought British military support against the French, and while the Miamis requested inclusion in the "Covenant Chain" with the Iroquois, the Pennsylvanians and the Iroquois did not respond. The Iroquois were more concerned with land problems in New York and viewed this new conflict as a personal problem between the French and British, and they professed neutrality. The Pennsylvania legislature also failed to provide funds or militia to aid the Miamis, preferring that military retaliation come from New York, because the Ohio Indians were theoretically under the control of the Iroquois. Although the Virginians could have sent aid, they were primarily interested in gaining control of the Ohio country rather than helping the Indians keep it from the grasp of the French or protecting it for the Pennsylvanians. This ambivalence clearly indicated that the French had been correct -- the British wanted only land and control of the Indian peoples.

In 1753 the British finally demanded that the French leave the Ohio country. If the British fought the French, however, they would do so to claim the Ohio country as their own, rather than defend Indian lands. With the French claiming all lands north of the Ohio River and the British all lands to the south, nothing remained for the Native Americans. If both European powers intended to deny the Ohio country to the Indian people, then it did not make sense for the Native Americans to fight either nation. Given this realization, the Ohio Indians were in a foul mood by the autumn of 1753. They stood alone against both the French and the British, and they knew it.

The French attack on Pickawillany, then, fundamentally changed the relationship between the Ohio Indians and the British. As long as the contest for empire was fought with economic weapons in the form of trade goods, the British enjoyed a considerable advantage in gaining political alliances with the Indians, because colonial craftsmen

manufactured trade merchandise relatively inexpensively, and competition among Pennsylvania traders and later with the Virginians kept prices low. But when the French escalated the competition for the land by utilizing military force, the British were at a decided loss. Although British supply lines adequately provisioned traders in the Ohio country, Pickawillany and other Ohio villages, such as Sonnentio on the Scioto, lay closer to the French garrison at Detroit than to British military protection. With Fort Miami on the Maumee only 75 miles from Pickawillany and Detroit only 150 miles from La Demoiselle's village, the danger became clear, because the British had not yet built forts west of the Appalachians to protect them. The French attack on Pickawillany and the unwillingness of the British to retaliate proved the inability and unwillingness of the Crown to defend its allies.

Life in the Ohio country always remained tenuous at best for the Native Americans. Hostile military power could make that existence more difficult. In 1754, faced with the task of choosing between French muskets and British trade goods, the Shawnees, Delawares, and rebel Miamis drifted back to the French fold. Throughout the French and Indian War that followed for the next nine years, the Ohio Indians remained loyal to the French.

During the French and Indian War, which lasted from 1754 to 1763, the Ohio Indians, who lived west of the Ohio River, frequently raided with their Delaware and Shawnee relatives, who lived to the east in western Pennsylvania. After Braddock rudely rejected support from the Delawares, Shawnees, and Mingos, telling them that after he drove away the French "no Savage Should Inherit the land," Shingas, a Delaware chief, replied that if they could not live on the land, they would not fight for it. Although Braddock responded that he did not need their help, he perhaps soon regretted that decision, for he lost the battle in his attack on Fort Duquesne, and his life as well. With Braddock's defeat on July 9, 1755, the Ohio Indians believed the French would win the war and drive the British away. Nevertheless, while the Ohio Indians allied with the French as a matter of expediency, they fought more to keep their country free from British and French control.

Indeed, the Ohio Indians fought their own separate war, but divisions remained. Although Shingas, for example, whom the British recognized as the "king" of the western Delawares to simplify matters of negotiation, led raids against Pennsylvania's border settlements, Tamaqua, his brother, did not join the attacks, because he considered himself a peacemaker. Yet both understood that the war's ultimate prize would be control of the land, not just the fur trade. With military skill and necessary alliances, the Ohio Indians hoped to hold the land as their own. During that conflict, they relied on French power to offset the numerical superiority of the British, operating on the premise that once the British had been defeated, as Ackowanothic, an Ohio Delaware spokesman said, "we can drive away the French when we please." The Ohio Indians never considered themselves to be subjects of the French, only their allies. The Shawnee and Delaware attacks also showed the Iroquois that they were no longer under their control.

With war virtually over in the Ohio country by 1758, and with the French the losers, the Ohio Indians entered into a formal peace treaty with the Pennsylvanians at a meeting at Lancaster. There the Delawares negotiated on the premise that peace would not come to the Ohio country until both the French and the British withdrew from the valley. In early September 1758, Shingas told missionary Frederick Post, "We have great reason to believe you intend to drive us away, and settle the country; or else, why do you come to fight in the land that God has given us?" Then he asked, "Why do not you and the French fight in the old country, and on the sea? Why do you come to fight on our land? This makes every body believe, you want to take the land from us by force, and settle it." Tamaqua, who by 1758

was recognized by the British and the Iroquois as the leading "king" of the Delawares, wanted trade, but also wanted the British to go "back over the mountain." Once it occurred, both Native Americans and the British could live in peace based on economic reciprocity. His view also clearly indicated that the Ohio Indians did not trust the British.

To allay the fears of the Ohio Indians, the British proclaimed that they merely wanted to drive away the French rather than seize Indian lands. Still, when Britain appropriated the lands west of the Ohio River in the Treaty of Logstown in 1758 and assumed management of Indian affairs in the Ohio country, the Indians had great cause for alarm. The British ultimately agreed to improve trade relations with the Indians but not to leave the Ohio Valley. Indeed, the British considered the Ohio country to be their land by the right the conqueror and the Indians to be their subjects. British accommodation with the Indians based on the French presence was longer necessary. With the French gone, the British now believed that the Ohio Indians had the obligation to obey imperial policy. The Ohio Indians, of course, did not consider themselves to have been defeated.

George Croghan, official agent of the British Indian Department, clearly understood the reality of Indian-white relations in the valley when he remarked that while the British army had defeated the French, it had "nothing to boast from the War with the "natives." When Croghan held a conference at Fort Pitt in August 1760, the Wyandots, Shawnees, Delawares, Mingos, Miamis, and others eagerly sought the return of British traders. During the war their guns had fallen into disrepair, and they had exhausted most of their powder and lead. Before they could restore the fur and deer skin trade, they needed essential supplies and gunsmiths. Financial problems, however, in part prevented the British from meet the needs of the Ohio Indians. Moreover, the return of normal rations lagged, in part, because traders could operate only at British military posts in order for the government to gain control of process. The British planned to limit trade, that is, hold it hostage, to force the Indians, particularly the Shawnees, to return their captives and stop stealing horses from the traders.

Colonel Henry Bouquet, commander of Fort Pitt, initiated this policy early in 1761, but he was soon disappointed because the Ohio Indians considered the return of generous trading practices to be a prerequisite for the return of white captives. In late July 1761, Bouquet wrote that the Ohio Indians complained that British traders could not go to their villages. But, he observed, "when they are told that the Reasons are their not delivering the Prisoners & continuing to steal our Horses, they have nothing to say, but Repeat Promises they will not perform, till forced to it by keeping the Trade from them."

In September 1761, the Wyandots from the Sandusky area complained to Croghan and Sir William Johnson, British superintendent of Indian affairs at Detroit, that "many articles are very scarce & in particular powder is sold so sparingly & is so hard to be got that we are all apprehensive we must shortly be obliged to leave off hunting entirely, as our Young Men cannot procure sufficient to cloath themselves or provide for their Wives & Children." They again asked for guns, powder, lead, and credit. The British refused the latter request, demanding instead that for reasons of economy the Indians purchase goods by procuring furs and deerskins. But they also rejected generosity as a policy because of cultural prejudice which led them to believe that gifts fostered dependence and laziness. In contrast, the Indians believed that fathers and leaders gave presents and extended great generosity to their children and subjects. For the Ohio Indians, good relations between white and Native American cultures depended on reciprocity. They expected peace to be rewarded with trade. Indeed, gifts would "brighten the chain of friendship." In contrast, the British expected peace based not on the renewal of trade but on the fear of British military

power. Between 1758 and 1762, the British used a policy of "garrison government" to hold the newly acquired empire. This policy required building or occupying a chain of forts across the Upper Great Lakes region. But most of these posts, such as Fort Sandusky, were lightly staffed and poorly supplied.

In October 1761, Lieutenant Elias Meyer, who commanded at Sandusky, reported that his detachment suffered "considerably" from the lack of an interpreter to help his men acquire food from the Wyandots. By November, however, he had solved his food problem and reported that the Indians now "supply us pretty well with venison at Moderate Rates." Reciprocity was essential for both the Wyandots and the British. Killbuck, a Delaware headman, for example, led at least one pack train of horses carrying ammunition from Fort Pitt to Sandusky for a wage of one dollar per day. Services, such as supplying venison and transporting supplies for payment in goods or money, reinforced the reciprocity that the Indians understood. But reciprocity such as this did not extend to all areas, particularly in relation to prisoners and control of the land.

Even the trade that reemerged between the two peoples was poisoned by the excessive use of whiskey and hindered from fostering good relations because of poor supplies and high prices. When the British removed knives, razors, tomahawks, gunpowder, flints, and guns from the approved list for the traders, the Indians became increasingly angry. In 1762, Croghan reported that the Ohio Indians were "very Sulkey & Ill Tempered." Indeed, even before the ink on the Treaty of Paris had dried, the Ohio Indians nostalgically wished for the return of the French, while they sought desperately to reach accommodation with and fair treatment by the British. By 1763, the Ohio Indians interpreted British trade restrictions, particularly for powder, as an attempt to destroy them and their way of life. It was essentially an act of war.

The restriction of traders to specific locations also posed a hardship on the Ohio Indians, who now found it more difficult to acquire needed goods, which already were in scant supply and at high prices. In 1761, the Shawnees complained that the British did not "look upon them as brothers and friends." At Fort Sandusky, which became the trading center for northwestern Ohio, Pennsylvania traders earned a bad reputation. Indeed, they were a group whom George Washington called a "set of rascally Fellows divested of all faith and honor." And they kept a feeling of grievance alive among the Wyandots. By 1762, the Wyandots had not made Fort Sandusky agreeable for the traders and the garrison. Lieutenant H. C. Pauli, who commanded, warned Bouquet at Fort Pitt that they intended to "have it burnt." Few Ohio Indians were as blunt as the Wyandots, but despite their lack of diplomatic niceties, the British clearly understood their feelings.

The British also demanded that the Delawares, Shawnees, and Mingos return all captives. This imposition produced a cultural shock among the Indians who had adopted prisoners to replace family members who had been killed in the French and Indian War. By 1760, many of the white children taken early in the war had become thoroughly acculturated into Indian society, and their return caused hardship for both Indian parents and their adopted children. The British could not accept this cultural practice. At a council meeting at Pittsburgh in July 1759, George Croghan told the Ohio Indians that the British would "never taste true Satisfaction" until all captives had been returned.

By October 1761, 338 prisoners had been returned, but several hundred others, primarily western Pennsylvanians, remained captives of the Delawares and Shawnees. The Ohio Indians hesitated to return their hostages because they believed the British would launch an all-out attack to destroy their villages and seize their lands once the last captive

had been repatriated. The Ohio Indians simply did not trust the British, who largely had given them no reason to do so.

With the British acting like conquerors and faced with the loss of their lands and adopted children, wives, and husbands, the Ohio Indians ultimately abandoned their quest for accommodation with the British, who the Shawnees said had become "too great a People." Instead, they chose war rather than diplomacy to protect their interests. In 1763, this uprising became known as Pontiac's Rebellion, and it struck the Ohio frontier.

In 1762 crop failure, famine, and smallpox swept the Ohio River valley, inflicting misery on the Native Americans. In September a Thomas Hutchins visited the Shawnee country and reported people "Sick and Dying everyday." When the Ohio Indians sought supplies and aid from the British, they met rejection. With their women and children suffering great hardship and painful death from hunger and disease, the Mingos complained that the unwillingness of the British to help them in time of dire need clearly indicated that they had "bad designs" against them. In time of crisis, fathers eagerly helped their children, and brothers aided brothers. Now British actions proved that they were neither fathers nor brothers, but rather an evil people who wished only ill on the Indians in the Ohio country. In 1763, Netawatwees (Newcomer), chief of the Turtle clan of the Delawares, reflected the general sense of betrayal when he proclaimed that the British had "grown too powerfull & seemed as if they would be too Strong for God himself."

With the military strength of the Ohio Indians diminished by restricted trade policies and by the removal of the French as a counterweight to British pressure, and with this new enemy seemingly stronger than God, only one solution offered any hope of cultural self-preservation-spiritual renewal. It came in the form of Neolin, a Delaware prophet, who called upon his kinsmen and other Native Americans to cast off all British influences, such as tools and clothes, and to return to "traditional" values by hunting with bows and arrows rather than guns, to use a bow and chill rather than flint and steel to start a fire, and for the women to make clothing from deerskins rather than wool or cotton purchased from traders. If they returned to the ways of their ancestors, they would "purify themselves of sin." The ways of Anglo civilization led only to hell, but by rejecting any association with the "White people" and by praying to an intermediary of the Great Being, they could regain the "Good Road" that would lead to a good life on earth and beyond. Separation, not accommodation, would remove the Native Americans from a position of servitude and let them enter the kingdom of heaven where no whites lived.

Neolin preached that the misfortunes and hardships of the Indian peoples resulted from their rejection of the past, when religious rituals had been faithfully followed. As a result, the Supreme Being became angry with the "evil ways" of his people and inflicted punishments upon them - hunger, disease, and the loss of their lands. Neolin, of course, had integrated the concept of sin, which the Ohio Indians had learned from Moravian and Quaker missionaries, with Native American spiritual beliefs. The Supreme Being, like the Christian God, meted out punishment, but the Great Spirit also had the capacity to forgive those who recanted and changed their ways. Neolin taught that the Delawares could regain the Supreme Being's favor and end their sickness and want as well as the loss of their adopted children and lands if they would only "purge out all that they got of ye White peoples ways & Nature." Neolin expected this goal to be achieved by peaceful means, but the result was a spiritual nationalism that brought renewed violence to the Ohio country.

Neolin's mixture of Christianity and native religion, with references to visions, heaven, hell, sin, and God, while urging a return to a lifestyle that existed prior to contact with European civilization, appealed to the Shawnees and Delawares, because peoples living

under great stress and whose lives and culture hang in the balance often seek help through religion. But Neolin's message affected the British even more, because they saw this new religion as a threat to the deerskin and fur trade and their missionary work among the Ohio Indians. They also saw Neolin's religious revival as the nationalistic foundation upon which they could organize and build to drive the British from the trans-Appalachian frontier. Neolin and his followers believed this as well. The nativism that Neolin preached quickly fostered resentment against the British. The Delawares, who followed Netawatwees, welcomed Neolin's message and became particularly belligerent along the Muskingum and Tuscarawas.

Pontiac, an Ottawa war chief, whom a French contemporary called "a proud, vindictive, war-like and easily offended man," chose to combine Neolin's call for spiritual purification through prayer and a return to the old ways of living with military power that would enable the western Indians not only to reject European culture but also to drive the whites from their lands and keep them away forever or, as General Thomas Gage put it, to "spirit up" his followers for war against the British. In 1765, Croghan wrote to William Johnson, who directed British Indian policy in the colonies, that "Pontiac is a shrewd sensible Indian of few words, & commands more respect amongst those Nations, than any Indian I ever saw could do amongst his own tribe." Pontiac was quite clear. He said the "Master of Life put Arms in our hands," a variation on the Christian concept that God helps those who help themselves. Pontiac also told his followers, "It is important for us, my brothers, that we exterminate from our lands this nation which seeks only to destroy us." By the autumn of 1762, the traders in the Ohio country expected renewed war at the very time that the British and French contemplated peace.

The traders were right. When the Ohio Indians learned of the Peace of Paris, formally announced in January 1763, which transferred all French claims in North America to the British, they were shocked. Newcomer, head of the Delawares, reportedly was "struck dumb for a considerable time." Croghan reported that the Ohio Indians insisted that the "French had no Right to give away their Country; as, they Say, they were never Conquered by any Nation." As a result, in May 1763 the Ottawas attacked Detroit in response to the urging of Pontiac, thereby beginning a new war. Although popularly known as the "conspiracy of Pontiac," this conflict should more appropriately be known as a "Defensive War" or as a war for independence by the western Indians. Other attacks quickly followed across the western frontier, which soon became a region of armed revolt. By the autumn more than six hundred Pennsylvanians had been killed or captured by the Delawares and Shawnees operating from the Ohio country. With the Shawnees, Wyandots, Delawares, Munsees, and Senecas, who called themselves the "Five Nations of Scioto," bound in an alliance, they posed a considerable obstacle to British expansion. George Croghan contended that the Shawnees had been responsible for this military union. The Shawnees, he wrote, had "More to Say with the Western Nations than any other this way."

Fort Sandusky, built in 1745 as a blockhouse from which the British operated a trading post, stood on the portage between the Sandusky River and Lake Erie. Although Nicholas destroyed the village and palisades in April 1748 to prevent the French and their Indian allies from seizing it, the British garrisoned the blockhouse on January 2, 1761, with fifteen men under the command of Ensign H. C. Pauli. By mid-February the Indians were unhappy that the parsimonious British had returned, and relations remained tense, but no serious trouble occurred until spring. On May 16, a group of Indians appeared at the gates and asked to see Pauli, who recognized them as frequent traders at the fort. Once in his headquarters they lighted pipes and began conversation, only to seize him upon a signal

while the fort came under attack from their friends. Within minutes, his command lay dead about the post grounds. They set the blockhouse aflame, bound Pauli, and took him by canoe to Detroit, where he was forced to run the gauntlet and accept adoption by an old Ottawa woman who had lost her husband. In July, however, he escaped and fled to the protective custody of the British inside the fort.

Retribution for the destruction of Fort Sandusky came on July 26, when a Captain Dalyell arrived with 260 men by boat along the southern shore of Lake Erie on his way to relieve the besieged garrison at Detroit. Appalled at the decomposing bodies and charred remains, Dalyell marched against a Wyandot village at the lower falls of the Sandusky River, now present-day Fremont, where he destroyed the corn fields and burned the village.

In the autumn of 1761, other British troops under Lieutenant Elias Meyer arrived to rebuild Fort Sandusky, including blockhouse, stockade, and banquettes. Shorthanded, with forty men drawing eight rations per day, and with his troops often ill, Lieutenant Meyer made slow progress, reporting on November 15 that "the three horses belonging to the King are so fatigued by their daily work that every little while they drop to the ground exhausted." Although the troops finished the construction of the new fort in November, probably on the site of present-day Venice about three miles west of Sandusky, the British remained hard pressed to supply it. Pork and flour always remained in short supply, while beef was available only when it arrived on the hoof from Fort Pitt.

Although ill-prepared to defend against Pontiac's inspired attacks, the British military decided to launch a two-pronged attack into Ohio. In the autumn of 1764, columns led by Colonel John Bradstreet and Colonel Henry Bouquet moved toward Ohio from Presque Isle and Fort Pitt respectively. Bradstreet had the task of reaching Fort Sandusky and restoring communication along Lake Erie, while Bouquet had the assignment of destroying the hostile towns along the Tuscarawas River. When Bradstreet, however, made peace with the Indians at Detroit on September 7, because they could no longer secure powder and lead, the Delawares and Shawnees in the Muskingum, Tuscarawas, and Scioto valleys became isolated.

On October 3, 1764, Bouquet marched from Fort Pitt with a newly recruited force of fifteen hundred Pennsylvanians, Virginians, and regulars from the Forty-second and Sixtieth regiments. Along with the soldiers and wagon drivers, Bouquet's train included two nurses for his hospital and one woman belonging to each corps, probably a prostitute or laundress or both. He ordered the other women "belonging to the camp" back to the settlements. Then, after shooting two captured deserters to ensure good discipline, the troops headed west. Three parties of Virginia volunteers led as scouts. Ax-men and two companies of light infantry followed. Behind them the regulars and Pennsylvanians, marching in single file, formed a large square with a party of light horse and another corps of Virginia volunteers forming a rear guard. Within the protection of the square, the packhorses, laden with ammunition, officers' baggage, and tents, along with cattle and sheep for food, moved slowly forward, covering a mile and a half the first day. Bouquet's mission was not to launch a surprise attack, but rather to march to the Tuscarawas with a show of force and either overawe the Indians or inflict enough military damage to force them to accept peace.

British commander-in-chief Jeffrey Amherst had ordered Bouquet into Ohio, telling him, "I Wish to Hear of no Prisoners, should any of the villains be met with Arms." Amherst rejected gift giving to ensure peaceful relations. Instead, he said, "When men of whatsoever race behave ill, they must be punished but not bribed." Both Amherst and Bouquet wanted the villages destroyed and the Indians dispersed. Bouquet did not respect or sympathize with the Ohio Indians. He did not consider them to be independent nations that had been forced to renew war because of inequitable actions by the British. Rather, the



Indians were British subjects who deserved to be treated as rebels and traitors. Bouquet did not trust the Indians to keep their word, and he believed they understood only force.

On October 13, Bouquet's troops reached the Tuscarawas River, the main branch of the Muskingum, and followed it toward the Delaware and Mingo villages. While they were camped along the river near present-day Bolivar, six Indians arrived to tell Bouquet that the villages were ready to make peace in order to avoid destruction. Bouquet agreed to a meeting the next day beyond the confines of the camp, which he now worked feverishly to secure with a stockade, because his scouts reported a large number of Indians nearby. The next day some forty warriors, mostly Delawares, along with Beaver, chief of the Turkey clan, and a few Senecas and Shawnees arrived at the designated place. After ritually smoking their pipe, they told Bouquet that the recent hostilities had been the fault of their rash young men and the "western nations," and that they would return all of their prisoners in return for peace.

Bouquet was not impressed, but he promised to think about their offer. When they met again on October 20, however, Bouquet rejected their "frivolous and unavailing" excuses, and he told the chiefs that they had the responsibility to punish their young men when they "did wrong." Then he recounted their "barbarous" attacks on whites in the Ohio country, and he told them that he could not trust them because of their past treachery and broken promises. Most important, he said, "This army shall not leave your country till you have fully complied with every condition that is to precede my treaty with you." He also told the Indians that he had brought the relatives of many whites whom the Indians had "massacred or taken prisoners," and they were "impatient for revenge." Bouquet then threatened, "It is with great difficulty that I can protect you against their just resentment." Telling the Tuscarawas villagers that the Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Wyandots had already made peace, that the Six Nations had joined the British against them, and that the French in the western country were now "subjects to the king of Great Britain," he emphasized that they were surrounded and in danger of being destroyed as a people. "But," Bouquet told them, "the English are a merciful and generous nation, averse to shed the blood, even of their most cruel enemies; and if it was possible that you could convince us, that you sincerely repent of your past perfidy, you might yet hope for mercy and peace."

Specifically, Bouquet wanted all of their prisoners brought to Wakatomica within twelve days. He demanded everyone: "Englishmen, Frenchmen, women, children; whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongst you under any denomination and pretence whatsoever; together with all negroes." Bouquet also required the Delawares, Shawnees, and Senecas to furnish their prisoners with sufficient food, clothing, and horses for their return to Fort Pitt, about 150 miles away. Once the captives had been returned, he told them, "You shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for."

Although the Delawares readily agreed to bring in their prisoners and returned eighteen at that time, the Shawnees agreed to do so only with "dejected sullenness." Bouquet, distrusting them, then marched his force to the forks of the Muskingum, the site of presentday Coshocton, on October 25. He decided to accept the captives there, because this location was more central to the nearby Indian towns. Just as important, Bouquet could "awe all the enemy's settlements and destroy their towns" if they did not meet his demands. The Indians knew full well their danger, and during the next few weeks they arrived at Bouquet's camp in small parties and returned their captives.

The repatriation of the captives did not go easily. When the bands brought Anglo children and adults to Bouquet's camp, the white parents and family members ran to them, if they could still recognize their sons, daughters, and wives after months and years among the

Indians. Others, desperately searching for lost children, frantically rushed to each captive, hoping to identify a loved one or to ask about those still missing. Mothers and fathers grasped children and tearfully hugged them while pulling them away from their Indian parents, who also cried and grasped their adopted children, all the while trying to keep them near as long as possible. While the Indian parents remained in camp, they visited their adoptive children daily and brought them corn, skins, horses, and other items just as they had while the children were a part of their Native American families. All the time, the Indian parents showed the marks of the "most sincere and tender affection," forgetting in the mind of one contemporary "their usual savageness."

Not all of the children wanted to return to their birth parents or to be cared for by Bouquet's soldiers until they could be returned to Fort Pitt and perhaps their parents or relatives. Children who had been captured very young and who had lived with loving Indian parents for several years now no longer spoke English. These children had to be pulled from their Native American parents, all the while crying and grasping for their Protection. One observer wrote that some children were "so completely savage that they were brought to the camp tied hand and foot." Children "cried as if they should die when they were presented to us." Even the youngest knew that something was terribly wrong, because their parents were crying, hugging them, and pushing them away all at the same time. When Bouquet broke camp for the return to Fort Pitt on Sunday morning, November 18, with more than two hundred redeemed captives, some Indian parents received permission to travel along with their children, prolonging the final separation as long as possible.

Nor did all of the adult prisoners want to return, and the Shawnees had to "bind" several captives and forcibly take them to Bouquet's camp. Some of the adult women, who now had husbands in the native villages, escaped and fled back to the Indian towns. "Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance," according to one report. Apparently the soldiers and the whites who accompanied Bouquet considered these adults to have been of the "lowest rank" in white society before being captured. Certainly they considered these captives to be culturally inferior, "for, easy and unconstrained as the savage life is, certainly it could never be put in competition with the blessings of improved life and the light of religion, by any persons who have had the happiness of enjoying, and the capacity of discerning, them."

White Indians, then, were as culturally inferior and depraved as red Indians. Although they might deserve pity, they could expect little more. When two of the returned captives, Rhonda Boyd and Elizabeth Studebaker, fled back to their native villages on Bouquet's return trip, their rejection of white culture could not have been more profound. When the Shawnees delivered their white captives to Fort Pitt on May 10, 1765, Lawoughqua, their spokesman, said: "Father - Here is your Flesh and Blood ... they have been all tied to us by Adoption, although we now deliver them up to you. We will always look upon them as Relations whenever the Great Spirit is pleased that we may visit them.... We have taken as much Care of these Prisoners, as if they were our [own] Flesh and blood. Father we request you will use them tender & kindly, which will be a means of inducing them to live contentedly with you." -The clash of cultures could not have been greater.

These scenes of separation and reunion, one contemporary observed, "should make us charitably consider the barbarities as the effects of wrong education, and false notions of bravery and heroism, while we should look on their virtues as sure marks that nature has made them fit subjects of cultivation as well as us; and that we are called by our superior advantages to yield them all the helps we can in this way." Here, then, along the banks of the

Tuscarawas was an early call for acculturation and assimilation and the corresponding destruction of Native American culture.

Bouquet achieved remarkable success. Impressed with British military power and weakened by a smallpox epidemic in 1763, short on powder and lead, and knowing they could not drive the British away, the Ohio Indians accepted Bouquet's terms for peace, although the Shawnees remained "very crabby." Those terms required the Shawnees, Delawares, and Senecas each to furnish two hostages to accompany him to Fort Pitt to guarantee peace and the return of the remaining hostages, pending the conclusion of a formal treaty at that post in the spring. By accepting Bouquet's terms, the Delawares and Shawnees along the Tuscarawas River would prevent an attack on their villages and avoid any land cessions. But Bouquet also contributed to the cause of peace by ignoring General Gage's order to "deliver the Promoters of the War into your hands to be put to death." Even so, he made a list of those whom he hoped to seize, including Neolin.

Essentially, a major British problem in the Ohio country was that no Indian leader could speak for all Native Americans in the region. As a result, the British decided that Pontiac was not only responsible for the war on the frontier but also the only leader who could bring it to a conclusion. In fact, Pontiac did speak for many western villages, and he was shocked when he learned that the Shawnees along the Scioto had agreed to a truce with Bouquet. But in 1766, he too agreed to stop fighting. Peace then returned to the Ohio country. Yet the peace that the British negotiated, based on diplomacy and military strength, essentially returned the Ohio Valley to the status quo prior to Pontiac's rebellion. The British gained the return of white captives, control of French posts, and the right of passage through the region. But while the Indians became British subjects, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson recognized that this designation applied only "so far as the same can be consistent with the Indians native rights," particularly regarding lands. The British, however, realized they did not have sufficient power to defeat the Ohio Indians. Accommodations by both cultures remained essential to ensure a secure peace.

The British actually embarked on a policy of recognizing Native American rights to lands as early as 1761, when the government began plans to restrict traders and settlement west of the Appalachians. Formally enunciated in the Proclamation Of 1763, this policy attempted to gain British control of the West, in part by requiring the licensing of traders and restricting trading to posts in order to control pricing and limit the use of liquor in the exchange process. The British also intended to negotiate for the purchase of Indian lands to permit "fixed boundaries" and the orderly settlement of the trans-Appalachian frontier. White settlers and traders, however, aggressively pushed into that region and prevented accommodation between the British and the Ohio Indians. These "Frontier People" sought not accommodation with the Ohio Indians but rather their removal. Compromise did not enter their thoughts, and magnanimity never governed their actions. British officials in the West considered them to be the "very dregs of the people" and "lawless banditti." General Gage contended that these frontier men and women were "a Sett of People ... near as wild as the country they go in, or the People they deal with, & by far more vicious & wicked." Respecting personal freedom more than law and advocating their right to take unused land rather than to await negotiated settlements with the trans-Appalachian Indians, these frontier people moved relentlessly into the Ohio Valley and soon cast covetous eyes to the rich lands west of the river.

By 1774, approximately fifty thousand whites lived on the trans-Appalachian frontier, and the British army could not control them, being in the words of Gage "too Numerous, too Lawless and Licentious ever to be restrained." By that time, the British

Empire no longer remained the principal enemy of the Ohio Indians. Instead it was the relentlessly westward-moving Americans. The young men in the white settlements were as difficult to control as the young men in the Indian villages along the Tuscarawas, Muskingum, and Scioto rivers when grievance festered in their minds. For Gage, they were "almost out of the Reach of Law and Government; Neither the Endeavors of Government, or Fear of Indians has kept them properly within Bounds."

The young Virginia settlers were the worst. They hated Indians and preferred their extermination in the Ohio Valley. In April 1773, David McClure, a missionary, remarked that in the Ohio country the Virginians seemed "to feel themselves beyond the arm of government & freed from the restraining influence of religion." McClure observed that the frontier Virginians lived like Indians and were no better than "white Savages." Although the frontier people lived by farming and hunting, just like the Ohio Indians, when the hunt took the Virginians onto lands claimed by the Indians, they, caused trouble, sometimes killing Indians on sight as if they were part of the quarry. By the autumn Of 1771, George Croghan reported that the Indians did not "think themselves safe even on the West side of the Ohio." Croghan observed that the settlers in western Pennsylvania "thought it a meritorious act to kill Heathens whenever they were found." William Johnson concurred, noting that this attitude seemed to be "the opinion of all the common people."

The Indians in the Ohio country were naturally "very sulky and, much disturbed" by these settlers, whom they called "long knives." However, they too were not without blame. They had killed traders, long hunters, and settlers for revenge, and every act of white retribution required a similar response. The Delawares and the Shawnees along the Muskingum and Scioto were happy to meet that obligation as they raided across the Ohio River into western Pennsylvania. By 1772 McClure observed that the Delawares of Newcomerstown exhibited "extreme resentment at the encroachments of the white people, on their hunting ground." They claimed sovereignty of their Kentucky hunting lands, and they demanded that the British and colonial Americans recognize that right.

When the British attempted to establish a permanent boundary line between Indian and white lands in 1768 to replace the Proclamation Of 1763, they relied on the fiction that the Iroquois still spoke for the Ohio Indians through the Covenant Chain. When the Iroquois ceded all title to their lands east and south of the Ohio River in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, the Ohio Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos realized not only that they had lost a traditional hunting ground but also that now only the river stood between them and the relentlessly westering frontier people. The Shawnees rejected the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and the right of the Iroquois to make that cession. Two years later they held a host of meetings along the Scioto with various northern and southern peoples in an attempt to create an Indian alliance to stop British expansion. The Shawnee league failed to develop largely because the Indians were not united locally or regionally. Some of the villagers along the Scioto, Tuscarawas, and Muskingum chose to move West beyond the Mississippi River, while others feared British attacks on their villages if they joined. At the same time, the British worked skillfully to keep the Hurons, Miamis, and Potawatomis from joining.

When Virginia surveyors moved west of the Kanawha River, which provided the western boundary of Virginia's lands in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Shawnees along the Scioto planned to drive them back. Lord Dunmore, Virginia's governor, admitted that his power was "insufficient to restrain the Americans" from settling Indian lands in Kentucky, and he did not want to do so. Without respect for law or treaties or the property rights of the Native Americans, the Virginians claimed land at will along the Ohio River across from the Shawnees and held it with their muskets. By the spring Of 1774, rumors reached

Pittsburgh that the Shawnees were murdering whites along the Ohio River in retaliation. Hatred and violence characterized the actions of both Indians and whites on the Ohio frontier.

On May 3, 1774, a group of Virginians coaxed two men and two women to cross the Ohio River from the Mingo village at the mouth of Yellow Creek at present-day Steubenville. With cold calculation, they plied the friendly Mingos with liquor and killed them. They also murdered eight others who came in search, one of whom was the sister and another possibly the mother of Logan, a war chief who lived in the Yellow Creek village. When the news of these murders reached the Shawnee towns, the young men demanded retribution, but the chiefs such as Cornstalk, urged caution and sought mediation and reconciliation rather than war.

Few Shawnees responded to Logan's call for war and instead protected several Pennsylvania traders along the Hockhocking Creek, because they had guaranteed their safety. Cornstalk also sent a party from the Shawnee villages to Fort Pitt with a message that the Traders that were amongst us were very much endangered by such doings ... we are convinced of their Innocence. We are Determined to protect them ... therefore we Request that you will present our good Intentions to the Governors of Virginia, and Pennsylvania, and request that a stop may be put to such Doings for the Future.... I have with great Trouble and pains prevailed on the foolish People amongst us to sit still and do no harm till we see whether it is the intention of the white people in general to fall on us."

Essentially, most Shawnees thought that if the British overlooked Logan's call for war, they would ignore a host of isolated killings by whites. At the same time, the Delawares had no inclination for war, and since their defeat in 1764, they had acknowledged the leadership of the Six Nations. The Iroquois also did not want war, and in May they ordered their "brethren" the Delawares out of Shawnee country so that "no evil may happen them by accident which would give us great concern." This lack of support by the Iroquois in time of need greatly displeased the militant Shawnees. The British policy of divide and conquer now proved effective in isolating the Shawnees in Ohio.

Logan, however, rejected accommodation. He wanted only vengeance for the loss of his family, friends, and relatives. Soon he traveled to Wakatomica, a mixed village of Mingos and Shawnees near the Muskingum River, where he recruited a war party for retaliation. The Shawnee and Mingo chiefs, although unable to control the passions of their young men, restricted Logan to two parties of thirteen men each and gained his promise to strike only at Virginians located west of the Monongahela. He would not attack Pennsylvanians, and upon his return he would listen to the counsel of the chiefs.

Logan and his bands of Mingos and Shawnees crossed the Ohio River and struck the Pennsylvania frontier with a bloody vengeance that sent hundreds of terror-stricken settlers fleeing from the back country. After Logan had taken thirteen scalps, he was satisfied and returned to the west bank of the Ohio River. But he did not bring peace with him. Instead, Captain John Connolly at Pittsburgh prepared for war and an attack into Ohio. Lord Dunmore, who also had the aspirations of a land speculator in the Kanawha region, in part to block Pennsylvanian expansion, offered his support. In a Kentucky cleared of Indians, land values would escalate all to the benefit of speculators such as himself, and settled lands would return important tax monies. Virtually every white man and woman in the Ohio country wanted the Indians "severely chastised" for Logan's raid.

Accordingly, by mid-August 1774, Pennsylvania militia crossed the Ohio and decimated Wakatomica and six Mingo villages, but the Mingos and Shawnees had fled before their arrival. Lord Dunmore also sent a contingent of more than a thousand militia to the

mouth of the Kanawha to build a fort and to strike the Shawnees, most of whom still advocated peace. When the Virginians reached the mouth of the Kanawha, however, Cornstalk led a force of approximately one thousand Shawnees across the Ohio and struck on October 10, 1774, but they were driven back after a long and hardfought engagement. Known as the Battle of Point Pleasant, this action was perhaps the most violent fighting ever along the Ohio River. Dunmore then sent troops in pursuit across to the north bank of the Ohio and up the Hocking Valley toward the Shawnee villages on the Pickaway Plains. There he built a temporary encampment called Camp Charolette and made contact with the Shawnees for a truce. Before these negotiations could be concluded, however, Colonel Andrew Lewis, who had remained behind at Point Pleasant, crossed the Ohio River and struck and burned several Shawnee villages nearby. With the Shawnees now terrified of the "long knives" from Virginia who were among them in force, Dunmore concluded a peace.

The peace that Dunmore negotiated required the Shawnees to yield their hunting rights in Kentucky, thereby accepting the terms of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, which they had thus far rejected. Essentially, this was the first land cession by the Ohio Indians. The Shawnees also agreed to abide by British trade regulations, to return all white captives, and to refrain from harassing immigrant boats on the river. The Virginians promised not to hunt in Ohio, and the Shawnee agreed not to hunt south of the river. Colonel William Crawford gloated about the terms of the peace, remarking: "We have made them sensible of their villainy and weakness." Dunmore agreed, believing they had "impressed an Idea of the power of the White People, upon the minds of the Indians." With the Shawnees chastened, at least temporarily, by the military power of the Pennsylvanians and Virginians, the lands north and west of the Ohio would be their only home and hunting ground from that time on, if they could keep it.

When the Iroquois met in a grand council with the other northern nations in the autumn of 1774 to discuss the problems in Ohio, they admonished, "Quarrelsome people are dangerous." Although the Iroquois meant the Shawnees, the Americans fit that description perfectly. With the Iroquois advising the Wyandots, Ottawas, and Mingos to stay out of the Shawnee fight, Arthur St. Clair, a judge in the county court of Westmoreland, could write to the governor of Pennsylvania, "It is to be hoped the Fracas with the Shawnees will blow over without any bad Consequences."

When Dunmore and Lewis left the Shawnees on the Pickaway Plains, they built a temporary fort, which they called Fort Gower, where the Hocking River joined the Ohio. There they learned that the Continental Congress had authorized the nonimportation of British goods in the deepening crisis with Great Britain, and the Virginians voiced their support in a document known as the Fort Gower Resolutions. The "consequences" of British, American, and Indian enmity in the Ohio country loomed ominously.

Source: R. Douglas Hurt. The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720-1830. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996. Pp. 33-60.

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## JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS AT TREATY OF LOCHABER

South Carolina

Lochaber the 18 October 1770

At a General Meeting of the principal Chiefs and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation with John Stuart Esquire Superintendent for the Southern district of N. America

Present

John Stuart Esquire Superintendent  
Colo. John Donelson Commissioner in Behalf of the Province of Virginia

By Appointment of His Excellency The Right Honorable Lord Botetourt Alexander Cameron Esquire deputy Superintendent James Simpson Esquire Clerk of His Majestys Honorable Council of So. Carolina.

Major Lacy from Virginia	Cristopher Peters Esquire
Colo. Gervais	Edward Wilkinson
Major Williamson	John Hammerer Esquire
Capt. Colhoun	John Purves Esquire
John Caldwell Esquire	John Bowie Esquire etc.
Capt. Winter	etc.

Besides a number of Black Inhabitants of the province of So. Carolina and the following Indian Cherokee Chiefs.

Oucconnastotah	Tarrapin
Altahkullakullah	Ecuij
Uka Youla	Shaleloske
Killagusta	Chinista
Keyahetoy	Chinista of Watoga
Tiftoy	Otacite of Highwassie
	The Rat.

And about a Thousand Indians of the Same Nation. John Walts

David McDonald      John Vann      Interpreters

After the usual Ceremonies of Smoaking the Calumet of Peace, The Superintendent opened the Congress...

Colonel Donelson Speaks

Friends and Brothers. I am sent here by the Governor of Virginia, who informs you thro' me, how much it is his Sanguine desire and Hope that the Measures which may be entered into now by your Chiefs and Warriors and His Majestys Superintendent will remove all the Causes of Complaints which he has been very sorry to hear of.

His Majesty has given directions to Treat with you for some Lands claimed by you, within the Limits of Virginia, and the Superintendent will point out to you the Line proposed, which if you agree to, His Lordship the Governor of Virginia has empowered Mr. Stuart to deliver you a quantity of presents. His Lordship has directed me to give you the

Strongest Assurances that after a Boundary Line shall be agreed upon, he with the other Branches of the Legislature of the Colony will take every proper Measure to prevent any Encroachments on the Lands you shall reserve for your Own use and Remove as far as possible all Causes of Complaint in Confirmation whereof in Behalf of His Lordship I deliver you this Belt of Whampum. Gives a Belt of Whampum.

The Superintendant Speaks

Friends and Brothers. I shall now proceed to the Bussiness that Occasions this Meeting. It is about Two years since the Treaty which I now Hold in my Hand was Entered into by you at Hard Labour, by it the Boundaries dividing your Hunting Grounds from the provinces of South and North Carolina and Virginia were agreed upon and fixed...but it appeared that by said Line, the Lands upon which a great number of Families are Settled between the Great Kanhaway and Holstons River would have been Cut off from the province of Virginia and determined to belong to the Cherokees. The Relief of so many Families who would have been involved in the greatest difficulties and distress by said Lines Taking place was an Object that Engaged the Humanity of my Lord Botetourt. His Lordship represented the Matter to the King who was graciously pleased to order me to Enter into a new Negotiation with you for Obtaining Such a New Boundary as may Secure to the Families Settled between Holsteins River and the Conhoway the possession of their Lands; there are many amongst you, who know that Said Lands have been Inhabited by them these Twenty Years. At the Beginning of the War with the Northern Indians, they were driven from their Habitations but as Soon as peace was re-Established, they took possession again. The Line I am directed to propose...will Cover the Inhabitants and prevent their Ruin by Securing to them their Possessions while it will not deprive you of one foot of your Hunting Ground, for you know you never Hunted in the Ground, that is proposed to be given up to His Majesty by this Line...as an Acknowledgement of His Majestys Goodness to you and of your Friendship for your White Brethern. A Belt of white Whampum.

Friday 19<sup>th</sup> October

Altahkullahkullah Speaks. I have thought of your proposals all night, and now the day is Come...It is long since this Land was first Inhabited, he that made this Land gave it to the Indians to Live upon, but the White peoples Land is beyond the great Water, and the Land on this Side belongs to the Red, the Old Warriors are all dead, there are Young people grown up in their Room; Yet the white people want to Come into their doors, but the great Beings above, one who has Charge of the White, one of the Red, and one of the Black people, who take Care of their Several Charges, but this the white people knew before me for they had writings from above, The Great Being above is very good and provides for every Body, it is he that made Fire, Bread, and the Rivers to Run, he gave us the Land, but the white people Seem to want to drive us from it. You are all talking together fast. I always Talk Loud that every body may hear me...The Inhabitants on this Side the Mountains have driven away all our deer and we find them very Scarce, when we go over the Mountains to Hunt we find Paths troden by the Virginia people and Houses Built everywhere...

The Superintendant Speaks

Brothers. I have attended to what you have said, and in order to give you an Answer I must have Recourse to the Beginning of our Talks about Land.

During the Conferences [at Augusta] Altahkullakulla who spoke upon the Occasion, complained of Encroachments and in particular of Settlements being made beyond the great



Conhoway, or New River, and Claimed Chiswells Mine as your Boundary...The next day Altahkullakulla resumed the Subject, and said they had Considered of the Matter, and gave up the Land between Holstons River and the Kanhoway, and would Confine their Claim to the Lands lying to the Southward and Westward of Long Island in Holstons River;...

In your Talks to me before we met at Hard-Labour two Years ago, you denied what had passed at Augusta, and peremptorily insisted upon all the Lands to the Southward and Westward of Chiswells Mine as your right. The Governor and Council of Virginia made no Objections to your pretensions and after my Fruitless Endeavors to learn their Sentiments of the Matter I received orders from the Earl of Shelburne to acquiesce in your demand and a Treaty was Accordingly Concluded for that purpose, the Objections of the province of Virginia, to the Line agreed upon, their Requisition of a More extended Boundary, and the delay that was necessarily Occasioned by waiting for the Kings orders relative to it, I have frequently explained to you, and last April at Congarees you most earnestly insisted on having the Matter finally Settled and determined in October,...In Consequence of what then passed I was Supplied with a Fund by the province of Virginia for purchasing the Goods which I have brought here at a Great Expence, I am come by your appointment a Beloved Man is Sent from Virginia to be present at our Negotiations. I see a Thousand of your people here, and now you tell me that the Matter cannot yet be determined, that your Young Warriors are out a Hunting and that you are determined to Treat with the Governor of Virginia concerning a Further Cession...

You may do as you please, but the goods are not to be delivered, till the Treaty is Signed and the Cession formally made... Belt of Black and White Whampum.

After a good deal of debate and various proposals, the Line was agreed upon as contained in the Treaty...

Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> October.

Present as the day before

The Superintendent proceeded and Explained the following Treaty, and afterwards it was Signed by him and the principal Chiefs.

#### South Carolina

At a Congress of the principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, at Lochaber in the Province of South Carolina, on the Eighteenth Day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy, by John Stuart Esquire His Majestys Sole Agent for and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern district of North America.

A Treaty for a Cession to His most Sacred Majesty George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King defender of the faith and so forth, by the said Nation of Cherokee Indians of certain Lands lying within the Limits of the dominion of Virginia...

#### Article 1<sup>st</sup>.

Pursuant therefore to His Majestys orders to, and power and Authority Vested in John Stuart Esquire Agent for and Superintendent of the Affairs of the Indian Tribes in the Southern District. It is agreed upon by the said John Stuart Esquire...and by the Subscribing Cherokee Chiefs and Warriors on behalf of their Said Nation,...That the hereafter Recited Line be ratified and Confirmed and it is hereby Ratified and Confirmed accordingly. And It is by these present firmly Stipulated and agreed upon by the parties aforesaid, that a Line beginning where the Boundary Line between the province of North Carolina and the Cherokee Hunting grounds terminates and Running thence in a West

Course to the Confluence of the Great Conhoway and Ohio Rivers, Shall Remain and be deemed by all His Majestys white Subjects, as well as the Indians of the Cherokee Nation, The True and just Limits and Boundaries of the Lands reserved by the said Nation of Indians for their own proper use, and dividing the Same from the Lands Ceded by them to His Majesty within the Limits of the province of Virginia and that His Majestys white Subjects Inhabiting the Province of Virginia, shall not upon any pretence whatsoever settle beyond the said Line...And It is further agreed upon and Stipulated by the Contracting parties, that no Alteration whatsoever shall henceforward be made in the Boundary Line above recited and now Solemnly agreed upon, except such as may hereafter be found Expedient and necessary for the Mutual Interests of both parties, and which Alteration Shall be made with the Consent of the Superintendant or such other person or persons as shall be Authorised by His Majesty as well as with the Consent and approbation of the Cherokee Nation of Indians at a Congress or general Meeting of said Indians to be Held for said purpose and not in any other Manner.

In Testimony whereof the said Superintendant on behalf of His Majesty and the Underwritten Cherokee Chiefs of Behalf of their Nation have Signed and Sealed this present Treaty at the Time and place aforesaid.

John Stuart  
Superintendant

Oucconnastotah	Kittagusta	Altahkullakulla
Kaheatoy	Wolf of Keowee	Uka Youla
Chukamuctas	Teutchkee	Kinnatitah
Tiftoy	Tarrapin	Ecuij
Shaliloske	Chinista	Chinista Watoga
Otacite of Higwassie		

By order of the Superintendant  
William Ogilvy Secretary

Source: Alden T. Vaughan (General Editor). Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Vol. V, Virginia Treaties, 1723-1775. W. Stitt Robinson, editor. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc. 1983. Pp. 360-369

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**SOME LAND CONCERNS BEFORE THE GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL,  
JUNE 14, 1769-JUNE 16, 1774**

**At a Council held June 14th 1769**

Present  
His Excellency

John Blair	John Tayloe
William Nelson	Robert Carter
Thomas Nelson	Robert Burwell
William Byrd	John Page Esquires

An Order of his Majesty in Council dated the 13th of March, 1769, confirming, finally enacting and ratifying An Act of Assembly intituled "An Act to dock the Intail of

eight hundred Acres of land in the County of Amelia whereof Anne Hall Wife of John Hall is seised in Fee tail and for vesting the same in Trustees in Fee-Simple and for other purposes therein mentioned," was this day produced and read, and order'd to be register'd in the Secretary's Office.

The following Caveats for Land were this day heard and determin'd

Samuel Whitworth having enter'd a Caveat against James Murray for six thousand Acres in Bedford on Staunton River and whipping Creek, upon hearing Council on both Sides, it is order'd that the said Caveat be dismiss'd.

Daniel Wynn having enter'd a Caveat against Samuel Wynn for nine hundred and thirty Acres on both Sides of Hound Creek in Lunenburg, the Plaintiff appearing, and the Defendant having been summon'd and not appearing, it is order'd that the Plaintiff have a Patent for said Land.

William Macutchin having entered a Caveat against Francis Beaty and Andrew Duncan for two hundred and thirty three Acres on Piny Run in Augusta, . . . Henry Beckham having enter'd a Caveat against Josephus Philips and Nicholas Porter junr. for four hundred Acres on Long Branch, a branch of Black Water in Orange survey'd for Philips and assign'd to Porter for Reasons appearing to the Board, it is order'd that the Plaintiff have a Patent for the said Land.

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**At a Council held the 25th October, 1770**

Present

The President

Thomas Nelson

Robert Burwell

Richard Corbin

George William Fairfax

Philip Ludwell Lee

John Page, Esquires

James Horrocks, Clerk

The Petition of Samuel Hopkins (this Day read in Council) setting forth, that he had surveyed, pursuant to three Entries made with the Surveyor of Mecklenburg, one thousand Acres of Land in that County . . . & praying that the said Surveyor might be permitted to give him an inclusive Certificate for the said one thousand Acres of Land, & that he might include the same in one Patent, was postponed for the farther Consideration of the Board, when they shall be informed of the Reasons the Petitioner can urge in Support thereof.

On reading the Petition of Thomas Turk, setting forth, that about then or twelve Years ago he made some Entries for Land with the Surveyor of Augusta County, who delivered him Copies of eight Entries & received his Fees for the same, but neglected so long to survey the Lands, that the Petitioner growing uneasie, caused about five Years ago, a Demand to be made on the said Surveyor, for the Plots of all the said Land, there being at that Time no other Entry made for any of them. But that the Surveyor still put it off, & then received Entries of other Persons for the same, except a poor Part thereof which the Petitioner got the Assistant-Surveyor to run out for him, & for which he then paid him his Fee; but that the Surveyor, having lately received another Entry for that Tract also, has refused to sign the Plot made by the said Assistant Surveyor; and referring it to the Consideration of the Board, whether if the above Charges can be proved, the Petitioner or the Surveyor ought to be the Sufferer; it was the Opinion of the Council, that the said Petition, relating to the Caveat-Business, could not be properly taken Notice of, at this Time.

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**At A Council held May 3d 1771**

Present

The President

Thomas Nelson  
Richard Corbin  
William Byrd  
Philip L: Lee

John Tayloe  
Robert Carter  
Robert Burwell  
Geo. Wm. Fairfax, Esquires

The Petition of John Wadman which was presented the 1st day of February last; praying a Grant of 5000 or more Acres of Land on Cape Henry and the Lands adjoining in the desert, Princess Anne County, was now again read and considered, as were also several Counter Petitions presented by the Inhabitants of Norfolk and Princess Anne; and after a full hearing of both parties, the Council being of Opinion, that the said Shore and Lands adjoining were extremely useful to the said Inhabitants for carrying on a Fishery, and also very proper for erecting and Supporting a Light-House and Fort, . . . and it was accordingly Ordered that the whole of the said Lands, as well the desert, as the Sea, and Bay Shores, be reserved for his Majesty's use; and the Clerk is to transmit a Copy of this Order to the Surveyor of the said County of Princess Anne, to be entered in his Survey-Book.

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**At a Council held February the 28th, 1772**

Present

His Excellency

William Nelson  
Robert Carter

John Page  
Ralph Wormeley Jun. Esquires

The Petition of Thomas Reveley, John Reveley, George Reveley, William Reveley, Francis Reveley, Samuel Reveley, Thomas Reveley Junior Joseph Reveley, George Reveley Junior and Francis Reveley Junior, was presented and read, praying that they might be permitted to Survey and sue out Patents for a Tract of Land in the County of Augusta, situated on the South Fork of the Monangahela known by the Name of Tiger's Valley, on the side of the Laurel Hill, to the amount of a thousand Acres each, or such other Quantity as the Board might think reasonable; Which Petition was ordered to lie in the Office, to be considered when the Western Boundary of this Colony shall be finally settled.

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**At a Council held March the 24th 1772**

Present

His Excellency

William Nelson  
Thomas Nelson  
William Byrd  
John Tayloe

Robert Carter  
Robert Burwell  
John Page  
Ralph Wormeley Jun. Esquires

The petition of David Cooke was presented and read, setting forth that one James Cox had entered for 67 Acres of Land in Albemarle, which was surveyed for him the 22'd of August 1760; but that the said Cox died without any known Heir, and without having obtained a Patent; and praying that as the Petitioner under the particular Circumstances of this Case had no other Method of obtaining a Grant of the said Land than by Petition to the Honourable Board, for want of a Person to proceed against; he might have an order for suing out a Patent for the same in his own Name; Which Petition appearing to be true and reasonable, it is ordered that the Petitioner have a Patent, agreeable to the Prayer of his Petition.

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**At a Council held April the 1st 1772**

Present

His Excellency

William Nelson

Thomas Nelson

William Byrd

Philip L. Lee

John Tayloe

Robert Carter

Robert Burwell

John Page Esquires

His Excellency was pleased to communicate to the Board the Petition of Pettway Johnson for an inclusive patent for the following Tracts of Land, to wit 295 Acres granted by Patent bearing Date at Williamsburg, February 16th 1772, unto William Johnson late of Surry County; 121 Acres, granted unto the said William Johnson, by Patent, dated August 1st 1745; 365 Acres granted unto Willut Robarts, late of the County of Surry by Patent for 465 Acres, dated July 4th 1759; 100 Acres, surveyed by Richard Cocke, for Nathaniel Johnson late of Surry County, but not yet Patented; 84 Acres granted unto William Johnson by Patent for 168 Acres, dated April the 10th 1751; 180 Acres surveyed by Richard Cocke for Benjamin Barker, late of Surry County, but not yet Patented; all which Lands lying and being contiguous in the County of Sussex, . . . are since become legally vested in the Petitioner, and contain within their several Boundaries 635 Acres of Surplus Land amounting in all to 1780 Acres;

It appearing to the Board that the Surveys of the unpatented Lands had been returned to the Secretaries Office, together with the Rights and the Fees paid, it was ordered that an inclusive Patent issue accordingly.

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**At a Council held at the Palace May 8th 1772**

Present

His Excellency

William Byrd

Robert Carter

John Page Esquires

Richard Corbin Esquire, Gawin Corbin, John Tayloe Corbin, Richard Corbin Jun. Thomas Corbin, Francis Corbin, Richard Corbin the Youngest, Joanna Corbin, Betty Corbin, Ann Corbin, Felicia Corbin, Carter Braxton Elizabeth Braxton, Betty Braxton, Ann Corbin Braxton, Alicia Braxton Alice Corbin, Mary Corbin, Samuel Thompson, James Horrocks, James Cocke, John Blair, John Donelson, Alexander Donelson, John Donelson

junr. William Donelson Stockley Donelson, Samuel Donelson, Severn Donelson, Catherine Donelson, Mary Donelson, Jean Donelson, Rachel Donelson, John Henry, Hugh Henry junr. Thomas Henry, David Henry, Isaac Henry, James Blair, Christian Burwell, Mary Blair, Helen Blair, Jean Blair, Christian Blair, James Blair junr. Thomas Everard, George Gilmer, Margaret Eustace, Thomas Walker Gilmer, Daniel Smith, James Cocke junr John Cocke, Lewis Burwell, of Mecklenburg, John Burwell and Armistead Burwell Junr. for a thousand acres of Land each, or fifty nine thousand acres in the whole in one or more Surveys, beginning at the Mouth of the Louisa River, thence extending up the said river on the North side thereof, and along the Ohio, for Quantity; . . .

John Randolph Esqr. And 99 other Persons, his Associates; for a hundred thousand Acres of Land lying on the Eastern Side of the river Ohio between the Mouth of New river otherwise called the Great Kanhawa and the Mouth of the little Kanhawa, . . .

Edward Foy Esqr. And 39 other Persons, his Associates, for 40,000 Acres of Land, on a Branch of the Cherokee river, called Clinch, adjoining the Indian Boundary Line, and to extend up the said River Clinch towards the Head thereof, so as to include the said Quantity of 40,000 Acres in one or more Surveys, . . .

Adolphus Daniel Massot and 19 other Persons his Associates, for twenty thousand Acres of Land on the Creeks or small Branches which run into the North Fork of Holstein's river, in one or more Surveys, . . .

James Minzies and 19 other Persons, his associates, for twenty thousand acres of Land on the Main Branch of Holstein's river to begin at, or near, were the Indian Boundary Line leaves the same on the Western Side; . . .

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**At a Council held June 10, 1772**

Present

His Excellency

William Nelson

William Byrd

Thomas Nelson

Robert Burwell

Richard Corbin

John Page

Ralph Wormeley Junr. Esqr.

William Waterson having entered a Caveat against James Gay for 125 Acres, . . .

William Waterson, having entered a Caveat against Thomas Looker, for 141 Acres, . .

William Waterson having entered a Caveat against David Magee for 280 Acres, . . .

William Waterson having entered a Caveat against William Mage for 167 Acres . . .

William Waterson having entered a Caveat against Moses Millison for 54 Acres...and having failed to give Security for the Costs, according to the Rule of the Board; it was ordered that the said Caveat be dismissed, and that the Plaintiff pay unto the Defendant his Costs.

Thomas Turk having entered a Caveat against Robert Craig, for 400 Acres of Land in Augusta, on the South side of South River, on the Poplar run; the Plaintiff appearing and the Defendant having been solemnly called and not appearing it was ordered that the Plaintiff have a Patent for the said Land.

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**At a Council held March 11th 1773**

Present

His Excellency, the Governor

Philip L. Lee	Robert Burwell
John Tayloe	John Page
Ralph Wormeley junr. Esqr's.	John Camm, Clerk

His Excellency was pleased to communicate an Order of his Majesty in Council confirming An Act of Assembly intituled An Act to Dock the Intail of certain Lands whereof David Garland is seized in Fee-tail; and for vesting the Title in Francis Eppes, Gentleman, in Fee-simple, and for settling the Value thereof in Slaves to the same Uses; and the same was ordered to be recorded in the Secretarys Office.

On the Petition of Thomas Jefferson, Leave was given him to Survey and sue out a patent for a thousand Acres of Land on the South West Mountains in Albemarle, between the Lines of Thomas Man Randolph, James Hickman, the said Petitioner, Martin Key, and William Watson.

The Petition of John Hiscox, John Griffin of Bristol Merchants, Benjamin Watkins, Nicholas Davis, Samuel Gist, William Thompson junr. and Jacob Harman junr. was presented and read, praying for a Renewal of a former Order of Council in favour of them, and of three others who are since dead, viz. George Nicholas, John Buchanan and Adam Harman; and the same was ordered to lie for farther Consideration, when his Majesty's final pleasure shall be known, relative to the taking up of lands on the Western Waters.

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**At a Council held June 9th 1773**

Present

His Excellency

Thomas Nelson	Robert Burwell
Richard Corbin	John Page
William Byrd	Ralph Wormeley junr. Esqr's.

Richard Booker having entered a Caveat against Reubin Paine, for 1200 Acres in Pittsylvania, which the said Paine recovered as lapsed by a decree of the General Court; on hearing the Parties it was ordered, that the Plaintiff have a Patent for the said Land.

James Hayes having entered a Caveat against John Lowe, for 84 Acres of Land on one of the Head Branches of Collier's Creek or Buffalo in Botetourt; the Plaintiff appearing, and the Defendant having been solemnly called and not appearing it was ordered that the Plaintiff have a Patent for the said Land.

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**At a Council held June 10th 1773**

Present

His Excellency

Richard Corbin	John Page
William Byrd	Ralph Wormeley junr.
Robert Burwell	John Page junr. Esqr's.

John Scott having Petitioned for a grant of 295 Acres of Land in the County of Albemarle, on the North side of the Fluvanna River, . . . which Land was surveyed on the 21st Day of April 1755 for one John Driver and it appearing to the Board that since that Survey was made, the said Driver departed this Life intestate, without leaving any known Heir or Widow, and without having returned his survey into the Secretary's Office, and paid the usual Right Money and Patent Fees, as the Rules of Government require; it was ordered therefore that immediate Notice be given in the *Virginia Gazette*, that if no Person appear to claim, and prove him or herself intitled to the said Driver's Survey, before the End of December next, the said Land will then be granted to the above named Petitioner.

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**At a Council held April 20th 1774**

Present

His Excellency

Thomas Nelson	Robert Burwell
Richard Corbin	John Page
Philip Ludwell Lee	Ralph Wormeley, junr.
John Tayloe	John Page junr. Esquires
Robert Carter	John Camm, Clerk

His Excellency communicated to the Board a Letter from the Governor of Pennsylvania dated March 31st relative to the Dispute between that Government and this concerning their common Boundary, refusing to comply with his Excellency's Demand that Arthur St. Clair, the Clerk of Westmoreland County in that Colony, should be discharged from his Office as a Punishment for the illegal Commitment of Mr. John Connolly; and farther, requiring of his Excellency not to grant Lands or exercise any Jurisdiction within the disputed Territory. Which Letter being read, and appearing to the Board to be a high Insult, they advised his Excellency would not condescend to answer it; . . .

The Governor having been pleased to refer to the Consideration of the Board the Petition of Thomas Slaughter, in behalf of himself and other Militia Officers, praying that they might be allowed the respective Quantities of Land promised by his Majesty's Proclamation in 1763, the Council were of Opinion that the Claims ought to be rejected, as not being within the Intention of that Proclamation. And in Pursuance of such Advice it was ordered that an Advertisement be inserted in the Public Gazette to inform all Persons concerned that none who have served only as Rangers, or as Part of the Militia, will hereafter, as such obtain Warrants for Land, but those only who were in the regular Service, or in some Provincial Regiment.

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**At a Council held May 3d 1774**

Present

His Excellency

Thomas Nelson	Robert Carter
Richard Corbin	Robert Burwell
William Byrd	John Page
Philip Ludwell Lee	Ralph Wormeley junr.
John Tayloe	John Page junr. Esquires



On the Memorial of the President and Professors of the College of William [and] Mary, relating to the Surveys made by Thomas Bulitt under their Commission, and praying that the same might be confirmed; the Board being informed that Col. William Preston, the Surveyor of Fincastle County, where those Lands lie, was willing to confirm them and have them entered on his Book, if it should be recommended to him by this Board, the Clerk was accordingly ordered to write him that the Board recommend it as a very proper Measure for avoiding Confusion.

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**At a Council held June 15th 1774**

Present

His Excellency

Thomas Nelson  
Richard Corbin  
William Byrd  
Philip L. Lee  
John Tayloe

Robert Carter  
Robert Burwell  
John Page  
Ralph Wormeley junr.  
John Page junr. Esquires

It having been ordered the 9th Day of last June, in a Caveat then depending between John Stevenson, Plaintiff, & William Blair, Defendant, that the Plaintiff should have a Patent for that Part of the Land in Dispute, whereon he had made Improvements, being about 15 Acres, and that the said Caveat as to the Residue thereof be dismissed, it was ordered, on a Motion made for that Purpose, that the said John Stevenson, have a Patent for the certain Quantity of 25 Acres of Land for his Improvements, and that the same be laid off so as to include his Spring and Houses.

The Caveats of Robert Craven v. Robert Rollstone & Robert Patterson and of George Eubank v. John Dean abate; the former by the Death of the Plaintiff, and the latter by the Death of the Defendant.

The rest of the Caveats were put off till To-morrow 10 o'Clock; at which Time the several Parties were ordered to attend.

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**At a Council held June 16th 1774**

Present

His Excellency

Thomas Nelson  
Richard Corbin  
William Byrd  
Philip L. Lee  
John Tayloe

Robert Carter  
Robert Burwell  
John Page  
Ralph Wormeley junr.  
John Page junr. Esquires

The Governor was pleased to lay before the Board the Attorney General's Report upon the Subject lately referred to his Consideration, conveying an Opinion in favour of Importation-Rights on the Foundation of King Charles the Second his Charter; and that his Majesty could not be supposed to intend by his Instruction to deprive his Subjects of a Right thereby acquired; the further Consideration whereof was put off till To-morrow.

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**At a Council held June 17th 1774**

Present  
His Excellency

Richard Corbin  
William Byrd  
Philip L. Lee  
John Tayloe  
Robert Carter

Robert Burwell  
John Page  
Ralph Wormeley junr.  
John Page junr. Esquires  
John Camm, Clerk

The Attorney General's Report, made Yesterday, coming on now to be considered, Col. George Mason (whose Memorial introduced the Subject) was sent for, and he attending accordingly presented a new Memorial and Petition, and also a similar Petition of James Scott, Clerk, which were both read, and Col. Mason again heard on the Subject. He then withdrew, and the Board having examined the Records of this Colony on the Subject, and finding the Allegations of the Memorial true and that the Certificates of Importation-Rights produced by Col. Mason are such as have been usually received into the Secretary's Office, for which Patents have been issued, are the Opinion that the Rights to the Land prayed for in the Memorial, is founded, upon the Charters, Laws, and Custom of Virginia, and has been always heretofore granted as a Matter of common Right; but his Excellency being restrained by his Majesty's Instruction from granting Lands on any of the Western Waters, the Council advised his Excellency to represent the whole Matter to his Majesty for farther Directions thereupon.

Source: Benjamin J. Hillman (ed.). Executive Journals of the Council of Virginia. Vol. VI. Richmond: Virginia State Library 1966. Pp. 319-578

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**GEORGE WASHINGTON GOES LAND HUNTING IN THE  
OHIO COUNTRY, 1770**

Octr. 5<sup>th</sup> [1770]. Began a journey to the Ohio in Company with Doctr. Craik his Servant, & two of mine with a lead Horse with Baggage. Dind at Towlston and lodgd at Leesburg distant from Mount Vernon abt. 45 Miles. Here my Portmanteau horse faild in his stomach.

[October] 8...proceedd. myself with Vale. Crawford to Colo. Cresaps in ordr. To learn from him (being just arrivd from England) the particulars of the Grant said to be lately sold to Walpole & others, for a certain Tract of Country on the Ohio....

[October] 13. Set out about Sunrise, breakfasted at the Great Meadows 13 Miles of, & reachd Captn. Crawfords about 5 Oclock.

The Lands we travelld over to day till we had crossd the Laurel Hill (except in smal spots) was very Mountainous & indifferent – but when we came down the Hill to the Plantation of Mr. Thos. Gist the L[an]d, appeard charming; that which lay level being as rich & black as any thing coud possibly be....

Sunday 14<sup>th</sup>. At Captn. Crawfords all day. Went to see a Coal Mine not far from his house on the Banks of the River. The Coal seemd to be of the very best kind, burning freely & abundance of it.

Monday 15<sup>th</sup>. Went to view some Land which Captn. Crawford had taken up for me near the Yaughyaughane distant about 12 Miles. This Tract which contains about 1600 Acres Includes some as fine Land as ever I saw – a great deal of Rich Meadow and in general, is leveller than the Country about it. This Tract is well waterd, and has a valuable Mill Seat...

The Lands which I passd over today were generally Hilly, and the growth chiefly white Oak, but very good notwithstanding; & what is extraordinary, & contrary to the property of all other Lands I ever saw before, the Hills are the richest Land...

Wednesday 17. Doctr. Craik & myself with Captn. Crawford and others arrivd at Fort Pitt... We lodgd in what is calld the Town – distant abt. 300 yards from the Fort at one Mr. Semples who keeps a very good House of Publick Entertainment....

Thursday 18<sup>th</sup>. Dind in the Fort with Colo. Croghan & the Officers of the Garrison....

Friday 19<sup>th</sup>. Recd. A Message from Colo. Croghan that the White Mingo & other Chiefs of the 6 Nations had something to say to me... I went up and receivd a Speech with a String of wampum from the White Mingo to the following effect.

That as I was a Person who some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an Embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of; they were come to bid me welcome to this Country... that I wd. Inform the Governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harmy. with the white People, & that tho' their had been some unhappy differences between them and the People upon our Frontiers, it was all made up, and they hopd forgotten;...

Saturday 20<sup>th</sup>. We Imbarkd in a large Canoe with sufficient Stores of Provision & Necessaries,... the Indians went in a Canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our Horses & boys back to Captn. Crawford wt. orders to meet us there again the 14<sup>th</sup>. day of November.

Monday 22d. ... Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town we receivd the disagreeable News of two Traders being killd at a Town calld the Grape Vine Town, 38 Miles below this; which causd us to hesitate whether we shoud proceed or not, & wait for further Intelligence.

Tuesday 23. Several imperfect Accts. coming in agreeing that only one Person was killd, & the Indians not supposing it to be done by their people, we resolvd to pursue our passage....

Thursday 25<sup>th</sup>. About Seven Oclock Nicholson & the Indian returnd; they found no body at the Town but two Old Indian women (the Men being a Hunting). From these they learnt that the Traders was not killd, but drownd in attempting to Ford the Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the Trader, was in these parts; the Trader (fathr. to him) being gone for Horses to take home their Skins.

About half an hour after 7 we set out from our Incampment around which, and up the Creek is a body of fine Land. In our Passage down to this, we see innumerable quantities of Turkeys, & many Deer watering, & brousing on the Shore side, some of which we killd. Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any Rifts or very rapid water – the River gliding gently along – nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face of the Country, except that the bottoms seemd to be getting a little longer & wider, as the Bends of the River grew larger.

About 5 Miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large Creek to the Eastward calld by the Indian's Cut Creek, from a Town, or a Tribe of Indians which they say was cut off entirely in a very bloody battle between them and the Six Nations. This Creek empties just at the lower end of an Island, and is 70 or 80 yards wide and I fancy is the Creek

commonly calld by the People of Redstone &ca. Weeling. It extends according to the Indians acct. a great way, & Interlocks with the Branches of Split Island Creek; abounding in very fine bottoms, and exceeding good Land. Just below this, on the west side, comes in a sml. Run; & about 5 Miles below it on the West side also another midling large Creek emptys, calld by the Indian broken Timber Creek; so named from the timber that is destroyed on it by a Hurricane; on the head of this was a Town of the Delawares, which is now left. Two Miles lower down, on the same side, is another Creek smaller than the last & bearing (according to the Indians) the same name. Opposite to these two Creeks (on the East side) appears to be a large bottom of good Land. About 2 Miles below the last mentioned Creek on the East side, & at the end of the bottom aforementioned, comes in a sml. Creek or large Run. Seven Miles from this comes in Muddy Creek on the East Side the River – a pretty large Creek and heads up against, & with, some of the Waters of Monongehela (according to the Indians Acct.) & contains some bottoms of very good Land; but in general the Hills are steep, & Country broken about it. At the Mouth of this Creek is the largest Flat I have seen upon the River; the Bottom extending 2 or 3 Miles up the River above it, & a Mile below; tho it does not seem to be of the Richest kind and yet is exceeding good upon the whole, if it be not too low & subject to Freshes.

About half way in the long reach we Incamped, opposite to the beginning of a large bottom on the East side of the River. At this place we through out some lines at Night & found a Cat fish of the size of our largest River cats hookd to it in the Morning, tho it was of the smallest kind here. We found no Rifts in this days passage, but pretty swift Water in some places, & still in others. We found the bottoms increasd in size, both as to length & breadth, & the River more Chokd up with Fallen Trees & the bottom of the River next the shores rather more Muddy but in general stony as it has been all the way down.

Saturday 27. Left our Incampment a Quarter before Seven,...From Muskingham to the little Kanhawa is about 13 Miles. This is about as wide at the Mouth as the Muskingham, but the water much deeper. It runs up towards the Inhabitants of Monongahela, and according to the Indians Acct. Forks about 40 or 50 Miles up it; and the Ridge between the two Prongs leads directly to the Settlement. To this Fork, & above, the Water is navigable for Canoes. On the upper side of this River there appears to be a bottom of exceeding rich Land and the Country from hence quite up to the 3 Islands level & in appearance fine. The River (Ohio) running round it in the nature of a horse shoe, forms a Neck of flat Land wch. added to that rung. up the 2d. long reach (aforementioned) cannot contain less than 50,000 Acres in view....

Sunday 28<sup>th</sup>. Left our Incampment about 7 Oclock. Two Miles below, a sml. Run comes in on the East side...where we found Kiashuta and his Hunting Party Incampd...In the Person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance. He being one of the Indians that went with me to the French in 1753. He expressed a satisfaction in seeing me and treated us with great kindness, giving us a Quarter of very fine Buffalo. He insisted upon our spending that Night with him...After much Councelling the overnight they all came to my fire the next Morning, with great formality; when Kiashuta rehearsing what had passd between me & the Sachems at Colo. Croghan's, thankd me for saying that Peace & friendship was the wish of the People of Virginia (with them)....

Monday 29<sup>th</sup>. The tedious ceremony which the Indians observe in their Councillings & speeches, detained us till 9 Oclock....

Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup>. We set out at 50 Minutes passd Seven...About 10 Miles below our Incampment...comes in a small Creek on the West side, and opposite to this on the East begins a body of flat Land which the Indians tell us runs quite across the Fork to the Falls in

the Kanhawa, and must at least be 3 days walk across. If so the Flat Land contained therein must be very considerable. A Mile or two below this we Landed, and after getting a little distance from the River we came (without any rising) to a pretty lively kind of Land grown up with Hicky. & Oaks of different kinds, intermixd with Walnut &ca. here & there. We also found many shallow Ponds, the sides of which abounding in grass, invited innumerable quantities of wild fowl....

Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup>. I sent the Canoe along down to the Junction of the two Rivers abt. 5 Miles that is the Kanhawa with the Ohio and set out upon a hunting Party to view the Land. We steerd nearly East for about 8 or 9 Miles then bore Southwardly, & westwardly, till we came to our camp at the confluence of the Rivers. The Land from the Rivers appeared but indifferent, & very broken; whether these ridges might not be those that divide the Waters of the Ohio from the Kanhawa is not certain, but I believe they are. If so the Lands may yet be good. If not, that which lyes of the River bottoms is good for little.

November 1<sup>st</sup>. A little before eight Oclock we set of with our Canoe up the River to discover what kind of Lands lay upon the Kanhawa. The Land on both sides this River just at the Mouth is very fine; but on the East side when you get towards the Hills (which I judge to be about 6 or 700 yards from the River) it appears to be wet, & better adapted for Meadow than tillage...but upon the whole exceeding valuable, as the Land after you get out of the Rich bottom is very good for Grain tho not rich. We judgd we went up this River about 10 Miles today.

Novr. 2d. We proceeded up the River with the Canoe about 4 Miles more, & then incamped & went a Hunting; killd 5 Buffaloes & wounded some others – three deer &ca. This Country abounds in Buffalo & wild game of all kinds; as also in all kinds of wild fowl, the(re) being in the Bottoms a great many small grassy Ponds or Lakes which are full of Swans, Geese, & Ducks of different kinds.

Some of our People went up the River 4 or 5 Miles higher & found the same kind of bottom on the West side, & we were told by the Indians that it continued to the Falls which they judgd to be 50 or 60 Miles higher up. This Bottom next the Water (in most places) is very rich. As you approach to the Hills you come (in many) to a thin white Oak Land, & poor. The Hills as far as we coud judge were from half a Mile to a Mile from the River; poor & steep in the parts we see, with Pine growing on them. Whether they are generally so, or not, we cannot tell but I fear they are.

Monday 5<sup>th</sup>. I set of the Canoe with our Baggage & walkd across the Neck on foot with Captn. Crawford distant according to our Walking about 8 Miles as we kept a strait course under the Foot of the Hills which run about So. Et. & was two hours & an half walking of it.

This is a good Neck of Land the Soil being generally good; & in places very rich. There is a large proportion of Meadow Ground, and the Land as high, dry, & Level as one coud wish. The growth in most places is beach intermixed with walnut &ca. but more epecially with Poplar (of which there are number very large). The Land towards the upper end is black Oak, & very good. Upon the whole a valuable Tract might be had here, & I judge the quantity to be about 4000 Acres....

Saturday 17<sup>th</sup>. ...About 3 Oclock we came to the [Mingo] Town without seeing our Horses the Indian (which was sent express for them) having passd through only the morning before...Here we resolvd to wait their arrival which was expected tomor(row) & here then will end our Water Voyage along a River the general course of which from Bever Creek to the Kanhawa is about S. Wt. (as near as I coud determine); but in its winding thro a narrow Vale, extremely serpentine; forming on both sides the River alternately, Necks of very good

(so[me] exceeding fine) Bottoms; lying for the most part in the shape of a half Moon, & of various sizes...Every here and there are Islands some larger, & some smaller, which operating in the nature of Locks or Stops, occasion pretty still water above but for the most part strong & rapid water alongside of them. However there is none of these so swift but that a Vessel may be Rowd or set up with Poles. When the River is in its Natural State, large Canoes that will carry 5 or 6000 weight & more, may be workd against stream by 4 hands 20 & 25 Miles a day; & down, a good deal more...

The Indians who live upon the Ohio (the upper parts of it at least) are composd of Shawnas, Delawares, & some of the Mingos, who getting but little part of the Consideration that was given for the Lands Eastward of the Ohio, view the Settlement of the People upon this River with an uneasy & jealous Eye, & do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their Right if the People settle thereon, notwithstanding the Cession of the Six Nations thereto. On the other hand, the People from Virginia & elsewhere, are exploring and Marking all the Lands that are valuable not only on Redstone & other Waters of Monongahela but along down the Ohio as low as the little Kanhawa, at least; how difficult it may be to contend with these People afterwards is easy to be judgd of from every days experience of Lands actually settled, supposing these to be made; then which nothing is more probable if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the People at present. A few Settlements in the midst of some of the large Bottoms, woud render it impractable to get any large qty of Land Together;...

The Land back of the Bottoms as far as I have been able to judge, either from my own observations or from information, is nearly the same, that is exceeding une(ven) & Hilly; & I do presume that there is no body's of Flat rich Land to be found till one gets far enough from the River to head the little runs & drains that comes through the Hills;...

The Bottom Land differs a good deal in quality. That highest up the River in general is richest; tho the Bottoms are neither so wide or long, as those below. Walnut, H. Loc(ust) Cherry, & some other Woods, that grow Snarly, & neither Tall nor large, but coverd with Grape Vines (with the Fruit of which this Country at this Instant abounds) are the growth of the Richest Bottoms, but on the other hand these Bottoms appear to me to be the lowest & most subject to Floods. Sugar Tree and Ash, mixed with Walnut &ca. compose the growth of the next richest low grounds and Beach Poplar Oaks &ca. the last. The Soil of this is also good but inferior to either of the other kinds & beach Bottoms are excepted against on Acct. of the difficulty of clearing them there Roots spreading over a large Surface of Ground & being hard to kill.

**Remark & Occurs. in Novr.**

Tuesday [November] 21<sup>st</sup>. Reach'd Fort Pitt in the Afternoon....

Thursday 22. Stayd at Pittsburg all day. Invited the Officers & some other Gentlemen to dinner with me at Samples – among which was one Doctr. Connelly (nephew to Colo. Croghan) a very sensible Intelligent Man who had travell'd over a good deal of this western Country both by Land & Water & confirms Nicho(l)sons Acct. of the good Land on the Shawna River up which he had been near 400 Miles....

Friday 23. After settling with the Indians & People that attended me down the River & defray the Sundry Expences accruing at Pittsburg, I set of on my return home and after dining at the Widow Mierss. on Turtle Creek reached Mr. John Stephenson (two or three hours in the Night).

Munday 26<sup>th</sup>. Reachd Killams on George's Creek where we met several Families going over the Mountains to live – some witht. having any places provided....

Decr. 1<sup>st</sup>. Reached home from West after an absence of 9 Weeks and one Day.

Source: The Diaries of George Washington, Vol. II, 1766-70. Donald Jackson, Editor, and Dorothy Twohig, Associate Editor. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976. Pp. 286-287, 289-290, 292-299, 301-309, 315-317, 322-324.

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### UNSETTLING NEWS FROM THE BACKCOUNTRY 1773-1774

Williamsburg, December 23, 1773

The following inhuman affair we are assured, from good authority, was transacted on the frontiers of Fincastle about the latter end of September last: - Captain William Russell, with several families, and upwards of thirty men, set out with an intention to reconnoitre the country, towards the Ohio, and settle in the limits of the expected new government. A few days after they set out, unluckily the party was separated into three detachments; the main body in the front, with the women and children, and their cattle and baggage; in the center, Captain Russell's son, with five white men and two Negroes; who, the fatal night before the murder, encamped a few miles short of the front. In the morning, about day-break, while asleep in the camp, they were fired upon by a party of Indians, who killed young Mr. Russell, and four other white men, and one Negro. Captain Russell, shortly after bringing up the rear, unexpectedly came on the corps of his son, which was mangled in an inhuman manner; and there was left in him a dart-arrow, and a war club was left beside him. After this unexpected assault, the party, upon getting intelligence, returned to the inhabitants. It appeared afterwards that the Indians had pursued young Russell's party some considerable distance the day before, and upon overtaking them, took that defenceless opportunity to perpetrate their barbarity.

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Rind)

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Mrs. Rind,

March 3, 1774

If you think the following lines of importance sufficient to deserve a place in your paper, please to insert them; also be kind enough to transmit a copy to the other printers.

Of all the northern colonies, Pennsylvania has ever been the most vigilant to discover, and active to avail herself of, every commercial advantage. Maryland, too, of late, has exhibited some symptoms of attention to her true interests. Aware of the profits accruing from the Indian and frontier trade, in her last assembly, she has taken into consideration the state of her public roads, and levied several thousand pounds, to render more tolerable the capital pass over the Aleghany only.

Virginia, regardless of emoluments of this kind, still continues in a profound lethargy; and while the transmontane territories of Penn and Baltimore, during the space of several years past, have, notwithstanding the senseless prohibiting proclamation, been rapidly peopled, those of this colony remain, in a manner, unseated, except a small spot bordering on Pennsylvania, seized on by needy or foreign adventurers. To apply a remedy to this evil, it was destined to the good sense and activity of Lord Dunmore. Not contented with the reports of partial or uncertain fame, disregarding his own ease, and the difficulties of a tedious journey, through almost impassable and uninhabited mountains, his lordship penetrated to the feat of our grievances, and on the spot rendered himself an eye and ear

witness of the indispensable necessity of granting the back lands, and by doing this, not only to deal justice to his own people, but with the same flow to give a check the aspiring and encroaching spirit of the princely proprietor, who has been boldly venturing to extend his writs and precepts an hundred miles beyond his true limits far into the government of Virginia. To this end, his lordship's leading step was appointing a militia officer to preside at Fort Pitt, and magistrates to transact the business incident to their office in that quarter of Augusta. By this judicious measure our countrymen there might expect to be relieved from the intolerable inconvenience of being dragged before the tribunals of Penn. These were their hopes. How vain! for behold the issue. These officers, the captain, commandant, and the justices, were threatened with the horrors of a gaol if they but ventured to act in virtue of their commissions. This, however, did not deter the spirited Captain Connelly from doing his duty. Notwithstanding these, I will not call them impotent threats, he ordered and appointed a muster; but an unlucky circumstance rendered the captain incapable of giving attendance. For the day before he was to have met his officers and men the haughty Pennsylvanians realized their threats, and conducted him to prison.

To the guardians, therefore, Madam, of our rights and privileges, I drop these few loose hints, and shall detain neither you nor the public longer than just to close with this query: Whether the establishing our courts of justice upon a certain footing, adjusting the boundaries of our colony and counties, and in consequence, determining what lands may, or may not, with propriety and safety, be located and surveyed by the late military grantees, are not objects of that importance as to demand the immediate consideration of the legislature? Or if deferred until the summer, whether that short delay must not prove the sure fruitful course of litigation, confusion, and dispute? A VIRGINIAN

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Rind)

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March 24, 1774

Mrs. Rind,

The author of the enclosed piece hopes its interesting contents will make some atonement for the inaccurate manner in which it is written. Should you concur with him in sentiment, be pleased to insert in your next week's paper, and oblige a customer.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable JOHN Earl of DUNMORE, &c. &c. &c.  
---Res autem monet, cavere ab illis magis, quam, quid in illos, statuamus, consultare. Nam caetere maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt. Hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustia judicia implores. Capta urbe, nihil fit relique victis.  
SALLUSTIUS.

My LORD, Though I know it is an established maxim with your lordship, that, as you are ever open to personal access, to take but little notices of addresses communicated to you through the channel of a common newspaper, yet I dare hope, that should some chance direct your lordship's eye to this letter, it will engage your closest attention. I do not mean to spread abroad causeless apprehensions, or aggravate reports that have been already disseminated through the country; but it is my intention to give you informations founded on undoubted veracity, and then leave it to your lordship's wisdom to determine what is most expedient to be done. Doubt it not then, my lord, when I assure you, from testimony fearcely to be invalidated, that the situation of the frontier countries of this colony is of the



most alarming nature; a situation so truly critical, as to require the instant assistance of both the executive and legislative powers.

Our treacherous and clandestine foes, the Indians, have ever greedily embraced all opportunities of manifesting their inimical affections towards us; but some recent transactions of their, with which (if report speaks the language of truth) your lordship has been already made acquainted, leaves us no room to doubt that the storm which has been so long gathering will, ere long, break forth in all its fury. And should this ill fated event take place while the inhabitants on the confines of the colony remain in their present undisciplined, distressed situation, it will not be easy to give your lordship an adequate idea of the horrid consequences that must ensue. The indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children, the depopulation of an infant colony, whose fertility has already been sufficient to induce us to foster the most sanguine anticipations of its future value, the forcing from their peaceful habitations those adventurous people whom it ought ever to be the first object of government to support; these, my lord, with an infinite series of other melancholy circumstances, must be the certain concomitants of an Indian war, should we tamely suffer those savages to be the first invaders. It is neither by the suggestions of a blood-thirsty, nor an avaricious disposition, that I am instigated to dictate thus freely to your lordship on this subject, but by the forebodings of a sympathetic apprehension of the impending destruction which awaits my countrymen in the frontier counties. Their emergency loudly calls for the relief of the supreme magistrate, and that, my lord, must apologize for the freedom which an obscure individual has assumed with your lordship, should you suppose any apology on that score necessary. Ten thousand incidents conspire to render a war at this time necessary, nay, inevitable; and the innocent lives of numbers might be saved by the timely proclamation of it. The very smiles of those faithless tribes ought to be considered as the harbingers or perfidy; but when they dare openly annoy us with acts of hospitality, surely a more solid resentment is due. Should an influence of any hostile act of theirs be demanded, I need only mention the unhappy murder of young Russell, committed not long ago, and, as has since been ascertained, was perpetrated by a Cherokee chief. Numberless other examples of hostility, equally atrocious, might be adduced, were it not hoped that this of itself is sufficient. Whether it would be prudent to wait for a second stroke let the provident determine. The spring, it seems, is the stated period for an invasion: and in all probability the attack will be earlier on the more remote inhabitants. The month of May is the time appointed for the convention of the assembly; so that it is more than probable to suppose those barbarians will be scattering havock and desolation around, while our house of burgesses are spending much time in debating in what manner to prohibit such outrages. By convening them a month or two sooner, what mischiefs might not be prevented? You have it now in your power, my lord, to render the name of Dunmore as memorable in Virginia as that of Marlborough is in Great Britain. Do not let slip the golden opportunity.

VIRGINIUS.

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Rind)

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Williamsburg, March 31, 1774

The last papers by the northern post informed us of nothing very material having been transacted by the Indians. Indeed, the accounts from almost every quarter being so intolerably exaggerated, hinder us from inserting many articles relative to that barbarous nation, as by that means we might be unfortunate enough to inflame the minds of many, without any truth or foundation for the assertions. We hope, however, to receive some

certain intelligence by the next northern mail. The following paragraph, taken from one of the last papers, seems to imply rather a reconciliation than any thing tending to hostility.

"The apprehensions of a general Indian war, both in this province and Georgia, have entirely subsided since our last; for, according to the latest accounts said to be received from Alexander Cameron, Esquire, deputy superintendent to the Cherokees, then at Ninety Six, that gentleman had very lately received such friendly talks from the head men of that nation as we hear, left no room to suspect a confederacy between them and the Creek nation, to attack the English settlements in either province, within the proper limits. Mr. Cameron had, however, very prudently and humanely recommended to the inhabitants of those parts which would be most exposed to incursions by Indians to build stockade forts for their defence and protection, while he goes into the nation. On the other hand, the head men of the Creek nation, are said to have denied any knowledge of, or concern in, the murders committed, within these two months, on the lands newly ceded to Georgia; they positively disown its being a national affair. Fourteen rash young fellows (a kind of outcasts from the nation) of the Coweta and Cuff[ ]ah towns, settled at a place called the Standing Peach Tree, together with the three as made young Cherokees, appear to be the only persons concerned in the murder of White and Sherrol's families; and they are said to have committed those outrages, in revenge for the death of one of their party, who was found shot in their hunting grounds, and upon pursuing the tracks of the murderers directly to the houses of said White and Sherrol; the former of whom it is believed did kill the Indian, pursuing him as a horse thief. This is confirmed by certain information, that none of the traders in the Creek nation have been killed, notwithstanding many reports to the contrary. The same and no other or greater, are said to be the party that, within a mile of Sherrol's house, on the 23d past, attacked and put to flight the detachment of 32 Georgia militia and rangers, who were sent from Augusta to protect the survivors of Sherrol's family, when Lieutenant Grant was killed; and it is very probable, they attacked that detachment, in revenge for the deaths of two of their party who fell in the attempt upon Sherrol's stockade fort, on the 14<sup>th</sup>."

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Rind)

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Williamsburg, April 7, 1774  
Charlestown, March 1.

The Cherokee Indians have given the strongest assurances of their peaceable disposition; in consequence of which the alarmed inhabitants of our western frontiers are mostly returned to their settlements, and have erected twelve stockade forts for their future security should any disagreement happen.

There have been no new alarms on the side of the Creeks. The headmen of that nation continue to disavow their having given any countenance to the late outrages, and express much concern thereat. They have declared that they do not want war, that they have war enough with the Chactaws, against whom a great part of their nation are gone; that as the white people began, and there had been blood spilt on both sides, they hoped matters might be the more easily accommodated; and that the party of mad young men, who committed the murders, should be called in.

All the settlements near Ageachie, in Georgia, would have been totally abandoned had not Mr. Galphin been indefatigable in collecting and encouraging the fugitives to return and build forts, amongst whom he stayed 15 days, while he sent into, and till he obtained satisfactory intelligence from the Creek nation.

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Rind)

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Williamsburg November 10, 1774

Culpeper, November 3, 1774

Mr. Pinkney,

I received yesterday, from my brother, by an express from the banks of the Ohio, at the mouth of Kanaway, an account of a battle between our troops and the Indians, which I have enclosed, to be inserted in your Gazette, with a list of the killed and wounded. My brother, likewise, writes me of our governor still on his march to the Indian towns, and as the account is certain, he may not be expected for some time. His excellency was not in the engagement, being about 75 miles up the Ohio, on the Indians side. An express arrived from him the evening after the battle, with orders for their troops to meet him at some distance from the towns, so that when this express came off he had no account of the battle.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Francis T. Slaughter.

A return of the killed and wounded at the battle, fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhawa, on Monday the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, 1774.

FIELD OFFICERS,	Killed
Colonel Charles Lewis, colonel John Field	2
CAPTAINS,	
John Murray, Robert M <sup>c</sup> Clenachen, Samuel Willson James Ward,	4
SUBALTERNS,	
Lieutenant H. Allen, ensign Bracken, ensign Cundiff	3
SERJEANTS, SPIES, and PRIVATES,	<u>44</u>
Total killed	53
FIELD OFFICERS,	Wounded
Colonel William Fleming,	1
CAPTAINS,	
John Dickenson, Thomas Blufford, John Skidmore,	3
SUBALTERNS,	
Lieutenant Goldman, lieutenant Robinson, lieutenant Laird, lieutenant Vance,	4
SCOUTS, SERJEANTS, and PRIVATES,	<u>79</u>
Total wounded,	<u>87</u>
Total killed and wounded,	146

From the CAMP, on POINT PLEASANT, at the mouth of the GREAT KANHAWA, October 17, 1774.

“For the satisfaction of the public, in this letter they have a true state of the battle fought at this place on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant: On Monday morning, about half an hour before sunrise, two of captain Russell’s company discovered a large party of Indians about a mile from camp, one of which men was shot down by the Indians, the other made his escape, and brought in the intelligence; in two or three minutes after, two of captain Shelvey’s came in, and confirmed the account. Colonel Andrew Lewis being informed thereof, immediately ordered our colonel Charles Lewis to take the command of 150 of the Augusta troops, and with him went captain Dickenson, captain Harrison, captain Willson, captain John Lewis, of

Augusta, and captain Lockridge, which made the first division; colonel Fleming was also ordered to take the command of 150 more of the Botetourt, Bedford, and Fincastle troops, viz. captain Thomas Buford from Bedford, captain Love of Botetourt, captain Shelvey, and captain Russell, of Fincastle, which made the second division. Colonel Charles Lewis's division marched to the right, some distance from the Ohio, and colonel Fleming, with his division, on the bank of the Ohio, to the left. Colonel Charles Lewis's division had not marched quite half a mile from camp, when, about sunrise, an attack was made on the front of his division, in the most vigorous manner, by the united tribes of Indians, Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes, Tawas, and of several other nations, in number not less than 800, and by many thought to be 1000. In this heavy attack colonel Charles Lewis received a wound, which in a few hours caused his death, and several of his men fell on the spot; in fact, the Augusta division was forced to give way to the heavy fire of the enemy. In about a second of a minute after the attack on colonel Lewis's division the enemy engaged the front of colonel Fleming's division on the Ohio, and in a short time the colonel received two balls through his left arm, and one through his breast; and after animating the officers and soldiers in a most calm manner to the pursuit of victory, retired to the camp. The loss from the field was sensibly felt by the officers in particular; but the Augusta troops being shortly reinforced from the camp by colonel Field, with his company, together with captain M'Clenachan, from Botetourt, the enemy, no longer able to maintain their ground, was forced to give way till they were in a line with the troops; colonel Fleming being left in action on the bank of the Ohio. In this precipitate retreat colonel Field was killed. During this time, which was till after 12 o'clock, the action continued extremely hot. The close under-wood, many deep banks, and logs, greatly favoured their retreat, and the bravest of their men made the best use of them, whilst others were throwing their dead into the Ohio, and carrying off their wounded. After 12, the action in a small degree abated; but continued, except at short intervals, sharp enough till after one o'clock. Their long retreat gave them a most advantageous spot of ground; from whence it appeared to the officers so difficult to dislodge them, that it was thought most adviseable to stand, as the line was then formed, which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had sustained till then a constant and equal weight of the action, from wing to wing. It was till about half an hour of sun-set they continued firing on us, scattering shots, which we returned to their disadvantage. At length, night coming on, they found a safe retreat. They had not the satisfaction of carrying off any of our men's scalps, save one or two stragglers, whom they killed before the engagement. Many of their dead they scalped, rather than we should have them; but our troops scalped upwards of twenty of their men, that were first killed. It is beyond doubt their loss in number far exceeds ours, which is considerable."

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Rind)

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### LORD DUNMORE AND THE PENNSYLVANIA-VIRGINIA BOUNDARY DISPUTE

In this essay, Percy Caley details the disputes between Virginia and Pennsylvania over which colony controlled the forks at the Ohio. The disputes began in the 1750s, peaked in the early 1770s, and ended only when Revolution forced the two states to compromise.

The casual student of western Pennsylvania history often comes to the conclusion that the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia originated with the latter, and that Lord Dunmore and his western representative, Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly, were the instigators. As a matter of fact this region was first included in the Virginia grant of 1609, when Virginia was given the land two hundred miles north and south of Old Point Comfort and west and northwest to the sea. The Pennsylvania grant, seventy-two years later, was bounded on the west by a line five degrees west of the Delaware River and paralleling it. Inasmuch as the Pennsylvania grant extended south to the thirty-ninth parallel, this region about the junction of the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio rivers was thus included in both the Virginia and Pennsylvania grants.

For at least twenty years prior to Lord Dunmore's arrival, Virginia had acted on the belief that this territory belonged to her. Pennsylvania, however, had taken the precaution to protest against this assumption at its earliest manifestation. After the French and Indian War large numbers of Virginians obtained grants in the disputed section. To complicate the situation further, lands were surveyed and awarded near Pittsburgh by Pennsylvania in 1769, and many Pennsylvania settlers moved in. Consequently, in 1771, Pennsylvania appointed magistrates to function in the region, and the building of a courthouse and jail at Pittsburgh was contemplated. On the other hand, Virginians persisted in recognizing the authority of their home colony. In that year, therefore, the dispute began to grow acute.

That was the year, too, long known in frontier history as the "starving year." For at least six months the people were without grain and bread. Under such circumstances taxes of any kind would have been obnoxious, and to the Virginians those which Pennsylvania attempted to levy were an abomination. Following the leadership of George Croghan, a Pennsylvania trader, and Michael Cresap, a Maryland trader, the Virginians around the Monongahela and Redstone settlements formed an association to resist Pennsylvania laws and officials. This resistance did not abate. The next year Croghan drove off Pennsylvania tax collectors and threatened them with death if they touched his effects. By a similar threat a group of Virginians prevented the Pennsylvania sheriff from attempting to serve processes. Also, in 1772, General Thomas Gage refused Lieutenant Governor Richard Penn's request to replace the garrison at Fort Pitt as a protection for the settlers against the Indians. Nevertheless, in February, 1773, the Pennsylvania assembly formed Westmoreland County, including much of southwestern Pennsylvania, and appointed sixteen justices to keep the peace.

In the meantime Lord Dunmore had arrived in Virginia on September 25, 1771, after the boundary dispute had already grown acute. Like many other colonial governors and large numbers of the colonists, he was undoubtedly anxious to acquire western lands, though he was very dubious about the promotion of western settlements as a governmental policy. Unquestionably he was soon conversant with the turmoil about Fort Pitt. Moreover, in Virginia he was thrust into the midst of a multitude of powerful individuals wanting western lands. Veterans of the French and Indian War, entitled to such grants, were clamoring for recognition. Not the least of these, and indeed the leader of them all, was George Washington. The latter, pressing the claims of his veterans and his own as well, assiduously cultivated Lord Dunmore's friendship. The result was that he and Dunmore planned a trip together to Fort Pitt and the surrounding regions in the summer of 1773. Much to his regret, Washington, because of unavoidable circumstances, was unable to accompany the governor. He did, however, arrange that Dunmore should be conducted by his own surveyor and friend, Captain William Crawford.

To the public Dunmore gave the following reasons for his journey: he wanted to see for himself if Pennsylvania and Maryland were granting lands beyond the limits of the king's proclamation of 1763 (which forbade settlement beyond the headwaters of the eastern rivers); to ascertain if he should grant lands to his own people; and to check the "aspiring and encroaching spirit of the princely Proprietor." To Lord Dartmouth his only explanation was that his journey "might conduce to the good of His Majesty's service."

Lord Dunmore left Williamsburg on July 8 and arrived at Fort Pitt on or about August 12. On the way, according to Washington's arrangements, he stopped at Crawford's home, obtained valuable information, and promised his host contracts for surveying in the West as well as grants of land. In and around the fort he found upwards of ten thousand settlers (or so he told Dartmouth), without magistrates to preserve order or militia for protection against the Indians, whose fighting strength he estimated at from eight to ten thousand men. The people, so he later reported, "flocked about me and beseeched me" to remedy such conditions. However, before taking action he decided to wait until he had consulted the Virginia council at Williamsburg. He therefore bade the petitioners to visit him on his return to that city. Here at Fort Pitt he met Dr. Connolly for the first time. Undoubtedly they much approved of one another, for Connolly told Washington that he found Dunmore "to be a Gentleman of benevolence & universal Charity, & not unacquainted with either Man or the World." On his part Lord Dunmore then promised Connolly two thousand acres at the Falls of the Ohio, and he was later to shower other honors upon him. Before Dunmore left Fort Pitt a rumor was circulating that he would grant land to Pennsylvania officers of the French and Indian War if their claims were properly certificated. By September 7 he was back in Williamsburg.

Later that autumn Virginians from Fort Pitt visited Dunmore at his colonial capital. After conferring with his council and winning its approval, he proceeded to appoint magistrates and militia officers for the disputed region. Dr. Connolly was created captain of the militia and charged with carrying out Dunmore's orders.

On January 6, 1774, Connolly published Dunmore's proclamation asserting Virginia's jurisdiction over the territory. As militia commander he immediately announced a muster for January 25, and he let it to be known that Dunmore, to support his authority, was seeking aid from General Frederick Haldimand in Detroit. Moreover, the doctor wrathfully announced that he would oppose the holding of any Pennsylvania court at Fort Pitt.

Acting on the advice of the noted Pennsylvania jurist, James Wilson, Arthur St. Clair, chief magistrate of the Pennsylvanians, on January 2 proceeded to throw Connolly into jail. Two days later it was announced to about eighty of the carousing militia that Lord Dunmore had no authority to determine the jurisdiction for the region and that their military activities might arouse the Indians. From the jail Connolly wrote Dunmore that, Pennsylvanians excepted, the governor's proclamation "was so agreeable that every countenance expressed the highest satisfaction." However, he went on to ask for nine more commissions for militia officers, as he had three hundred more men ready to enlist.

Along with Connolly's letter to Dunmore went a petition signed by about six hundred people begging the governor to establish his authority over them. The petitioners stated that because the major portion of them came from Virginia they preferred the "mild, easy and equitable government" of Virginia to the "expensive" one of Pennsylvania; that Pennsylvania was asserting claims "many miles" west of her boundary; that the means for trying cases of titles to lands and for recovering small debts were oppressive; that Pennsylvania attorneys exacted unfair fees; that Pennsylvania officers put the proprietor's interests ahead of the people's; that the Pennsylvania taxes were too heavy, with too great a

proportion of them going to the officials; and that a poor defense was provided against Indians. Most of these petitioners lived near the disputed line, with the settlers at Redstone and Fort Burd taking the lead.

Meanwhile Governor Penn was exhorting St. Clair and the other magistrates to uphold the power of Pennsylvania, and promising them his support. Moreover, he issued a proclamation which forbade tumultuous gatherings of over twelve men. Violators, if they continued together for the space of an hour after being warned to disperse, were to be judged guilty of felony and suffer death without benefit of clergy. A week later he wrote Dunmore citing the grounds for Pennsylvania's claim to the region and urging him to avoid acts, such as the appointment of officials, which might lead to clashes and disputes, until joint commissioners should agree upon a temporary boundary.

Dunmore's reply was a haughty refusal to co-operate. He denied the reliability and fairness of the Pennsylvania surveys; cited the Pennsylvania assembly's earlier refusal to help defend the region as evidence that that body did not consider it under Pennsylvania's jurisdiction; and refused to revoke appointments already made with the advice of his council. Indeed, he demanded the dismissal of St. Clair for the arrest of Captain Connolly, unless the former would seek pardon for himself. To Dartmouth, he wrote a rather complete report of the dispute, as he saw it, and justified his actions by much the same arguments as those he had used with Governor Penn. The Virginians at the capital, jealous of the success of Maryland and Pennsylvania in obtaining the Indian trade and securing land grants on the frontier, commended their governor's conduct.

Governor Penn replied with an able answer to Dunmore's arguments. He pointed out that an agreement had been made between the two colonies in 1752-1754 that Pennsylvania's claims would not be endangered, pending the final determination of the boundary, by the erection of defenses under Virginia's direction at the Forks of the Ohio; and that Governor Dinwiddie had even permitted the collection of quitrents by Pennsylvania on lands granted by her in the disputed section. He denied that the Pennsylvania assembly had ever formally agreed that Fort Pitt was beyond their jurisdiction. And again he pleaded with Dunmore to defer the assumption of authority, with its consequent dissensions, until the boundary had been equitably decided. However, though deploring possible trouble, he refused to discharge St. Clair or to accede to Dunmore's claims.

This letter Dunmore's council considered such a "high insult" that they not only told him not to answer it but advised him to seize St. Clair if possible, and to raise and send an armed force sufficient to obtain Connolly's release. In accordance with these directions Dunmore issued a proclamation at Fort Pitt on April 25, stating that, because of the illegal arrest of some of his officers and because of possible Indian disturbances, he was empowering his militia officers at that place to enroll men "to repel any Insult whatever." All settlers were ordered to pay all quitrents and dues to such men as should be appointed. Then he proceeded to write his report to Dartmouth, rebutting Penn's latest arguments and further justifying his own conduct. To begin with, he was of the opinion that "many other circumstances should be taken into consideration besides the parchment boundaries." Indeed, he doubted if even the king, having first granted the land to Virginia, could re-grant it to Pennsylvania. But, assuming that that were possible, Pennsylvania had allowed the territory to become derelict by failing duly to ascertain its boundaries. Moreover, it had since been conquered by the French and retaken by the king's arms. As a consequence of the latter fact the title to the land now rested with the king, who could dispose of the country as he wished. Even allowing Pennsylvania her parchment boundaries, her own surveys showed that her jurisdiction extended only six miles beyond Fort Pitt, yet she had granted lands,

served processes, and exercised full control "full a hundred miles round" the fort. Finally he cited maps of Virginia, one by Jefferson and Fry in 1751 and another by M. Henry in 1770, showing Fort Pitt "considerably without the western boundary of Pennsylvania." He admitted that this evidence was not decisive, but he contended that it was at least equal to Pennsylvania's own survey.

While this epistolary combat was being waged between the governors, their partisans in the disputed territory were approaching open conflict. Connolly, released from jail, recruited his followers from among the border riff-raff, took possession of Fort Pitt and let it be known that he was ready to use force to maintain his authority. The inhabitants, still led by Croghan, continued to refuse to pay taxes to the Pennsylvania officers. At the head of about two hundred armed men Connolly broke up a session of the Westmoreland County court, arrested three magistrates, and sent them under guard to Staunton, Virginia, where they were released at Dunmore's orders. Later Connolly agreed to let the court hear such cases as were brought to it until he had received instructions to the contrary, though he still refused to consider a temporary boundary line.

Faced with Connolly's very apparent willingness to employ force, the Pennsylvania magistrates were in a quandary. Their colonial council had pointed out how vain it would be to resort of arms since Virginia had power to raise militias whereas Pennsylvania did not; yet in the same letter the council had asked that they "continue with readiness to exercise the Jurisdiction of Pennsylvania with respect to the distributions of Justice and punishment of Vice." Unknown to them, however, their predicament was somewhat relieved by Dunmore himself. The governor, having learned how Connolly had jailed the Pennsylvania justices without sufficient cause, dispatched a sharp rebuke. He wrote: "I very much disapprove of the length to which you suffered your intemperate heat to carry you." Such evidence of imprudence "makes me think it necessary to remind you that you cannot hope for the protection of this Government longer than you adhere...to the strict rules of law and justice." Nevertheless, if the Pennsylvania magistrates endeavored to act, Connolly was to commit them to prison, "but peaceably and without tumult and disorder." Indeed, the sole intention in establishing Virginia's authority had been "to promote order and justice among the people, and provide for their defense in case of danger from the Indians." However, along with this private letter went his proclamation of April 25 for public consumption, which did not at all tend to allay popular excitement. Indeed, this latter document brought a rebuke from Dartmouth who had fully approved Dunmore's previous steps. This proclamation, Dartmouth believed, hinted too strongly at the use of force and "breathed too much a Spirit of Hostility."

At the time, however, Dunmore, unaware of Dartmouth's opinion, undoubtedly felt that such threats would help his cause. Thus it was rumored in Virginia that he was to lead twelve hundred men against the Pennsylvanians. But the assemblies of the two colonies interested themselves. At the invitation of the Pennsylvania council the Virginia House of Burgesses recommended to the governor that a temporary line be fixed. In the same resolution they clearly expressed their disapproval of his hostile policy. In his reply to the assembly Dunmore said that he would agree to an "equitable temporary line" if one were proposed, but that he would oppose force with force if necessary. To bolster his position there arrived another petition from the Virginians on the Ohio, enumerating the same grievances set forth in their earlier effort.

Pennsylvania, as a conciliatory move, chose commissioners to draw up a temporary boundary in collaboration with the Virginia governor. They arrived in Williamsburg on May 19 and commenced their negotiations with Dunmore the next morning. The commissioners



proposed to have mutually chosen surveyors run a line in accordance with their grant five degrees west of the Delaware, and that Virginia should withdraw her jurisdiction over Fort Pitt. The commissioners would not disobey the limits of their instructions nor would Dunmore yield on any point. Thus, after a week of fruitless negotiations, the commissioners went home. According to Dunmore the Virginia council agreed in rejecting Pennsylvania's proposals as unreasonable.

In the meantime the situation at the seat of the trouble continued to grow worse. Either Connolly took Dunmore's reproof with a grain of salt or he had little control over his men. Not only did they abuse the Pennsylvanians in every possible manner but their mistreatment of the Indians, to the dismay of the settlers, was about to precipitate an Indian war. So great was this oppression and danger that St. Clair advised Governor Penn to sanction open resistance. Even George Croghan switched to the support of Pennsylvania.

While affairs were in this troubled state Connolly came forward with the statement that Lord Dunmore had empowered him to run a temporary boundary line, in collaboration with the Pennsylvania magistrates, providing it ran at least ten miles east of Fort Pitt. But the Pennsylvania justices, lacking the power, refused to act. Though neither party knew it at the time, it is interesting to note that Dartmouth was writing Dunmore on May 30, notifying him that the Board of Trade had recommended a temporary line "by a continuation of the Boundary Line between Virginia and Maryland due West, until it touches the Monongahela — and on the West, by a line drawn due North from that point on the Monongahela where the Southern Line falls in upon it: until it touches the Ohio River above Fort Pitt." Even when Dunmore did receive this recommendation he decided that it was impossible to carry out the directions.

In July Connolly began to try to collect the taxes on the peltries of the Pennsylvania traders; and the people living west of Laurel Hill were petitioning the Pennsylvania officials to refrain from performing their duties. The Pennsylvania traders, aroused at the thought of paying taxes to Virginia, decided to move their base to Kittanning. Thus pressed, the Pennsylvania council authorized the laying out of such a town to accommodate the traders and such other inhabitants of Pittsburgh as cared to take refuge there.

At this juncture the imminence of an Indian war brought about an unofficial truce in the boundary dispute. Though the Indians, particularly the Shawnee, had never completely observed the terms of the peace concluded after Colonel Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run, their depredations had increased to alarming proportions as surveyors and settlers pushed farther and farther down the Ohio Valley. Since these surveyors and settlers were chiefly Virginians, the Indian resentment was visited mainly upon the people from that colony. This was not wholly displeasing to the Pennsylvania settlers and traders who likewise held the Virginians chiefly responsible for the situation. Nevertheless, Connolly's warlike behavior and mistreatment served only to increase the alarm of the Indians. The murder of Chief Logan's family by Greathouse and Baker was followed by the killing of a few more Indians along the Ohio by a party under the leadership of Michael Cresap. These events are supposed to have precipitated the hostilities known as Dunmore's War. The incidents of this conflict have little or no bearing upon the boundary dispute. It was fought almost entirely by Virginians, under Virginia's leadership, and at her expense.

Lord Dunmore himself led one contingent of troops against the Indians. On the way to invade their country he stopped in Pittsburgh for more than a fortnight. Almost the whole of that time, during the early days of September, he was engaged in conferences with the Indians. However, before setting forth on his victorious foray against the Shawnee towns, he found time to issue, on September 17, another proclamation. In this, after again

reviewing the alleged abuses of the Pennsylvania government, he commanded "all his Majesty's subjects west of Laurel Hill, to pay a due respect to this my Proclamation, strictly prohibiting the execution of any act of authority on behalf of the Province of Pennsylvania, at their peril." Virginia's laws were to be obeyed. At this time he could hardly have received Dartmouth's instructions of August 3, which advised the settlement of the disputed boundary by commissioners appointed and paid by the two colonies, since, he wrote, "it will not be I conceive in the power of the Crown, of its own Authority, to decide the Controversy."

After publishing his proclamation Dunmore proceeded down the Ohio into the Indian country. There, due chiefly to Colonel Lewis' victory at Point Pleasant, he was able to conclude an advantageous peace. He was back at Fort Pitt the second week in November. During his absence Governor Penn had issued, on October 12, a proclamation countering that of Dunmore on September 17 and ordering the people to obey Pennsylvania laws and officials. Attempting to carry out his duties, Mr. Scott, a Pennsylvania justice, was arrested by Connolly and taken to Fort Burd for a hearing before Lord Dunmore himself. After an examination lasting nearly two hours the offender was held for trial at the court of Augusta County, Virginia, to be held in Pittsburgh on December 20. Then, leaving Connolly in charge at Fort Pitt, Dunmore returned to Williamsburg, where he was soon to be involved in quarrels with his own burgesses.

Left to his own devices, Connolly resumed his persecution of the Pennsylvania officials. When they attempted to use their authority he arrested them. While they were in jail his men plundered their property. An attempt was once again made to collect the tax on peltries. A group of his supporters, constituting themselves a jury, deprived Pennsylvanians of their land and appropriated it themselves though this was forbidden by Dunmore when he learned of it.

In May, 1775, hearing that the Virginia governor had abandoned his office as a result of his quarrel with his burgesses, an Augusta County association was formed to promote revolutionary measures on the frontier. By the last of the month Connolly was making preparations to leave. Before going, however, he was successful, according to his own statements, in carrying out Dunmore's wish that the Ohio Indians should be prepared to aid any British effort in the West. To do this he had to summon an Indian council. Hearing of his project and fearful of his intentions, the Continental Congress asked both Virginia and Pennsylvania to send commissioners to the council to forestall Connolly's possible designs. To this appeal Virginia responded in an effective manner. By this means Connolly's plans were largely frustrated, though he did secure qualified pledges for loyalty from a few Indians and a large number of eminent Virginia frontiersmen.

Despite his troubles in Williamsburg, Lord Dunmore did not intend to give up the region about Fort Pitt. Through Connolly he issued another proclamation insisting on obedience to Virginia's laws and forbidding the exercise of Pennsylvania's authority. The committee of West Augusta County, Virginia, made it known that they intended to see that the proclamation was enforced. In the reply of the committee of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, is found one of the first charges that Dunmore had instigated the boundary dispute as a means of distracting the two colonies from the common quarrel with Great Britain. And they boasted that "Ten Thousand Proclamations" would not render them "amenable to the Courts of Virginia."

Taking advantage of the mounting revolutionary feeling and the spreading rumors that Connolly was plotting against the colonies, St. Clair jailed the captain for a second time. He misjudged the strength of popular feeling, for Connolly's followers threatened to storm

the jail. Fearing the results of such a conflict, St. Clair freed his prisoner. Anticipating further reprisals because of his loyalist activities, Connolly left Pittsburgh on July 25, and hastened to Lord Dunmore. That was the last that Fort Pitt saw of Connolly, though he and Dunmore continued to plot against the security of the westerners.

Connolly's departure did not settle the boundary dispute. Indeed, the situation grew so ominous that the Continental Congress itself begged the partisans of the two colonies to curb their tempers and desires until the greater conflict with Great Britain was settled. Even this request did not suffice to quiet the disturbances, for the Virginians were still bellicose. Distrusting the results of Connolly's earlier conference with the Indians, a second council was summoned for September, at which delegates from the Continental Congress were present. On September 11, a few days before the council met, about one hundred armed Virginians from Winchester marched in and took possession of the fort, thus causing no little alarm among the Indians. Indeed, the Congressional delegates considered removing the council to another place. No solution of the boundary line was attempted.

Things dragged on, the situation growing more and more chaotic, until in June, 1776, the Virginians living west of Laurel Hill themselves petitioned the Virginia convention to settle the matter some way. Two weeks later that body drew up a definite temporary line and proposed it to the Pennsylvania assembly, but no agreement resulted. Then the exigencies of the Revolutionary War forced the inhabitants to dwell in peace for some time. In 1779, both colonies agreed to appoint commissioners to decide the matter. Pennsylvania was represented by George Bryan, John Ewing, and David Rittnhouse; Virginia, by James Madison and Robert Andrews. These men agreed to extend the Mason and Dixon line five degrees farther west as Pennsylvania's southern boundary. The meridian extending from the western end of this line to Pennsylvania's northern boundary was to be her western limit. This agreement was ratified by the legislatures of both states in 1780, though the permanent lines were not definitely ascertained and fixed until 1785. Thus, despite the machinations of Lord Dunmore and Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, Fort Pitt was finally awarded to Pennsylvania.

Source: Percy B. Caley. "Lord Dunmore and the Pennsylvania-Virginia Boundary Dispute." *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 22, (1939), 87-100.

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### **GOVERNOR DUNMORE INFORMS THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH OF THE CLASH OF VIRGINIA AND PENNSYLVANIA INTERESTS IN WEST AUGUSTA**

18 March (1774), Williamsburg

My Lord, I am under the necessity of troubling your lordship with the representation of a transaction in the government over which I have the honour to preside which seems likely to be the cause of a dispute wherein His Majesty's right is materially concerned, the particulars of which it will be necessary to lay before your lordship.

I thought it might conduce to the good of His Majesty's service if I did myself visit the interior and remote parts of this colony, and accordingly I employed the last summer months, during the interval of the General Courts when little or no business usually intervenes, in viewing the different counties; in the course of which I thought it particularly necessary to pass into the county of Augusta which is the northwesternmost county and

extends to the boundaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania and, as has been understood by all the people of this colony, includes Fort Pitt or Pittsburg: I went therefore to this place, where and in the neighbourhood of which I found upwards of ten thousand people settled and that they had neither magistrates to preserve rule and order among themselves nor militia for their defence in case of any sudden attack of the Indians, although there is an Indian settlement immediately opposite to the town of Pittsburg on the other side of the river, and consequently they have the utmost necessity of such establishment, particularly since the garrison which had been kept there from the war till last year was withdrawn.

Upon my arrival the people flocked about me and beseeched me, not only as they were His Majesty's subjects but likewise as they were of those within the government over which I preside, to appoint magistrates and officers of militia to remove these grievous inconveniences under which they laboured.

This request I not only thought reasonable but that in conformity to my duty I ought not to refuse complying with it; but which, however, I deferred until, as has been my rule, I could consult His Majesty's Council upon the same, and therefore I did at that time only order some of those people to attend me at Williamsburg for this purpose, with which they did not fail to comply, and there in and with the advice of Council I nominated a certain number of the most respectable among them and such as to us seemed very properly qualified to be magistrates and officers of militia in addition to those established in the county of Augusta; with which nominations they returned and under which they were proceeding to act to the very great joy and satisfaction of the district, when on a sudden a person appeared calling himself the Clerk of the County of Westmoreland (the next adjoining county in Pennsylvania to the county of Augusta in Virginia) and fixing upon Mr John Connolly, one of the magistrates and militia officers aforesaid appointed by me, peremptorily demanded security of him for his good behaviour, pretending that Pittsburg and its vicinity were within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, and proceeded so far as to treat the authority under which Mr Connolly acted with every mark of indecency and contempt, and then upon Mr Connolly's refusing the security required committed him to the prison of the county of Westmoreland, which Mr Connolly whose prudence on this occasion cannot be too much praised not only patiently submitted to himself but used his influence effectually to prevent the resentment of the whole body of the people for this insult upon the authority of the only government they acknowledged, and had it not been for Mr Connolly's persuasion they would have rescued him and treated the Clerk of Westmoreland in the same manner as his rash behaviour set them the first example of. They have, however, desisted and, relying on the protection of this government, Mr Connolly dispatched a messenger to me with a letter giving me an account of this transaction, and which is accompanied by a petition signed by six hundred of the people which fully explains that it was the sense of those people that they were part of the colony of Virginia and likewise the reasons of their unwillingness to acquiesce under the government of Pennsylvania. ...

I received soon after this a letter upon this matter and plan of his boundary from Mr Penn, one of the proprietors and the present governor of Pennsylvania, which as soon as I conveniently could I laid before His Majesty's Council of Virginia and with their advice returned the answer which is now enclosed to your lordship together with the letter and plan of Mr Penn. ...

Your lordship will observe in Mr Penn's letter that he considers Pittsburg and divers other places in that quarter of the country to be within the limits of Pennsylvania. Your lordship will likewise observe that he founds his opinion of the right upon the words of a royal grant to the proprietors of Pennsylvania and that he ascertains the boundary described

therein by lines that, he says, were run upon different occasions, and then proceeds to calculate, by which he makes Pittsburg near six miles within the western limits of his colony, and this he thinks sufficient to satisfy us and that thereupon he hopes I would desist from appointing officers and exercising government in that neighbourhood.

It appears by Mr Connolly's letter and the petition of the inhabitants, which I have already referred your lordship to, that Mr Penn has attempted to exercise government not only over Pittsburg and the six miles to the westward of it but likewise over all the settlers that could be found in its neighbourhood, many of whom reside a hundred miles to the westward of it, notwithstanding he confesses he had found by experiments and calculation that his right extended no farther than six miles to the westward of it; therefore, His Majesty's Council of this colony and myself, having found a wilful encroachment to so great an extent, and the lines which Mr Penn makes the data of his calculations having been run without the participation of this government or the assistance of any person on the part of the Crown, could not in duty I apprehend against the voice and sense of so many people acquiesce under any temporary cession of right to or government of all the country in question, especially as it might possibly prejudice His Majesty's right and very much injure his quitrents.

I think it necessary to observe to your lordship further that whatever may have been the intended bounds of the royal grant to the proprietors of Pennsylvania formerly or the accuracy of the observations and calculations to ascertain them now, it will be impossible for them by those to establish a title to the country in question which, if ever they had a right to, became derelict. I have seen an opinion of Lord Camden upon the dispute now subsisting between the colony of Connecticut and that of Pennsylvania which sets the matter in a very clear light. This country was possessed and occupied by the enemy, conquered in the late war by His Majesty's arms, and ceded with the rest of the French possessions in America in the treaty of peace that succeeded. It must stand now upon record in the journals of the Assembly of Pennsylvania that it was a doubt with them whether His Majesty had a right to grant so far to the westward and that it was the sense of this people that the boundary of their province did not extend to Pittsburg, on which account they declined doing anything to resist the invasion of the French on the Ohio when they were required by this government to join with them for their mutual security. After then having been conquered by His Majesty and maintained and defended at a considerable expense ever since till the last year by His Majesty, it must certainly belong to His Majesty to dispose of the same to whom he pleases, and therefore I hope it will be approved of by your lordship that I continue according to the urgent desires expressed in the petition already referred to of such a number of His Majesty's subjects to exercise government in that district until I shall receive instructions to the contrary.

Source: K.G. Davies (ed.). Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783. Dublin, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1975. Vol. III, 1974. Pp. 65-67.

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**IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS, THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH WARNS  
GOVERNOR DUNMORE NOT TO ENCOURAGE SETTLEMENT BEYOND  
THE CHEROKEE-VIRGINIA BOUNDARY.**

8 September (1774), Whitehall

My Lord, I have not before me any letters from your lordship the receipt of which has not been already acknowledged, but I must not omit the first opportunity of acquainting you that the contents of your dispatch of the 16th May (No. 16) ... have had the fullest consideration.

Upon this occasion the measures that have been pursued by government respecting the country lying between the Ohio River and the northern boundary of North Carolina and the grounds and policy of those measures from the royal proclamation of 1763 down to the present time have been examined with due attention.

Your lordship cannot have been ignorant of those measures and must have seen that it has been the invariable policy of this country to prevent by every possible means any settlements of the King's subjects in situations where they could not fail of exciting the jealousy of and giving dissatisfaction to the Indians, and where at the same time the settlers would be out of the reach either of the control or protection of the King's government.

It was upon this policy and upon these motives that the King by the royal proclamation of 1763 forbade settlements beyond the heads of the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean; and although His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept from the Six Nations a surrender of their title to the lands on the south of the Ohio as low down as its confluence with the Cherokee River, yet such acceptance was accompanied with an order to Sir William Johnson to assure those Nations of His Majesty's firm resolution not to suffer any settlement to be made below the Kanawa River.

That assurance gave the greatest satisfaction to those Indians, and that no nation might entertain jealousy of encroachment upon their hunting-grounds His Majesty was further graciously pleased at the request of the colony of Virginia to consent to a treaty being held with the Cherokees for ascertaining the limits of settlement on the side of the country claimed by them.

By that treaty, which was concluded at Lockhaber on the 18th of October 1770 ..., it was expressly stipulated that the settlement of the King's subjects under the government of Virginia should be bounded by a line drawn in a certain direction from the mouth of the Kanawa River to the boundary line of North Carolina. The faith of the Crown was by this act solemnly pledged to the Indians, and a clause corresponding therewith has been accordingly inserted in the propositions for a government on the lands proposed to be granted to Mr Walpole and his associates.

Admitting therefore that in the present state of that country it would, as your lordship contends, be advisable upon grounds of general policy to allow settlements under the authority of the government of Virginia beyond that line (of which both myself and the rest of the King's servants entertain very great doubt), yet while these compacts with the Indians remain in full force and the King's sacred word stands pledged for the observance of them, every attempt on the part of the King's subjects to acquire title to and take possession of lands beyond the line fixed by His Majesty's authority and every encouragement given to such attempt can be considered in no other light than that of a gross indignity and dishonour to the Crown and of an act of equal inhumanity and injustice to the Indians that cannot fail to be attended with fatal consequences.

I am therefore commanded by the King to signify to your lordship his Majesty's just displeasure that such a proceeding as that to which your letter refers should have received any degree of countenance or encouragement from you, and it is not without real concern that I find myself obliged to observe to your lordship that if His Majesty had not been graciously pleased out of his great tenderness and lenity to suppose that your conduct upon this occasion has proceeded from inadvertency to the facts above stated, it must have been followed by other marks of the royal displeasure, which I mention to your lordship with a wish of putting you more upon your guard for the future, for as on the one hand it will at all times give me the greatest pleasure to represent to the King in the most favourable light the conduct of his servants acting in the department with which I am entrusted, so on the other hand I consider myself bound by every tie of duty to His Majesty to see that his commands are duly obeyed by those to whom I have the honour of conveying them.

I am sorry I am obliged to say so much on this subject but my duty to the King is above all other considerations, and having discharged that so far as relates to your lordship's conduct in the case of the purchase made by Mr Murray and others, I have only to add that it is the king's pleasure that you do in the most public and solemn manner declare His Majesty's disapprobation and disallowance of that purchase, and that you do exert every power and authority which the constitution has vested in you to preserve inviolate the engagements entered into with the Indians in the King's name and to prevent any settlement whatever being made upon any pretence beyond the line settled at the congress at Lockhaber in October 1770.

I am further commanded by the King to acquaint your lordship that it is His Majesty's pleasure that you do not take any grant or consent to any possession being taken of lands included within the limit of the tract proposed to be granted to Mr Walpole and his associates, nor exercise any other jurisdiction than what shall be absolutely necessary to preserve the public peace and prevent violence and bloodshed.

Your lordship will find that orders were given some time ago for the transmission of lists of all grants of land made and passed within the colony of Virginia, but as I do not find that the order has been regularly complied with I am to signify to your lordship His Majesty's further commands that you do transmit to me by the first opportunity an account of all grants made and passed by you, specifying the date of each grant, the name of the grantee, the number of acres granted and where situated, and that you do make the like return every six months.

Source: K.G. Davies (ed.). Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783. Dublin, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1975. Vol. VIII, 1774. Pp. 194-196.

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### SOME FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS OF DUNMORE'S WAR

D<sup>r</sup> Will – Agreeable to my Last from Belmont, I set out on Monday Aug. 21<sup>st</sup>, and without any thing Remarkable Reached this place. ye 6<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> where we continued without Interruption till Monday the 10<sup>th</sup>. when about Sunrize we had intelligence of a Man being kild & several closly pursued, by a large party or parties of Indians. Col<sup>o</sup> A: Lewis ordered 300 Men from the two Lines of Augusta & Botetourt Forces to go in Quest of the Enemy, little Imagining as we afterwards found it to be the Case that we were to engage the whole United Force of the Enemy Ohio Indians. we Marched from Camp in two lines. Col<sup>o</sup>

Charles Lewis led the Right line. I led the left. about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from Camp, the Indians began the Attack on the right & in a Second of time the Left line was Attacked. I must refer you to perticular Accounts of which no doubt you will see several, and only Observe generals, as I am ill at ease to write. Soon after or in the first Fire Col<sup>o</sup> C. Lewis received a Mortal wound, and was brought to his tent with some Assistance. he died a few hours after, very much Regretted by the whole Army much about or soone after this hapned on the Right, I receivd three balls in the left Line two struck my left arm below the Elbow broke both the bones, & I find one of them is lodged in my arm. a third entered my breast about three Inches below my left Nipple and is lodged some where in the Chest. on finding myself effectually disabled I quitted the Field. when I came to be drest, I found my Lungs forced through the wound in my breast, as long as one of my fingars. Watkins Attempted to reduce them ineffectually. he got some part returned but not the whole. being in considerable pain, some time afterwards, I got the whole Returned by the Assistance of one of my Own Attendants. since which I thank the Almighty I have been in a surprizing state of ease. Nor did I ever know such daingerous wounds, Attended with so little inconvenience, and yet the wounds in my arm are in a bad condition. they do not digest and run but verry little. what will be the consequence as yet I know not, but I write you circumstantially that you may if it is not too much trouble, write perticularly to my wife. We had 7 or 800 Warriors to deal with. Never did Indians stick closer to it, nor behave bolder. the Engagement lasted from half an hour after [sunrise], to the same time before Sunset. And let me add I believe the Indians never had such a Scourging from the English before. they scalpd many of their own dead to prevent their falling into Our hands, burried numbers, threw many into the Ohio and no doubt carried off many wounded. We found 70 Rafts. we took 18 or 20 Scalps, the most of them principle Warriors amongst the Shawnese &c,...After the Ingagement Col<sup>o</sup> Lewis sent off some Scouts to his Lordship two of them are since Returned. His Lordship had Marchd from Hockhocking where he had been in Camp for some days. he was joined by White Eyes the Delaware who told his Lordship 700 Warriors were gon to the South, to speak with the Army there, & that they had been followed by another Nation, that they would begin with them, in the morning and their business would be over by Breakfast time. and then they would speak with his Lordship. that they came fully convinced they would beat us I think is certain. they cros'd the River & encamped the same side with us the Evening before, brought over with them their goods Deer Skins &c: took no pains to conceal themselves, And were boldly Marching to Attack Our Camp when we met them...And tho Many brave Men lost their lives, Yet I hope in its consequences, it will be a general Good to the Country, and this engagement will be long Remembered to the Memory & Honour of those who purchas'd the Victory by their deaths. I am &c: W<sup>m</sup> Fleming

Be sure to write my wife the Substance of this, or enclose it to her.

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### Shelby's Description of the Battle

D<sup>r</sup> Uncle – I Gladly imbrace this opportunity to Acquaint You that we are all three yet alive th[r]o Gods Mercies...we arrived at the mouth [of] Canaway Thursday 6<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. and incamped on a fine piece of Ground...when we looked upon our selves to be in safety till Monday morning the 10<sup>th</sup> Instant when two of our Comp<sup>rs</sup>, went out before day to hunt, To wit Val. Sevier & Ja<sup>s</sup> Robison & Discovered a party of indians;...



For the Satisfaction of the people in your parts in this they have a true state of the Memorable Battle faught at the mouth of the great Canaway on the 10<sup>th</sup>. Instant; Monday morning about half an Hour before sunrise two of Capt Russels Comp<sup>y</sup> Discovered a large party of indians about a mile from Camp one of which men was killed the Other made his Escape & brought in his intilligence; in two or three minutes affter two of Capt Shelby<sup>s</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> Came in and Confirmed the Account. Col<sup>o</sup> Andrew Lewis being Informed thereof Immediately ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Charles Lewis to take the Command of 150 men from Augusta and with him went Capt. Dickison, Cap<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Lewis from Augusta and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lockridge which made the first division Col<sup>o</sup> Fleming was also ordered to take the Command of one hundred & fifty more Consisting of Botetourt Fincastle and Bedford Troops Viz. Cap<sup>t</sup> Buford of Bedford Cap<sup>t</sup> Love of Botetourt Cap<sup>t</sup> Shelby & Cap<sup>t</sup> Russell of Fincastle which made the second Division. Col<sup>o</sup> Lewis marched with his Division to the Right some Distance up from the Ohio. Col<sup>o</sup> Fleming with his Division up the banck of the Ohio to the left; Col<sup>o</sup> Lewis's Division had not march<sup>d</sup> little more than a quarter of a mile from Camp; when about sunrise, an Attact was made on the front of his Division in a most Vigorous manner by the United tribes of Indians – Shawnees; Delewares, Mingoës, Taways, and of several Other Nations in Number not less than Eight Hundred and by many thought to be a thousand; in this Heavy Attact Colonel Charles Lewis received a wound which soon after Caused his Death and several of his men fell in the spott in fact the Augusta Division was forced to give way to the heavy fire of the Enemy In about a second of a minute after the Attack on Col<sup>o</sup> Lewis's Division the Enemy Engaged the Front of Col<sup>o</sup> Flemings Division on the Ohio; and in a short time Col<sup>o</sup> Fleming rec<sup>d</sup> two balls thro his left Arm and one thro his breast; and after animating the Captains and soldiers in a Calm manner to the pursuit of Victory returned to Camp, the loss of the Brave Colonels was Sensibly felt by the Officers in perticular, But the Augusta troops being shortly Reinforced from Camp by Colonel Field with his Company together with Cap<sup>t</sup> M'Dowel, Cap<sup>t</sup> Mathews & Cap<sup>t</sup> Stuart from Augusta, Cap<sup>t</sup> John Lewis, Cap<sup>t</sup> Paulin Cap<sup>t</sup> Arbuckle & Cap<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Clanahan from Botetourt, the Enemy no longer able to Maintain their Ground was forced to give way till they were in a Line with the troops left in action on Bancks of Ohio, by Col<sup>o</sup> Fleming in this precipitate retreat Col<sup>o</sup> Field was killed, after which Cap<sup>t</sup> Shelby was ordered to take the Comm<sup>d</sup>. During this time which was till after twelve of the Clock, the Action continued Extreemly Hott, the Close underwood many steep bancks & Loggs greatly favoured their retreat, and the Bravest of their men made the use of themselves whilst others were throwing their dead into the Ohio, and Carrying off their wounded, after twelve the Action in a small degree abated but Continued sharp Enough till after one oClock Their Long retreat gave them a most advantages spot of ground; from whence it Appeared to the Officers so difficult to dislodge them; that it was thought most adviseable to stand as the line then was formed which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had till then sustained a Constant and Equal weight of fire from wing to wing. it was till half an Hour of Sun sett they Continued firing on us which we returned to their Disadvantage at length Night Coming on they found a safe retreat...Its Beyond a Doubt their Loss in Number farr Exceeds ours, which is Considerable

Field Officers killed Col<sup>o</sup> Charles Lewis, and Col<sup>o</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Fields, Field Officers wounded Col<sup>o</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Fleming; Cap<sup>t</sup> killed John Murray Cap<sup>t</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Willson Cap<sup>t</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Clanahan, Cap<sup>t</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> Ward, Captains wounded Tho<sup>s</sup> Buford, John Dickison & John Scidmore, Subbalterns Killed Lieutenant Hugh Allen, Ensign Mathew Brakin Ensign Cundiff, Subbalterns wounded, Lieut. Lard; Lieut. Vance Lieut. Goldman Lieut. Ja<sup>s</sup> Robison about 46 killed & about 80 wounded from this Sir you may Judge that we had a Very hard day its realy Impossible for me to Express or you to Conceive Acclamations that we were under,

sometimes, the Hidious Cries of the enemy and the groans of our wound[ed] men lying around was Enough to shuder the stoutest hart...five men that Came in Dadys [daddy's] Company were killed, I don't know that you were Acquainted with any of them Except Marck Williams who lived with Roger Top. Acquaint M<sup>r</sup> Carmack that his son was slightly wounded thro the shoulder and arm & that he is in a likely way of Recovery we leave him at mouth of Canaway & one Very Carefull hand to take Care of him; there is a garrison & three hundred men left at that place with a surgeon to Heal the wounded.... Isaac Shelby  
To M<sup>r</sup> John Shelby Holston River Fincastle County

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### Close of the Campaign

Smithfield Tuesday the 8 Nov<sup>r</sup> '74

My Dear Sir [Col. William Preston.]— About 7 OClock this morning Cap<sup>t</sup> Floyd & myself got there [here] on our return from the Indian Country. I hear you are not expected home before Sunday, if You stay in the neighbourhood of the Town a few days or come up Roanoak I hope to see you But in the mean time I will say a little about our Journey.

This day 3 weeks [Oct. 18] our Army about 1150 in number marched from the Ohio, and on the Monday evening following we encamped within about 3 miles from A Shawnese Town where their greatest force were Assembled. His Lordships Camp was then about 7 miles from us & about 6 miles from the Town. we intended for his Camp but passed the path that took off to our right hand expecting he had encamped nearer the Towns. That day we were met by several expresses from his Lordship, the last one informing us that he had concluded a peace. As we went on further than was expected The Indians who watched every motion of our army, informed the Gov<sup>r</sup> that we had not stopt but were pushing strait for their Towns & would be in that day (which we could have done). His Lordship with the Interpreter M<sup>r</sup> Gibson & an Indian Chief & 50 men came to our Camp at Dusk. The next day he called the Captains together, told what he had [done] & desired us to return home. We began our March that day, all but about 50 Fincastle men who went to the other Camp...

The Mingoies refused to comply with the terms of the Treaty, when his Lordship was at our Camp he had about 8 of their men under confinement. Tuesday night after he returned to his own Camp he detached 250 men who reached a mingo Town the following night, killed 5 & took 14 prisoners chiefly Women & Children the rest escaping under Cover of the Night...

The Shawnese proposed laying themselves at the Gov<sup>r</sup>s mercy & told him to make the Terms & they should be complied with. He proposed their delivering up all the Prisoners & paying for what Stores &c they had taken since last war. And never more to make war or disturb us. for the Two first he takes two of their Chiefs with him to W<sup>m</sup>burg & for the last four Chiefs or the Sons of such. I don't know ab<sup>t</sup> the other articles but Knox & howe tells me that there is something about their never coming over to our settlements but to Trade...

It is a general opinion in the Gov<sup>r</sup>s army that the peace with the Shawnese will be lasting.

Many of our wounded men died since the Accounts of the battle came in, I think there are near 70 Dead. Cap<sup>t</sup> Buford & Lieut. Goldman & 7 or 8 more died whilst we were over Ohio & more will yet die.

Col<sup>o</sup> Fleming is in a fair way to recover and I think out of danger if he don't catch cold...

I dare say the Army is now scattered from Elk to the levels, perhaps from Point pleasant to the Warm Springs, all in little Companys...

Col<sup>o</sup> Lewis I think will be in the first of next week, perhaps some longer. When I saw the Gov<sup>r</sup> he said he would hasten to W<sup>m</sup>burg to meet the Assembly whom he expected would adjourn from day to day, untill he could get there. He will go very quick.

If I knew certainly of y<sup>f</sup> coming up Catawba I would go that way to meet you...

I am Sir as usual Yours ever Wm. Christian

Source: Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (eds.). Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905. Pp. 254-257, 269-277, 301-307.

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## DUNMORE RECEIVES A HERO'S WELCOME HOME

Correspondence, Proceedings, &c. December, 1774.

To his Excellency the Right Honourable John, Earl of Dunmore, his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governour-General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia and Vice Admiral of the same.

The Honourable Address of the City of Williamsburg.

My Lord: We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council, of the City of Williamsburg, in Common Hall assembled, beg leave to embrace the earliest opportunity of congratulating your Lordship on the conclusion of a dangerous and fatiguing service in which you have lately been engaged, and your return to this City.

It is with pleasure we hear your Lordship has been able to defeat the designs of a cruel and insidious enemy, and at the same time that your Lordship has escaped those dangers to which your person have been frequently exposed.

Permit us also, upon this occasion, to express our congratulations on the addition to your family by the birth of a daughter; and to assure you that we wish to your Lordship every degree of felicity, and that we shall contribute towards it attainment, as far as lies in our power, during your residence among us.

To which his Excellency was pleased to return the following Answer:

GENTLEMEN: I am obliged to you for this Address. The fatigue and danger of the service which I undertook, out of commiseration for the deplorable state which, in particular, the back inhabitants were in, and to manifest my solicitude for the safety of the country in general, which his Majesty has committed to my care, has been amply rewarded by the satisfaction I feel in having been able to put an effectual stop to a bloody war.

To his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia.

May it please your Excellency:

We his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the President and Professors of William and Mary College, moved by an impulse of unfeigned joy, cannot help congratulating your

Excellency on such a series of agreeable events, as the success of your enterprise against the Indians, the addition to your family by the birth of a daughter, and your safe as well as glorious return to the capital of this Dominion.

May the great fatigues and dangers which you so readily and cheerfully undergo in the service of your Government, be ever crowned with victory! May you ever find the publick benefits thence arising attended with domestick blessings! And, may you always feel the enlivening pleasure of reading in the countenances around you, wherever you turn your eyes, such expressions of affection as can be derived only from applauding and grateful hearts!.

To which his Excellency was pleased to return the following Answer:

GENTLEMEN: I cannot but receive every instance of the attention of a learned and respectable body, such as yours, with a great degree of satisfaction; but the affectionate and very obliging terms in which you are pleased to express your good wishes towards me, on this occasion, demand my cordial thanks, and will ever be impressed on my mind.

Source: Peter Force (ed.). *American Archives, Fourth Series. Vol. III. Correspondence Proceedings, &c., December 1774.* Washington, D.C.: M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 1843.

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### LOGAN'S SPEECH

...The principles of their [Indian] society forbidding all compulsion, they are to be led to duty and to enterprize by personal influence and persuasion. Hence eloquence in council, bravery and address in war, become the foundation of all consequence with them...Of their bravery and address in war we have multiplied proofs...Of their eminence in oratory we have fewer examples,...Some, however, we have of very superior lustre. I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore, when governor of this state. And, as a testimony in their talents in this line, I beg leave to introduce it, first stating the incidents necessary for understanding it. In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by some Indians on certain land-adventurers on the river Ohio. The whites in that quarter, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way...Among these were unfortunately the family of Logan, a chief celebrated in peace and war, and long distinguished as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanese, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan however disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But, lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent by messenger the following speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.

"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. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an

advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? – Not one."

Source: William Peden (ed.). Thomas Jefferson: Notes on the State of Virginia. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955. Pp. 62-63.

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### **NICHOLAS CRESSWELL DESCRIBES THE SHAWNEE HOSTAGES WHO WERE ON THEIR WAY TO WILLIAMSBURG, DECEMBER 1774**

Monday, December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1774. Set out in company with Captn. Buddecombe and Mr. Moffit. Crossed the Blue Ridge. This is a high barren mountain, producing nothing but Pines. It runs North and South through Virginia and Maryland, Carolinas and Pennsylvania. Crossed the Shanandoe River on the west side of the mountain. Here is some of the finest land I have ever seen. This is called Key's ferry. Got to Whittington's Mill. Lodged at a Poor House. The land is exceedingly fine. From the Shands River to this place 80 miles from Alexandria.

Frederick County, Virginia – Tuesday, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1774. Went from the Mill to a place called Hopewell, a fine plantation belonging to Mr. Jacob Hite. Here is some of the finest land I ever saw either for the plough or pasture. Got to Mr. Wm. Gibb's, an acquaintance of Mr. Kirk's. We have travelled over some as fine land to-day for about 25 miles as I would wish to see. Limestone in general, abounds with Shumack, Walnut, and Locust trees which are certain indications that the Lands are rich, pretty level, it is rocky in some places, but affords excellent pasturages and well watered. Produces good Wheat and Barley. The people appear to be more industrious in this part of the Country than they are on the other side of the Blue Ridge.

Wednesday, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1774. Went to Winchester. It is one of the largest towns I have seen in the Colony, the capital of this Colony. Regularly laid out in squares, the buildings are of limestone. Two Churches, one English and one Dutch, but the Dutch Church is not finished. General Braddock built a stockade Fort here, in the year 1755, but it is now demolished.

Saw four Indian Chiefs of the Shawnee Nation, who have been at War with the Virginians this summer, but have made peace with them, and they are sending these people to Williamsburg as hostages. They are tall, manly, well-shaped men, of a Copper colour with black hair, quick piercing eyes, and good features. They have rings of silver in their nose and bobs to them which hang over their upper lip. Their ears are cut from the tips two thirds of the way round and the piece extended with brass wire till it touches their shoulders, in this part they hang a thin silver plate, wrought in flourishes about three inches diameter, with plates of silver round their arms and in the hair, which is all cut off except a long lock on the

top of the head. They are in white men's dress, except breeches which they refuse to wear, instead of which they have a girdle round them with a piece of cloth drawn through their legs and turned over the girdle, and appears, like a short apron before and behind. All the hair is pulled from their eyebrows and eyelashes and their faces painted in different parts with Vermilion. They walk remarkably straight and cut a grotesque appearance in this mixed dress. Got to Mr. Gibb's in the evening. Thursday, December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1774. Confined in the House to-day with rain.

Friday, December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1774. Riding about the neighbourhood with Mr. Gibbs. Find the land good, the country healthy and a good neighbourhood. I am exceedingly pleased with these two Counties, and am determined to settle in one of them, if ever these times are settled. Here is every encouragement. Land is purchased at 30 shillings, this currency per acre, that is 26 shillings sterling. It will produce any sort of grain, the average of wheat is about 12 bushels to the acre, but it is not half ploughed and manure of any sort is never used. Meadows may be made with little trouble. and the range for stock is unlimited. Horses sell amazingly high, and fat cattle of all sorts. When lean are bought very cheap. The Farmers here are little acquainted with breeding cattle, indeed they are too lazy. Public taxes are very trifling. Little Tobacco is made in the Counties of Frederick and Barley.

Source: Nicholas Cresswell. The Journey of Nicholas Cresswell. New York: The Dial Press, 1924. Pp. 48-50.

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### **GOVERNOR DUNMORE ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY HIS ACTIONS IN THE BACKCOUNTRY TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH**

24 December (1774), Williamsburg

My Lord, I have received your lordship's dispatches Numbers 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, but having been for some months past in the back parts of the colony on business of a public and important nature of which I shall inform your lordship, I had not till now an opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of them; but the Numbers 12 and 13, particularly the last, so wholly engross my thoughts that I am under a necessity of answering that letter before I can proceed to any other consideration.

The perusal of No. 13 (September 8, 1774) has filled me with concern but not less astonishment. I have gone over my own letter, No. 16 (May 16, 1774), to which your lordship alludes and can only conclude that some other reasons than any which arise from the complexion of my own representation of the affair in question induced your lordship and the other of His Majesty's servants to set the matter before the King in so criminal a light that nothing but His Majesty's tenderness and lenity have saved me from the whole effect of the royal displeasure, and that by far the greatest part of it should actually be inflicted upon me.

However sensible I am of the kindness of your lordship's intention in the caution which you are pleased to give me for my future conduct, I must be so free as to declare that I do not perceive the misconduct which has made your lordship think such a caution necessary, neither do I discover the justice of the heavy rebuke which your lordship communicates to me; and that I cannot avail myself of the plea of inadvertency which your lordship has been pleased to put in my way, but that I think I must depend on the integrity of my actions and the uprightness of my intentions for my justification, which if I am not so fortunate as to make His Majesty and your lordship as fully sensible of as I am myself

conscious of, the fear of losing the pecuniary advantages which I derive from His Majesty's favour will not induce me to use any other means to ward off the reserved punishment with which I am threatened.

The policy of government respecting the back country and the measures pursued in consequence of it which your lordship has been at the pains of explaining to me, I cannot as you rightly observe be ignorant of; and I might suppose your lordship informed that I was not ignorant of them, for I transmitted from New York the 12th of April 1770 a letter to Lord North accompanied by a state of all the arguments made use of by the people best acquainted with the back countries of America against extending any settlements to the westward, among which the necessity of adhering to the policy mentioned by your lordship is strongly urged; which policy seemed to everybody in this country not at all to have been considered when the grant to Walpole and others was intended, and I was then as I am still of opinion that it were best not to extend any settlements beyond the limits of the colonies as they stood then.

When I was removed to this government I found the boundary line, mentioned by your lordship to have been stipulated in the treaty concluded at Lockaber the 18th of October 1770, putting into execution. The finishing hand was given to that service after I came here and I transmitted an account of it with a map of the line the 20th of March 1772; and, my lord, I have invariably taken every step which depended on me to prevent any infringement of it by the people of this colony, nor with regard to grants has any infringement of it been made, or settlement either that the power of this government could prevent.

But, my lord, I have learnt from experience that the established authority of any government in America and the policy of government at home are both insufficient to restrain the Americans and that they do and will remove as their avidity and restlessness incite them. They acquire no attachment to place, but wandering about seems engrafted in their nature, and it is a weakness incident to it that they should forever imagine the lands further off are still better than those upon which they are already settled. But to be more particular.

I have had, my lord, frequent opportunities to reflect upon the emigrating spirit of the Americans since my arrival to this government. There are considerable bodies of inhabitants settled at greater and less distances from the regular frontiers of, I believe, all the colonies. In this colony proclamations have been published from time to time to restrain them: but, impressed from their earliest infancy with sentiments and habits very different from those acquired by persons of a similar condition in England, they do not conceive that government has any right to forbid their taking possession of a vast tract of country, either uninhabited or which serves only as a shelter to a few scattered tribes of Indians. Nor can they be easily brought to entertain any belief of the permanent obligation of treaties made with those people, whom they consider as but little removed from the brute creation. These notions, my lord, I beg it may be understood I by no means pretend to justify. I only think it my duty to state matters as they really are: and this being a true account of them, three considerations offer themselves for His Majesty's approbation. The first is to suffer these emigrants to hold their lands of and incorporate with the Indians; the dreadful consequence of which may be easily foreseen and which I leave to your lordship's judgement. The second is to permit them to form a set of democratical governments of their own upon the backs of the old colonies, a scheme which for obvious reasons I apprehend cannot be allowed to be carried into execution. The last is that which I proposed to your lordship, to receive persons in their circumstances under the protection of some of His Majesty's governments already

established; and in giving this advice I had no thought of bringing a dishonour upon the Crown. On the contrary, the measure appeared to me as the wisest and safest that could be entered into under the circumstances abovementioned.

Now if the different governments from whence these people remove, and near to which they settle, have no power (as I am sure is the case in this government) to prevent these irregular seizing of lands and extending of settlements, though not very far from some parts of those governments where their jurisdiction by right extend, with what justice could the purchase and settlement made by Murray and others be expected to be prevented or the progress of it stopped by any authority of the government of Virginia, at the distance of many hundred miles and separated by an immense tract of an unpeopled country from the lands so purchased and settled?

As to encouragement given to that attempt, my lord, I aver that the purchases of Murray and others received no degree of countenance or encouragement from me. That attempt was made and the possession taken long before I became acquainted with any circumstance of either, and as I have already intimated the constitution vests me with no manner of power to prevent or defeat either. All that could be done by me was, upon the knowledge of a fact of a similar nature coming to me, exerted, as appears by the extract of a letter to Mr Stuart, agent for Indian affairs in the southern department, dated April 5th 1774, which I insert here that your lordship may have an instance of my attention to the policy and orders of government. "I have received accounts from the back parts of this colony that a set of people, notwithstanding the King's proclamation and regulations of this government, are endeavouring to make a purchase from the Indians of a considerable tract of land to the south and west of our last established boundary, which I think you would do well to prevent by giving directions to Mr Cameron to represent the impropriety of it to the Indians and to use every means in his power to deter them from entering into any bargain with our people in such an irregular manner." I transmit a copy of the letter from which this extract is made for the purpose abovementioned, and for another which I shall have occasion soon to treat upon. The affair in question never came to my knowledge till the petition came to my hands, which is not to confirm or ratify the purchase but to admit the petitioners with their possessions into a participation of this government.

With respect to that matter, I took upon me to give an opinion to your lordship which was favourable to the request of the petitioners, but this opinion was given only to your lordship, was submitted to the better judgement of your lordship, and therefore could have no effect but such as your lordship chose to give it. And as it is my duty to make your lordship acquainted with all the occurrences of my government, so likewise I conceived it an essential part of that duty to propose all such remedies as according to my best understanding tend to destroy any evil effects which those occurrences threaten; and my rule has been to adopt not so much those as would be best as those that I think would be effectual. Nor, because it may be contrary to an established and long pursued policy, did I think it less my duty on that account to propose any matter which I should in my own mind be persuaded was calculated to turn events that could not be commanded to the best possible advantage of His Majesty's government. And, my lord, I must here take the liberty to say that, however erroneous or even absurd my opinion and propositions may appear, they could not be in any view criminal and therefore I could not merit the censure to the degree and in the style in which it has been passed upon me.



But I conjecture that I have not escaped the general lot of mankind and that some malicious insinuations have been spread and received by your lordship and other of His Majesty's servants to my prejudice; and as the matter relates to land, probably an opinion may be entertained of my having been governed in this and other proceedings of that nature by views of interest to myself. The two last paragraphs of your lordship's letter particularly give me reason to suppose this to be the case, which now I can only answer by hoping I shall have the justice done me to admit my own assertions on this point. But if I am so unfortunate as not to find so much credit with you, I shall not scruple to enter into any kind of proof which may be required of me that I have not in any manner whatsoever made a grant of land to myself, to any person of my family or even to any friend or connection, or made a grant to any other person for my or their benefit, or been concerned in any scheme for obtaining of land anyhow, since I came to this government. The governor of this colony receives for all patents for land that issues, if it be for less than 100 acres, nothing; but for a patent including any number of acres above 100 one pistole and no more. No patents have issued since I came to this government, except from time to time as people have discovered slips and pieces of land left out of and between former and the old surveys in the settled parts of the country, and the profits upon these according to the rate abovementioned has been between two and three hundred pounds this currency a year, and some patents to persons who had served in the provincial troops (which the Council and myself thought they were entitled to by His Majesty's proclamation) and these I granted without any fee, reward or consideration whatsoever.

When I was governor of New York I made a purchase of the grants of fifty real grantees in a patent of fifty thousand acres of land subject to the same quitrents and conditions as land[s] were granted upon by order of government; and this was a transaction attended with no connivance or undue practice of office but a fair, open and strictly legal acquisition - the practice of every governor I dare say, and was allowed I know to every one of His Majesty's subjects without distinction, and by no favour but for the advantage and benefit of the Crown, the future prospect of advantage from those grants being (as I know now) no ways adequate to the first and continual expense to the patentee.

Since I came to this government, indeed, I asked the King for a grant of land free of quitrents, the fate of which your lordship is acquainted with, as you are also now with all the benefits, profits and advantages which have arisen to me in this government from granting, and with all the views I have entertained anywhere of acquiring any of the vacant lands of the Crown since I came to America.

The last two paragraphs of your lordship's letter give me no less uneasiness than the preceding part as they show my letters have had but little weight and that very unjust suspicions have been entertained of me; for otherwise I think your lordship would recollect that I had in a letter numbered 20 acquainted your lordship that I was ignorant, and I do assure your lordship I am still, what are the boundaries of Walpole's grant, [and] that the people of this colony conceive that grant wherever it may be ought not to alter the boundary of this colony which was granted by His Majesty's order and run at the expense of the country, and I must therefore refer your lordship to that letter as an answer to this particular part of your lordship's.

With respect to a list of all grants of land in Virginia which your lordship requires, I herewith transmit the same since my entrance upon this government. Your lordship will find included in this list (and marked therein) 200,000 acres of land granted to the officers and soldiers of the first Virginia regiment under a proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie, and which had been surveyed and laid out but not proportioned or the patents signed before,

and was among the first business transacted by me in Council after my arrival, as appears by the minutes of that board .... The patents which have been granted to other officers and soldiers, and marked accordingly in the list, under the King's proclamation as before mentioned, are only ten and amount to only 13,616 acres. The rest of the patents in the said list, then, are only for those slips and parcels of land already mentioned, not one of which I am sure infringe any restriction of government and had been so inconsiderable that I found, I suppose for that reason, that no account of them had been transmitted of late by my predecessors. And I am inclined to believe that nothing contained now in this list, if some false and injurious representations had not been made to your lordship about me, could have become the object of His Majesty's so serious attention and that of your lordship, as by these strict and repeated orders appear, and is not I suppose what the order contained in your lordship's last paragraph had chiefly in view.

My lord, I profess to have the highest sense of the favours conferred upon me by His Majesty and in like manner with your lordship to place the duty which I owe him above all other considerations, and therefore am incapable of intentionally encouraging any attempt against the dignity and honour of the Crown. But if His Majesty thinks otherwise or has any other person in view whose zeal and fidelity he has a better opinion of than he has of mine and he thinks would serve him to better effect than I can, I shall only be sorry that I have been continued in my government any time after such an idea has been entertained of me; and I have no desire to remain longer in it than His Majesty approves of my conduct.

The opinion I have of your lordship persuades me you did not expect I should be less sensible of the censure thrown on me or less anxious to justify myself; therefore I imagine no apology is necessary for having retained your lordship's attention so long on a matter of which I was myself the subject but in which my honour and happiness is so deeply interested.

I come now to your lordship's letter No. 12. A circumstantial account of the transactions which occasioned such distress and alarm in the back settlements, and which, to remove the concern your lordship may be under on that head, I think proper to anticipate by acquainting your lordship that I have been able to put an entire stop to, will be a full and explicit answer to all the particulars contained in your lordship's letter, and I trust will satisfy you that the facts there asserted are so confounded and misrepresented as to manifest only the malicious intentions against me or the officiousness and disingenuity of the persons employed in the channels through which your lordship has received the several intelligences.

The last quarrel with the Indians, as far as the Virginians were concerned in it, took its rise from, or rather never subsided after, the expedition of Mr Bouquet. In the treaty concluded on that occasion it was stipulated that all the white prisoners which the Indians had carried off should be restored, among which were a great many young Virginia women and men and Negroes; and the Indians notwithstanding the treaty have detained them till on this late occasion they were compelled to give them up. This has been ever since a source of uneasiness in this country and it has been aggravated by the continual depredations of the Indians and some shocking murders committed by them on the people of the frontiers. The very year after this treaty a man was killed on the frontiers by the Indians; the year after that eight men were killed upon Cumberland River; soon after one Martin, a trader from this government, was killed with two other men. In the year 1771 a party of Indians fell upon a hunting party of Virginians and carried off nineteen horses, as many hundred deerskins, their arms and clothes; and the same year the Indians killed one Thomas Man and wounded his brother. The next year they killed one Richards, and the 16th of October of the same year they killed one Russel, a very promising young man, the son of a gentleman of some

distinction in one of the back counties, together with four men who were in company with him and two Negroes attending him. The father of the young man, who was out at the same time, came up to the ground and was the first that discovered the dismal spectacle of the dead body of his son mangled in a horrid manner and the others in much the same condition.

In hopes of preventing the effects which were naturally to be dreaded from these repeated violences of the Indians, and being furnished with depositions which fixed this last act upon certain Indians, I wrote to Mr Stuart, the Indian agent, ... to desire that he would use his endeavours to persuade the Indians to give up the offenders. But the Indians shifted the accusation from one tribe to another, that in short the application had no effect.

At the same time it was known that messages were interchangeably sending between all the tribes along the Ohio, the Western and Southern Indians, and many indications appeared of some fatal design which the people in the back country could not but apprehend was meditated against them: and they were confirmed in their fears by the attacks, similar to and much at the same time as those experienced here, which were made by some of the Southern Indians on the white people in their neighbourhood.

These facts and apprehensions occasioned so great an alarm that the timorous and those that had families began to leave their habitations, by which they exposed themselves to want and misery. I took notice in my letter of the 2nd of April to your lordship of the fears we were then in with regard to this matter.

But those new injuries stirred up the old inveteracy of those who are called the backwoodsmen, who are hunters like the Indians and equally ungovernable; these people took fire all along the frontiers quite to Maryland and Pennsylvania and formed parties avowedly against the Indians which the efforts of magistrates and government could not in the least restrain.

It happened that soon after the murder of young Russel and his party, a man who had been of that party and the only one who had escaped was at a horse race at a place upon the frontiers and that two Indian men and one woman should come there also. The man immediately fell upon the Indians and murdered one of them, notwithstanding the interposition of all the other people: all they could do was to save the other Indian and the woman. The magistrates endeavoured all they could to have the murderer apprehended and offered a reward of £50, as I did also by proclamation of £100, but both have been fruitless.

This, however, was the first Indian blood drawn by our people since the treaty of Mr Bouquet. Nor was this followed by any other act of hostility till about the 27th of last March that five Indian canoes containing fourteen Indians going down the Ohio were followed by one Michael Cressop, a Maryland trader, with a party of fifteen men, and a skirmish ensued in which one Indian and one of Cressop's people were killed, but sixteen kegs of rum, some saddles and bridles were taken from the Indians. About the 26th of April following, two Indians, who were with a white man in a canoe on the river, were fired upon from the shore and killed. This likewise is attributed to Cressop.

Soon after this, an affair of more importance happened and which indeed is marked with an extraordinary degree of cruelty and inhumanity. A party of Indians with their women happening to encamp on the side of the Ohio opposite to the house of one Baker, who together with a man of the name of Gratehouse called to and invited the Indians to come over and drink with them; two men and as many women came accordingly and were at first well received, but Baker and Gratehouse, who by this time had collected other people, contrived to intoxicate the Indians and they then murdered them. Soon after, two more came over from the Indian party in search of their companions and these met with the same

fate. The remainder of the Indian party growing uneasy at not seeing their friends return, five of them got into a canoe to go over to the house but they were soon fired upon by Baker and Gratehouse and two of the Indians killed and the other three wounded.

If it had been possible, my lord, to convey intelligence of this atrocious action to me instantaneously, it would have been impossible for me to take any effectual step, in the disposition which the people of the back country were then, to bring these offenders to justice. But I do assure your lordship that the pacification which I have since effected has not made me relax in the smallest degree my diligence in finding ways to come at them and in bringing them to the punishment due to such enormity, and I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship that I have hopes my endeavours for this purpose will not prove unsuccessful.

The Indians, however, had recently repeated their blows and given too much cause for these people, not much less savage than themselves, to justify their sanguinary deeds. They had in the beginning of February killed six men and two Negroes, and towards the end of the same month a trading canoe was attacked, the men murdered and the goods carried to the Shawnese towns.

While these matters passed, the alarm of the country necessarily increased very much and I received expresses daily from the principal people of the counties exposed, entreating my assistance to put them in a state of defence and to provide means to bring the Indians to terms, which all our accounts informed us they were resolved not to listen to; and therefore it was thought the shortest and most effectual way to accomplish this purpose was to raise a body of men and send them directly to the Shawnese country. When the Assembly met in May I applied to them by a message ... to provide for this matter. They did not adopt the plan proposed but I was referred, ... to an Act in force against invasions and insurrections which empowers the governor to employ the militia of the frontier counties to be embodied and the respective commanding officers of them to take such steps as their prudence would direct and the Act of Assembly allow them in the present exigency. And I recommended to them to erect forts in the properest places as they should judge for the neighbouring people to retire to and defend themselves in case the Indians penetrated into the country. ...

I formerly gave your lordship an account in my letter No. 12 that one of the reasons which occasioned the people settled about Pittsburg to apply to the protection of this government was that they might have some lawful militia establishment to defend them in case of an attack from the Indians, and that in consequence of this application I had with the advice of Council regularly appointed a militia and officers to command it which became part of the militia of the County of Augusta.

This part of the country, by its vicinity to some of and intercourse with all the tribes of the Ohio Indians, was particularly affected by these disturbances. Vast numbers of the settlers fled, and therefore when the other militia of the counties were ordered to assemble orders were sent to Captain Conolly, who was the principal officer of militia in this district, to the same effect; and a fort at this place was judged particularly requisite as there is a settlement of Indians separated from it only by the river. And this fort, which they call Fort Dunmore, had the effect upon this occasion of keeping the neighbouring Indians in awe, for which one had been maintained there so long at the King's expense, and was the means, together with the great pains taken and prudence observed by Mr Conolly in conferring with those Indians, by which they were kept in our interest and prevailed upon to carry messages to and bring intelligence of the Shawanese and other tribes by whose incursions the country had so greatly suffered. Several accidents happened indeed at this place. One of those friendly Indians whom Mr Conolly had taken with him to reconnoitre the country, upon a

report of a party of Shawanese approaching, was fired upon in his return home after he had left Mr Conolly by one of the militia men, but this man was immediately confined and a message was sent to the Indian village to assure them he should be punished. The traders, who happened to be in the Indian towns at the time of those transactions and for some time confined there, were released and sent with an escort to Pittsburg; and this escort in their return home were fired upon by a number of white men and one of them wounded as it was reported, though it was never known what persons or whose party committed this breach of faith or for certain that it ever was committed. Some time after, a party of the Delawar neighbouring Indians came to Pittsburg to trade and were fired upon, by which two of them were killed, but the perpetrators of this perfidious act were never discovered though a reward of £50 was offered by the commanding officer at the desire of the inhabitants, as was also a reward of £100 by me upon my arrival there, which happened to be immediately after and in time to condole with the Indians and make them sensible that no pains should be neglected to find out and bring to exemplary punishment the guilty persons, which entirely appeased them. And I can assure your lordship that upon the strictest enquiry which I could make no one of these facts were attributed either to the design or even negligence of Mr Conolly (indeed he was above a hundred miles from the place where the last was committed); on the contrary the people of the country firmly believe that those two Delaware Indians had been killed treacherously by some of the Pennsylvanians in order to destroy the good understanding which subsisted between the Virginians and those Indians, but which however this affair by the care which was observed did not effect.

In the meantime the ravage of the Indians wherever they could carry it was dreadful. One Shawanese returned to his town with the scalps of forty men, women and children whom he had killed. On the other hand, a party went out with my permission and destroyed one of the Shawanese towns, and meeting a small party of Indians they killed six or seven of them, but this produced no change in the designs of these people.

The real concern, principally, which the continuation of these miseries gave me and, partly, the accounts sent by the officers of the militia of the mutinous and ungovernable spirit of their men whom they could by no means bring to any order or discipline or even to submit to command, determined me to go up into that part of the country and to exert my own immediate endeavours on this important occasion. Accordingly, as soon as the business of the oyer and terminer court in June permitted me I set out for Pittsburg where I arrived as has been already related. No time was lost in assembling the Delawar, Six Nations and all the other tribes that could be got at, or diligence neglected in conferring with them on the subject of the desolating consequences of such enterprises as were carrying on between the Shawanese and their abettors and our people ... I found all those nations not only disposed to peace but attached to our cause; and they promised me, as your lordship will perceive, that they would go down to the Shawanese (who with one or two less considerable tribes only were concerned in the deprivations that had been committed) and, if I would appoint a time and place, bring them to speak to me and use their influence to incline them to peace. I determined therefore to go down the Ohio, but I thought it prudent to take a force which might effect our purpose if our negotiation failed and I collected from the militia of the neighbouring counties about twelve hundred men to take with me, sending orders to a Colonel Lewis to march with as many more of the militia of the southern counties across the country to join me at the mouth of the Little Kanhaway, the place I appointed to meet the Indians at.

I passed down the river with this body of men and arrived at the appointed place at the stated time. the day after, some of our friends the Delawares arrived according to their

promise but they brought us the disagreeable information that the Shawanese would listen to no terms and were resolved to prosecute their designs against the people of Virginia.

The Delawares, notwithstanding, remained steady in their attachment, and their chief named Captain White Eyes offered me the assistance of himself and the whole tribe; but apprehending evil effects from the jealousy of and natural dislike in our people to all Indians, I accepted only of him and two or three, and I received great service from the fruitfulness, the firmness and remarkable good understanding of White Eyes.

Colonel Lewis not joining me, and being unwilling to increase the expense of the country by delay, and from the accounts we had of the numbers of the Indians judging the force I had with me sufficient to defeat them and destroy their towns in case they should refuse the offers of peace, and after sending orders to Colonel Lewis to follow me to a place I appointed near the Indian settlements, I crossed the Ohio and proceeded to the Shawanese towns; in which march one of our detached parties encountered another of Indians laying in ambush of whom they killed six or eight and took sixteen prisoners.

When we came up to the towns we found them deserted and that the main body of the Indians to the amount of near five hundred had sometime before gone off towards the Ohio, and we soon learnt that they had crossed that river near the mouth of the Great Kanhaway with the design of attacking the corps under Colonel Lewis. In effect this body, in their route to join me, was encamped within a mile of the conflux of these two rivers and near the place where the Indians crossed, who were discovered by two men, one of which they killed, of Colonel Lewis's corps at break of day the 10th of October. Colonel Lewis, upon receiving intelligence of their being advanced to within half a mile of his camp, ordered out three hundred men in two divisions, who upon their approach were immediately attacked by the Indians and a very warm engagement ensued. Colonel Lewis found it necessary to reinforce the divisions first sent out, which (without the main body of his corps having engaged) obliged the Indians to retreat after an action which lasted till about one o'clock afternoon and little skirmishing till night, under the favour of which the Indians repassed the river and escaped. Colonel Lewis lost on his side his brother and two other colonels of militia, men of character and some condition in their counties, and forty-six men killed and about eighty wounded. The loss of the Indians by their accounts amounted to about thirty killed and some wounded.

The event of this action proving very different from what the Indians had promised themselves, they at once resolved to make no further efforts against a power they saw so far superior to theirs, but determined to throw themselves upon our mercy. And with the greatest expedition they came in search of the body with which they knew I marched, and found me near their own towns the day after I got there.

They presently made known their intentions and I admitted them immediately to a conference wherein all our differences were settled. The terms of our reconciliation were, briefly, that the Indians should deliver up all prisoners without reserve; that they should restore all horses and other valuable effects which they had carried off; that they should not hunt on our side the Ohio nor molest any boats passing thereupon; that they should promise to agree to such regulations for their trade with our people as should be hereafter dictated by the King's instructions; and that they should deliver into our hands certain hostages to be kept by us until we were convinced of their sincere intention to adhere to all these articles. The Indians, finding contrary to their expectation no punishment likely to follow, agreed to everything with the greatest alacrity and gave the most solemn assurances of their quiet and peaceable deportment for the future, and in return I have given them every promise of protection and good treatment on our side.

Thus this affair, which undoubtedly was attended with circumstances of shocking inhumanity, may be the means of producing happy effects, for it has impressed an idea of the power of the white people upon the minds of the Indians which they did not before entertain; and there is reason to believe it has extinguished the rancour which raged so violently in our people against the Indians, and I think there is a greater probability that these scenes of distress will never be renewed than ever was before.

I have given your lordship a faithful relation of this matter from beginning to end and cannot help conceiving hopes that it will deserve to be seen in a different view than that in which Mr Penn's assertion and other intelligence have endeavoured, I fear with too much success, to place it. But I must beg leave to remark with respect to the first that I am possessed of the message returned from the Assembly to Mr Penn ... whereby it appears that they acknowledged, notwithstanding the governor's assertion, some people of that government had contributed likewise to the distress and alarm of the back settlements, for the Assembly in their message offers a reward for apprehending two men (Hinkson and Cooper) for murdering an Indian within the bounds of their province. And it is manifest, then, from every circumstance, my lord, that the proprietary governor of Pennsylvania hath sullied the dignity and solemnity which belongs to such an act as communicating the business of the public to their representatives, by making it the conveyance of falsehood and imposition which tended only to create dissensions between the people of his government and their neighbours of Virginia and to keep up the aversion in the Indians towards the inhabitants of this colony.

In regard to the fort of Pittsburg, this your lordship has seen in my relation was done by my order; but if it be seen as it really was, in the light of a temporary work for the defence of a country and its terrified inhabitants in a time of imminent danger, I presume it will appear very different from reestablishing a fort which had been demolished by the King's express orders, as if this act of mine had been contrary to or in disregard of His Majesty's orders. And, my lord, I fear that it must be owing to the unfavourable opinion which your lordship conceives of my administration that it did not readily occur to your lordship that the distress and alarm of which you were apprised at the same time, however they were occasioned, required that step and accounted for it.

As to the information you have received about the boats, I never heard of any destroyed by Mr Conolly or used by anybody or even that there were any capable of being used or destroyed; but I recollect to have seen two or three boats which were said to be the King's lying exposed on the side of the river, every plank entirely rotten and become quite useless. And if any have been destroyed, therefore, it must have been through the negligence of the persons who had the charge of them and who have thought this a convenient though a most dishonest way of accounting for them.

The assertion of the proprietary governor and the intelligence which your lordship informs me you have received through a variety of other channels all spring from the same source: from the malevolence which that gentleman thinks he has cause to manifest towards me. As it may possibly be some prejudice to him, he is highly offended at the part I have taken in putting a stop to his encroachments upon the King's rights

Instead of manifesting any disposition to reconcile the different opinions respecting the disputed boundary between this colony and his province, his mode of proceeding was with no little confidence to exact a full compliance with his demands of this government or we were to suffer the consequences declared in a proclamation, which indeed were terrifying enough, and which I transmit for your lordship's perusal and mention here as I conceive it justifies the proclamation which His Majesty's Council of this colony thought it right to

advise me to issue on that occasion in order to prevent the magistrates upon the frontiers of this colony from being intimidated by that of Mr Penn, and which proclamation your lordship in your letter No. 10 takes notice of. Upon receiving the orders contained in your lordship's letter of 1st of June I issued the proclamation herewith enclosed. Mr Penn thought proper in defiance of His Majesty's orders to publish the counter-proclamation herewith enclosed, and every act of mine on this occasion gives fresh offence, which has been the means of occasioning every species of calumny to be reported about me; and from both letters No. 13 and No. 12 which I have received from your lordship I cannot but fear that it has gained admittance (where only I could not be indifferent about it) to His Majesty and your lordship.

It is an easy matter to make people believe that duty to His Majesty and zeal for his service and interest could not have been my real motive for interfering in this affair but that it proceeded from views of emolument to myself. The Philadelphia papers, and I dare say other means, have been used to make it believed that I acted only in conjunction with a parcel of land-jobbers and not by the advice of His Majesty's Council or by any good authority, the natural inference to be drawn that by such means I am procuring grants of land. The Indian disturbances have been also wonderfully aiding to Mr Penn's purpose and he has not neglected them.

The trade carried on with the Ohio Indians has been almost engrossed by the province of Pennsylvania, which they have drawn to themselves artfully enough, but with what degree of propriety or right I must leave to your lordship's judgement, by repeated treaties held of their own authority and at such times and for such purposes as they think fit. The traders in general are composed of the most worthless subjects such as fail in all other occupations and become in a manner outcasts of society. These men, we have full proof, have made it their constant business to discredit the Virginians (who lie much more convenient for carrying on a trade with these Indians than the Pennsylvanians) and make the Indians consider them in the most odious light. We know that these men have brought the plunder which the Indians carried off in their incursions. If the Indians took skins, they could sell them cheaper than those they got themselves by hunting and at the expense of gunpowder; if horses, they know nothing of their value and anything would purchase them. It was a lucrative trade to those people and the means of it, which were the disturbances between the Indians and the Virginians, were encouraged by them.

It is from these wretches and people principally concerned in the dispute about the boundary that Mr Penn takes the information, upon the ground of which he has not hesitated to cast in a declaration to his Assembly an injurious reflection upon the justice and government of Virginia. And that your lordship may know what sort of men Mr Penn's friends in the part of the country about Pittsburg are, I have had affidavits offered to be made, by men well-credited and well-known, that several of Mr Penn's magistrates in that part of the country had declared they would take my life if they could ever get at me privately. One St Clair, the Clerk of the County in Pennsylvania adjoining Pittsburg, whose emoluments by the great diminution of the county and number of inhabitants occasioned by the authority of this colony's being extended there are diminished in proportion, and who was the man that committed Mr Conolly for exercising his functions as a magistrate under this government in that district and the promoter of all the disturbance which has happened between the two colonies, this man I am well informed is fond of publishing that he has taken care that a representation of all affairs in that country should be carried to His Majesty's ministers. He was formerly in the army and an acquaintance of General Haldimand, with whom I know he has corresponded on this occasion; and it is not therefore



with better information than Mr Penn's, though I cannot suppose his motive as bad, that Mr Haldimand has ventured to transmit to your lordship intelligence, which with respect to Cressop he owns he has not had from any proper authority and of which I make no doubt he will be ashamed when he finds out that there is no Colonel Cressop except an old man of ninety years of age and who is and always was an inhabitant of Maryland: and if the general means the Cressop whose name has been mentioned by me in my relation of the Indian occurrences, he likewise is a Marylander and never was an inhabitant of Virginia.

It is true the mistake in this case does not contradict the fact alluded to or in the least lessen the iniquity of it, but the inaccuracy in this as well as the unfairness in the other piece of intelligence relative to the building of forts and destroying of boats give room to suspect that in the latter the good of the service, and in the former the interest of humanity, were not the only reasons which induced the reporter of them to lay before your lordship. For, if he was actuated by nothing but those honourable and meritorious motives, he would first have intimated these matters to me who alone had the immediate power of remedy in my hands and not, unless he found I neglected his monition, taken the roundabout way of sending them first to your lordship; and therefore they must have been communicated with an intention that in passing through your lordship's hands they might leave an unfavourable impression on your mind of my attention to the principal concerns of the government committed to my care. I transmit to your lordship the copy of a letter which I have thought necessary to write to General Haldimand on this subject.

The desire of not leaving anything unexplained, and of not omitting anything which it was my duty to represent in affairs which must necessarily be interesting to His Majesty, has occasioned me to be very minute; and my anxiety for the removal of the evil opinion, which your lordship's letters No. 13 and No. 12 carries such strong marks of, has led me unavoidably to add so much to the length of my answer to the contents of those particular letters that I can hardly hope your lordship will bestow a patient consideration on the contents of this.

I enclose to your lordship the address of the Council of this colony, the city of Williamsburg, and the College, on my return from the expedition against the Indians, which I hope will be admitted as no small evidence both to destroy the assertion of Mr Penn and to convince His Majesty and your lordship that I have not been careless of the lives of Indians, although I exerted some vigorous measures to put an end to their disputes with His Majesty's subjects, or negligent in any respect of my duty.

My necessary absence on the occasion of the Indian disturbances will, I hope, account and excuse me for my not having acknowledged your lordship's several letters in due time and order and for my not having regularly communicated accounts of the public affairs of the colony to which some of them refer. And I wish I were now so fortunate as to have it in my power to make a representation of their appearing with a more favourable aspect than when I last wrote upon these important concerns.

The Associations, first in part entered into, recommended by the people of this colony and adopted by what is called the Continental Congress, are now enforcing throughout this country with the greatest vigour. A committee has been chosen in every county whose business it is to carry the Association of the Congress into execution, which committee assumes an authority to inspect the books, invoices and all the secrets of the trade and correspondence of merchants, to watch the conduct of every inhabitant without distinction and to send for all such as come under their suspicion into their presence, to interrogate them respecting all matters which at their pleasure they think fit objects of their inquiry, and to stigmatize as they term it such as they find transgressing what they are now

hardy enough to call the laws of the Congress; which stigmatizing is no other than inviting the vengeance of an outrageous and lawless mob to be exercised upon the unhappy victims. Every county besides is now arming a company of men whom they call an independent company for the avowed purpose of protecting their committees and to be employed against government if occasion require. The committee of one county has proceeded so far as to swear the men of their independent company to execute all orders which shall be given them from the committee of their county.

As to the power of government, which your lordship in your letter (No. 11) directs should be exerted to counteract the dangerous measures pursuing here, I can assure your lordship that it is entirely disregarded if not wholly overturned. There is not a Justice of Peace in Virginia that acts except as a Committee-man. The abolishing the courts of justice was the first step taken, in which the men of fortune and preeminence joined equally with the lowest and meanest. The General Court of judicature of the colony is in much the same predicament, for though there are at least a majority of His Majesty's Council who with myself are the judges of that court that would steadily perform their duty, yet the lawyers have absolutely refused to attend nor indeed would the people allow them to attend or evidences to appear. The reason commonly assigned for this proceeding is the want of a Fee Bill which expired at the last session of the Assembly, and it is a popular argument here that no power but the legislature can establish fees; and the Fee Bill's not having been renewed is attributed to the dissolution, but the true cause of so many persons joining in so opprobrious a measure was to engage their English creditors, who are numerous, to join in the clamours of this country, and not a few to avoid paying the debts in which many of the principal people here are much involved.

With regard to the encouraging of those, as your lordship likewise exhorts me, who appeared in principle averse to those proceedings, I hope your lordship will do me the justice to believe I have left no means in my power unessayed to draw all the assistance possible from them to His Majesty's government; but I presume your lordship will not think it very extraordinary that any persuasions should have been unavailing against the terrors which on the other hand are held out by the committees, independent companies etc., so universally supported, who have set themselves up superior to all other authority under the auspices of their Congress, the laws of which they talk of in a style of respect and treat with marks of reverence which they never bestowed on their legal government or the laws proceeding from it. I can assure your lordship that I have discovered no instance where the interposition of government, in the feeble state to which it is reduced, could serve any other purpose than to suffer the disgrace of a disappointment and thereby afford matter of great exultation to its enemies and increase their influence over the minds of the people.

But, my lord, every step which has been taken by these infatuated people must inevitably defeat its own purpose. Their non-importation, non-exportation etc. cannot fail in a short time to produce a scarcity which will ruin thousands of families. The people, indeed, of fortune supply themselves and their Negroes for two or three years but the middling and poorer sort who live from hand to mouth have not the means of doing so, and the produce of their lands will not purchase those necessities (without which themselves and Negroes starve) of the merchants who may have goods to dispose of, because the merchant is prevented from turning such produce to any account. As to manufacturing for themselves, the people of Virginia are very far from being naturally industrious, and it is not by taking away the principal if not the only encouragement to industry that it can be excited, nor is it in times of anarchy and confusion that the foundation of such improvements can be laid. The lower class of people too will discover that they have been duped by the richer sort,

who for their part elude the whole effects of the Association by which their poor neighbours perish. What then is to deter those from taking the shortest mode of supplying themselves? and, unrestrained as they are by laws, from taking whatever they want from wherever they can find it?

The arbitrary proceedings of these committees likewise cannot fail of producing quarrels and dissensions which will raise partisans of government, and I am firmly persuaded that the colony, even by their own acts and deeds, must be brought to see the necessity of depending on its mother country and of embracing its authority.

But, my lord, I must on this occasion venture to give my opinion, notwithstanding the discouragement I am under (by the bad effects to myself which on other occasions it has produced) from delivering it to your lordship.

These undutiful people should be made to feel the distress and misery, of which they have themselves laid the foundation, as soon as possible and before they can have time to find ways and means of supplying themselves. Their own schemes should be turned against them and they should not be permitted to procure underhand what they refuse to admit openly, and above all they should not be permitted to go to foreign ports to seek the things they want. Their ports should be blocked up and their communication cut off by water even with their neighbouring colonies, and this could be done effectually with only one ship of force and a frigate and a couple of tenders. With this, and without any other force or expense, no vessel could stir out of the Bay of Chesapeak or approach any port of Virginia.

The functions of every department of government, which in fact are now entirely obstructed, should be suspended and the governor and all other officers withdrawn. The people, left to themselves and to the confusion that would immediately reign, would I cannot but believe soon become sensible from what source their former happiness flowed and prostrate themselves before the power which they had so lately considered as inimical and treated with contempt. If this effect should be produced, it is easy to conceive the more happy consequences which would be derived from the spontaneous return of duty in the people than from any other cause which should bring the dispute to an issue. And if it should be otherwise, I conceive the authority of legal government would be very little changed from the state in which it is in reality at this present time, and it might be reinstated afterwards with no great difficulty with the consolation to the mother country of having first tried every lenient measure.

In the meantime I must inform your lordship that a vacancy has happened in the Council of this colony by the death of a Mr John Page, the senior of two of the same name who were of that board.

Conformable to my duty, therefore, I return your lordship the names of three gentlemen for your lordship's choice of one to fill the said vacancy: to wit, Charles Carter of Corotoman Esq., Phillip Grymes Esq., and Gowan Corbin Esquire. The first of these has full double the estate of any other man in this colony. He is a gentleman of good education and one of the few who steadily condemns the proceedings of his country. It is this gentleman whom I would entreat your lordship to appoint on this occasion. The second is a young man of very good fortune, has been bred at an English university and is extremely well qualified by his abilities, and by his principles very deserving of this honour. The third is the son of Mr Corbin, the deputy Receiver-General of the quitrents and one of His Majesty's Council, in justice to whose great probity and unshaken zeal and attachment to the Crown which highly deserves every mark of preference that can with propriety be given by government, in justice to this gentleman, if it be not contrary to rule to admit the father and

son to seats at the same time, I recommend his son who is every way well qualified, having been bred at an English university, afterwards studied law and was called to the bar.

Your lordship may have observed that in the last nomination of persons upon a vacancy then in the Council, I recommended a Mr Thomas Nelson, the son of the late President. My reason for not continuing him upon my list at this time I hope will be thought substantial, when your lordship peruses the speech at the head of a printed paper, the *Postscript* to the *Virginia Gazette* herewith transmitted ... which he made on the occasion of choosing delegates for the Congress, from which speech he was thought even too violent to be chosen as one of them; and when I acquaint your lordship that he is a chairman of the committee of the County of York which lately sat in judgement upon a ship of great value which came into York River and happened to have two chests of tea on board, and in which committee it was debated whether the ship should not be burnt but at length determined that she should not be allowed to take any tobacco on board, which was the whole purpose of her voyage, and that there should not ever be shipped any tobacco to her owner though he is said to have £40,000 of debts in this colony, and that the tea, however, should instantly be destroyed, which last part was executed by Mr Thomas Nelson himself.

After this information I hope your lordship will agree with me that this gentleman is not a proper object of His Majesty's favour, at which notwithstanding his behaviour and principles he aspires, having as it is reported here made application through his friends at home to be made a Councillor on this occasion and is confident of succeeding.

I must on this occasion take the liberty to give your lordship a piece of information which I think it necessary you should be made acquainted with.

The people of this colony have long been in the custom of shipping their tobacco to merchants in England who make a considerable profit thereby. These merchants must necessarily be disposed to execute the commands of the planters by whom they acquire great fortunes and to use their interest for them on all occasions. Every vacancy in the Council or in offices in any department is solicited by numbers of people here, always through their merchants, and some one or other of those generally succeeds; the consequence of which is that the people so preferred look upon their preferment as purchased by the benefit which the merchant receives from the trade with them, and the merchant regards it as the obligation to bind the others to continue the trade in their hands. Thus the officer is not in the least sensible of any obligation to government for his employment, and so little does he think himself under the control of it that in this colony some of the officers holding the offices of government are the principal and most rigid Associators, and there are but too few even of the Council, and only the King's Attorney-General of all the officers of government, who have discovered the least disposition to aid government, contenting themselves with not subscribing Associations, but at the same time adhering strictly to them and therefore giving encouragement to them.

I must give your lordship one recent instance of the favour of government, through these means, being bestowed on an object utterly unworthy of it.

Lord North (who by this opportunity I take the liberty to inform of the same particular) did lately at the intercession of a friend of a Mr Norton, a tobacco merchant, give the office of Comptroller of one of the Custom-houses in this government to a son of the Treasurer of this colony, Robert Carter Nicholas. This Treasurer holds his office, the emoluments of which are considerable, by the nomination of the Assembly whose favour for sometime past there seems to be no means of securing but by a disposition constantly to oppose government, of which on all occasions Mr Nicholas manifests himself one of the

greatest enemies, being a principal promoter of the present disturbances and all the dangerous measures which have been pursued and are pursuing by the people of this colony.

The office given to this gentleman's son, besides the discouragement it occasions to people to hope by their great zeal and attachment to merit the favour of government, the father attributes it to the fear which his own high importance creates even among His Majesty's ministers and to their desire of gaining him; theretofore, to remove any jealousy which he imagines may be entertained by the Assembly on this account of his principles, it is his business to allege in his conversations that he has suffered his son to accept the employment only to prevent its being filled by an enemy to the country and he has even published in a newspaper an apology for it, affirming that he had no hand in procuring the office but that it was obtained through some friend of his son without solicitation, and he is careful lest the imputation of a connection with ministry should lie even upon this friend whom he therefore says has no interest with the minister but that he was acquainted with another person who had, and to the application of which other person the appointment of his son is owing.

The son, now Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs, likewise conceives it necessary, to remove the prejudices which his acceptance of an office under government may subject him to, to be the foremost to revile and insult government. He is a very strict Associator and a very active officer in one of the independent companies of which I have already given your lordship an account.

I have not mentioned the behaviour of this father and son to make them considered as fit objects of the resentment or even notice of government, which I by no means think would answer any good purpose, but solely with the design of giving your lordship an instance of the ill effects arising from the appointment of persons to offices by means of merchants and people who apply only from self-interested views, and who never know or consider the principles or qualifications of those whom they recommend.

And here again I hazard my opinion that if the governor was allowed to be the channel through which recommendations for all offices in their governments should, generally at least, be conveyed to His Majesty's ministers, that these effects would be entirely avoided, and that, if the people were taught to consider their governor in a light of more dignity and weight than that in which at present he appears to them and were obliged to look up to him for the favours which they now obtain by means that continually lessen his importance and keeps him from even having any influence among them, he might make friends to government in the country over which he presides, with whose assistance he would be able to carry the orders and regulations entrusted to him successfully into execution.

And I am not without thinking (and people of eminence in this colony concur with me in sentiment) that if it had been thought fit to vest all the power of this nature which this government affords in the hands of the governor, I should have had the means of keeping down if not of totally defeating the attempts of party and faction which have put the public affairs of this colony in the alarming situation in which they actually stand; and the danger of the governor's abusing this power, considering the checks which there are and ought to be over his conduct, is to me entirely imperceptible, but I am of opinion that if he be not fit to be entrusted so far he is utterly unworthy to be employed in a station of so great importance to the state.

The distant residence of the Council in this colony making it at all times difficult to assemble a number sufficient to transact business, it is of consequence, I apprehend, to keep their number complete. At present, besides the vacancy of which I informed your lordship

above, a George William Fairfax, one of our Council, has been in England (and resides in Yorkshire) for above a year and half and seems by directions which he gives concerning his estate in this country not to intend to return for some time, in which case I think it necessary to suggest to your lordship whether it would not be proper to appoint a person supernumerary to act in the absence of Mr Fairfax and who should succeed to the first vacancy, or else to appoint one in the room of that gentleman altogether.

I have just received your lordship's letter of the 5th of October, No. 14.

Source: K.G. Davies (ed.). Documents of the American Revolution - 1770-1783, Volume VIII - 1774. Dublin, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1975, 252-270.

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### DUNMORE'S WAR: AN INTERPRETATION

In this article, Randolph Downes notes that when Virginia declared war on the Shawnee, they were without allies because William and Guy Johnson had successfully isolated them from the Six Nations.

At the close of his "Account of the Rise of the Indian War, 1774," Richard Butler later Indian Commissioner and Agent of the United States, and first Superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote, "These Facts I think was sufficient to bring on a war with a Christian instead of a Savage People, and I do declare it as my opinion that the Shawanese did not intend a war this Season, let their future Intentions be what they might; and I do likewise declare that I am afraid from the Proceedings of the Chief of the White People in this Part of the Country that they will bring on a general war, as there is so little pains taken to restrain the common People whose prejudice leads them to greater lengths than ought to be shown by civilized People, and their Superiors take too little if any pain, and I do real think is much to blame themselves in the whole affair." Charles Lee wrote to Edmund Burke denouncing the conflict as "carried on by the governor of Virginia, at the instigation of two murderers on the frontier, and in spite of the declamation of the whole continent against the injustice of it. It was an impious, black piece of work, --worse, if possible, than the affair of St. Vincent's." Lord Dunmore himself wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth concerning the murders referred to by Lee: "If it had been possible...to convey intelligence of this atrocious Action to me instantaneously, it would have been impossible for me to take any effectual step, in the disposition which the People of the Back-Country were then, to bring these offenders to Justice."

The occasion of this conflict was the attempt by the whites to possess and settle the lands south of the Ohio and west of the Great Kanhawa to which may be applied in the following narrative the general name of "the Kentucky country." These attempts, the first of which was that of the pioneer Boone in 1769, were a direct challenge to the rights of the Shawnee and Cherokee nations to use this land for their hunting. "Now, brothers," the Shawnee Captain Will had admonished Boone and his party, "go home and stay there. Don't come here any more, for this is the Indians' hunting ground, and all the animals, skins and furs are ours; and if you are so foolish as to venture here again you may be sure the wasps and yellow-jackets will sting you severely."

For this was, indeed, the Indians' hunting ground. For that very reason, they experienced a sense of right in regard to their proprietorship fully as real and as sacred as that felt for property by the white intruders. Both races thus had the concept of property

rights, the main difference being, first, that of the property uses on which the rights were based, viz. Hunting on the one hand and farming on the other; and , second, that the Indians considered such rights as vested in the tribe while the whites considered them vested in the individual. To the Indians these rights were quite basic, for hunting was the foundation of their existence. It was sanctified by the Great Spirit. "To the whites," said the Delawares, "the Great Mannitto gave it in charge to till the ground and raise by cultivation the fruits of the earth." But to the Indians "he assigned the nobler employment of hunting, and the supreme dominion over all the rest of the animal creation."

Into this dominion came the conquering whites, confident that in the new country they would discover bottoms more fertile, more extensive, and more numerous than in the hills and mountains of western Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. They came, regardless of all restraint, and contemptuous of the Indians' uses of the lands which they considered wasteful and inferior. As Lord Dunmore said, "They do not conceive that Government has any right to forbid their taking possession of a Vast tract of Country, either uninhabited, or which serves only as a Shelter to a few Scattered Tribes of Indians...whom they consider, as but little removed from the brute Creation."

As they come they slaughtered the game - threatening with extinction the magnificent herds of deer and buffalo and bountiful flocks of wild fowl. Most of the earliest invaders were hunters, like Boone who believed that the industry and privation of the hunt gave them a right to profit by the sale of their peltries in the East. To Sir William Johnson, however, who saw things from the Indian's point of view, such men were "idle fellows that are too lazy to cultivate lands, & invited by the plenty of game they found, have employed themselves in hunting, in which they interfere much more with the Indians than if they pursued agriculture alone, and the Indians hunters... already begin to feel the scarcity this has occasioned, which greatly increases their resentment." The resulting effect of this invasion was aptly summarized in 1774 by a Shawnee, who explained to Alexander McKee, British Indian agent at Pittsburgh, that when the Indians "are disappointed in their hunting, and find the woods covered with the White People, and their hoses, where they used to find their Game, they are foolish enough to make reprisals. "

In the beginning, before they were forced to make reprisals, the Shawnee exhibited marked restraint in dealing with the invaders. In the episode already referred to in 1769, when the Shawnee sent Bonne back home, the Indians merely relieve him and his companions of all their pelts, guns, ammunition, horses, and other appurtenances of the forbidden business, but presented each member of the party "with two pairs of moccasins, a doeskin for patch-leader, a little trading fun, and a few loads of powder and shot, so that they might supply themselves with meat on their way back to the settlements." The whites, however, could not appreciate this generosity, looking upon the Indians' actions as outrageous robbery, and meriting immediate punishment and retaliation.

The first Virginias to enter upon the official and formal occupation of the Kentucky country were prepared, nevertheless, to be more considerate of the Indians' hunting right. Early in 1773, Captain Thomas Bullitt had undertaken to conduct a party of surveyors thither, to make surveys and location of military bounty lands, under the law of Virginia, for authorized warrant holders. On reaching the Ohio, he visited the Shawnee town of Chillicothe, on the Scioto, pledging the Indians, on behalf of the warrant holders, to make compensation for the lands and to permit them, to continue to hunt thereon. "We shall have no objections," he told them, "to your hunting or trapping on it. The Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, in reply, expressed great pleasure "that your directions are to take proper care that we shall not be disturbed in our hunting, for which we stand in need of to buy our clothing."

This was reinforced by the statement of Richard Butler, interpreter at the interview, "They expect you will be friendly with them and endeavor to restrain the hunters from destroying the game, and that the young men who are inclined to hunt will be regulated by the law of the colony in the case. And as I dare say it is not to hunt the land but to cultivate it that you are about settle it, it will be an easy matter to restrain those that would hunt and cause your infant settlement to be disturbed." Bullitt's action, however, was based upon the assumption that the Shawnee had rights south of the Ohio. This assumption ran flatly counter to the official position of the colony of Virginia, of its governor, Lord Dunmore, and of the British Indian department. Bullitt was, therefore, ordered in by the governor.

The Virginian claim to the Kentucky country was based on the treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768 by which the Six Nations of New York and Pennsylvania had ceded to the whites the land south of the Ohio as far west as the Tennessee River. This confederated tribe, which sought, under British protection, to dominate all other tribes of Canada, the Great Lakes, and the Ohio Valley, had made the cession of lands not used by them under pressure of certain influential colonial speculators, in order to keep intact their own holdings in New York and Pennsylvania. As Sir William Johnson expressed it, the Six Nations desired to make the cession the more ample that our people (the whites) should have no pretext of narrow limits, and the remainder might be rendered the more secure to themselves & their posterity."

This left the Shawnee entirely out of consideration. The cession, which meant little directly to the Six Nations and much to the speculators, meant far more to these tribesmen of the Ohio Valley. But there was nothing that could be done about it. The Shawnee were not the original people on these lands, and had settled there with the permission of the Six Nations. Indeed, it was not until as late as 1755 that there were two branches of the tribe, one from the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, and another from an undetermined region south of the Ohio, reunited on and near the waters of the Sioto River. Sir William Johnson summarized the situation accurately when he wrote. "The North Side of the (Ohio) River...is more than they have any title to, having been often moved from place to place by the Six Nations and never having any right of soil there."

Sir William, as superintendent of Indian affairs, had skillfully manipulated this control, by the Six Nations, of the Shawnee lands to his own advantage. In the negotiations preceding the treaty conference, he had been adroit enough to get the Indians to make the first open proposal of the cession. During the conference he had informed the Six Nations, "As what you have proposed about the Boundary is your own free proposition and since you say you are the Owner of all the land you spoke about, I expect never to hear any grumbling about it, and that you will never suffer any other people set up a title to it for if you do, or if any of you attempt to evade it hereafter, you cannot be considered as an honest people." To this the Six Nations had replied that it "was the Unanimous resolution of the Whole Confederacy." After the treaty, when the dissatisfaction of the Shawnee became apparent. Sir William had warned the Six Nations, "I find that there are some of our Dependants who live by your toleration, and who never had any Title to the soil, who talk, as if they were dissatisfied with your Act, or doubted your authority. It I therefor incumbent on you, to see into, and make diligent enquiry about, and to show these people...their Folly." To this the Six Nation had replied, "You very well know, that our title had been all ways Indisputable: As to the pretensions of any inconsiderable people behind our backs, we shall soon silence them, and we now desire, that you may assure the King, that it is our property we justly disposed of, that we had full authority to do so.



The Shawnee were most distracted at this high handed treatment from their superiors. General Gage wrote, "I understand that the Six Nations took all the Purchase Money to themselves, that their claim to the Lands of the Ohio indians is derived from an Antient Right of Conquest; which tho' Acknowledged by the other Nations, they would not see their Lands disposed of to us, without Jealousy and disgust, more particularly as they received little or no Share of the Money paid for them." The result was a seditious attempt among the Shawnee to form a confederacy against to the British. This was quickly divulged to the British Indian Department, which as quickly set the wheels of diplomacy to work to crush it. In the summer of 1771, Sir Williams learned that, after the Shawnee had discovered the cession of 1768, they sent protests (or belts as the Indians called them) to the Six Nations or, more accurately, to the Senecas, the western most tribe of the confederacy The majority of the Senecas refused to listen to the protest and, therefore, failed to pass it on to the rest of the confederates. A portion of them, however under a chief called Gaustarax, looked with favor upon the protest and sent messages to the tribes of the Miami, Wabash, and Illinois country, seeking their support. At this point the plans were betrayed to the superintended. Sir William acted at once and emphatically. A council of the Six Nations was called and they were directed to assemble all the tribes of the Ohio and Illinois country, in order to collect and destroy every belt circulated by Gaustarax. The effort proved to be too ambitious, for it involved the definite recognition by these western nations of the supremacy of the Six Nations. Being in the French sphere of influence, they refused to respond.

In this episode there is to be observed the operation of that most effective weapon of Indian control, the policy of "divide and conquer." Sir William had written, "It is disagreeable circumstance that we must either agree to permit these people (the Indians) to cut each others throats, or risque their discharging their fury on our Traders and defenceless frontiers...but however disagreeable the alternative is, common policy and our own safety requires it." In this alternative he was supported by the British Cabinet, by which he was informed, through Lord Hillsborough, that "those natural enmities and jealousies which subsist between one nation and another, if left to have their own operation without any interfering on our part are a full security against any hostilities which (they well know) must in the end terminate in their own destrucion, & which therefore they will never attempt." This was the prospect that the Shawnee faced in 1773, as the test of the issue drew nigh with the approach of the white surveyors and settlers to their Kentucky hunting grounds. Lord Dartmouth, successor to Hillsborough, described the situation with suprising frankness in 1773, when he informed Sir William, "I still fear, that, unless the ground of their jealousy & discontent could be effectually removed, which I am sensible it now can not, an Indian War is an evil which sooner or later we must submit to; and the only comfort I have under this apprehension is in the assurance you give me that you shall be able to convince those Indians who are endeavoring to create this Confederacy, that we have a sufficient number (of tribes) who are well attached to his Majesty's Interest, and who will be eager on such an occasion to give testimony of their fidelity and attachment."

This isolation of he Shawnee was accentuated by the neglect of the colonial governors and legislatures to devise ways and means to preserve law and order on the frontier. It had originally been the intention of British policy to create a new colony called Vandalia out of part of the Six Nations' cession west of the mountains. "The establish of a of a Government there," wrote sir William, "will in the end prove a prudential measure, and in proportion to its powers appears to the Indians as the most necessary check that could have been given to the unrestrained licentiousness which prevailed long before the cession, (and) was daily gathering strength." The Shawnee themselves looked with favor upon the

proposed colony, and stated to Sir William's deputy at Pittsburgh, Alexander McKee, that they "hoped that the person appointed to govern there would prove a wise man and restrain the abusers in Trade & irregularities committed by the Frontier Inhabitants." But whatever possibility there was that this new colony would assume satisfactorily the burdens of control shirked by the others, was never to be known, for, at the eleventh hour, the promulgation of the Vandalia charter was suspended as the result of the outbreak of revolutionary violence at Boston in December, 1773

The only reliances, therefore, in 1774, were the seaboard governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The former was still unwilling to devote any attention to western affairs, while the latter was under the control of the governor, Lord Dunmore, whose interest was primarily to protect the frontiersmen in their aggressive ambitions. His Lordship confessed the injustice of these to the Indians, but found himself unable to do anything for them on account of the legislature's unwillingness to make the necessary expenditures. "I was then (in 1770)," he wrote in 1774, "as I am still, of opinion that it were best not to extend any Settlements beyond the limits of the colonies as they stood then." He had sought, therefore, he stated, to enforce the law against squatters, "nor, with regard to Grants, has any infringement of it been made, or Settlement either that the power of this Government could prevent. But...I have learnt from experience that the established Authority of any government in America and the policy of Government at home, are both insufficient to restrain the Americans, and that they do and will remove as their avidity and restlessness incite them. They acquire no attachment to place, But wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature; and it is a weakness incident to it, that they Should for ever imagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already Settled." There were only three conceivable ways, therefore, to deal with the situation. One was "to Suffer these Emigrants to hold their Lands of, and incorporate with the Indians; the dreadful consequence of which may be easily for seen." Another was to permit them to form a Set of Democratical Government of their own, upon the backs of the Old Colonies; a Scheme which, for a obvious reason, I apprehend cannot be allowed to be carried into execution.' The only thing, therefore, that cold be done was to adopt the third alternative and to take these these frontiersmen "under the protection of Some of His Majesty's Governments already established." This was, of course, a complete surrender by the government to the land hungry frontiersmen and speculators.

Dunmore's War was thus brought on by the whites, with the consciousness or subconsciousness of guilt on the part of their titular leader. In 1774 they descended into the Kentucky country to take possession. The first invaders were a party under the direct management of Captain John Floyd and were organized under the authority of Colonel William Preston, surveyor of Fincastle County in which the Kentucky country then lay. It was announced to the public by a notice appearing in the *Maryland Gazette*, addressed to claimants or their agents who had official and approved warrants for land, and instructed them to rendezvous at the mouth of the Kanawha River on April 14. They were informed that 'to prevent insults from strolling parties of Indians, there ought to be at least fifty men on the river.' The expedition assembled and cautiously proceeded down the river in the face of direct warnings from the Shawnee. It was no, however until late in July that a section of the party was surprised by the Shawnee on the Kentucky River, their camp plundered, and several members killed. The expedition scattered, some returning home by way of New Orleans, others coming directly overland by the Wilderness trail.

While Floyd's expedition had been assembling at the mouth Kanawha in April, an unofficial party, including George Rogers Clark, held rendezvous further up the Ohio at the

mouth of the Little Kanawha. Their object was, according to Clark, to descend the river in a body to make "a settlement in Kentucky." Between eighty and ninety had set out in this party when news was brought in that an advance group of their hunters had been fired on near the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This was the usual warning from the Indians, but the party accepted it as a challenge, and resolved to conduct an expedition overland into the Shawnee country to surprise and destroy one of their towns. They selected as their leader the Maryland Indian fighter, Captain Michael Cresap, who was also planning to locate in Kentucky that year. When Cresap joined them, however, he advised them to desist as it would bring on a general war, for which they should be blamed "and perhaps justly." As it was still early in the spring, he recommended a return to Wheeling "to hear what was going forward," in the hope that the government of Virginia might in the mean time make arrangements with the Indians for the peaceful occupation of the Kentucky country.

The government of Virginia was represented at this time by Dr. John Connolly who had been commissioned justice of the peace of Augusta County and sent to Pittsburgh to establish the government, on the assumption that this region fell within the boundaries of Virginia. The time was ripe for such action because the expected establishment of the Vandal colony had just been postponed, and Pennsylvania was traditionally slow in assuming any responsibilities for the preservation of order in the West. As Crawford informed Washington in January, "It is now without doubt that the new government is fallen through, and that Lord Dunmore is to take charge of so much of this quarter as falls out of Pennsylvania." Moreover, since 1772, the British had withdrawn troops from Ft. Pitt, and dismantled the fort itself, leaving the fur traders and the settlers to solve their conflicts uncurbed by government. In the interests of the restoration of order, Connolly set about organizing the militia, reconstructing and renaming the new Ft. Dunmore, and negotiating with the Indians in support of the surveying and settling ventures being carried into Kentucky under the official auspices and protection of Virginia.

It was these negotiations that had led Cresap to advise the return of the Kentucky-bound settlers to Wheeling in the expectation of a peaceful adjustment. When they arrived at Wheeling, however, the news they received from Pittsburgh was not reassuring. A message soon came in from Connolly that a war with the Indians was feared, but requesting them to refrain from further advances, pending developments. A few days later the situation seems to have changed for the worse, for another message arrived from Connolly that showed the expected peaceful adjustment to be a false hope. In this, Connolly stated that he "had been informed, by good authority, that the Shawanese were ill disposed towards white men, and that he, therefore, required and commanded them to hold themselves in readiness to propel any insults that might be offered to them." Clark says that this letter informed Cresap that "the message had returned from the Indians that war was inevitable, and begging him to use his influence with the party to get them to cover the country by scouts until the inhabitants could fortify themselves."

The sources for this crucial message from Connolly are vague. However, it would seem that Connolly had made contact with the Shawnee who, finding that Connolly's terms were for the unconditional occupation of Kentucky, in contrast with Bullitt's terms of the year before, indicated that they would oppose being deprived of their hunting rights unless proper compensation was made to them. This interpretation was evidently in the mind of Cresap's party at Wheeling, who saw the fading of the visions of their Kentucky home-seeking venture, for, Clark says of Connolly's letter "the reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. A new post was planted, a council was called and the letter read by Cresap. All the Indian traders being summoned on so important an

occasion, action was had and war declared in the most solemn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into camp." Another contemporary wrote that "this letter fell into the hands of Cresap, and he says that it was in consequence of this letter, and the murder committed by the Cherokees on Mr. Butler's people, that he committed the hostilities" that led to the Shawnee War.

Connolly's letter was, therefore, the signal for the opening of a series of attacks upon all Indians near the Ohio that could be found within convenient distance from Wheeling. The first was an attack upon a trading canoe of William Butler, brother to Richard Butler, while it was descending the Ohio. The canoe contained a white man, a Shawnee and a Delaware, the latter two of whom were killed near Wheeling creek by shots from a party concealed in the dense underbrush along the river bank. The white survivor, a man named Stephens, was rescued from the river by Cresap's party which strangely enough happened to be near by. Although Cresap professed ignorance of the party that did the shooting, Stephens was "well convinced that the above murder was done by some of said Cresap's associates," a conviction that was shared by most contemporaries. The next day the news was brought to Cresap that five canoes of Shawnee were descending the river from Pittsburgh. Collecting fifteen men, Cresap pursued and overtook them near Grave Creek. Here a skirmish took place in which one Shawnee Chief and one white man were killed and considerable plunder taken from the canoes abandoned by the Indians.

But the most brutal and disgusting episode in this series of unprovoked attacks on innocent and unsuspecting Indians was that which took place on May 3 at the Mingo town up the river from Wheeling, near what is now Steubenville, Ohio. Here there was a more or less permanent camp, inhabited at this time by a group of Indian women, children, and old men belonging to the Six Nations, but called Mingoies. Their leader was the celebrated chief and orator, Logan, who, on the day of the attack, was absent with his warriors on the hunt. These Indians had committed less offense than the Shawnee because they were of the Six Nations who made no claim to the lands south of the Ohio, and therefore did not hunt there. According to Clark, after the second attack on the Shawnee, Cresap's party had resolved to attack Logan's camp, but, after setting out, their consciences got the best of them and they abandoned the attempt. But on the Virginia side of the Ohio, across from the camp, was the farm of a white settler named Baker. For some time amicable relations had been maintained between the two settlements, the Indians often crossing the river to get liquor and other articles for the elders and milk for the infants. On the morning of May 3, there was assembled at Baker's a group of frontiersmen, the guiding spirit among whom seemed to be a man named Daniel Greathouse. During the day a party of four Mingoies, two men and two squaws crossed the river. It seems that these Mingoies were angry over an affair that had taken place the day before in which three whites had shot at two Mingoies on the Indian side of the Ohio not far from the Mingo village. The whites had crossed the river "to examine land" and, at night, had surprised two Indians in the act of making off with one of their horses. Both Indians had been fired upon. Just what happened the next day when this party of four arrived at Baker's is hard to tell. All chroniclers agree that most of the Indians were made drunk. Several refer to the fact that they were disarmed by being invited to partake in a contest of shooting at a mark. All agree that at the time of the murders the whites shot first; in fact, the Indians were unable to return the fire. One chronicler states that the occasion for the first shot was the refusal of a drunken Indian to return a military coat, belonging to a white, in which he was swaggering around exclaiming "I am white man." At any rate, before the smoke had cleared, all four of the Indians, men and women alike, had met the same fate. Twice during the day canoes had crossed the river to join or inquire for

their comrades, and in each case had been met with gunfire. Before the day was over at least eight Indians had been killed, one of whom was the sister of Logan, and mother to the papoose she was carrying on her back whose father was John Gibson, later Revolutionary hero and secretary and acting governor of Indiana Territory.

The better sentiment of the country was shocked and mortified by this atrocious act. However, none but the Mingoes themselves dared to lift a finger in their defense. Not even the Shawnee were willing as a nation to go to their aid as Logan organized a party to take vengeance on the English traders to the Shawnee towns who, at the moment, were packing their skins on the Hocking River. Indeed, the Shawnee, in spite of two attacks on their tribesmen in which one of their chiefs had been killed, now rose to the occasion to protect these traders of whom Richard Butler was one. They sent out five tribesmen to the camp on the Hocking to guide the traders back to the Shawnee towns informing the Mingoes that, "they had brought the traders amongst them, and were determined to protect them in their bosoms until they could return safe home; and that if the Mingoes could not be satisfied without taking revenge upon the white people for the loss they had sustained, that they must look for it at a greater distance than in their towns upon the people whom they had pledged their faith to preserve." Having brought the traders into safety at their towns, the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, now organized a party to protect the traders in their hazardous return journey to Pittsburgh. With them he sent messages to McKee, deputy Indian Superintendent, complaining of the murders of their own men as well as of the Delaware and Mingoes, but announcing the Shawnee's determination to be quiet till they knew "what you meant." He requested that McKee represent the peaceful disposition of the Shawnees to the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who were urged to put a stop to such "Doings for the Future." He likewise requested that Connolly "endeavor to stop such foolish people from the like doings for the future."

But McKee had little influence with the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, to say nothing of Connolly. Indeed, the latter refused to receive the Shawnee messengers and issued orders for their arrest. Fearing that such an attempt would result in bloodshed, the traders, led by the Butler brothers, spirited the Indians across the river just as Connolly's militia appeared to arrest them. The Shawnee, oblivious of these belligerent movements by Connolly, and rewarded for their fidelity by liberal goods, distributed at the traders' expense, descended the Ohio on their return home. When they encamped at Beaver Creek, they were suddenly surprised by Connolly's militia, who fired on the Indians, wounded one and finally retreated, as St. Clair says, "in the most dastardly manner."

But still the Shawnee held back. Although they denounced as "lies" Connolly's hypocritical assurances that the legislature of Virginia would instruct the frontiersmen "to be kind and friendly" towards them, they promised not to take any notice of what the whites had done to them. They only asked for the whites "not to take any notice of what our young men may now be doing." So satisfied was McKee, at Pittsburgh, with the Shawnee's conduct that he wrote on June 10, "To do the *Indians* justice, they have given great proofs of their pacific disposition, and have acted with more moderation than those who ought to have been more rational."

The relatives and friends of the murdered Shawnee, however, clamored for revenge, or at least for a right to be heard in council. A council of the head-men of the tribe was, therefore, assembled at Waketomeka on the Muskingum, where the chiefs, according to an unidentified chronicler, were "strong enough to prevail over their rash and foolish men who wanted to take revenge upon the white people for their loss." Their decision was not unanimous however. The dissenters consisted of thirteen men, "friends to the Indians that

suffered, and cannot be restrained, though their chiefs did everything in their power to prevent them from the bad undertaking." The only concession they would make was that "as soon as they have taken revenge for their people, and returned...they would then set down and listen to their Chiefs." The only hope of the Shawnee chiefs was in a favorable reception of their request for the whites not to take notice of what their young men might then be doing. In this they were, of course, disappointed. For, with the memory of their deceased comrades urging them on, this small dissenting party joined with the Mingo and, during the first weeks of June, conducted a series of raids on innocent and unsuspecting families in which thirteen lives were taken in retaliation for the thirteen Indians who, according to the Indian count, had been similarly murdered by the whites. The Shawnee nation had now to pay for the actions of thirteen of its members.

Orders, therefore, were sent out by Lord Dunmore on June 10, that, since the Mingo and Shawnee attacks provided "good grounds to believe that hopes of a pacification can be no longer entertained," the county militia of western Virginia should be embodied. They were ordered to protect the Ohio River boundary from further incursions by the erection of forts at strategic points on the river and by the sending out of scouts to detect the movements of the Indians. The result was the collection of the frontier militia at three points on the Ohio, that is, at Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and the mouth of the Kanawha, where forts were quickly constructed. These forts would, if properly garrisoned and equipped with scouting parties, block all attempts of the Indians to cross the Ohio River boundary and thus maintain the basic contention of Virginian policy.

Gradually, however, the defensive aspect of these military preparations gave way to plans for the invasion of the Indian country. The reason for this was, strangely enough, not to be found in any added provocation from the Indians, but in the expense involved in maintaining such an elaborate defense. As Lord Dunmore said, "The Expense of the Numerous scouting Parties in the Different Counties forming an Expensive (expansive) Frontere Will soon exceed the Expences of an Expedition against their Towns which will be more effectual." It was natural that the militia would be anxious to invade the Indian country and rely on plunder than to do garrison and scout duty and to rely on vague promises of pay from the Virginia legislature. Besides, the legislature would, no doubt, be more liberal with the Indians' horses, grain, and skins than with their own money. As Colonel William Preston said in his call for volunteers, "The house of Burgesses will without all doubt enable his Lordship to reward every Vollunteer in a handsome manner, over and above his pay, and the plunder of the Country will be vulluable, & it is said the Shawnee have a great Stock of Horses."

The result is well known. From Wheeling, Major Angus McDonald led an expedition into the Muskingum Valley and destroyed the Shawnee town of Waketomica and six Mingo villages. At the Kanawha, however, offensive measures were checked by the rapid mobilization of the Shawnee, who won a moral victory at the battle of Point Pleasant by preventing Colonel Andrew Lewis' troops from crossing the Ohio to join Lord Dunmore's army to destroy their towns at once as had been planned. Their masterly retreat across the Ohio, which they concealed from the whites, after having discovered they were out matched, won even admiration of contemporary whites. Subsequent invasion was, of course, prevented by the surrender by the Shawnee at Camp Charlotte, of the principle point at issue, namely, the right to hunt in Kentucky.

In concluding this tragic chronicle, there is one more significant factor to take into account. This is the absence of the Delaware and Iroquois nations on the battlefields of 1774. This isolation of the Shawnee nation. Already used effectively to quell Shawnee unrest

in 1774, had been accomplished by the British Indian Department, which boast in December 1774. that the Virginians owed their success "to the address by which the Northern Indians have been hitherto prevented from assisting their dependants, for I can affirm with confidence that had the Six Nations been permitted to afford their aid to these people, the whole frontiers and Trade, would have severely suffered."

It had been no easy task for Sir William Johnson and his successor, Guy Johnson, to accomplish this diplomatic isolation of the Shawnee during the months before this statement was made. The Six Nations throughout the war voiced their complaints and apprehensions of white aggressions. In July, as the war was about to break, they warned Sir William, "We gave up a great deal of land (at the treaty of Ft. Stanwix) which we did not expect you'd be suddenly overspread with people, but we now see with concern that they do not even confine themselves within their limits, which must end in troubles. We therefore beg that they may be restrained, and bought under some Government." In October, the Six Nations were greatly alarmed at the size of the army and the expense of the preparations against the Shawnee and again warned the English, "As these people (the Shawnee) are few in number, so large & expensive a body may confirm the reports that circulate amongst the Indians of a general design against their liberties which may produce very serious effects or at least interest many Warriors in the defense of a people whom they consider as a first victims in a common cause." A month later the Mohawk, Brant, likewise warned Guy Johnson, "Now Brother, as we take so much pains we expect the English will take some also; that the people of Virginia who are white Men, and supposed to be under command, will stop their hands, bury their Axe and not invade any part of our country. This & this only, Brother, can make us easy." And finally Guy Johnson, in December, informed Lord Dartmouth, "The invasion of the Shawanese Country by Virginia, is very alarming to them (the Six Nations)." The rumor was abroad that the Shawnee had been forced to give up lands north of the Ohio. If this were so, he said, the Shawnee will 'probably excite the later (Six Nations) to regard it as an invasion of their rights in which light it will be too readily considered, as the Shawanese have no title, or pretensions to treat about lands.

Thus the Johnsons were diligent in reassuring the Six Nations throughout 1774 that all would be well. They, of course, knew that the Six Nations could not support the Shawnee claims to the Kentucky country that they had ceded to the whites at Ft. Stanwix in 1768. In July, the Six Nations were assembled at the great council fire at Ononaga where Sir William Johnson convince them "that it was their duty and interest to calm their people" and "to divert the attention of the other Tribes near Ohio from the Shawanese who depend entirely on their support, and thro' them have endeavored to effect that general but dangerous union they have long had in view." He thus sought to emphasize the role of these people as troublemakers, whose foolish aggressiveness had brought upon them the merited vengeance of the whites. They were "a troublesome people, who have been so long engaged in mischief, that they at length excited the resentment of some Frontier Virginians, who struck them and fled, whilst without waiting for redness, they (the Shawnee) fell on the innocent inhabitants, contrary to the ancient rules, and practices subsisting between us, and now want you to countenance them in their Wickedness."

The British adroitly chided the Six Nations in an attempt to shame them into neutrality or even intervention against the Shawnee. Sir William sought to convince the Six Nation that their failure to subdue these tribes would be a forfeiture of their claims to supremacy over all the Indians. If they did not do this he told them, "your Reputation as a powerful Confederacy will greatly suffer in the Eyes of the English." Consequently the Seneca chief, Kayashota, undertook, during August, to conduct a party to the Shawnee

country to bring these Indians to their senses. In spite of the Shawnee protests that they were not the aggressors, Kayashota solemnly summoned them to attend in the fall a grand council at Onondaga of all the northern nations including the Seven Nations of Canada. Thereupon the meeting at Onandaga in November to present the Shawnee cause and to appeal to their sense of fair play. But the omniscience of the British was too much for the distracted Shawnee. Hearing of the Shawnee intentions, Guy Johnson, early in September, "dispatched some persons of Weight & Character with proper Belts thro' all the Confederacy, advising them to shut their ears against those who might endeavor to seduce them from their engagements." "My Messengers," Johnson continued, "fortunately arrived at Onondaga before the Shawanese Deputys, which proved a great check to those who were inflamed by the late losses; The result was that the Shawanese Depy were told, they must expect no assistance from them." Even when the Shawnee turned for help to the tribe on the Wabash, the Six nations countered by sending their own delegates to that country recommending that they remain at peace. In short, as Guy Johnson bluntly phrased it, the Shawnee "must sue for peace finding themselves unsupported by the Six Nations." The implication was, of course, that as the Six Nations decide, so also would their peaceful dependents, the Delawares, who inhabited the country between the Shawnee and the Six Nations.

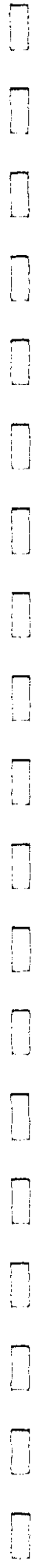
Source: Randolph C. Downes. "Dunmore's War: An Interpretation." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI (1934), 319-323.

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**EVE OF THE  
REVOLUTION**



## NEW WORLDS FOR ALL: INDIAN AMERICA BY 1775

In the prologue to his book, The American Revolution in Indian Country, Colin Calloway sketches the complex, interconnected world of Indian and Colonial societies, and notes that the growing tension between the two groups in 1775 was about to break.

In the summer of 1775, as news of the opening conflicts in the American Revolution spread west, a young Englishman recently arrived from Derbyshire in search of good land traveled to the "Indian country" of the Ohio Valley. Nicholas Cresswell went with a party that consisted of two Englishmen, two Irishmen, a Welshman, two Dutchmen, two Virginians, two Marylanders, a Swede, an African, and a mulatto. On August 27, Cresswell visited a mission town of Moravian Delawares at Wal-hack-tap-poke or Schönbrunn, a settlement of sixty log houses covered with clapboards, arranged along neatly laid-out streets, and a meeting house with a bell and glass windows. The parson preached through an interpreter, the Indian congregation sang hymns in Delaware, and the service was conducted with "the greatest regularity, order, and decorum, I ever saw in any place of Worship in my life." Four days later, Cresswell was at the Delaware town of Coshocton, where he participated in an Indian dance. The beating of drums, the gourd rattles, the rattling of deer hooves on the knees and ankles of the male dancers, and the jingling of the women's bells struck Cresswell's ears as "the most unharmonious concert that human idea can possibly conceive," and the sight of an "Indian Conjuror" in a mask and bear skin was "frightful enough to scare the Devil."

Indian America by 1775 was a landscape of cultural polyphony, or more accurately perhaps, cultural cacophony, a country of mixed and mixing peoples. Cresswell's brief sojourn among the Delawares exposed him to some of Indian country's diversity and to its mixture of change and continuity. He saw Indians who wore European clothes but retained traditional loincloths and nose rings. He noted that they had learned to curse from Europeans, observed that white traders cheated them blind whenever they could, lamented the destructive effects of alcohol, and learned that smallpox had "made terrible havoc." He traveled with Indian girls who served as guides during the day and bedfellows at night. He witnessed Indian orators in council, and became something of an ethnographic observer. He had "been taught to look upon these beings with contempt," but instead developed "a great regard for the Indians" and felt "a most sensible regret in parting from them." Three months in a changing Indian world changed a visiting Englishman.

The next year, a New Jersey captain in Iroquois country was struck, as Cresswell had been among the Delawares, by the contrast between the quiet and orderly church services of the Oneidas, and the noise, drumming, and chanting of Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga ceremonies. Many Oneidas by this time were Presbyterians, although traditional beliefs and rituals survived intact. Some people were literate in both English and Iroquoian. Some Oneida children attended school, many Oneidas were skilled carpenters and farmers, and trade with Europeans was a major economic activity.

Other Indian communities throughout the eastern woodlands displayed similar blends of old and new. Single-family log cabins had replaced, or coexisted with, traditional wigwams and communal longhouses. At the mission village of Lorette on the Saint Lawrence, for example, the Huron Indians "built all their houses after the French fashion." In New England, Indian families who still lived in wigwams likely had their share of European-manufactured household goods, and even European-style furniture. The palisaded villages of the seventeenth century had often given way to more open and

dispersed settlements in which kin groups settled near their fields and livestock rather than around the hamlets; sometimes they were large multiethnic trading centers.

Indian America had always experienced changes, of course, but their tempo and impact increased dramatically after the arrival of European and African people, producing what James Merrell has aptly described as a “new world” for Native Americans. “It is strange what revolution has happened among them in less than two hundred years,” remarked Hector De Crèvecoeur. At first contact, America was what John Winthrop called a land “full of Indians.” By the end of the colonial period, the Indians of the eastern woodlands numbered perhaps 150,000 people in a world teeming with immigrants. Most who survived did so by adjusting in some measure to Europeans and their ways.

Adjusting to Indian country and Indian people also created a new world for the newcomers. Like the rest of colonial America, Indian country was an arena in which a “kaleidoscope of human encounters” generated a web of cultural exchanges as Indians, Africans, and Europeans made what T. H. Breen has called “creative adaptations” to new places and new peoples. Those Indians, Africans, and Europeans were not representatives of monolithic groups, but individuals of different ethnicity, geography, gender, and status. “Indians” were Abenakis, Delawares, Senecas, and Cherokees; “Africans” were Ibos, Ashantis, and Yorubas; “Europeans” were Swedes, Germans, Scots, Irish, and English – and Englishmen from London were very different from Englishmen from Cornwall or Yorkshire.

Mohawks shared their villages with individuals from other tribes, and their valley home with people of Dutch, German, Scottish, Irish, and English descent. Delawares lived alongside Swedes and Finns before Germans, Scotch-Irish and Welsh settled their lands. Franco-Indian communities and individuals persisted long after the collapse of New France. Catholic Indians often spoke French and bore French names, wearing crucifixes as well. Cosmopolitan French communities that embraced both Indians and blacks dotted the landscape from the Saint Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. Non-Indians lived and trespassed in Indian country, with or without the Indians’ consent. Scotch-Irish borderers competed with Cherokee and Shawnee hunters in the latter’s traditional hunting territories; Cherokee and Shawnee villages were home to Scots and Irish Indian agents; adopted white captives took their place in the kinship network of Indian societies. Runaway slaves added an African strand to the fabric of southeastern Indian communities. People who intruded on Indian country often pursued their own independence from eastern authorities and rendered ineffective much of colonial and early national Indian policy.

Indian people likewise participated in shaping colonial and revolutionary American society. They served in colonial armies as soldiers and scouts, traveled to colonial capitals as ambassadors, attended colonial colleges as students, walked the streets of colonial towns as visitors, came to settlements as peddlers, and worked as slaves, servants, interpreters, guides, laborers, carpenters, whalers, and sailors. The proximity and interconnectedness of Indian and colonial communities throughout large areas of North America gave the backcountry warfare of the Revolution a face-to-face nature that heightened its bitterness.

The “changes in the land” described by William Cronon in colonial New England were replicated with variations on other frontiers in the wake of European contact. Ecosystems, like cultures, experience perpetual change, and Indian people had been clearing and cultivating fields for hundreds of years before Europeans arrived. But the colonists, and in the South their African slaves, introduced new plants, new techniques of forestry, new agricultural practices, and domesticated livestock, which generated far-reaching changes in the physical world Indian people inhabited. Indians in Maryland had complained to the

General Assembly in the seventeenth century that the colonists' cows ate their corn. "Your hogs & Cattle injure Us," they said. "We Can fly no farther let us know where to live & how to be secured for the future from the Hogs & Cattle." Later generations of Indian people incorporated cows and pigs into their economies. Old World grazing animals not only contributed to deforestation; they also brought new grasses like Kentucky bluegrass. English colonists in the south found Indians cultivating peach trees, introduced by Spaniards and diffused northward along native trade routes, as if they were indigenous to the region. Charles Woodmason noted that the Carolina backcountry had begun to "wear a new face" by the 1760s as colonists carved farms and fields out of the forest.

For thousands of Indian people, the new world that Europeans created was also a graveyard. European and African people brought with them lethal diseases common in the Old World but unknown in America. Smallpox, plague, measles, influenza, pneumonia, tuberculosis, diphtheria, yellow fever, and a host of new diseases took hold in Indian America and produced one of human history's greatest biological catastrophes. Whole communities perished. Others lost 50 percent, 75 percent, or 90 percent of their population. Recurrent epidemics of the same or different diseases prevented population recovery. European travelers in Indian country saw abandoned villages and met stunned survivors. The new world of death even produced changes in burial practices. Not all Native American populations dropped at the same rate in the wake of European invasion; in the lower Mississippi Valley, among the Creeks, and in some areas of the Great Lakes, Indian populations were actually on the rise in the eighteenth century, in part because they absorbed refugees from other areas. Nevertheless, European invaders confronted Indian people whose capacity to resist often had been seriously eroded before they laid eyes on the enemy. British Indian superintendent Sir William Johnson had the Mohawks inoculated against smallpox, but "contagious Distempers" continued to thin Iroquois numbers. Most Europeans simply accepted the slaughter; but on at least one occasion the British actively promoted it. When two Delawares came into Fort Pitt for talks during Pontiac's War in 1763, "we gave them two Blankets and an Handkerchief out of the Smallpox Hospital," wrote William Trent in his journal. "I hope it will have the desired effect." It did.

The new world that emerged in the wake of European contact was also one of unprecedented violence. Social disruption created random individual violence; warfare reached new levels of intensity. Indians fought each other for access to European guns, then turned the guns on their enemies with deadly effect. Increasingly dependent upon European allies for the goods and guns vital to survival in a dangerous new world, they found it difficult if not impossible to avoid becoming involved in the wars for empire waged in North America. George Morgan, American Indian agent at Fort Pitt, knew that Indian neutrality in the Revolution was unlikely: "They have long been taught by contending Nations to be bought & sold." Intertribal warfare escalated and, again, Europeans sometimes worked to curtail it, sometimes actively encouraged it as part of a "divide and conquer" strategy.

Endemic warfare disrupted normal patterns of life. Communities that diverted their manpower into war felt the repercussions in lost sons and husbands, in reduced economic productivity and increased dependence on allies, in disrupted ceremonial calendars and neglected rituals, and in diplomatic chaos and political upheaval. War became normal, and the warrior culture that was ingrained in many societies as they battled their Indian and European enemies created a stereotype of Indians as warlike, which in European eyes justified treating them as "savages." In some societies, the influence of women declined as Europeans dealt exclusively with males as the hunters and warriors; in others, women's

traditional roles escaped relatively undisturbed and provided a much-needed measure of stability.

In a world of escalating violence, war chiefs rose in status as civil chiefs lost influence. Richard White has painstakingly reconstructed the attempts of French and Algonkian people living in the Great Lakes region in the late seventeenth century to create a "middle ground" of common understanding and accommodation in a world of upheaval. Chiefs struggled to maintain peace, knowing that the alternative to coexistence and mutual dependency was a bloodbath. First the French, then the British, learned that success in this middle-ground world required mediation, moderation, and generosity, not force and coercion. But the Franco-Indian alliance unraveled as the Ohio Valley, once a haven between empires, became an imperial battleground, and chiefs found it increasingly difficult to control their warriors.

Warriors now made commitments that undermined the consensus politics that traditionally guarded against rash decisions. Seneca warriors who traveled to see Sir William Johnson in the spring of 1762 explained that their sachems had not made the trip because the roads were very bad, but informed the superintendent, "We, are in fact the People of Consequence for Managing Affairs, our Sachims being generally a parcell of Old People who say Much, but who Mean or Act very little, So that we have both the power & Ability to settle Matters." New leaders emerged as villages and bands coalesced in the reshuffling of population that European contact generated. Opportunists sometimes generated political fragmentation of their own: "We have been unhappy in loosing our old Chiefs who Conducted our affairs," said Pitchibaon, a Potawatomi chief in 1773; "we who are appointed in their place are no more listened to, every one sets up for Chief and make Towns and Villages apart."

Chiefs who lacked traditional sanction often assumed influential roles as intermediaries and brokers with European colonists; older village chiefs found that these same roles offered new sources of authority. As traditional bases of power weakened, European agents and traders cultivated client chiefs, giving them medals and gifts to buy and bolster their support. Chiefs always had acted as redistribution agents, maintaining influence no by accumulating wealth but by giving it away, thereby earning respect and creating reciprocal obligations. The gifts client chiefs gave now came from European backers and represented their sole source of influence; without allies to supply them they often fell from power. By the eve of the Revolution, British Indian superintendent John Stuart was virtually appointing chiefs among the Choctaws, where traditional patterns and functions of leadership had collapsed amid a European scramble for allies within the nation. He handed out medals to Choctaw and Chickasaw chiefs at the Mobile congress in 1765; at the same congress in 1772 he convened the Choctaws to fill vacancies in the ranks of Britain's client chiefs created by war and old age:

The competition and anxiety of the candidates for medals and commissions was as great as can be imagined and equalled the struggles of the most aspiring and ambitious for honours and preferment in great states. I took every step to be informed of characters and filled the vacancies with the most worthy and likely to answer the purposes of maintaining order and the attachment of this nation to the British interest.

Such interference further undermined traditional leadership structures: two years later Stuart was complaining that chiefs lacked the influence to control their young men. The inroads of alcohol also deafened young men to the wisdom of their elders, and sachems lamented their inability to control their warriors in this new world of chaos and opportunity.

Challenges to traditional authority and declining political deference were not unique to colonial white society in the years before the Revolution.

The pressures unleashed by European invasion threw the jigsaw map of Indian America into the air, and Indian people tried to rearrange the falling pieces into some kind of coherent world. Ancient communities collapsed; new, multiethnic communities grew up out of the ruins of shattered societies. New villages grew up around French missions on the banks of the Saint Lawrence as Abenakis and other people from New England pulled back from the northward-pushing English frontier. Iroquois towns seemed to absorb all comers. Shawnees, Delawares, and Senecas who turned their back on colonial society and resettled the upper Ohio Valley early in the eighteenth century acquired new identities as little-known "Ohio Indians." In the Great Lakes region, the Ohio and Susquehanna valleys, and the Sough Carolina Piedmont, remnant groups, their old identities often all but lost to history, amalgamated. Europeans identified the new polyglot societies as "tribes." By the time William Bartram traveled through the South on the eve of the Revolution, the loose Creek Confederacy consisted of "many tribes, or remnants of conquered nations united." Indian country was a world of villages, bands, and clans, but European pressures and the need to deal with distant capitals demanded increasingly unified responses at a time when traditional structures often were in flux.

The localism of Indian politics did not confine Indian people to local activity. On the contrary, Indian communities throughout the eastern woodlands became more closely interconnected. By the middle of the eighteenth century, eastern Indian horizons had widened considerably from the world of small villages and narrow loyalties that had occupied their attention a century before. Competition between European powers for Indian allegiance, and between Indian nations for European trade, dominated Indian politics and foreign policies throughout most of the eighteenth century. Indian nations aligned and realigned themselves with European allies, played rival nations against each other to ensure their neutrality and survival while retaining a flow of trade goods, and divided into factions. "To preserve the Ballance between us & the French is the great ruling Principle of the Modern Indian Politics," wrote Peter Wraxall. Indian warriors and diplomats, following an extensive network of trails and water courses, traveled, talked, and fought on a semicontinental scale. Iroquois diplomacy ranged from the Great Lakes to Quebec; Cherokee towns hosted ambassadors from other nations. Henry Hamilton, the British governor of Detroit early in the Revolution, sketched an Indian whose name he forgot but whom he remembered as "one of those characters, always to be found among the Indians – He travels from Village to Village, being provided with news." A multitribal conference that assembled on the Scioto plains in southern Ohio in 1770 to discuss united defense of Indian lands brought together "the Chiefs of the most powerfull Nations on the continent." The cross-tribal nature of Indian communities and Indian actions would become even more apparent during the Revolution.

Most Indian communities were economically dependent upon Europeans to some degree by 1775. The rate and extent of dependency varied, but Cherokees in the mountains of the interior were no more willing or able to do without European trade goods than were coastal groups surrounded by European settlers. A Cherokee headman named Skiagunsta told the governor of South Carolina in 1753 that his people could not survive without the English: "The Cloaths we wear, we cannot make ourselves, they are made to us. We use their Ammunition with which we kill Dear [*sic*]. We cannot make our Guns, they are made to us. Every necessary Thing in Life we must have from the white People." Skiagunsta probably exaggerated for his audience – Indian peoples in New England, the Ohio Valley,



and Southeast had learned to overcome total dependence on Europeans by repairing and maintaining their own firearms and metal tools - but the language of abject poverty and dependence was common in Indian speeches up through the Revolution. Captain Ouma of the Choctaws said his people were as "helpless as the Beasts in the woods," without British goods; Handsome Fellow of the Oakfuskie Creeks acknowledged in 1777 that "we have been used so long to wrap up our Children as soon as they are born in Goods procured of the white People that we cannot do without it. Dependency rendered Indian People vulnerable to abuse: Choctaws at the Mobile congress in the winter of 1771-2 complained graphically that traders shortchanged them so often that the flaps of cloth provided as loin cloths "dont cover our secret parts, and we are in danger of being deprived of our manhood by every hungry dog that approaches."

As Indian peoples became tied into the trade networks of western Europe, they also became participants in a consumer revolution that brought the products of industrializing Europe to frontier America. A "pan-Indian trade culture" emerged in many areas of the country. When William Tapp or Taptico, last werowance of the Wicocomoco Indians of Chesapeake Bay, died, he left behind English clothing, a house furnished with tables, chairs, and chests, four feather beds, and "a parcell of Olde Books." By the time of the Revolution, according to one observer, the Fort Hunter Mohawks lived "much better than most of the Mohawk River farmers." Oneida Indians cooked in metal kettles and frying pans, ate with spoons from pewter plates at meals illuminated by candlesticks, sipped out of teacups filled from teapots, served beverages from punch bowls, combed their hair with ivory combs while looking in glass mirrors, wore white flannel breeches, used silk handkerchiefs, and lived in "a very large framed house [with a] chimney at each end [and] painted windows." Overhill Cherokees used combs, mirrors, scissors, pewter spoons, and a variety of metal tools and jewelry. White Eyes of the Delawares and Oconostota of the Cherokees both wore eyeglasses. European trade goods were so pervasive in eastern Indian communities before the Revolution that archaeological deposits often reveal little distinction between Indian and non-Indian sites. Native Americans, like their backcountry colonial neighbors, had been drawn into a larger Atlantic economy that shaped their tastes, their lives, and ultimately their landscape. For many Indian peoples, the most pressing question posed by the outbreak of the Revolution was not who should govern in America but who would supply the trade goods on which they had come to depend. For many of their colonial neighbors, the material wealth to be found in Indian communities by 1775 provided an economic incentive for going on campaigns into Indian country.

The fur and deerskin trades not only introduced new commodities to Indian America; they also introduced alien systems of value and meaning. New economic incentives undermined old spiritual relationships between hunters and their prey. Indian hunters and European traders combined to deplete deer and beaver populations; native and European economies intersected. In areas and eras of shrinking animal populations, consumption outstripped production, and Indians who had become commercial hunters often became debtor-hunters. Traders and their alcohol brought death and disruption to Indian communities, as village chiefs and colonial officials realized. From Maine to the Mississippi and throughout the century, Indian spokesmen complained about abuses by traders and the alcohol they peddled in Indian society. Christian Penobscots said "it hurts our souls." "You may find graves upon graves along the Lake," an Iroquois leader lamented to Albany officials in 1730, "all which misfortunes are occasioned by Selling Rum to our Brethren." In 1738 the Shawnees staved in all the kegs of rum in their villages and sent word to all French, British, and Indian traders that they would destroy any rum they brought.

A chief from the Hudson River apologized to the Mohawks in 1756 for his inexperience in council proceedings, explaining "the Rum we get from the English hath drowned the Memory of all antient Customs & the Method of treating on public affairs." A Choctaw chief said rum "pours upon our nation Like a great Sea from Mobile and from all the Plantations and Settlements round about"; another admitted that "When the Clattering of the Packhorse Bells are heard at a Distance our Town is Immediately deserted young and old run out to meet them Joyfully crying Rum Rum; they get Drunk, Distraction Mischief Confusion and Disorder are the Consequences and this the Ruin of our Nation." Another Choctaw said "he had lost above a thousand people by excessive drinking in little more than 18 months." A British agent in the Choctaw towns in 1777 saw "nothing but Rum Drinking and Women Crying over the Dead Bodies of their relations who have died by Rum." By the time of the Revolution, according to Richard White, the Choctaws "quite simply, hunted for liquor," and chiefs were powerless to halt the social chaos that resulted. In Cherokee society, too, drunkenness increased the aggressiveness of warriors and served as a way of challenging traditional leaders who could not keep peace in the villages. Colonial officials lamented alcohol's effects but recognized its usefulness in destabilizing Indian communities.

The forces of change challenged people's spiritual lives. Missionaries from different countries and denominations entered Indian country to compete for a harvest of Indian souls. They promoted social revolution and produced factions in Indian communities. The divisions became further complicated after the Great Awakening in the colonies in the 1730s and 1740s severed ties with a single established church. In the 1760s, a Seneca warrior named Onoqueahla told Presbyterian missionary Samuel Kirkland in no uncertain terms that his presence "would be distructive to the nation, & finally over throw all the traditions & usages of their Forefathers & that there would not be a warrior remaining in their nation in the course of a few years." Another Seneca named Isaac, "painted black and red on each side of his face," took a shot at Kirkland. Indian peoples confronted Christian invaders with movements of spiritual revitalization and cultural resistance such as those led by Neolin, the Delaware Prophet, and the Munsee Wingenund in the 1760s. Others embraces Christian messages in Indian ways. Many of the Indians who fought in the Revolution were Christians.

Everywhere, though, there was continuity in the midst of change. Indians who donned European clothes often retained traditional hairstyles, slit ears, and facial tattoos. New trade goods were fashioned into traditional motifs or endowed with traditional meanings. Traditional lithic and ceramic technologies declined, but basked making and wood carving survived and even were stimulated by European demand. Some Indians continued to prefer birch-bark containers to metal pots for maple sugaring. Moccasins and canoes were unmatched by European substitutes for travel along forest paths and lakes. People still found guidance in dreams and believed in the efficacy of spirits, ceremonies and omens, though missionaries urged them to look to the Bible for direction. Ancient rituals continued to renew the world and maintain harmony; participation in those rituals helped define community identity in a world where so much else was in flux. Old ways made strong crutches as people ventured down new paths.

The forces of contact, cultural exchange, transformation, and dependency operated along two-way streets. As Indian people traded for European cloth, guns, and alcohol, Europeans adopted Indian-style clothing, canoes, and foods. As Indian people adopted domesticated livestock, European colonists adopted Native American corn culture and hunting practices. British commander-in-chief, General Thomas Gage, realized on the eve of the Revolution that the intrusions of backcountry colonists into Indian lands was due, in

large measure, to the fact that they lived Indian-style, by hunting. Indian and colonial economies affected each other and became interdependent. European traders needed Indian hunters and customers; European and colonial armies needed Indian scouts and allies, and, in time, adopted Indian methods of waging war; European missionaries needed Indian neophytes; colonial whaling industries employed local native laborers; settlers relied on Indian neighbors for their knowledge of the use of wild plants, and native herbal cures sometimes proved effective where European medicine failed; colonial schools even needed Indian students to help secure funding. In some areas of New England, Indians not only worked in the colonial economy but also lived with white families; in some areas of the South they worked alongside Africans as plantation slave laborers.

As old Turnerian notions of the frontier as a line of advancing settlement diminish, we can better understand the persistence and presence of Indian people in colonial cities, and better appreciate the tapestry of colonial life. Not only did Indian diplomats regularly visit colonial capitals from Quebec to New Orleans, but Indians living in the neighborhood of emerging towns actively participated in the urban economy. They sold food, plants, baskets, and firewood in market squares, and earned wages as day laborers, servants, and dockworkers. As traditional economies were disrupted and the fur and deerskin trades declined, many Indian people resorted to "a cycle of itinerant economic activities." Some actually moved closer to colonial towns, relying on the urban economy in hard times of readjustment. They learned new skills as bricklayers, coopers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, and seamstresses, and they adopted traditional skills to meet new demands, as wood carvers, potters, and basket makers.

Throughout Indian country, Europeans lived in and around Indian communities. Traders who went into Indian country to do business often found that they were most successful if they married into the kinship networks of Indian societies. Like other colonists who lived with Indians, many found themselves living as Indians. Rev. David Jones found 20 whites living at the Shawnee town of Chillicothe in the winter of 1772-3; as many as 300 English and Scots were living among the Creeks by the beginning of the Revolution. Scotsman Alexander Cameron married a Cherokee woman and lived with the Overhill Cherokees so long that he "had almost become one of themselves" by the time of the Revolution.

Many other captives, traders, Indian agents, and even occasional missionaries underwent similar "conversion" to Indian ways. Like many of his Jesuit colleagues, Sebastian Rasles, missionary to the Abenakis and Norridgewock in Maine in the early eighteenth century, spent most of his adult life in Indian country. He spoke the Abenakis' language and shared their homes and hopes, food and fears, even as he sought to convert them. "As for what concerns me personally," Rasles told his brother, "I assure you that I see, that I hear, that I speak only as a savage."

"White Indians" often aroused fear and contempt in colonial society, but found a place in Indian country and exercised considerable influence as culture brokers. James Dean, who served as an American interpreter during the Revolution, spent his boyhood among the Oneidas and learned to speak their language without a trace of an accent. Simon Girty, captured as a boy by Senecas in 1755, made his home in Indian country and built a career as culture broker and interpreter that gave him far-reaching influence in Indian country during and after the Revolution.

Intermarriage between Indians and Europeans, and between Indians and Africans, produced "new peoples" of mixed ancestry. Most were incorporated into Indian communities, but many suffered psychological stress as racial conflicts increased. Some

lived with racism in colonial communities; some developed separate communities and formed an ethnic identity of their own. Interaction between different peoples produced new languages in these new worlds. Refugee communities sometimes produced a babel of different dialects. Trade jargons emerged. Indians adopted Spanish, English, Gaelic, Dutch, French, and African words; Europeans incorporated Algonkian, Iroquoian, and Muskhogean terms into their vocabulary. In the 1750s, at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where an Indian blew a conch shell every Sabbath to call the faithful to worship, the missionary's son heard so much more Mahican than English spoken that he frequently found himself thinking in the Indians' language. Traveling in New York in 1776, Joseph Bloomfield, then a captain in the Third New Jersey Regiment and later governor of New Jersey, heard spoken on a daily basis English, High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, Mohawk, Oneida, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Tuscarora.

Even where whites did not live with Indians, the influence of Indian country and the evidence of cultural exchange was strong. In the Delaware Valley, Finns and Swedes lived closely with Indian neighbors, acquiring from them corn (and the knowledge of how to plant, cultivate, and prepare it), gourds, pumpkins, squash, turkeys, furs and skins, sassafras tea, bayberry candles, and maple syrup. "They adopted wholesale the Delawares' knowledge of edible and medicinal wild plants," and spoke a Delaware-derived pidgin. Intermarriage was common and Indian children were reported living in Swedish homes on the Schuylkill before the end of the seventeenth century. Long before Scotch-Irish and Welsh people came to dominate the midland backwoods population, Finns and Swedes set the pattern of trade, tolerance, and mutual acculturation "that was essential to the piecing together of a successful woodland pioneer culture." Later arrivals noted that the Swedes and their Indian neighbors were "like one people." Things were not too different elsewhere. Ranger Robert Rogers recalled that growing up in a frontier town in New Hampshire in the early part of the century, he "could hardly avoid" gaining some knowledge of Indian ways and languages.

Colonists from Europe, where hunting was a gentleman's sport, learned from Indians how to hunt for a living. Colonial hunters who operated in Indian country pulled on Indian leggings, breechclouts, and moccasins, dressed their long hair with bear grease, and sometimes donned war paint. Anglican preacher Charles Woodmason denounced settlers on the Carolina backcountry as being "hardly one degree removed" from their Indian neighbors. General Thomas Gage reckoned backcountry settlers on the Ohio River "differ little from the Indians in their manner of life." Missionary David McClure said that backcountry Virginians were "generally white Savages, and subsist by hunting, and live like the Indians." Whereas Indians in Canada took to wearing jackets and waistcoats like their French neighbors, Frenchmen traveling in Indian country "generally dressed like the natives," exchanging their trousers for leggings and loincloths. Young men in backcountry Virginia were proud of their "Indian-like dress," and even wore leggings and breechclouts to church, which apparently sparked the interest of young women in the congregation. When George Rogers Clark and his Virginians arrived at Kaskaskia in 1778, they were dressed Indian style, "in hunting shirt and breech cloth." Their appearance surprised the Spanish governor of Saint Louis but was not unusual for men accustomed to life in Indian country. In the Mohawk Valley in the 1760s, Peter Warren Johnson met Europeans who tattooed their faces and chests like their Indian neighbors, "which is done by pricking the Skin with Pins, till the Blood comes, & then applying Gunpowder to it, which will remain forever." French fur traders in Canada likewise tattooed their bodies. Cultural boundaries between Indians and Europeans, and between Indians and Africans (as between Indians and other Indians), were often fuzzy and porous.

The mixing of peoples and cultures did not erase differences or eradicate conflict. Surveying the inventory of things colonists borrowed from Indians, James Axtell reminds us that "Their goal was not to become Indian, nor did their selective and piecemeal adaptations of native techniques and technology make them so." The same can be said of Indians who borrowed from Europeans culture: they did not intend to, nor did they, become Europeans. In fact, conflict between Indian and European cultures was increasing steadily by the eve of the Revolution, as growing pressure on Indian lands eroded previous patterns of coexistence.

As the eighteenth century wore on, Indian people and Indian cultures were being engulfed by an ocean of European and African people. The powerful Six Nations, renowned warriors and past masters of the art of playing European rivals against each other, had long been "sinking into irrelevance in a region more and more dominated by Euro-Americans." As Indian numbers dwindled, immigration and natural increase sent America's non-Indian population skyward. The population of British North America doubled every twenty-five years and increased 400 percent between 1700 and 1750. The population of North Carolina shot from 45,000 in 1750 to 275,000 in 1775. Five thousand Scots migrated to North Carolina alone in the decade before the Revolution. By 1775 as many as fifty thousand whites lived west of the Appalachians.

The newcomers included Pennsylvania Germans and American-born Virginians, but increasingly in the eighteenth century the Europeans-turning-Americans on the frontier came from the Celtic fringes of the British Isles, propelled by failed rebellion, a decaying clan system, agrarian transformation and sheep enclosures, high rents, poverty, and famine. After their kinsmen and their dreams of a Jacobite restoration died in the sleet at Culloden, many Highland Scots came to America as soldiers, the only profession that permitted them to wear a tartan and gave steady employment in bleak times. Others joined victims of wrenching economic changes from the Lowlands, the north England borders, Ireland, and Wales, migrating to America in such numbers that authorities in Britain worried the exodus would empty Scotland of its people. Accustomed to lives of hardship and cultures of violence, Scotch-Irish and north Country immigrants brought their clan rivalries, blood feuds, and Old Testament sense of justice to the American frontier, where, said Quaker James Logan, they made "hard neighbors to the Indians." Colonial authorities steered Scotch-Irish immigrants toward the frontier, knowing they would provide effective defense against Indians attacks. Alternatively, they made excellent shock troops for the invasion of Indian lands.

Land, of course, was the main source of contention between Indian people and their new neighbors. In the seventeenth century, although some colonial governments passed laws to protect Indian lands, others used deeds to legitimize the acquisition of Indian lands by trickery, coercion, and corruption – what Francis Jennings refers to as "the deed game." Many Indians learned the terms and implications of selling land to Europeans, struck the best deals they could in the circumstances, and endeavored to slow the rate of land loss, but they could not halt the pressure. The problem increased in intensity throughout the eighteenth century. Long before the Revolution, Indians found themselves sucked into the practice of selling off lands to satisfy debts accumulated in trade with their colonial neighbors. Creek Indians called their Georgian neighbors "Ecunnaunuxulgee" – "people greedily grasping after the lands of the red people."

The British victory in the Seven Years' War opened Indian country to a flood of settlement that the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and other official measures barely even checked. In the wake of their victory, British ministers in Whitehall tried to implement a

program that would provide security for their colonies by maintaining garrisons in the West, establishing an Indian reserve, and regulating an equitable trade with the Indians. Their efforts to finance the program by such measures as the Stamp Act contributed to the challenge to British imperial authority that culminated in the Revolution.

The irony of British policy in the years between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution was that "although it aspired to control Indians, it foundered on the British government's inability to control its subjects." The victorious British at first rode roughshod over the traditions of the middle ground, but Pontiac's War in 1763 taught them a bitter lesson, and they worked to reconstruct the social and diplomatic arrangements they had thought they could do without. Even as they did so, however, the old middle ground was rapidly giving way to a world of violence as Anglo-American settlers swarmed into Indian country.

A younger generation of colonists in the midst of an economic recession found that there were too many sons and not enough land in their home communities. The abundance of frontier land, combined with the scarcity of land at home, undermined fathers' traditional authority over their sons, and over daughters for whom they could no longer ensure a place in the world. British policymakers were no more able to control frustrated and ambitious young settlers than were those settlers' own fathers. In 1772, the acting governor of Georgia, James Habersham, took measures to remove from Indian lands "a parcel stragling northward People" who threatened to frustrate the orderly acquiesce in royal attempts to keep them from western lands. Scotch-Irish settlers who had emigrated to escape English domination paid little heed to an English proclamation in their new world. Veterans of the "French and Indian wars" were not about to be deprived of the fruits of their hard-won victory. British policies that tried to regulate the frontier often only aggravated the tensions, alienating backcountry settlers and ensuring that many of them would throw in their lot with the rebels once the Revolution began. Although settlers could ignore the proclamation, land speculators could not, and it helped push into rebellion Virginia gentry with western lands to sell.

New boundaries negotiated in the North at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, and in the South at Augusta and Hard Labor in 1768 and 1770, did little or nothing to stem the tide. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix in particular infuriated Shawnees and others who felt the Six Nations had sold their lands out from under them. In the fall of 1770, Indian trader, agent, and land speculator George Croghan reported, "Last year, I am sure, there were between four and five thousand [new settlers] and all this spring and summer the roads have been lined with wagons moving to the Ohio." Settlers and land speculators opened up new frontiers everywhere. Daniel Boone founded Boonesborough in April 1775, "opened a land office, disposed of over half a million acres in a few weeks, founded three more settlements, and convened a legislature before the year was out." By the eve of the Revolution, Kentucky constituted a wedge of colonial settlement thrust into the heart of Indian America. The new settlements not only threatened Indian hunting territories but divided northern and southern tribes, disrupting old networks of trade and communication. Most of the settlers coming to Kentucky came from North Carolina, which was itself being settled from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Scotland.

Such constant movement, settlement, and resettlement alarmed Indian people struggling to hold onto their lands. Anglo-American history for generations has portrayed pioneers as settlers, Indians as nomads. But Indian people in the eastern woodlands, who lived in settled communities reliant upon a mixed subsistence economy that almost always included agriculture, must surely have regarded Scotch-Irish and Anglo-American invaders

as the true nomads of colonial America. Others did: after the Revolution, Spanish officials regarded American backwoodsmen on Florida's northern frontier as "nomadic like Arabs and . . . distinguished from savages only in their color, language, and the superiority of their depraved cunning and untrustworthiness."

By the eve of the Revolution, Indian people from Quebec and Maine to Georgia and the Floridas were complaining in vain to colonial authorities about trespasses on their land, and about schemes to get it. Indians from the seven New England "praying towns" were "reduced to such small pittances of land, that they could no longer remain there," and moved to New York to take up land granted to them by the Oneidas in 1774. Delawares, Munsees, and Mahicans warned the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia in December 1771 that the flood of settlers across the mountains was likely to produce disaster: "Unless you can fall upon some method of governing your people who live between the Great Mountains and the Ohio River and who are now very numerous, it will be out of the Indians power to govern their young men, for we assure you that the black clouds begin to gather fast in this country."

"I know of nothing so likely to interrupt and disturb our tranquility with the Indians," reported John Stuart, "as the incessant attempts to defraud them of their land by clandestine purchase." The British authorities recognized the justice of the Indians' complaints and identified the roots of the problem, but could do little about it. Frontier people came to believe that the British government and its agents favored Indians and the Indian trade over settlers; John Stuart's efforts to extend imperial control into the Indian country generated rumors that he was planning to use Indians against the colonists. By 1775 the southern backcountry was ready to explode. When the Revolution broke out, American patriots called it a war for liberty. Most Indian people knew, and the British reminded those who didn't, that it was also a continuation of the struggle about Indian land and who was to get it. Violence was always close to the surface in Indian-white relations. Indian and whites alike had long struggled to avert it, but by the eve of the Revolution, murder and revenge, not mediation and accommodation, typified relations. As Richard White sees it, the common world "yielded to a frontier over which people crossed only to shed blood." Young warriors defied the authority of older chiefs by killing frontiersmen, who themselves ignored distant governments, killing Indians and occupying their lands.

In 1774, American frontiersmen lured a party of Mingo Indians onto their camp, got them drunk, and then killed and scalped them, mutilating the pregnant sister of a Mingo chief known as Logan. The act was the most brutal in a spate of killings along the Ohio that spring. Despite Delaware efforts to avert it, and amid considerable diplomatic scrambling in Indian country, open war exploded between Virginia and the Mingoes and Shawnees. Lord Dunmore's War was both the latest in a series of escalating frontier conflicts and a precursor of the one to come.

Anglo-Americans were not the only people experiencing times to try men's souls by 1775. In Indian country, too, people wrestled with challenges to traditional sources of authority, felt the repercussions of religious ferment, struggled to deal with demographic changes, felt squeezed by economic strangleholds, resented growing threats to their liberty, and worried about the kind of world their children would inherit. Indian people had had plenty of experience of colonialism, and they had already fought their share of anticolonial wars. Choosing the winning side in the new war that broke out in 1775 was crucial but, as in past wars, victory was hardly a realistic goal. The best Indian people could hope for was damage control, but they could not know the extent of the damage the Revolution would cause to the worlds they and their colonial neighbors had created.

Most of North America was still Indian country in 1775. Indian people still dominated most of the continent and walked the streets of colonial towns. Much of colonial life involved Indians; much of colonial war, diplomacy, and commerce revolved around them. Writing to fellow revolutionary John Adams in 1812, Thomas Jefferson recalled that in Williamsburg before the Revolution, Indians "were in the habit of coming often, and in great numbers to the seat of our government, where I was much with them." The Revolution that erupted in 1775 was bound to affect and involve Indians; but it also ushered in a new era and a new society from which they were to be increasingly excluded. The interethnic societies and cultural mixings that characterized much of Indian America by 1775 had been a long time in the making. The Revolution did not terminate them overnight, but did produce a new government and society increasingly committed to the notion that Indian country east of the Mississippi should cease to exist.

At the beginning of May 1775, before news of Lexington and Concord reached him, Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, commanding officer at the remote British outpost at Michilimackinac, sat down to pen a report to General Thomas Gage. It had been an unusually mild winter on the Great Lakes, he wrote. "To use the Indian Phrase, the World seems to have had a great shove to the Southward." There would be no more mild winters for De Peyster or his Indian neighbors for many years. In fact, their world never would be quite the same again.

Source: Colin Calloway. The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. 1-26.

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### **CAPTAIN JAMES WOOD, Jr. TRAVELS THROUGH THE OHIO COUNTRY INVITING INDIANS TO A COUNCIL OF PEACE.**

#### **Diary 1775**

24<sup>th</sup> June The Honorable the Council and House of Burgesses Appointed George Washington Thomas Walker James Wood Andrew Lewis John Walker and Adam Stephen Esquires Commissioners for holding a Treaty with the Ohio Indians impowering the Treasurer to pay the Expence Accruing provided the same did not Exceed the sum of £2,000 the Evening of the same day the Commissioners were Informed that the House directed them not to Apply more than One Thousand Pounds towards the Negotiation at the same time they directed me to proceed immediately to the different Tribes of Indians as well to give them an Invitation to a Treaty as to remove any bad impressions which might be made by Chenusaw one of the Shawanese Indians who had Escaped from Williamsburg. Upon my Appointment to this Service I moved the house to know how far I was to go in an Explanation of the disputes with Great Britain in Case the Indians should make any enquiry into that Matter which I was well assured they would Col<sup>o</sup> Bland then moved the House that I should be directed to Explain the whole dispute to the Indians to make them sensible of the Great Unanimity of the Colonies to Assure them of our Peaceable Intentions towards them and that we did not stand in need of or desire any Assistance from them or any other Nation which Motion was agreed to by the House *Nemine Contradicente*

25<sup>th</sup> I left Williamsburg and proceeded on my Journey having stayed three days at home in preparing for it.



9<sup>th</sup> July I arrived at Fort Pitt...upon which I thought it Adviseable to dispatch an Express to the Convention with the following Letter directed to the Honorable Peyton Randolph Esq.

Sir – On my Arrival at this Place I found that Maj<sup>r</sup> Connolly had finished a Treaty with the Delaware and Mingo Cheifs who had assembled agreable to Lord Dunmores Appointment and were returned well satisfied with Assurances that a General Treaty would be soon held with them and the Other Ohio Tribes. It seems from the Governors Instructions to Maj<sup>r</sup> Connolly that he only intended a few of the Cheifs should be called together in order to make them easy till a treaty could be properly negotiated with them I am now waiting to see the Cornstalk who is on his way and is Expected here tomorrow or the next day the Reason that the Shawanese did not Attend at the Treaty lately held is not known but generally believed to be owing to Two French Men who were at their Towns and desired to speak to the Cheifs of that Nation in Council as soon as I see the Cornstalk I purpose setting off for the Shawanese Towns in hopes of being able to Counteract any diabolical Schems formed by the Enemies of this Country to remove any bad Impressions which may have been made in the Minds of these Savages and to Satisfy them concerning their Hostages...

I find that the Indians have been led to expect a General Treaty and that they would as Usual receive Presents upon a Compliance with the Terms imposed by Lord Dunmore so that I am realy Apprehensive we shall not be able from the Sum Allowed by the Assembly to make the different tribes a Present that will Answer their Expectations...I would beg the Gentlemen of the Convention to consider whether It would not be adviseable to direct the whole Sum of Two Thousand Pounds allowed by the Resolve of the House should not be laid Out to the best Advantage for this Necessary purpose I am well Assured it will have an Exceeding good Effect and that a lasting peace may be Established with all the Ohio Indians.

By the same Express that brings this the Committee of West Augusta purpose sending to their Delegates the Proceedings of the late Treaty held with the Delawares and Mingoes together with a Copy of their Resolves prior to the Treaty...

The Committee as well as Major Connollys most inveterate Enemies all agree that he Conducted this Affair in the Most Open and Candid Manner that it was transacted in the presence of the Committee and that he laid the Governors Instructions on this Occasion before them. I shall be Extremely happy if my poor Endavours on this or any further Occasion should in the smallest Degree Contribute to the Service of my Country I have the honor to &c as soon as I dispatched my letter I sent for White Eyes and Killbuck Chiefs of the Delawares and Kyasota and the White Mingo Cheifs of the Mingoes and delivered the following Speech sent by Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis Esq<sup>r</sup> two of the Commissioners to the Cheifs and Warriors of the Shawanese Wyandots Delaware and Mingo Nations.

Brothers we are Appointed by your elder Brothers of Virginia to meet you in Council to finish the treaty began by Lord Dunmore last Year we hope to put an End to all differences between your People and ours so effectually that your Children and ours may live in the Strictest friendship till the Sun shall shine no more or the Waters run in the Ohio

Brothers your Friend Cap<sup>n</sup> James Wood who is Appointed one of the Commissioners on this Important Occasion will deliver you this talk by whom you will be informed of the Imprudent Behaviour of your Brother Chenusaw who we hope has got safe to you before this the Manner in which he went from us gives us reason to fear he may give you some alarming Accounts but we hope Cap<sup>n</sup> Wood will satisfy you that we are your

friends and have been kind to your people the Wolf and Newau will come with us to the Treaty at Fort Pitt where we hope to meet you on the tenth day of September to Compleat this great Work...to which White Eyes Answered

Brother I return you as well as our two Brothers that sent it thanks for the good talk you have now delivered us and you may depend I will make it my business to send the String now delivered to me to all my friends and make no doubt but they will receive it in the same friendly and thankful Manner I do The White Mingo then Spoke as follows

Brothers I am very thankful to you and your two Brothers in Virginia for your good talk and String now delivered I am certain It will give all my friends the same Pleasure which it gives me to meet you at the time Appointed for holding the treaty at this place and you may be assured they shall be told of it...

16<sup>th</sup> July the Cornstalk Nimwha Wryneck Blue Jacket Silver Heels and about fifteen other Shawanese arrived they immediately got drunk and Continued in that situation for two days

18<sup>th</sup> The Shawanese being assembled I made The following Speech to them  
Brothers I am now on my way to your towns by directions of the great Council of Virginia my Business is to give the Cheifs of your Nation an Invitation to meet Commissioners Appointed by them in a general Council at Fort Pitt in 53 days from this time in order fully to Confirm the peace agreed upon last year with Lord Dunmore your Brothers Cuttemwha and Newau are well and you may depend upon seeing them at the time Appointed for your Meeting about forty days ago Chenusaw left us without any provocation that we know of...your Brother Cuttemwha desired me to tell you to be Strong and to come at the time which I Appoint A String of White Wampum

I then delivered Messrs Walker and Lewis's speech with a String of Wampum soon after which Cornstalk made the following Answer

Brothers the Big-knife I am greatly obliged to you as well as to all my Elder Brothers of Virginia for their good talks and Intentions towards their Younger Brothers the Shawanese...I shall deliver your talks to the Cheifs on my return and make no doubt but they will meet you at the time Appointed

The Cornstalk after delivering the speech told me he thought it would be best for me to go to the Shawanese Towns least Chenusaw should return and make any bad reports...

at 5 o'Clock this afternoon I sett off from Fort Pitt with Simon Girty an Interpreter encamped ten Miles below on the River Bank

25<sup>th</sup> set out very early in the Morning rode Constant till 5 o'Clock in the afternoon when we Arrived at the Seneca Town where we found Logan The Snake the Big Appletree with Several of the Mingoies who were lately Prisoners at Fort Pitt they all Appeared to be Prety Much in Liquor and very inquisitive to know my Business...I discovered that the Indians were very Angry Many of them Painted themselves black we Encamped near the Town about ten O'Clock at Night one of the Indians came and Stamped upon my head as I lay a Sleep waked and saw several Indians with Knives and Tomhawks a Squaw informed us privately that they intended to kill us advised us to hide ourselves in the Woods which we did till Morning when we returned again into the Town Logan repeated in Plain English the Manner in which the People of Virginia had killed his Mother Sister and all his Relations during which he wept and Sung Alternately and concluded with telling me the Revenge he had taken he then told me that several of the Mingoies who were long Prisoners at Fort Pitt wanted to kill us and asked me whether I was afraid to which I answered I was not that we were two lone Men where [who were] sent to deliver a message to them which we had done

that we were in their Power and had no way to defend ourselves that they must kill us if they thought proper to which he replied that we should not be hurt

26<sup>th</sup> July at 9 O'Clock in the Morning hired two fresh horses and set off for the Wyandot Towns...

27<sup>th</sup> July at One O'Clock the Wyandots sent to my Camp to Inform me the Cheifs were Arrived and ready at the Council House to hear what I had to say to them and that two of the Tawaas were there and would be ready to Carry my speech to their Nation...

In the afternoon War Post and five or six other Indians came to my Camp they said they were come to talk with me as friends that they always Understood that the English had but one King who lived over the Great Water that they were Much Surprized to hear that we were at War with ourselves and that there have been several Engagements at Boston in which a great Number of Men were killed on both sides that as he had been told many different Stories they would be glad to know the Cause of the dispute or whether we Expected or desired their Assistance I then began and gave them a true and Just Account from the beginning of the disputes with Great Britain and Assured them that we did not stand in need of or desire any Assistance from them or any other Nation but that we wished them to Continue in peace and friendliness with us by Observing a Strict neutrality...In this conversation I discovered that the Huron Indians had been led to believe that the People of Virginia were of a different and distinct Nation from the other Colonies and that by going to War with us they need not fear the Interposition of the other Colonies this I think I effectually removed by making them Acquainted with the Proceedings of the Continental Congress and that the Colonies were bound and Obligated to defend each other against Attacks from Whatever Quarter they might come....

28<sup>th</sup> July went to the Council house at two O'Clock agreable to the Appointment of the Wyandots when Rotunda or the War Post in the Presence of Coronyatta Surrahawa Aughuntha and other Warriors of the Wyandots, and Ninnis and Mangagata of the Tawaas delivered...Answer to my speech of Yesterday...after delivering the Answer Rotunda told me that he heard the People of Virginia were now building a Fort on Kentucke and intended to drive off all the Indians and take Possession of their Lands. I told him that I never heard of any Fort being built on Kentucke but that our People were settling very fast in that Country which they had an Undoubted right to do the whole Country to the Eastward of the Ohio as low down as the Cherokee River was purchased from the Six Nations at the Treaty at Fort Stanwix and that since which the People of Virginia had purchased the Pretended right of the Cherokees that we Should be able to make them sensible to this at the Treaty to be held at Fort Pitt....

31<sup>st</sup> July left the Salt Licks at 7 O'Clock in the Morning in Company with a Seneca Man and Woman who were going to the Shawanese Towns travelled Eight and a half Hours very Constant when we Arrived at the Shawanese Towns where I spoke to Kishanosity or the Hardman desired him to call the Cheifs of the different Towns together as soon as Possible that I had something to say to them from the Great Council of Virginia the Hardman then informed me that Chenusaw had returned home the night before and that he had brought the most alarming Accounts from Virginia (viz) that the People of Virginia were all determined upon War with the Indians except the Governor who was for peace but was obliged to fly on board of a ship to save his own life that the hostages found they were to be made Slaves of and sent to some other Country that the White People were all preparing for War and that they shewed him many Indian scalps among which Cuttemwha knew his Brothers that the Hostages determined if Possible to make their Escape and Accordingly sett of in the Night all of them together that the next day he being behind the other two at

some distance was seized by three Men that he heard them determine to kill him on which one of them proceeded to Load his Gun while the other two held him by the Arms that before the Man loaded the Gun he found Means to disengage himself and made his Escape leaving his Gun and every thing also that he soon after heard Several Guns and was positive that Cuttemwha and Neawau were both killed as he had been Sixty days travelling and had heard nothing of them I told Kishanosity that most of what Chenusaw had informed him was false and that I would be glad he would send for him which he did as soon as he came I explained the whole Matter to him and a Number of other Indians and Informed them that Cuttemwha and Neawau were both well and on the Road and that they were bringing his Cloaths and every thing which he had left behind him and that it was very unlucky for him he did not turn back as the others had done to have got a horse and Saddle to ride home as they had several of the Indians were employed in Conjuring the whole night during which they kept up a Constant howling like Wolves till day light.

2d August at 10 o'Clock a runner came and informed me the Cheifs were Assembled in the Council House ready to receive me upon which I went and was received in the most friendly manner when I delivered the following speech to Kishanosity in the Presence of the Shade and Snake the Milkman Shawanese Ben and many other Cheifs and Warriors

Brothers the Shawanese your Elder Brothers of Virginia in their great Council have appointed me with five others to meet all the Cheifs of the different Nations of Indians on the Ohio and Lakes in forty one days from this time at Fort Pitt in Order to Brighten the Chain of Freindship between them and the People of Virginia and have ordered me to come to this Place to assure you that their Hearts are good towards you and that they will be glad to meet the Cheifs of your Nation fully to Confirm the Peace agreed upon last fall between Lord Dunmore and the Shawanese and Expect you will be fully prepared to Comply with your part of the Conditions at that time I am very Glad to see your Brother Chenusaw is returned safe he left us without any reason that we know of but Imagine it must be Owing to some Mistake or other as soon as we found he was gone we sent many People on Horseback with written papers directing all our people to treat him kindly so that he might return to you in Safety your Brothers Cuttemwha and Neawau are well they are now on the way and you may depend will be safely brought to the Treaty Cuttemwha desired me to tell you to be Strong and to come at the time I appoint and to bring some of your wise Women along with you. A String of white Wampum.

After delivering the Speech I called for Chenusaw but was Informed he as ashamed to Appear. I then at their Desire Explained the nature of the dispute with Lord Dunmore and Convinced them that Chenusaw had not told them the truth and also explained to them the dispute with Great Britain in the same Manner which I had before done to the Wyandots and other Nations of Indians the Hardman then made the following Answer to my Speech

Brother the Big knife I am very thankful as well as all my friends here present for your good speech delivered to us at our Council fire. It gives us great Pleasure to think that our Brothers the big knife have not forgot us and that we shall have an Opportunity of talking to them in Freinship at the time you now Mention we are much Oblidged to our Brothers of Virginia for their Care in directing all their People to let our Brother Chenusaw come to us without receiveing any hurt his coming away in the Manner he did proceeded from Mistake in not Understanding your Language we are fully Satisfied with what you have told us and hope you'll not think hard of us for his bad behaviour after which Kishanosity and other Cheifs enquired after News whether a great Many of our Young Men were not going to Boston to War against the English Red Coats and if we had not several

Engagements with them to which I answered that but few Men were to go from Virginia as there were a great Sufficiency of Men in New England to Manage all the Regular Troops in America or which they were Able to send and as for the Engagements there had been several in all of which we had beaten them with great loss on their side and very small on Ours but that we were in daily Expectation of all differences being settled between the two Countries to the Satisfaction of both. The Shade then Informed me that he had Just returned from the Miami River that he met Catfish and a Number of other Delawares on the Ohio with many things which they had Robbed the Inhabitants of on the Great Kanhawa that he gave me this Information least his Brothers the Big knife should blame the Shawanese for it. Kishanosity then Complained of the Encroachments of the Virginians he said they were now settling in Great Numbers in the Midst of their Hunting Grounds on the Kentucke River and that many of our people Crossed the Ohio killed and drove off their Game he then Asked my Advice whether they should go and talk to the People on Kentucke about it to which I replied that I thought it would be very Improper least some of our bad people might do them an Injury but advised them to let the Matter alone till the Treaty when I made no doubt but we should be able to make them sensible that we had already purchased the Lands on Kentucke River from the Six Nations at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and as to our Hunters Crossing the River and Killing the Game we should do every thing in our power to prevent it in future he then desired me to beg their brothers the big knife not to listen to any bad stories which they might hear as he had great reason to Believe that David Duncan would make many false reports that he had been talking a Great deal to the foolish Women and paid no regard to what the Men said to him I then told him that I had been Informed that the Commanding Officer at Fort De Troit and Monseieur Baubee had sent a Belt and String of Black Wampum to their Nation with a Speech that the people of Virginia Intended to drive them off and to take their Lands recommending them and the other Nations to Join together in Order to Oppose them and at the same time advised them not to Listen to any thing which might be said to them by the Virginians that they were a people not to be depended upon all of which the Shawanese Acknowledged they said that whatever they had heard or received from them they had Dug a hole in the Ground and Buried them never to rise again I was then Informed by a Mohicon Indian who spoke good English that he had Just Returned from Kacayuga where he saw a Great Number of Indians than he had ever seen before and that we might Expect Warmer Work this fall than had ever happened before I was likewise Informed by James Bavard a Trader in the Shawanese Towns that the Indians were Constantly Counseling and that the Women all seemed very uneasy in Expectations that there would be a War I then set off from the Shawanese Towns on my return Called at the Kiocopo Town and then proceeded twenty Miles and Encamped

11<sup>th</sup> August sett off after Breakfast and Arrived Fort Pitt about 3 oClock in the afternoon where I found several Senecas who had Just come from a Treaty which had been held at Niagara by Guy Johnston I Interrogated them but found that they had got their Lesson not to make any Discovery's they said that the Indian Agent told them to lie still and not to Concern with the Dispute between the People of Great Britain and America

12<sup>th</sup> August I sett off from Fort Pitt for Winchester where I Arrived in five days the Committee recommended that I would send off an Express to the Convention at Richmond who were still sitting which I did the next Morning with the following Letter Directed to the Honble Peyton Randolph Esquire.

Sir - I am just now returned from my Expedition to the Indian Towns and have Inclosed you Extracts from my Journal which Contains every Material Occurance that happened Dureing my tour through the Nations of Shawanese Delawares Senecas and

Wiandots...from every discovery I was able to make the Indians are forming a General Confederacy against the Colony having been led to believe that we are a people Quite different and distinct from the other Colonies...I wou'd beg leave to make an Observation that there is no Garrison at Fort Pitt that the Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood of it are in the most defenceless situation and that there will be in my Opinion at least five hundred Indians at the Treaty I have the Honor to be &c  
September 20<sup>th</sup> 1775

Source: Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (eds.). The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908. Pp. 34-43, 48-53, 56-63, 65-67.

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### JOHN CONNOLLY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS PLANS TO INVADE VIRGINIA, SPRING 1776

I was born in America of respectable parents, and received as perfect an education as that country could afford. In the early part of life I was bred to physic, the practice of which it was intended I should pursue; my natural bent of mind, however, determined otherwise... After the peace of 1762, the North American Indians entered into a general confederacy to destroy our frontier settlements and demolish the garrisons. The British commander in chief was obliged to send an army to repeal these invaders; in which, once more a volunteer, I served two campaigns, at my own private expense...Animated by a strong desire to make myself worthy to serve my King and country on future occasions, after peace was established with the Indians, I explored our newly acquired territory, visited the various tribes of native Americans, studied their different manners and customs, undertook the most toilsome marches with them through the extensive wilds of Canada....

Delighted with the soil and climate, I afterwards fixed my residence beyond the Apalachian mountains in West Augusta county, and as numbers were daily emigrating thither from the middle Colonies, I was active in encouraging the new settlers....

In the year 1774, disputes arose between the Indians and some inconsiderable people, who, it appeared from every circumstance, had treated the former in a very harsh and improper manner...I was, at that time, invested with the command of the militia; it was, therefore, my peculiar duty to avert, if possible, a war that threatened the destruction of a flourishing Colony, and every endeavor at pacification was employed by me, but unhappily without effect...Lord Dunmore, in person, commanded, and a battle, the most important that ever happened on a similar occasion, in North America, was fought, in which the Indians were totally routed, pursued to their towns, and reduced to the necessity of giving hostages for the accomplishment of a treaty of peace entered into by them, and which was to have been finally ratified the ensuing Spring at Pittsburgh....

The battle of Bunker's Hill had now been fought, and the flames of rebellion began openly to blaze. I had written to Lord Dunmore for instructions respecting my conduct, ... and received for answer, that he advised me to disband the troops...that I should convene the Indians to a general treaty, ...and endeavor to incline them to espouse the royal cause. This last proved a most hazardous enterprize, though not therefore relinquished; for the assembly of Virginia, having resolved themselves into an unwarrantable convention, finding I had invited the contiguous Indian tribes to a general congress at Fort Pitt, deputed a committee of their own to inspect my conduct. These people were ordered to impress upon

the minds of the Indians, the justice of the hostile proceeding against this country...This was the direct contrary to what it was my duty, if possible, to effect; and, narrowly as I was watched, I had the happiness to succeed in this dangerous and critical undertaking...Thus I secretly frustrated the machinations of the Republicans, while I received their thanks, and procured assurances from the Indian chiefs to support his majesty....

The troops lately under my command were now disbanded, the demagogues of faction were active, the spirit of sedition was every where prevalent...But as nothing great or good could be effected in times like these without risk, I considered only what plan was best at such conjuncture; and having determined, resolved to act with vigor...My design briefly was, first to engage as many gentlemen of consequence as possible to join with me in defense of government, and afterwards to make my way through the country, visit lord Dunmore, who was now driven, for personal safety, on board a ship lying at Norfolk, consult with him, and take his instructions concerning the most effectual mode I and my adherents could pursue to serve his Majesty....

So full was the country become of Committees, new raised militia, petty officers, and other persons officially busy, in hopes of being distinguished, that the utmost circumspection was continually necessary...When I came near Williamsburg, I contrived so as to pass through the town in the night...I passed through Hampton safe and unobserved. I here procured a boat, and by a little finesse with the waterman, got on board the ship where Lord Dunmore usually remained....

It was evident, on consulting with lord Dunmore, and informing him of the plan I had concerted, and the confederacy I had formed, that when his Lordship was reinforced with supplies from Britain, a co-operative body of troops from Canada, and the western frontiers of Virginia, with Indian auxiliaries, would be ready to act at the time that Sir William Howe would draw their principal attention to the northward...His Lordship therefore dispatched me to General Gage at Boston, to lay before his Excellency the projected scheme, and to desire its concurrence and co-operation....

When my propositions were laid before General Gage, [as] he was well acquainted with American affairs, and saw the advantages that were likely to result from their being put in execution: they met, therefore, with his entire approbation....

...Early the next spring, we had the strongest reason to hope, that a formidable body of British troops would take the field; that the combined force of the enemy must be drawn to the northward, and that I should have an opportunity of marching from Pittsburgh, with the detachment of the eighteenth regiment, the new-raised corps, the Indian auxiliaries, so as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. By this means the communication between the southern and northern governments would have been interrupted, and a favourable turn indisputably given to his Majesty's affairs in the Southern Provinces.

Source: "Narrative of John Connolly, Loyalist." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII, 310-324; 407-411.

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## BANISHMENT FROM AN EARLY HOME AND EXILE ON VIRGINIA FRONTIER ON ACCOUNT OF WAR

Elizabeth Hicks, the subject of this narrative, was born at Pedlar, near James Town, on the River James, in Virginia, North America, on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1762. Here her father farmed his own estate, and lived with his large family in comfort though not in affluence.

The American War of Independence, as it was called, made a sad change, for as soon as it reached Virginia, Mr. Hicks was offered a commission in the American army, which he resolutely refused, saying that he would never bear arms against the King of England, nor suffer his son to do so.

This refusal led to the confiscation of his estate; he was looked upon as a rebel by the American Government, and compelled to remove his family to a place of safety in Augusta County...

Mr. Hicks drew out what money he had placed in the Stocks, and went on an expedition to the Back Settlements, where he hoped to be able to procure land, and make a new home for his family. Month after month passed but no tidings of Mr. Hicks reached his anxious family, and at the expiration of a year and a-half from the time of his departure, their fears had almost ripened into a conviction that some fatal accident must have happened to him, when one night, as they were retiring to rest, his well-known and much-loved voice greeted their ears. He informed them that he had succeeded in purchasing land to the extent of his wishes, and that his eldest son and daughter must return with him immediately to make the necessary preparation for the reception of the rest of the family. Everything was quickly arranged and Mr. Hicks, accompanied by his son and daughter, a man-servant and a guide, commenced on horseback the long and wearisome journey of 350 miles

...nothing material occurred for two or three days, after which time they arrived at a place called Green Briar and Muddy Creek. Here they perceived a detachment of soldiers, returning from a battle fought with the Shoney, Windot and Mingo tribes of Indians, winding along the side of the mountain below them;...The chief inhabitant of this place was Mr. William Morris, who had entertained Mr. Hicks on his former journey to the Back Settlements. He now went forward to call upon him, and enquire the news. Mr. Morris, on learning by whom he was accompanied, hospitably insisted on receiving the whole party as his guests, and Mrs. Morris went to meet Elizabeth.....

After a rest of four days, the party made preparations for pursuing their route...The travellers passed the whole of that day without meeting any human creature; in the evening they discerned a large, fine-looking house, and making towards it, resolved to gain admittance, if possible for the night. An old Indian woman was the only inhabitant at that time, but she said she had received orders from her master to entertain anyone who passed that way. The old dame treated them in a sumptuous style, and would accept no remuneration for her trouble.

At noon the following day, the party arrived at a river, on one side finely wooded, with lofty pine and cedar trees, and on the other, where their path lay, were cliffs of alum, of an astonishing height, extending for miles along the route. Water as clear as crystal gushed out from interstices in the rocks, and had a most extraordinary effect in the sunshine. The cliffs were striped, red, yellow and white. Elizabeth observed a number of people bathing their eyes with this water,...she concluded they did it medicinally...

The travellers had now reached the Alleghany Mountains, which are three miles high: they meant to repose that night at the base of them, but no house or vestige of a human being was to be met with for many miles, but they perceived from the howling of the



wolves, that the place abounded with living creatures, and this effectually prevented sleeping. The ensuing day they had forty miles to travel before they could reach any house. They with difficulty ascended to the summit of the mountain range, from whence the prospect was truly terrific, the verge on either side of the ridge being so near, that a person might throw a stone from each hand at the same moment and both would reach the base of the opposite sides. They had to proceed along this frightful road for three miles; Elizabeth's head was so giddy to allow of her continuing on horseback, so they all dismounted, and placing her between them, journeyed on till they came to the end of the chain. A gradual descent brought them to a river, which they had to cross; it was about one hundred yards in width, and exceedingly rapid: Elizabeth was alarmed, but needlessly, for they reached the opposite side in perfect safety. They sat down on the bank for rest and dinner, such as it was. They were soon surprised by a noise as of many horses at full gallop, and saw a herd of buffaloes coming at full speed. They passed within ten yards of the party...

When the party reached the place at which they had purposed to stop, they found that the house had been destroyed, but the cattle remained: Elizabeth milked the cows, and they had the milk for supper. As night drew on, the wolves became very troublesome, attracted by the cattle. Thomas Hicks and the servant took their guns and killed two wolves; the others set up a howl that made the wood resound, and filled the hearers with terror. The following morning the wearied party recommenced their journey...The road they had to travel was by the side of New River, over almost impassable rocks. At last, worn out with the fatigue of climbing, they arrived at the Falls of the Cannaway, from which place they had still nine miles to proceed before they reached their destination.

...at eleven o'clock they arrived at the farm. Elizabeth was shocked to find no accommodations but that which was constructed of logs, laid one upon another, with notches cut in them, to keep all together: the only bedstead was made of forked stakes, driven in the ground with boards on either side, and planks across them: on these was laid a covering of bark and upon that a bed of leaves. This had been Mr. Hicks' accommodations when he first came up, and he resigned it to his daughter, who now, for the first time, was sensibly struck by the alteration in their situation, and stood weeping by his side...

Mr. Hicks, on first visiting the place, had planted a quantity of potatoes, which were now fit for use, and had also sown a very promising crop of grain. They had no fear of a scarcity of provisions, for wild turkeys abounded, and fruits in profusion. Elizabeth describes the grapes which grew wild in the cane brake, as a most beautiful sight: large bunches two feet long, and the grapes larger than the largest nutmegs, hanging as thickly as possible between the canes which supported the vines, and she adds that no words could do justice to the beauty of the picture. They also fortunately discovered some cattle, which had been left there by the military detachment. Elizabeth immediately established a dairy, the care of which devolved entirely upon herself, and her father despatched the guide to the Block Houses for materials and hands to build...

They had been at the farm three months, and the house being nearly finished, Mr. Hicks determined to fetch the rest of his family. He left his daughter to the care of her brother, charging him if he had any reason to be alarmed of the incursions of the Indians, to remove directly with her to the Block Houses, about eleven miles from where they were, a place of undoubted safety. It was now October, and Elizabeth was daily employed at the cane brakes in gathering grapes to dry for their winter store, and in extracting juice from the fruit of the honeycomb tree, which made an excellent beverage.

The winter passed tranquilly, but one morning in April 1774, as the family were pursuing their accustomed avocations, they were surprised by a party from the Block

Houses, headed by Captain Gilmore, who informed them that the Indians were out, and that it would be impossible to remain any longer at the farm in safety.

Elizabeth, in all the eagerness of alarm, quitted her employment of sowing peas in the garden, and collecting what of their apparel was necessary, locked up the house, and the whole of the party set off on horseback. They had proceeded a few miles, when the spies who had been sent on before, returned, informing them that the Indians were in ambush near a road which they must pass if they pursued the track they had at first intended. In this dilemma they had no choice, but had to return, and cross a river adjacent to the farm, after which the road led direct to their place of refuge. Here, at length, after many panics, they arrived in safety.

...Captain Gilmore offered his protection in the absence of her brother, and proposed going to the farm to see the work done, but she insisted upon going herself, saying she would not be left in the garrison. He acquiesced,...They soon reached the farm, and found that the Indians had made free with the house and its contents. The men were directly set to work by Captain Gilmore, in the fields and garden. Elizabeth went to her dairy, and when her attendance was no longer required there, sat down in the house to spin...

Nine days elapsed between Thomas's departure and return, and Elizabeth at once upbraided him for leaving her unprotected among a number of strange men, but he parried the attack in saying she was only a child.

It was the middle of June, and everything was in a flourishing condition, when intelligence arrived that the Indians were out, and that it would be necessary for all settlers to go down to the Block Houses. Elizabeth removed all she could from the house to a large cave in a rock which she had accidentally discovered, and where the goods would remain in perfect security.

Arrived at the Block Houses, they found an order from Captain Arbuckle (the Commander at Point Pleasant) that all the settlers and the garrison at the Block Houses should hasten to the Point. They all, therefore, without delay, got into canoes, and arrived the next morning at the end of their voyage.

On the third day Captain Arbuckle asked if Thomas had any commands for the farm, as he was going to send a boat up that way for his family. Elizabeth was very solicitous to return by this opportunity, and upon learning by enquiry that the settlers had been sent for merely through the cowardice of the Captain, who thought his garrison wanted strengthening, she lost no time in returning home, understanding that everything there was quiet.

On reaching the Block Houses they experienced no common joy in finding there Mr. Hicks and his family. There was much to tell on both sides after a twelve-month's absence.

Thomas came in for a considerable share of reproof for his neglect of his sister in delegating his right of protecting to another, and a stranger.

Source: Elizabeth Hicks: A True Romance of the American War of Independence 1775-1783. Abridged from her own manuscript by her daughter, Fanny Bird; completed and edited by her granddaughter, Louisa J. Marriott. William Hardwick, Publisher. 7, Choumert Road, Peckham, S.E., London, 1902. Pp. 9-11, 14-23, 25-26.

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## DANIEL TRABUE'S MARTIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE KENTUCKY WILDERNESS 1778

The same Fall or beginning of Winter Col. G. Rogers Clark from Hanover was Fixing for a Campaign to go Down the Ohio to the Falls. The Virginia Legislator had authorised him to raise an army and go westward, and my Oldest brother-to wit, James Trabue-agreed with him to inlist some men and go with him as Lieut. I agreed to go with him. I got well and hearty and in the last of January or February 1778 we set out for our Journey. The most of the men that had enlisted with my brother had gone on to kentucky before christmas.

Their was only 7 of us and a negro boy went throug the wilderness together in March 1778. We all had good rifles and good Ammonition. On Holston we took provision for our Journey. We understood a little provision would Do as we could kill a plenty on the way. We entered the wilderness in high spirits. I was truly Delighted in seeing the mountains, Rivers, hills, etc., spruce, pine, Laurril, etc. Every thing looked new to me. Traveling along in Powls Valley where the Indians had broak up some people, seeing wast Desolate Cabbins I began to feel strange.

We went on our Journey and came in sight of the noted place called Cumberland Gap. We encamped all night (yet we was 3 or 4 Mile off) in a wast Cabin, and it was a Rainey blustry night. When Morning came the weather was clear, and after we ate our breackfast a little after sunrise we persued on our Journey. When we got near to the Gap at a lorril branch where the indean war road comes in the Kentucky road (this indian Road Crosses the Gap at this place from the Cherekeys to the shoney town). And at this branch where the indian road comes in we saw fresh Indian tracks.

James Trabue ordered us every one to alight, prime our Guns afresh, and pick our flints if they needed it, and put 2 bullits in each man's mouth. And if we could come up with the indians we must fight our best . The Indians' track was fresh and was Just gone the way we was going.

James Trabue and one other man went on foot about 100 yards ahead. And our orders was if they Discoved the Indians they would Jump one side behind trees. And when we saw that we must all Dismount and run up to fight, and the negro boy must stay and mind the horses. We had one man with us that was named Lucust. He said he wishd he could come up with the indians. He wanted so bad to have the chance of killing them. He said he knew he could kill 5 him self. He Could shoot. He could Tomerhack and make use of his bucher knife and slay them.

We still persued the indians. Their track was plain in places and after we got through the gap going Down the mountain the Indian tracks was still their. It looked like I was going out of the world.

When we got Down the mountain my brother called on me and a nother man to go before and told us to go fast. We walked very fast and some times run. When I was on before I could have a plain view of their Tracks, and in one place where the indians crossed a mirery branch I saw 3 Trails. I then supposed that their was many Indians as they was apt to step in one another's tracks.

When I was returnd from going before and others in our places, I told my brother about the 3 Trails and told him my fear about the quanity of Indians. He said he had paid perticular attention to the sighn and he Did not think their was more Indians than white men. He said we all had good guns and good powder and we could beat them if we could

git the first fire, unless they was Greatly over our number and he Did not think they was. And he said the main thing was to have a good resolution.

I was Giting very fraid we would be Defeeted, and as we went on I talked some with Lucust again. He still talked the same way of killing several of them. I for my part began to feel chikinhearted. I was afraid I should be killed in this Drary howling Wilderness but I never mentioned it to any one. I thought if we come in contact with the indians I would keep behind or in the reare, but I thought that would not Do as I might be called a coward. I thought, "I wish I could have courage like Lucust. I would be glad." Mr. Lucuast was my main Dependence and a poor Dependence he was. I then wished I was back in Old Virginia.

We came by this time neare the indians, and the water was mud where they would cross the branches. I knew although I was only a boy I was as active as any we had in loading and Shooting or runing, and I would try and have resolution but my heart would go piti pat.

All at once I saw the 2 men that was before Jump out of the road and was behind Trees. I Jumped off[f] my horse as quick as a cat and run with all my might to the explorers that was before looking ahead. And Just before I got up to the 2 Men I saw the Indians before runing and Juming and Dogeing away. I run with all my might and tryed to git a shoot at them. I had liked to have got a shoot once or twice. I observed these 2 men as I passed by them was also trying to run a head and shoot.

It appeared the indians was seting Down in the road Ateing and they never saw the 2 men until they saw us, and as we was runing up we appeared many. We suppressed them and so they Dashed off. I passed where they had been seting Down. I Discovered plunder lying their but persued after them. My brother Spoke to me and said, "Daniel, Take a tree!" I then Jumed behind a tree until the men got evin with me. I had never looked behind until this time to see where the rest was.

My brother said, "Boys, scatter to the Right and left. Let us persue after thim a little further but look sharp." Their was fully as many Indians as their was of us. We went on a bout 200 yards and called a halt.

And when we got back to the Indian plunder we found 7 packits, 5 boughs and arrows, 3 shot bags and powdir horns, several blankets, several new shirts, new fine leggans full of silver Broaches, brich cloaths full of silver broaches, one brass kittlé, and many other things. And when we was picking up this plunder and laughfing out a loud, this negro boy picked up a something a little one the side made with Feathers like a ravin. The negro boy said, "Lord! Lord!" with a loud laugh. "What is this?"

James Trabue said, "This is their thing they pow wouw with or cunger with, but," says James, "I thought I told you to mind the horses."

The negro said, "Lucust is their and I thought as he stayed their with the horses I would come and see what you was Doing."

James T(rabue) then hollowed and sayed, "Lucaust, look sharp on the other side and Don't let the indians git the horses." We could see him behind a tree near the horses but he came runing Down to us half bent. James T. said, "Why did you not stay to mind the horses?"

He answered, "I was afraid to stay by my silf."

"And why Did you not come agreeable to my order?" said James.

"I was afraid," said he, "they would Git my horse," said Lucust.

James would swear when he was angrey. He cursed him for a D[arned] Coward.

We picked up all the plunder and ate their Meat that they was eating. We Deprived them of Finishing their Dinner.

The men praised me very much for being a brave soldier as I was the foremost man until stopt. I then thought that all Dangers wa'n't Death. I Did not tell them for some time after we come to talk about it of my fears. They was more of them that was very much afraid that their was too many Indians for us. We kept 2 Men a head as before until we had got past their war road.

We went on much Gratyfyed and carryed all this plunder with us to Boonsburrrough. Our provision Give out. We could not kill any thing to eat. Thirsday morning [(April 16, 1778)] about Day light we ate the last of our provision, which was one Rasher of hog bacon to each man. And not a nother mouthfull Did we git until sunday [which was easter sunday] about 2 o'clock when we got to Boonsbourrah on the Kentucky River. The people all ran out over Joyed to see strangers come to their town or Fort. They Give us something to eat. They quickly asked us when we first spoke to them if we had seen any Indians on the road. We told them all about it.

We sold the Indian plunder in the Fort on Munday at vandue and it Fetched Fifty shillings for each man. Lucust got no part of the plunder. The negro boy got his shear. I bought some of this plunder, some nise wamp um and a shot bag and powder horn, etc.

I was much pleased to be on the banks of Kentucky River-the River that had been so much Talked about. We got bear meat and buffilow and venson aplenty in this fort to eat, but not bread to be had and not any salt.

My brother James expected to have found some of his men hear but it was not so. 2 of his men Did go their-to wit, Thomas Brooks and Williams Brooks. And they went with Col. Boon to the Blue Licks to make Salt and the Indeans took them all Prisoners-to wit, 27 men including Col. Boon. Some of Brother James' Men was Gone to Logan's Fort. We concluded to go to Logan's fort in a few Days but we would stay hear and rest a while.

We had to turn our horses in the woods. And the very next Day when James and my self was hunting our horses not fair from the fort, wee killed a very fine Deer and some of our company killed Deer, Turkeys, etc.

The people in the fort was remarkable kind and hospetable to us with what they had. But I thought it was hard times-no bred, no salt, no vegetables, no fruit of any kind, no Ardent sperrets, indeed nothing but meet. Yet we was well off to what we was in the wilderness before we got hear. The sunday before I got hear I was so hungry that if mony could have got it I think I would have gave \$10 or 20 for one Diet. It was easter sunday and that was a noted Day in Old Virginia, and I thought, "If I was only their how I could eat. But I Don't Doubt but it was an advantage to us suffer to for food on the Road as the fair we now have will Do, as hunger is the best of sause.

In about one week we went on to Logan's fort about Forty miles through the woods without any road. We found the way very well. When we Got their we found some more of our company and their was Great Joy. The people in this fort lived much better than at Boonsborrough fort. They had plenty of Milk and Butter and some Bread. I was very much pleased and Delighted with the people and our fair too.

In a very few Days I went to the woods with some hunters to hunt. I was much plesed with the land and we killed some Bears. I had brought with me from Old Virginia a first-rate bull Dog that would seize any Ox or bull or horse. And the first bear he come up with was near where we could see him and he was a very large Old he bear, and my Dog run up when the other Dogs was abaying him. My Dog seized him, and the bear Raised up his paw and knocked the Dog Down a hill many yards. It Disabled him so we was obliged to

leave him in the woods. We got the bear and he was a fine one. We made out our loads and went to the fort and in about 2 Days the Dog came home.

And after that he became to be one of the best hunting Dogs at the fort. He would never after that seize a bear by the head but would seize by the hinder part and when the bear would turn to him he would Jump back. Every one in the fort would get my Dog when they was going out. They Generally took several Dogs to the woods. They was very beneficial in killing bears and Buffaloes. I thought the beautyfulest sight I ever Did see was to see a parsil of Dogs in full chase after a bair and they a yelping every Jump. They would soon stop him and then the hunters would shoot him. I soon got so that I could eat meat without salt very well.

In a few weeks a number of men came from Virginia for to go with Col. Clark. They was stationed at Logan's and Hirodsburgh, redy when they might be wanted.

Ben logan was then Capt. The fort was on his land, and inside of the fence thir was land not cleared and he was willing for us to raise Corn. My brother James and myself cleared up about one acre of land and planted it in corn to see how it would grow and it made a fine crop.

We went several times in the woods exploreing the country and hunting, but as the indeans was in the habit of watching the roads they had to be very caucious and not to go any road in Day light.

I soon lost my horse and several others. It was supposed the indians got them. Their was an Old Duchman lost his horses and he and myself concluded, although we could not hear off or find our horses near about the fort, we would go some Distance in serch of our horses. So we set out on foot, took some provision with us.

We hunted all Day but could not find them. I suppose we went 15 or 20 Miles eastward, thinking they might have gone to wards the Old Settlement. We took up camp in the woods, was afraid to make fire, wropt our blankets around us, and went to sleep and slept very well.

When Morning came this Duchman said to me, "Do you stay hear while I go one side." He took his gun in his hand and went out of my sight. He stayed some time. I would have been uneasy if he had not left his blankit where he had lay. After a while he came back and with a smile said, "I have made all things fast so that no indean can hurt us this day."

I said, "Mr. Lail," as that was his name, "how can you Do this thing?"

He said he was endowed with such power, he could spell their guns and Do many things.

I then told him I was faithless about these things.

He said as I was young I knew no better but he knew better.

"Well," said I, "will We find our horses to Day?"

He said he had been trying for that but something was rong. In that matter he could not tell, but one thing was certain. The horses was not on that rout. We would go back to the fort by takeing a rounderbut rout.

So we set off[f]. We was on foot. We walked very pert, stoped to eat when we was a hungry and when we came in about 2 or 3 Miles of the fort we came to the road. Mr. Lail was before and he took the road. I said, "Mr. Lai[l], let us not keep the road. It is too Dangerous."

Mr. Lai[l] said, "Te cane preak is so pad to co through, and ted I not tel you tat no Indin in De nation coud hurt us dis day?"

I said, "Mr. Lai[l], I am afraid to go along the road. Let us take thrugh the cain."

Mr. Lai[l], "You are unpeleafer. I tel you Dere is no tanger. So com long."

So off we started and when we got about 100 yards from that place Mr. Lail's gun went off accidentally and he was so bad Frighted that he Jumped out of the road, leaving his gun and his big brim hat almost equal to an umberel lying in the road. I hollowed to him to stop.

He said, "Was tat you who shoots?"

I said, "No."

"Who was it Then?"

I said, "I Don't thing any body shot."

He said, "Wat was tat ten like a cun close by mine head?"

I said, "Mr. Lail, what do you leave your gun in the road for? Come and pick up your Gun and hat."

He came part of the [way] and would turn back, wanting me to explain to him the matter.

At last I picked up his gun and said, "Your own gun went off." He then came all in a trimble and took his gun and started in the cain. I said, "Load her," to which he Did.

He then said, "Some ting is gone rong. We must not keep De road."

So we kept through the cain to the fort and we never found our horses. No Doubt but the Indeans Got them. Capt. Logan said he saw a trail of horses where the indeans took them off. Capt. Ben Logan would frequently take men out of the fort before Day and go to notable places and wach for Indians. I went with him many times.

Mr. Linday was commissary for the garrisons we had, and when Col. Clark landed at the falls of Oheia in June he began to erect a garrison at that place and sent to us to come on. We hastend to him and Joined him. And this Mr. Linsay was now employed by congress to go to New Orleans with a bill of Credit to git Goods for the soldiars' Cloathing for the united states army from the spanish Government. He went and got the goods the same year and fetched them up in a large ceal boat or boats.

My brother James now was put in as Commessary for the 4 Garrisons-to wit, Boonsbourough, Logan's fort, Herodsbugh, and Lewisvile or falls of Ohia. I imediately under took to be Debety Commessary at Logan's fort. I took possesson of the publick stoore and publick horses, etc. at Logan's fort. My brother James had Deputies at every Garrison and he would go from one place to the other.

Col. Clark went on with his campaign. He took the Govener Roseblock at the Elinoise at Caskaskey. This Gov. Roseblock was a French man but could speak English that you could understand him. This govener was a French man. He was fetched through Ky. and sent on to Virginia. Col. Clark also took the O[hio] post now Called Vinsains.

James Trabue was very active in his Duty at the Defferent Garrisons and soon had them well supplied with provisions by having hunters out, etc. And when he Received the publick stoors their was a quantity of powder at each of these Garrisons that had Got spoilt so that it would not Do for Rifles to kill indeans or to hunt with. James Trabue emedeately employed men to Work this powder over. He understood it him self and shewed them how to work it. So we soon had a plenty of good powder, and when Clark's men came back Returning home we could suply them with provisions.

The Commanding offecers was much plesed with James Trabue. He was almost constant agoing from Fort to Fort, and some times he would send me and then he would attend our Magazene or publick stoore. James Trabue was very perticular with his Deputies. Very often he examined their books of the provisions and ammunition and their Vouchers of Delivery and urge them to accurecy, etc.

This business kept me very busy and I was willing to be kept busy. My wages was pretty good. I got the same pay as a Captain got or More. Some times when I could spare the time I would go out my self with a hunter or two and fetch loads of Meet in to our stoore.

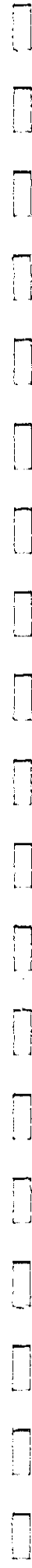
Source: Chester Raymond Young (ed.). Westward Into Kentucky: The Narrative of Daniel Trabue. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1981. Pp. 44-51.

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**LEGACY:  
REVOLUTION AND ITS  
AFTERMATH**



## INSTRUCTIONS OF COLONEL CLARK (Public)

Lieut. Colonel George Rogers Clark:

You are to proceed, without loss of time, to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia under your own orders. They are to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them, for three months after their arrival at that place; but to receive pay, etc., in case they remain on duty a longer time.

You are empowered to raise these men in any county in the Commonwealth; and the county lieutenants, respectively, are requested to give all possible assistance in that business.

Given under my hand at Williamsburgh, January 2, 1778.

P. Henry.

(Private.)

VIRGINIA SCt.

In Council, Wmsbug, Jan 2, 1778.

Lieut. Colonel George Rogers Clark:

You are to proceed with all convenient Speed to raise Seven Companies of Soldiers to consist of fifty men each officered in the usual manner & armed most properly for the Enterprise, & with this Force attack the British post at Kaskasky.

It is conjectured that there are many pieces of Cannon & military Stores to considerable amount at that place, the taking & preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate therefore as to succeed in your Expectation, you will take every possible Measure to secure the artillery & stores & whatever may advantage the State.

For the Transportation of the Troops, provisions, &c., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt for Boats, &c. during the whole Transaction you are to take especial Care to keep the true Destination of your Force secret. Its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to Capt<sup>n</sup> Smith to secure the two men from Kaskasky. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

It is earnestly desired that you show Humanity to such British Subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white Inhabitants at the post & the neighbourhood will give undoubted Evidence of their attachment to this State (for it is certain they live within its Limits) by taking the Test prescribed by Law and by every other way & means in their power, Let them be treated as fellow Citizens & their persons & property duly secured. Assistance & protection against all Enemies whatever shall be afforded them, & the commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable Demands, they must feel the Miseries of War, under the direction of that Humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, & which it is expected you will ever consider as the Rule of your Conduct, & from which you are in no Instance to depart,

The Corps you are to command are to receive the pay & allowance of Militia & to act under the Laws & Regulations of this State now in Force as Militia. The Inhabitants at this Post will be informed by you that in Case they accede to the offers of becoming Citizens of this Commonwealth a proper Garrison will be maintained among them & every Attention bestowed to render their Commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the Dominions of both France & Spain.

It is in Contemplation to establish a post near the Mouth of Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskasky will be easily brought thither or otherwise secured as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand for powder & Lead necessary for this Expedition. If he can't supply it the person who has that which Capt<sup>a</sup> Lynn bro<sup>t</sup> from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders & that may be delivered to you. Wishing you success, I am

Sir, Your h'ble Serv.,  
P. Henry.

Source: George Rogers Clark. Col. George Rogers Clark's Sketch of his Campaign in the Illinois in 1778-1779. Reprint edition. New York: The Arno Press, Inc., 1971. Pp. 95-97

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### DANIEL TRABUE REMEMBERS DISRUPTIVE INDIAN INCURSIONS 1778

The indians was very troublesome this summer. They was almost or very often waching the roads, killing Men, or steeling our horses, or killing our cattle.

Col. Harrod lived at Hirrodsburgh. His wif's father and mother lived at our Fort-to wit, Loga's Fort. Thir name was Cobern. They moved to Herodsburgh and anumber of men conducted them when they moved but they Did not Remove all their Goods, etc., and old Mr. Cobern came up for the ballance of goods and had only 2 Men with him -To wit, Mr. Walker and Mr. McCoy. And in the morning when he was packing up to Depart Capt. Logan told him it was not prudent for him to go with so few men, if he would stay to the next day he would make some arangement for him to have a guard.

He said he wanted no guard, their was no Danger, the Indians was not always a waching the road, that it was not long since the Indians left this place. He said, "Some time hence their may be Danger but their is none now. I will go and you need not give yourself any uneasyness about us."

So they bid us adieu and left our Fort, and in about 2 hours Mr. McCoy came back with the Dreadfull Mellencholy knews that Mr. Cobern and Mr. Walker was killed and he Narrowly made his escape. This happened about 2 Mile from Logan's Fort.

Capt. Ben Logan emedeately went to the place with about 13 Men. When he Got their he found Mr. Cobern and Walker killed and skulped. They found that the indeans had persued McCoy some Distance to wards Herodsburgh and they (the endians) thought he was gone on that way. So they concluded the people at logan's Fort woud not know it, so they put the plunder in a cain break and hopped the horses and then was gone to wards the fort. The conjecter was from the sighn their was 9 or 10 Indeans.

Logan sent back Alexander Montgomery to tell Capt. May to take some men and go to big lick and wach their, while he would stay with the plunder and horses. James Trabue and Capt. May and about 8 other Men went emedeately. I got my gun to go but soon found their was none but Mr. McCoy to be left in the fort and none wanted to stay.

Brother James said, "O Dan, Stay! We must not all leave the fort."  
So I stayed with only one man-to Wit, Mr. McCoy. We quickly bared up the fort gates.

Capt. R. May and the men went to the lick and went on the back side in a Gut and lay concealed, and after a while they saw the indeans coming. Their was 9 indeans. Capt.

May said, "Boys, now Don't shoot until I give you some Itam. I will give the word. I want the endeans to come near to us."

James Trabue says, "Boys, look! Don't you see that Indean their with a Naked belley? Don't none of you shoot at him. I want to kill him my self."

While the men was a waiting for the indeans to get nearer and for Capt. May to give them the word they heard May's gun snap, and they looked at Cap. May and his gun was snaped. They all emedeately thought that Capt. May wanted to cheet and have the first fire to kill one Inden and they emedeately all fired. Brother James Trabue's white belly Indian fell and 2 or thre more fell and was badly wounded.

The indeans Jumpt to trees and cursed our men and said, "Dam son a bich, come hear." These wounded Indians appeared to crawl off or was helped off. They was at the edge of a cain break.

They (the whites) got no indian. They come to the Fort and so Did Capt. Logan and his men as it was night.

The next morning by times Capt. Logan, Mr. Whitley (who was after this the Noted Col. Whitley), and about 18 men in number (I made one of this of this number) went to the place and had anumber of Dogs. They thought they could track them with Dogs through the cain. We saw plain where 4 or 5 bled Freely and as the cain was so thick we could not Discover them. We was a hunting them the hole of one long summer's Day. In the course of the day we passed by wheare Mr. Cobern and Walker was killed. We stoped an few Minuts only and put logs over them to keep the wolves from getting them. We made no Discovery of Indians this day.

Mr. McCoy stayed several Days with us until he got a good chance to go home to Herrodsburgh.

I think it was some time in July we was to have the first court that was to be in Kentucky County. The Court was held at Logan's Fort.

Several men came from Herrodsbourgh to court. And when they arived they Give intelegence that the Indians had fired on them about half way to Harrodsburgh which was Ten Mile from logan fort and one of thir men come to ride away from Poge and leave him for their was 18 or 20 Men and only about 5 indeans; but the fact was the indeans was in a cain break and our men Did know how many their was.

Capt. Ben Logan called out, "Boys, Git ready! We must go their and see what is Done." He and his men started in a few Minuts on foot. They went brisk a bout 13 Men. The fact was at that time their was but few men belonging to the fort as some wee gone with Col. G.R. Clark.

The court meet and Done some little businss and adjurned to the next court in course. As well as I can recolect Col. Bowman, Capt. Reddle, Col. Richard Calleway, and Capt. Ben Logan weare the Majezstrats of the Court of Ky. They chose Levy Todd for their Clerk. Col. John Todd was Their Lawyer.

Capt. Ben Logan was gone and went to where Mr. Poge was. They found him in the woods badly wounded. They made a littler and carryed him home to Harrodsburgh and got their the same night. Mr. Poge lived a few Days and Died.

The next Day when this Valueable Capt. Logan and his Valuable Men was comeing home near the same place where they [the Indians] shot Poge they fired on Logan and his men and wounded Hugh Leeper. These men Returned the fire. The Indians were in a very thick cain break; but Logan and his men rushed in the cain after them and they fled. They got Pog's gun their with these endeans. The endeans bled much and from accounts by Prisoners their was but one Indean that got home. The rest killed but got none of them.

Logan and his men made a litter and staid home with H. Leeper. They was afraid to come along the road with this wounded man so they took the woods and Dark caught them when they was 5 Miles off in the night.

Capt. Logan waked me out of my bed and told me he could not git no body to go to the assistence of these poore fellow. The fact was we had no more men.

I told him I would go.

He said I must go by the little flat lick which was about 3 Miles, then through the woods North course about 2 Mile.

I had 2 publick horses in a horse pen. I took them. A negro man and a Duch boy with horses accompanied me. We took some provision for the men, as they had nothing to eat since Morning when they left Herrodsburgh.

Capt. Logan sayed he was very Doubfull I would not find them but he said he could not help it, he himself was tired Down and so was the men. But he said to me, "If you Don't find them in the night when Day comes you can by sirching about their." But he said, "Try to bring the wounded man in to night if posible but I am Doubfull that he is mortally wounded."

So I went on with my Rifle. The Negro and Duch boy also took guns. We went on brisk. We had a path to the little flat lick. I then steered my course as well as I could. I thought it would be a mere Marricle if we found them in the night but we found them.

We saw their fire and went to them and talked as we apprached on them. Archer McKinney was setting up with Leeper to give him water, etc. And when they heared us a comeing, Mr. McKinney said, "They are a coming."

One of their men was a yankey by the name of Phillips, understood as he was a sleep that the Indeans was a coming. He Jumed up and cryed out, "O lord! O lord!" and frighted the other men. They Jumped up, run to trees, and cocked their Guns.

I hollowed to them and said, "Don't shoot! We are friends." I looked at my Brother soldier Leeper and saw how he was wounded. I was very sorry indeed.

The men eat of the provision we gave them. They concluded they would not go until Morning. It was not long to Day and Morning Came we set out for the fort. Hugh Leeper was put on a horse and Archer McKinney road behind him and held him on the horse and we got in safe early in the morning.

Mr. Leeper was shot through the body near the left brest with 2 bullets-one about one Inch above the other. The bullits went clere through his body. It was thought he would Die but he survived and got soon well again.

Our Court Jentry went home on this day.

The endians stole almost all the horses we had belonging to Logan's Fort. Some men had been to the indian towns and stole horses and had good suckcess in the adventer.

Alexander Montgomery and Simon Kenton asked me if I would go with them to the Indian towns and to horses, and I and G. Clark agreed to go. We 4 agreed to go to Scioto wher Chillicothey now is. We made preparration to go, got some nise halters made with grained raw Buffelow hides. We procured Deer lether lagons, parched corn Meal, and some Jirk. With 2 pair Mockinsons to each man, etc., our Guns and ammonition in the best Order, the next morning we was to start.

My brother James was gone to Boonsbourough about his Comnessary business. Capt. Logan was to keep the publick stoore for me until James Trabue got back. We did not look for him under 2 or 3 Days but he came that night. He was quickly informed of this Matter. He came to me and talked to me about this Matter.

I told him that he knew the indeans had got my horse and we could go and steele horses from them. It was much better to Do that than to give my Mony for a horse. And he could keep the Magezeen until I Returnd and if he had not time to Do it Capt. Ben. Logan would Do it.

James Replyed, "It is a Dangerous attempt. I am not willing for you to hazard your life in that way. One man's life is worth 100 horses and you have got mony a plenty that you brought from home with you." And said he, "I have also got mony. A horse can be got when you want one to go home on." And he further said, "I have got a good horse. I will give you him, for." Said he, "if any thing would happin to you how could I Ever see our Mother? She would say, 'James, how come you to lit Daniel go on such an errand?'" I concluded I would not go.

The next morning [Monday, September 7] A. Montgomery, S. Kenton, and G. Clark started. They went to the Chillicothe town [September 9] and got 4 or 5 likely horses, and when they got to the Ohio the wend blowd and the waves was so high they could not Get thur horses to Cross [September 12]. It was about the middle of the Day when they got their. They made many attempts that Day but none prevailed.

Whin morning [September 13] came the waves was as rough as ever. They attempted to cross again but to no effect. They then left the horses in the bottom to feed and they went on their back track to see and wach. And they got such a nice place to wach if the Indeans had Come they could have Defeeted a smart number. They stayed and wached until nearly the middle of this day.

They then concluded they would go and git the horses and Down the Ohia perhaps to Luisvile. They went to gether up their horses. A. Montgomery had got on One of the horses. The Indeans came on them and fired on them and badly wound Kenton and took him a prisoner, shot Montgomery at a Distance of 100 yards through the head as he was rideing from them in a Gallop and killed him. Mr. Clark run under some Drift wood and conceald himself till night; after night he tyed some logs to gether, laid his gun and things on this raft and shoved it before him and swum over and made his escape. And he came home with this Melincholy knews.

Mr. Kenton Tarryed some time with the indeans. He got well of his wound and they sold him to the british officers at Detroyt and he run away from them and Came home.

Col. Clark got back to the falls of Ohio and sent letters up to our Forts for some of the Jentlemen and ladys to come to see him. He would make a Feast.

My Brother James Requested I should go and Do his buseness at that place. Some of us went from Logan's Fort. We went by Harrodsburgh, stayd all night.

In the morning Col. Harrod and his Lady, Colonel McGarry, and several other Jentlemen and ladys started-about 20 Men and about 6 Ladys. When we had Got a bout one Mile from the Fort I Discovered Indeans in the woods and runing to Get before us. I told McGarry of it.

He halted the company and he went to examine the sighn. He came back, said he saw the indeans, and said we was not able to fight them while we had these wornan.

And we retreated to the Fort. A party of men went from the fort and found the indeans had gone away.

The next morning we set out again. We had about 15 Men and 3 ladies on our next rout. Mistress Harrod Killed a Buffeloe as an exploit on the rout. We got safe to the falls of Ohio.

Col. Clark had got back and fetched up with him a Keel boot with some Rum and sugar which he got from Caskaskey. He had a large new room Just built, hewed logs in the



inside, a good plank or punchem Floore.. That same evining he made a ball. A number of Jentleman and Ladies attended to it, and when these Fort Lady's come to be Dressed up they did not look like the same. Every thing looked anew. We enjoyed our selves very much. Col. Harrod and his lady opened the ball by Dancing the first Gig. We had a plenty of rum Toddy to Drink.

We stayed their some few Days. I made some agreement with Clark for some little salt for our Forts and took it up with us at that time. This salt Clark had fetched from Caskaskey but informed me he would try and have some made at bullits lick for the publick's use. And after a while Col. Clark Did have some Salt made. I finished the buseness I was sent to Do and got a man to go with up a pack up the little might [mite] of salt we got. It was a bout 2 bushels to each Fort which was a great thing to us. With that salt we saved a vast quanetety of Beare Meat. We Returned home again.

Source: Chester Raymond Young (ed.). Westward into Kentucky: The Narrative of Daniel Trabue. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky 1981. Pp. 44-56.

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## GEORGE ROGER CLARK'S STORY OF THE CAPTURE OF OLD VINCENNES

1779

...About eight o'clock we gained the heights in the rear of the town. There still being no enemy in sight, I became impatient to solve the mystery. I ordered Lieutenant Bailey with fourteen men to advance and open fire on the fort while the main body moved in a different direction and took possession of the strongest part of the town. The firing now commenced against the fort, but since drunken Indians often saluted it after nightfall, the garrison did not suppose it to be from an enemy until one of the men, lighting his match, was shot down through a porthole. The drums now sounded and the conflict was fairly joined on both sides. I sent reinforcements to assist in the attack of the garrison, while other dispositions were being made in the town.

...Some time before this, Captain W. Shannon and another man had been captured by one of their scouting parties and brought to the fort that same evening. This party had discovered some signs of us at the Sugar Camp and, supposing it to be a party of observation which intended to land on the height of some distance below the town, Captain LaMothe had been sent to intercept them...We had a scanty supply of ammunition since most of our stores had been put on board the galley. Though her crew was small such a reinforcement would have been invaluable to us at this juncture. Fortunately, however, at the time it had been announced that all of the goods in the town were to be seized for the King's use (the owners were to receive bills of credit in return), Colonel LeGras, Major Bosseron, and others had buried the greater part of their powder and ball. This ammunition was immediately produced and we found ourselves well supplied by these gentlemen....

The garrison was now completely surrounded and the firing continued without intermission (except for about fifteen minutes shortly before dawn) until nine o'clock the following morning. Our entire force, with the exception of fifty men kept as a reserve in case of some emergency, participated in the attack...I had acquainted myself fully with the situation of the fort and town and had detailed information concerning each of them. The cannon were on the upper floors of strong blockhouses located at each angle of the fort eleven feet above the ground, and the portholes were so badly cut that our troops lay under

their fire within twenty or thirty yards of the walls. The enemy did no damage except to the buildings of the town, some of which were badly shattered, while their musket fire in the dark was employed in vain against woodsmen who were sheltered behind the palings of the houses...

Since we could not afford to lose any of our men, great pains were taken to keep them sufficiently sheltered and to maintain a hot fire against the fort in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them. The embrasures for their cannon were frequently closed, for our riflemen finding the turn direction would pour in such volleys when they were open that the artillerymen could not stand to the guns...The enemy fired at the flash of our guns, but our men would change their positions the moment they had fired. On the instant of the least appearance at one of their loopholes, a dozen guns would be fired at it...

Conduct such as this kept the garrison in a constant state of alarm. They did not know what moment they might be stormed or sapped as they could plainly see that we had thrown up entrenchments across the streets and we frequently appeared to be busily engaged on the bank of the river, which was within thirty feet of the wall...Knowing that we were daily liable to be overpowered by the numerous hands of Indians on the river in case they should again heartily join the enemy (as to the likelihood for which we were yet uninformed) we resolved to lose no time, but to gain possession of the fort as soon as possible...

The Indians belonging to the different hostile tribes had left the town and neighborhood but Captain LaMothe still hovered about, waiting an opportunity to make good his way into the fort. Parties of our men attempted in vain to surprise him, although a few of his men were captured, among them one Maisonville, a famous Indian partisan. Two lads who had captured him led him to a position in the street and fought from behind him as a breast-work, supposing the enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him. An officer who discovered them at this amusement ordered them to untie him and take him away under guard. This they did, but were so inhuman as to remove part of his scalp on the way, but did him no other harm...

Shortly before dawn the troops were withdrawn from the fort, except for a few observation parties, and the firing totally ceased. Orders were given that in case LaMothe should approach not to alarm or fire on him without the certainty of killing or capturing the whole party. Within less than a quarter of an hour he passed within ten feet of an officer and small party of men who were lying concealed. Ladders were thrown over the walls of the fort and as they mounted them our party raised a shout...but as we did not fire on them they all got over to the great joy of their friends...

The firing immediately recommenced with redoubled vigor on both sides and I do not believe that more noise could possibly have been made by an equal number of men...

Thus the attack continued until nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fourth. Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the day before had a considerable number of letters with them I supposed it to be an express whose arrival we were expecting about this time...Not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy I was afraid these papers might be destroyed. To prevent this I sent a flag of truce to the garrison to demand of Governor Hamilton that he should not destroy the papers, throwing out some threats in case he should do so in the event his garrison should fall into my hand. He answered that they were not disposed to be awed into anything unbecoming British subjects. The firing was warmly renewed for a considerable space of time...

Toward evening a flag of truce appeared with the following proposals.

"Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the

Garrison on condition Colonel Clark shall observe his part a like cessation of any offensive work, that he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be and further proposes that whatever may pass between them two and any other person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain a secret till matters be finally concluded – as he wishes that whatever the result of their conference may be (it may redound) to the honor and credit of each party – If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort Lieutenant Governor Hamilton will speak to him before the Gate.”

Although we had every reason to expect a reinforcement in less than three days that would at once put an end to the siege, I did not think it prudent to agree to the proposal and returned the following answer.

“Colonel Clark’s compliments to Mr. Hamilton and begs leave to inform him that Colonel Clark will not agree to any other terms than that of Mr. Hamilton surrendering himself and Garrison Prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark he will meet him at the Church with Captain Helm.”

We met at the church about eighty yards from the fort, Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Captain Helm who was his prisoner, Major Borman, and myself, and the conference began. Governor Hamilton produced articles of capitulation containing various provisions, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered on being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article I rejected the whole proposal. Hamilton then desired me to make some propositions. I told him I had no offer to make other than I had already done, that they surrender themselves as prisoners unconditionally...If he chose to comply with my demands, the sooner he should do so the better, as it was in vain for him to make any counter proposition...My troops were already impatient and begging for permission to storm the fort. If such a step were taken many of course would be cut down, and the consequences of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking into the fort must be obvious to him...

Various arguments were exchanged for a considerable period of time...I told the governor we would not begin hostilities until a minute after the drums should give the alarm. We took leave of each other and parted, but I had gone only a few steps when the Governor stopped me and politely asked if I would be kind enough to give him my reasons for refusing any other terms than those I had offered to the garrison. I told him I had no objection to giving him my real reason, which simply was that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him and I desired to be free to put them to death or treat them in any other way I might think proper. I said that the cries of the widows and the fatherless they had occasioned upon the frontiers now required their blood at my hands...

I had observed growing distrust in the countenance of Major Hay, who was paying close attention, and this in great measure influenced my conversation. Upon my concluding, “Pray, sir,” said he “who is it that you call Indian partisans!” “Sir,” I replied, “I take Major Hay to be one of the principal ones.” I never saw a man in the moment of execution so stricken as he appeared to be, pale and trembling, and scarcely able to stand. Governor Hamilton blushed and was, I observed, much affected at this behaviour in my presence...I viewed the whole procedure with such sentiments as I suppose are natural to some men under such circumstances. Some moment passed without a word being exchanged on either

side. From that moment my resolution respecting Governor Hamilton's situation changed. I told him we would return to our respective posts when I would reconsider the matter and let him know the result...This was agreed to and we parted. In reporting to our officers that had passed at the conference it was agreed that we should modify our demands and the following articles were sent to the garrison and an answer was immediately returned...

While the conference was being held a party of about twenty warriors, who had been sent to the Falls of the Ohio for scalps and prisoners, were discovered returning. As no firing was going on at the time they entered the plain near the town, they had no suspicion of the presence of an enemy. Captain John Williams was ordered to go out to meet them. The Indians, supposing it to be party of their friends who had come to welcome them, gave the scalp and war whoop and came on with all the parade of successful warriors...When they were within a few steps of each other the chief stopped as if suspicious of something wrong. Captain Williams immediately seized him, whereupon the others, perceiving their mistake, turned in flight. Fifteen of them were killed or captured, however...The Indians who had been taken by the soldiers were tomahawked and their bodies thrown into the river..

...Knowing that we could now prevent any misfortune happening, as we could now dispose our troops so as to render the fort almost useless for defense, I thought it prudent to let the British troops remain in it until morning. We should not have been so suspicious as to take so much precaution, but I must confess I could not help but doubt the honor of men who could condescend to encourage the barbarity of the Indians. Although almost every man had conceived a very favorable opinion of Governor Hamilton (and I believed that what affected myself made some impression on the whole) I was happy to find that while he stayed with us he never deviated from that conduct that became an officer in his situation.

On the morning of the twenty-fifth arrangements were made for receiving the garrison, and about ten o'clock it was surrendered with due formality and everything was immediately arranged by me to the best possible advantage.

Source: Milo M. Quaife (ed.). The Capture of Old Vincennes: The Original Narrative of George Rogers Clark and of His Opponent Gov. Henry Hamilton. Indianapolis, IN: The Bobs-Merrill Company, 1927. Pp. 135-150.

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### **GOVERNOR HAMILTON'S REPORT OF THE CAPTURE OF VINCENNES AND HIS CAPTIVITY IN WILLIAMSBURG 1779**

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 1778 intelligence was brought me by Mr. Francis Maisonville of the attack of the Illinois by Colonel Clarke, the shameful treatment of Monsieur de Rochblave, who was laid in Irons and put into a place where hogs had been kept, ankle deep in filth, the indignities offered Madame de Rocheblave, the destruction of his property &c.

No time was lost in making preparations for executing the Orders of the Commander-in-Chief, should he approve of an attempt to dislodge the Rebels.

September 15<sup>th</sup> I had the honor of a letter from your Excellency, and in consequence wrote to Major de Peyster at Michilimakinac informing him of my design of attempting to dislodge the Rebels from the Illinois.

Having reviewed the Companies of Militia I found there would be as many of them turn out Volunteers as with the regulars LaMothe's Company, and the Indians, would employ what little Craft we had.

Captn. Lernoult who at that time commanded the detachment of the King's (8<sup>th</sup>) Regiment, assisted me greatly in forwarding everything necessary to be provided, and gave permission to Lieutenant Showrd two Serjeants and thirty Rank & File who were all Volunteers to accompany me.

Our numbers (by recollection, as the Rebels got possession of the returns with other papers) were as follows – Of Regulars, one Lieutenant firworker two Matrosses – One Lieutenant 2 Serjeants, 30 Rank and file of the King's (8<sup>th</sup>) Regiment. Of Irregulars One Captain one Lieutenant 2 Serjeants 4 Rank & file – being Volunteers who had been disciplined in the best manner we could compass for about one Year, about seventy Volunteers selected from those who presented themselves at the reviews of the Militia companies of the settlement, and about 60 Indians.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> [October] we arrived at the Miamis town after the usual fatigues attending such a Navigation, the water being remarkably low...

Having pass'd the portage of nine miles, we arrived at one of the sources of the Ouabache call'd the petite Riviere,...

In our progress down the Ouabache difficulties encreased...however by hard labour we made our way, and now approaching within a few days' journey of St. Vincennes, our reconnoitering party brought in a Lieutenant and three Men, sent from Fort Sackville to gain intelligence. The Officer had in his pocket two commissions, one from Lieutenant Governor Abbott, the other from Colonel Clarke, and was in the pay of Congress...

Learning from the prisoners the state of things at St. Vincennes, I sent off parties to lay upon the roads from thence to the Illinois, and to the falls on the Ohio, where the Rebels had a Fort, and a number of families lately, come to settle, their Orders were to intercept any messengers, secure them and their letters, but not to suffer any violence to be offer'd to their persons...

Major Hay was detach'd with orders to fall down the river, and send to the principal Inhabitants of St. Vincennes, acquainting them that unless they quitted the Rebels and laid down their Arms, there was no mercy for them,...Major Hay secured the Arms, ammunition, and spiritous liquors, as soon as the inhabitants laid down their Arms, and the Officer who commanded in the Fort (Captain Helm) being deserted by the Officers and Men who to the Number of 70 had form'd his Garrison, and were in pay of the Congress surrender'd his wretched fort on the very day of our arrival being the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1778....

In the fort we found two iron three pounders, mounted on truck carriages, two swivels not mounted, a very small quantity of ammunition...As to the state of the fort we found it a miserable stockade, without a Well, barrack, platform for small arms, or even a lock to the gate. Such was the moderation and good order observed by the Indians, that not a single person had the slenderest cause for complaint, not a shot was fired nor any inhabitant injured in person or property...As soon as proper precautions were taken for securing our boats, landing our provisions &c, it became a point of consideration whether we should proceed directly to attack the Rebels at the Illinois, or content ourselves with establishing ourselves in this post where we had these several advantages...The state of our provisions, the length of the journey (240 miles) and the want of Carriages, added to the nature of the country, subject to inundations all combined to direct our determination to fortify ourselves here, and wait for reinforcements in the Spring.

Having summon'd the Inhabitants to assemble in the church, I went to meet them, reproach'd them with their treachery and ingratitude, but told them since they had laid down

their arms and sued for protection, that on renewing their Oath of Allegiance they should be secured in their persons and property...

...The state of the Fort was one of our first concerns, in the course of the winter we built a guard-house, Barracks for four companies, sunk a Well, erected two large Blockhouses of oak, musquet proof, with loopholes below, and embrasure above for 5 pieces of Cannon each, alter'd and lined the Stockade, laid the Fort with gravel - ...

A party of 30 Men with an Officer was sent to the Mouth of the Ouabache to intercept any boats that might be sent up the Ohio - as soon as Indian Parties return'd, others supplied their Places, and so well did they execute what was recommended to them, that they did at different times bring in prisoners and prevent intelligence being carried from St. Vincennes to the Illinois, till the desertion of a Corporal and six men of La Mothe's company in the latter end of January, who gave the first intelligence to Colonel Clarke of our arrival.

The fort was on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February in a tolerable state of defence the Work proposed being finish'd - This day, Mr. François Maisonville return'd from a scout having been in pursuit of Deserters, and brought in two Virginias prisoners, whom he had taken on the Ohio. He took me aside immediately and told me he had discovered about four leagues below the fort, fourteen fires, but could not tell whether of Virginians or Savages, I instantly sent off Captain LaMothe, Lieutenant Shieffelin and 20 Men to bring me a more perfect account...The Militia of the Fort had been order'd under arms in the evening...About 5 minutes after candles had been lighted we were alarmed by hearing a Musquet discharged; presently after some more, I concluded that some party of Indians was return'd or that there was some riotous frolic in the Village, going upon the Parade to enquire I heard the Balls whistle, order'd the Men to the Blockhouses, forbidding them to fire till they perceived the shot to be directed against the Fort. We were shortly out of suspence, one of the serjeants receiving a shot in the breast. The fire was now return'd, but the enemy had a great advantage from their Rifles, and the cover of the Church, Houses, Barns, &c...Tho; the night was dark we had a Serjeant Matross and five Men wounded...We dislodged the enemy from the Church, and nearest houses by a few cannon shot from the Blockhouses, but when day appeared and we saw the Inhabitants of the Village had joined the Rebels, we despaired of Captain LaMothe's party regaining the fort, but to our great surprize and joy about half-an-hour before sunrise they appear'd and got into the Fort over the Stockades which were upright, and 11 feet out of the ground, with their Arms in their hands...Mr. Maisonville was betrayed and deliver'd to the Rebels by his own Cousin. The firing was but slack after sunrise, and about 8 o'clock a flag of truce from the Rebels appear'd, carried by Nicholas Cardinal a Captain of the Militia of St. Vincennes, who deliver'd me a Letter from Coll. Clarke requiring me to surrender at discretion, adding with an Oath that if I destroy'd any Stores or Papers I should be treated as a murtherer. Having assembled the Officers and read this letter I told them my intention was to undergo any extremity rather than to trust to the discretion of such sort of people as we had to deal with. They all approve of this resolution,...I return'd for answer to Col<sup>o</sup> Clarke's Note, that threats would not prevent us from doing our Duty as British Subjects, and the Flag having return'd, the firing recommenced...considering we were at the distance of six hundred miles from succour, that if we did not burn the Village we left the enemy most advantageous cover against us, and that if we did, we had nothing to expect after rejecting the first terms, but the extremity of revenge, I took up the determination of accepting honorable terms if they could be procured, else to abide the Worst.

Before anything was concluded the following scene was exhibited, of which I give your Excellency a relation, as it serves to contrast the behaviour of His Majesty's Subjects with that of the Rebels, so often celebrated for humanity, generosity, and indeed every thing virtuous, elevated, and noble.

About 2 o'clock afternoon a party of Indians with some whites return'd from a Scout, ... Colonel Clarke sent off a detachment of 70 Men, against them. The Indian party was 15 or 16 Men, who seeing the English Flag flying at the Fort, discharged their pieces, an usual compliment with those people, they were immediately fired upon by the Rebels and Canadians, two killed on the spot, one shot in the belly, who however escaped, the rest were surrounded and taken bound to the Village, where being set in the Street opposite the Fort Gate they were put to death, notwithstanding a truce at that moment existed. The manner (as related to me by different people, and among others by the man at whose door this execrable feat was perpetrated) was as follows -

One of them was tomahawk'd immediately. The rest sitting on the ground in a ring bound - seeing by the fate of their comrade what they had to expect, the next on his left sung his death song, and was in turn tomahawk'd, the rest underwent the same fate, one only was saved at the intercession of a Rebel Officer, who pleaded for him telling Coll Clarke that the Savages' father had formerly spared his life.

...Mr. Francis Maisonville whom I formerly mentioned was set in a Chair, and by Colo Clarke's order a Man came with a scalping knife, who hesitating to proceed to this excess of barbarity on a defenseless wretch, Colonel Clarke with imprecations told him to proceed, and when a piece of the scalp had been raised the man stopped his hand, he was again ordered to proceed, and as the executor of Colo Clarke's will, was in the act of raising the Skin, a brother of Mr. Maisonville, who had joined the Rebels, stepped up and prevailed on Colo Clarke to desist. The poor man who survived this cruel treatment, and shew'd an unshaken firmness in the minute of impending death, was not afterwards proof to the long confinement he underwent at Williamsburg, the gloominess of his situation affected his spirits first, the apprehension of suffering an ignominious death lower'd them still more, till reason began to be impair'd - ...the unfortunate creature put an end to his miseries and life...

Colonel Clarke yet reeking with the blood of these unhappy Victims came to the Esplanade before the Fort Gate, where I had agreed to meet him and treat of the surrender of the Garrison...

He told me it was in vain to think of persisting in the defence of the Fort, that his cannon would be up in a few hours...that if from a spirit of obstinacy I persisted when there was no probability of relief and should stand an Assault, not a single Soul should be spared...that if I would surrender at discretion and trust to his generosity, I should have better treatment than if I articted for terms - my answer was, that I would then abide the consequence, and never take so disgraceful a step while I had ammunition and provision.

You will be answerable (said he) for the lives lost by your obstinacy. I said...I would accept such terms as might consist with my honor and duty, that knowing what I could pretend to, little time was necessary for drawing up Articles - He said he would think upon it and return in half-an-hour, he returned accordingly accompanied by one of his Captains - I went to meet them with Major Hay, the soldiers in the meantime apprehensive of some ill design, manned the East Blockhouse ready to fire at an instant...Coll Clarke agreed to my sending terms for his consideration - They were sent that same evening, Colonel Clarke made his alterations and I agreed to them, having first called the Officers together, and exposed to them the necessity of the step.

Having given the necessary orders, I pass'd the night in sorting papers and in preparing for the disagreeable ceremony of the next day. Mortification, disappointment, and indignation had their turns.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup>, we marched out with fix'd Bayonets and the Soldiers with their knapsacks – the colors had not been hoisted this morning, that we might be spared the mortification of hawling them down.

...permit me Sir to make a slight digression...On our arrival at St. Vincennes a strict search was made for Gunpowder, all that was to be found in the place was put into the Magazine, and a heavy fine was laid on those who should be found to conceal any, nevertheless Colonel Clarke was supplied by the Inhabitants, his own to the last ounce being damaged on his March.

He himself told me that he should never have attempted to attack us but that he was minutely informed of our situation in every respect.

The evening of the day we capitulated, Colonel Clarke order'd Neck-irons, fetters and handcuffs to be made which in our hearing he declared were design'd for those Officers who had been employed as partisans with the Indians. I took him aside and reminded him that these persons were prisoners of War included in the capitulation which he had so lately set his hand to, he said his resolution was form'd, that he had made a vow never to spare woman or Child of the Indians or those who were employ'd with them – I observed to him that these persons having obey'd my orders were not to be blamed for the execution of them,...and that if he was determined to pass by the consideration of his faith and that of the public, pledged for the performance of the Articles of capitulation, I desired he might throw me into prison or lay me in irons rather than the others – He smiled contemptuously, turn'd away and order'd three of these persons to the guard, till the Irons should be made...

Our Surgeon was robbed of his medicines and instruments Coll Clarke being arbiter for that article of the Capitulation by which the Officers were to take their necessary baggage.

At length on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of March, we were put into a heavy Oak boat, being 27 in Number, with our provision of Flour and pork at common ration, and 14 Gallons of Spirits for us and our guard, which consisted of 23 persons including two officers – We had before us 360 Miles of water carriage and 840 to march to the place of our destination Williamsburgh in Virginia...

Not to trouble your Excellency with remarks made on my journey which are however noted in my dairy, we arrived at the falls of the Ohio the 30<sup>th</sup> of March here we found a number of settlers who live in log houses in eternal apprehensions from the Indians...Col<sup>o</sup> Clarke had promised to send 15 Horses to this place for our use on the March, but that never was perform'd – He had apprized us that there was but little chance of escaping with our lives, the people on the Frontiers were so exasperated by the inroads of the Indians, and in this we found he had told us the truth, being often threatned upon the march and waylaid at different times.

Our guard however behaved very well, protected us and hunted for us else we must have starved for our rations were long since expended...On our long march we had frequently hunger and thirst to encounter as well as fatigue, at length we gained the settled Country and at Lynches ferry on James River, were put into canoes and continued our progress by Water.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of May being on shore to get refreshment we were agreeably surprized to find ourselves at Brigadier Hamiltons quarters, who endeavoured by his kindness and hospitality to make us forget our hardships – The same evening halting at the house of a



Rebel Colonel Lewis, we had the good fortune to see two Officers of the convention Army, Captain Freeman aid de camp to General Reidesel...On the 26<sup>th</sup> A Rebel Captain with a Guard marched us from Beaver dam to Richmond, from thence to Chesterfield, where we remain'd till the 15<sup>th</sup> June, on which day an Officer having a written order under the hand of the Governor of the Province Thomas Jefferson for taking me in Irons to Williamsburgh. I was accordingly handcuff's, put upon a horse, and my servant not being suffered to go with me, my Valise was fasten'd behind me – Captn Lamothe was ordered to accompany me, being in like manner handcuff'd – the fatigues of the march having heated my blood to a violent degree I had several large boils on my legs, my handcuffs were too tight but were eased at a Smiths shop on the road thus sometimes riding and sometimes walking we arrived the 2d evening at Williamsburgh having come 60 Miles – We were conducted to the Palace where we remain'd about half an hour in the Street at the Governors door, in wet cloaths, weary, hungry, and thirsty, but had not even a cup of water offered to us – During this time a considerable Mob gather'd about us, which accompanied us to jail – On our arrival there we were put into a cell, not ten feet square where we found five criminals and Dr. Dejean who was also handcuff'd.

The next day we three were taken out about 11 oClock, and before a number of people our handcuffs taken off and fetters put on in exchange – I was honored with the largest which weighed eighteen pounds eight ounces - ... when our fetters were properly fixed we were remanded to our Dungeon from which the five felons were removed - The light we received was from a grate, which faced the Court of 20 feet square with walls 30 feet high – The prison having been built 60 Years it may be conceived we were subject to one very offensive convenience, in the heat of summer almost suffocating, our door was only open'd to give us water, we were not allowed any candle, and from the first to the last of our confinement we never could find that the Governor or Council had order'd provision of any kind to be made for us except Water with which we were really very well supplied.

August 31<sup>st</sup> – Major Hay with the other Prisoners from Chesterfield arrived at Williamsburgh, the Soldiers were confined in the debtors room, the officers 5 in Number were put into the Dungeon with us which made the heat intolerable.

On Christmas Day the Soldiers were march'd away to King William County - ...

August 1<sup>st</sup> – We were march'd from Williamsburgh – Major Hay and I sent to the Jail at Chesterfield - ...

Source: Milo M. Quaife (ed.). The Capture of Old Vincennes: The Original Narratives of George Rogers Clark and of His Opponent Gov. Henry Hamilton. Indianapolis, IN: The Bobs-Merrill Company, 1927. Pp. 172, 175-177, 181-187, 189-192, 194-198, 200-201, 203-207, 210, 214-215.

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## THE TRAGEDY AT GNADENHUTTEN, SPRING 1782

Little did the congregation imagine, when entering the year 1782, that this would be the most trying year for them; for, although put to great straits for provisions, they trusted in the Lord, that he in due time would relieve them....

Hitherto the Christian Indians, had suffered most from a want of provisions; but now, in the dead of the winter, they also suffered severely from the cold, as, towards the end of January, the cold during the nights, became almost insupportable;... The cattle, finding no pasture in these dreary regions, and we not being able to procure any for them; now began

to perish by hunger, and as provisions for so many people, could not be had even for money, famine took place, and the calamity became general....

The famine daily increasing – and the children crying for victuals, was more than the parents could endure...therefore, consulting with one another on measures to be taken for their relief, their deliberations closed with a resolution, to look to no other quarter for corn, but to their forsaken towns - ...

It has already been stated above, that the Indians, pressed by hunger, had gone to their forsaken towns, to gather, and secure a quantity of corn, that they might fetch the same from time to time, as they wanted it;...and they had already been several weeks there, without the least thought of danger, working both by day and night in gathering and husking corn, and securing it in the woods.

Satisfied with what they had done, and at the point of their departure; four Sandusky warriors (who on their return from the Ohio settlements, had encamped on a run some distance from Gnadenhutten,) gave them notice, where they had been; and added, that having taken a woman and child prisoner, whom they killed and impaled on this side of the Ohio river,....

This report becoming known among all our Indians, and they wishing to take the opinion of the principal men at the three towns thereon, the national assistant Samuel, came from Shonbrun to Salem, (where those from Gnadenhutten met then;) when, a general opinion prevailing, that there could be no danger, if even white people should come in pursuit of those who had committed the murder, for that these immediately would discover they were not the hostile, but the Christian Indians, who they knew, did not go to war from principal, considering the killing of man a great sin; they concluded themselves safe....

On the day our Indians, were bundling up their packs, intending to set off on the next morning; a party, of between one and two hundred white people, from the Ohio settlements, made their appearance at Gnadenhutten. They had already, when within a mile of the place, met with Joseph Shabosh, son of our brother Shabosh, (while he was catching his horses,) and murdered him in a most cruel manner, notwithstanding his telling them who he was, and that he was a white man's son, and begging them to spare his life....

The murdering party, seeing most of the Indians scattered over the corn field at work, (or preparing for the journey) hailed them, as their "friends and brothers, who had purposely come out to relieve them from the distress brought on them by the enemy, on account of their being friends to the American people." The Christian Indians, not in the least doubting their sincerity, walked up to them, and thanked them, for being so kind,...The language of the white people, being the same at Salem, as at Gnadenhutten; the brethren and sisters were easily persuaded to go with them;...

Arriving at the river bank opposite Gnadenhutten their eyes began to open; but it was now too late...Being taken over to the town, O how the prospect was changed!...The Gnadenhutten brethren, sisters and children, were already confined for the purpose of being put to death; they were no longer called Christians as before, but warriors! – the same language was also held to the Salem Indians, - all were declared enemies and warriors, and all they could offer in their defence, was of no avail. They were further told:...Pewter basins and spoons were stolen property; the Indians making use of wooden bowls and spoons. Tea-kettles, pots, cup and saucers, was also declared stolen property....

How must those poor creatures have felt, being sensible of their innocence!...Finding that all entreaties to save their lives was to no purpose – and that some, more bloodthirsty than their comrades, were anxious to being upon them, they united in begging a short delay, that they might prepare themselves for death – which request at length

was granted them. Then asking pardon for whatever offence they had given, or grief they had occasioned to each other, they kneeled down, offering fervent prayers to God their Saviour – and kissing one another, under a flood of tears fully resigned to his will, they sang praises unto him, in the joyful hope, that they would soon be relieved from all pains, and join their redeemer in everlasting bliss.

During the time of their devotion, the murderers were consulting on the manner, in which they would put them to death. Some were for setting fire to the houses they were in, and burning them alive. Others wanted to take their scalps home with them, as a signal of victory, while others remonstrated against either of these plans, declaring, that they would never be guilty of murdering a people, whose innocence was so satisfactorily evinced, ...but finding that they could not prevail on these monsters to spare their lives, they wrung their hands – and calling God to witness, that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Christian Indians, they withdrew to some distance from the scene of slaughter.

The murderers, impatient to make a beginning came again to them, while they were singing, and enquiring whether they were now ready for dying, they were answered in the affirmative; ...One of the party now taking up a cooper's mallet, which lay in the house (the owner being a cooper) saying: "how exactly this will answer for the business," he began with Abraham, and continued knocking down one after the other, until he had counted fourteen, that he had killed with his own hands. He now handed the instrument to one of his fellow murderers, saying, "my arm fails me! go on in the same way! I think I have done pretty well!" ...then having set fire to the houses, they went off, shouting and yelling, on having been so victorious.

The number of Christian Indians murdered by these miscreants, exceeded ninety; all of whom, except four, were killed in the slaughter houses....

Of the above number, sixty two were grown persons, one third of whom were women; the remaining thirty four were children....

Two youths, each of them about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who were shut up with the rest in the houses where the murders were committed, most miraculously escaped... These boys, fortunate in escaping here, were equally so, in meeting together in the woods, and afterwards falling in with the Shonbrun Indians in their flight, were joined by Jacob, before they reached Sandusky. One little boy of eight years old, (named Benjamin), was happily saved by a humane white man of the party, who privately took him off to his home, (where he raised him up to a man,) from whence he afterwards returned to the Indian country....

The murderers returned home in high spirits, as though they had gained a signal victory; and straightway proceeded on to Pittsburg....

Source: John Heckewelder. Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians. Reprinted from the 1820 edition. New York: The Arno Press, Inc., 1971. Pp. 299-302, 311-314, 316-322, 324, 326-327.

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### **DR. KNIGHT RECALLS THE CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF COLONEL WILLIAM CRAWFORD, SPRING 1782**

In consequence of these predatory invasions, the principal officers of the above mentioned counties, namely, Colonels Williamson and Marshall, tried every method in their power to set on foot an expedition against the Wyandot towns,....

The time appointed for the rendezvous, or general meeting of the volunteers, was fixed to be on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May, and the place, the old Mingo town, on the west side of the river Ohio, about forty miles below Fort Pitt, by land; . . .

Col. Crawford was solicited by the general voice of these western counties and districts to command the expedition. He accordingly set out as a volunteer, . . . As there was no Surgeon yet appointed to go with the expedition, Col. Crawford begged the favor of Gen. Irvin to permit me to accompany him, . . .

On Thursday the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, which was the eleventh day of our march, about one o'clock we came to the spot where the town of Sandusky formerly stood; the inhabitants had moved 18 miles lower down the creek nearer the lower Sandusky. . . upon which the field Officers and Captains, determined in council. . . Previous to the calling of this council, a small party of light horse had been sent forward to reconnoitre.

Just as the council decided, an express returned from the above mentioned party of light horse with intelligence that they had been about three miles in front, and had seen a large body of Indians running towards them. In a short time we saw the rest of the light horse, who joined us, and having gone one mile further, met a number of Indians who had partly got possession of a piece of woods before us, whilst we were in the plains; . . .

The enemy being by this time reinforced, flanked to the right, and part of them coming in nearer, quickly made the action more serious. The firing continued very warm on both sides from four o'clock until the dusk of the evening, each party maintaining their ground. Next morning, about six o'clock, their guns were discharged, at the distance of two or three hundred yards, which continued till day, doing little or no execution on either side.

The field officers then assembled and agreed, as the enemy were every moment increasing, and we had already a number of wounded, to retreat that night. . .

We had not got a quarter of a mile from the field of action when I heard Col. Crawford calling for his son, . . . upon which I came up and told him I believed they were on before us. He asked was that the doctor? I told him it was. He then replied they were not in front, and begged of me not to leave him. I promised him I would not.

. . . Capt. Biggs and myself did not think it safe to keep the road, but the Colonel said the Indians would not follow the troops farther than the plains, which we were then considerably past. . . After we had traveled about one mile and a half several Indians started up within fifteen or twenty steps of the Colonel and me. . . the Colonel called to me twice not to fire, upon that one of the Indians ran up to the Colonel and took him by the hand.

They were Delaware Indians of the Wingenim tribe. . . the Colonel and I were then taken to the Indian camp, which was about half a mile from the place where we were captured. . .

Monday morning the tenth of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant; they had eleven prisoners of us and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

Tuesday morning, the eleventh, Col. Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Col. if he had seen Mr. Girty? He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe one of the chiefs. . . This Captain Pipe had come from the town about an hour before Col. Crawford, and had painted all the prisoner's faces black. . . When we marched the Col. and I were kept back between Pipe and Wingenim, the two Delaware chiefs, the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of Indians. . . When we arrived within half a mile of the place where the Col. was executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive; the Indians

had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did also the Col. and me at some distance from them....

In the place where we were now made to sit down there was a number of squaws and boys, who fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them...The young Indian fellows came often where the Col. and I were, and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Col. was afterwards executed; when we came within about half a mile of it, Simon Girty met us,....

Almost every Indian we met struck us either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited until I was brought up and asked, was that the doctor? – I told him yes, and went toward him reaching out my hand, but he bid me begone and called me a damned rascal, upon which the fellows who had me in charged pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

When we went to the fire the Col. was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire and then they beat him with sticks and their fists...They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Col's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice and return the same way. The Col. then called to Girty and asked if they intended to burn him? Girty answered, yes. The Col. said he would take it all patiently. Upon this Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz.: about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears; when the throng had dispersed a little I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied;...Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder...Some of the squaws took broad boards, upon which they would carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty and begged of him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer he called to him again. Girty then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns....

Col. Crawford at this period of his sufferings besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three-quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last, being almost exhausted, he lay down on his belly; they then scalped him and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me "that was my great captain." An old squaw (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain of the Devil,) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes and laid them on his back and head, after he had been scalped, he then raised himself upon his feet and began to walk round the

post; they next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

The Indian fellow who had me in charge, now took me away to Capt. Pipe's house, about three-quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel's execution. I was bound all night, and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid spectacle. Next morning, being June 12<sup>th</sup>, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese town,...We soon came to the spot where the Colonel had been burnt,...I saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire,...I suppose after he was dead they had laid his body on the fire....

Source: U.P. James, Publisher. Narratives of the Perils and Sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover, among the Indians, during the Revolutionary War... Cincinnati, OH: 1867. New York: The Arno Press, Inc. 1974. Pp. 2, 10-15, 17-26.

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### **TREATY DONE AT GREENVILLE, IN THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO, AUGUST 3, 1795**

A treaty of peace between the United States of America and the Tribes of Indians, called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chipewas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel-River, Weea's, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias.

To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and a friendly intercourse between the said United States, and Indian tribes; Anthony Wayne, major-general, commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for the good purposes above-mentioned, and the said tribes of Indians, by their Sachems, chiefs, and warriors, met together at Greenville, the head quarters of the said army, have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the said Indian tribes.

#### **Article I.**

Henceforth all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly intercourse shall take place, between the said United States and Indian tribes.

#### **Article II.**

All prisoners shall on both sides be restored....

#### **Article III.**

The general boundary line between the lands of the United States, and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cayahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the great Miami river running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loromie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami, which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; then south-westerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucke or Cuttawa river...the said Indians tribes do hereby cede and relinquish forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described;...

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for the accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land; to wit. (1) One piece of land six miles square at or near Loromie's store before mentioned. (2) One piece two miles square...near Girty's town. (3) One piece six miles square at the head of the navigable water of the Au-Glaize river. (4) One piece six miles square...where Fort Defiance now stands. (5) One piece six miles square...where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. (6) One piece two miles square on the Wabash river...about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. (7) One piece six miles square at the Ouatanon or old Weea towns on the Wabash river. (8) One piece twelve miles square at the British fort on the Miami... (9) One piece six miles square at the mouth of the said river...(10) One piece six miles square upon Sandusky lake...(11) One piece two miles square at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. (12) The post of Detroit and all the land to the north, the west and the south of it...(13) The post of Michillimackinac...(14) One piece of land six miles square at the mouth of the Chikago river, emptying into the south-west end of Lake Michigan...(15) One piece twelve miles square at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. (16) One piece six miles square at the old Piorias fort and village...

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts herein before mentioned...

#### **Article IV.**

...And for the same considerations and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforth every year forever the United States will deliver at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars;...

#### **Article V.**

To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: The Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States, and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States and no other power whatever.

#### **Article VI.**

If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands now relinquished by the United States...the Indian tribe, on whose land the settlement shall be made, may drive off the settler, or punish him in such manner as they shall think fit;...

#### **Article VII.**

The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

#### **Article VIII.**

Trade shall be opened with the said Indian tribes; and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to such persons, with their property, as shall be duly licensed to reside, among them for the purpose of trade,...And if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof, his license shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States....

#### **Article IX.**

Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States, and the said Indian tribes agree, that for injuries done by individuals on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other: By the said Indian tribes, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed; and by the superintendent or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the said Indian tribes,...Should any Indian tribes meditate a war against the United States or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the before-mentioned tribes, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the general or officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the nearest post....

#### **Article X.**

All other treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Indian tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the purview of this treaty, shall henceforth cease and become void.

In testimony whereof, the said Anthony Wayne and the sachems and war chiefs of the beforementioned nations and tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

Done at Greenville, in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

Source: Charles J. Kappler (Editor and Compiler). Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties, Vol. II (Treaties) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904. Pp. 39-44.

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### **THE PEACE THAT BROUGHT NO PEACE**

In this chapter from The American Revolution in Indian Country, Colin Calloway notes the Peace Treaty of 1783 made no mention of the Indians, and that the Indians did not feel bound by it. Rather, the Indians resisted America's claims of conquest. In the Ohio Country the war did not end until 1795.

For all the devastation the American Revolution brought to Indian country, Indians remained a force to be reckoned with at the war's end. In reading the reports of American



invasions of Indian country, it is easy to assume, did some American commanders, that burning Indian villages and destroying crops constituted a knockout blow. But burning homes, razing fields, and killing noncombatants does not necessarily destroy people's will to fight or even their ability to win. Geoffrey Parker's observation about the resilience of peasant communities victimized by European wars – "as in Vietnam, what was easily burnt could also be easily rebuilt" – sometimes held true for Indian communities during the Revolution. Many survived the destruction of their villages. George Rogers Clark recognized the limitations of the American search-and-destroy missions, and an officer on Sullivan's campaign agreed that burning crops and villages was not the same as killing Indians: "The nests are destroyed but the birds are still on the wing." A British officer reviewing the American campaigns against the Iroquois and the Cherokees agreed that such a system of warfare was "shocking to humanity," and as sound military strategy was "at best but problematical." The Indians in the West were holding their own in 1782. The real disaster of the American Revolution for Indian peoples lay in the outcome.

Speaking on a war belt in council with the British in Detroit in December 1781, the Delaware war chief Buckongahelas declared that his warriors had been making blood "fly" on the American frontier for five years. The next year, 1782, the last of the war, witnessed even bloodier conflict. Indians routed American forces at Blue Licks and Sandusky. Americans slaughtered Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhütten and burned Shawnee villages. Delawares ritually tortured Colonel William Crawford and, as atrocities mounted, they and the Shawnees pushed "their retaliation to great length by putting all their prisoners to death."

Then the British and Americans made peace. The Peace of Paris recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies and transferred to the new United States all land east of the Mississippi, south of the Great Lakes, and north of the Floridas. Wyandot chiefs, who had heard rumors of peace, told Major De Peyster "we hope your children [i.e., the Indians] will be remembered in the Treaty," but the peace terms made no mention of the Indian people who had fought and died in the Revolution and who inhabited the territory to be transferred. The Peace of Paris brought a temporary lull in hostilities, but it brought no peace to Indian country. Rather, by ending open conflict between non-Indian powers, it deprived Indians of allies and diplomatic opportunities as they continued their struggle for independence against Americans who claimed their lands as the fruits of victory.

If a speech that John Heckewelder attributed to Captain Pipe is accurately dated and recorded, Indians were apprehensive of British betrayal even as they carried war to the Americans in 1781. "Think not that I lack *sufficient sense to convince me,*" the Delaware chief told Major De Peyster at Detroit, "that altho' You *now* pretend to keep up a perpetual enmity to the Long Knives (American People), you may, e'er long, conclude a Peace with them!" The British, he said, had set him on their enemy like a hunter setting his dogs on his quarry, but he suspected that if he glanced back, "I shall probably see my Father shaking hands with the Long Knives." Pipe's worst fears were now realized. As news of the peace terms filtered into Indian country, Indian speakers in council after council expressed their anger and disbelief that the British allies had betrayed them and handed their lands over to their American and Spanish enemies. The head warrior of the Eufalees refused to believe that the English would abandon the Indians; another Creek chief dismissed reports of the treaty as "a Virginia lie." The Iroquois were "thunderstruck" when they heard that British diplomats had sold them out to the Americans without so much as a reference to the tribes. Little Turkey of the Overhill Cherokees concluded, "The peacemakers and our Enemies have talked away our Lands at a Rum Drinking." Okaegige of the Flint River Seminoles reminded the British that the Indians took up the hatchet for the king "at a time we could scarce

distinguish our Friends from our Foes,” and asked if the king now intended to sell them into slavery. Fine Bones, speaking for his Cowetas and other Upper Creeks, said they could not now turn around and take the Spaniards and Virginians by the hand; if the English intended to evacuate, the Indians would accompany them.

Alexander McGillivray told the British he could no longer keep his people in the dark. After nine years of faithful service, “at the Close of it to find ourselves & Country betrayed to our Enemies & divided between the Spaniards & Americans is Cruel & Ungenerous.” The Indians had done nothing to permit the king to give away their lands, “unless . . . Spilling our blood in the Service of his Nation can be deemed so.” The Indians had been “most Shamefully deserted.” Turning to the Spaniards, McGillivray reiterated that Britain had no right to give up what it did not own, and that the Creeks as a free nation had the right to choose what allies they thought most appropriate. “The protection of a great Monarch is to be preferred to that of a distracted Republic,” he said, courting Governor Estevan Miróm but making it clear he would turn to the Americans for trade if necessary. Spanish officials referred patronizingly to McGillivray as “nuestro mestizo,” but McGillivray deftly pursued Creek, not Spanish interests in the decade after the Revolution.

Many southern Indians – “having made all the world their Enemies by their attachment to us” – expressed their determination to evacuate along with the British rather than stay and come to terms with the Americans and Spaniards, but the British discouraged them. William Augustus Bowles, masquerading as a Creek chief in London eight years later, summed up the situation: “The British Soldier, when he left the shore of America, on the proclamation of peace, had peace indeed, and returned to a Country where Peace could be enjoyed; But to the Creek & Cherokee Indians was left, to drain to the dregs the remainder of the bitter cup of War, unassisted & alone.” McGillivray asked the British army at least to leave the Creeks military stores so that they could defend themselves against the Americans.

Indian people farther from the center of revolutionary conflict felt the betrayal equally hard. The Chippewa chief, Matchekwis, visited Michilimackinac in September 1784, and when Captain Daniel Robertson refused his requests for presents, the Indian

Abused me in a very particular manner, as all our great men below, saying we were all Lyers, Impostures &c. that had encouraged him and others to go to Canada &c. to fight and loose their Brothers and Children, now despise them, and let them starve, and that they, the Indians ought to chasse us and our connections out of the country.

British officers and Indian agents scrambled to save face and reconcile the Indians to “this unfortunate event,” fearing that their former allies might with good reason turn and vent their rage on the people who had betrayed them. British traders prepared to leave Indian villages even as British officers stressed the need to maintain the usual supplies to the Indians although the war was over. Sir John Johnson’s speech to the Iroquois, in which he naively or cynically reassured them that he could not believe the United States intended to deprive them of their land on pretext of having conquered it, was relayed to other tribes. The Indians were advised to bear their losses with fortitude, forget what was past, and look forward to the blessings of peace. Not too sure themselves about the peaceful intentions of the new republic, and determined to protect their interests among the Indians, the British resolved to hold on to the frontier posts that were supposed to be handed over to the United States “with all convenient speed” under the peace terms. Retention of these posts, which stretched from Lake Champlain to Michilimackinac, conveyed the impression that the British were on hand to support the tribes in continuing resistance to the United States, even

though Britain carefully avoided renewed war with the United States. Spain operated a similar policy to check American expansion in the south: Spanish officials encouraged McGillivray "by word of mouth" and did their best to "help the Indians without the Americans being able to prove that we have done so."

Meanwhile, Americans made the most of British perfidy. They told the Shawnees that Britain had cast them aside "like Bastards." Virginian emissary John Dodge told the Chickasaws that the English had been forced to withdraw from the country and "their Poor foolish Indians which refused to make Peace with us, is miserable on the Earth, Crying & begging for mercy Every Day." General Philip Schuyler told the Six Nations Indians that the British deceived them if they told them they were included in the peace; "the treaty does not contain a single stipulation for the Indians, they are not even so much as mentioned." At the beginning of the war, Schuyler said, he had asked the Six Nations to sit still and they had not listened. Now, like the Loyalists, they had forfeited their lands. "We are now Masters of this Island, and can dispose of the Lands as we think proper or most convenient to ourselves," the general declared. Six Nations delegates listened in bewilderment. From what he heard from his messengers, Joseph Brant thought Schuyler "as Saucy as [the] very devil," and thought the Iroquois delegates behaved shamefully. "After our friends the English left us in the lurch, still our own chiefs should make the matter worse," he wrote to Major Robert Mathews. "I do assure you I begin to prepare my death song for vexation will lead one to rashness."

The peace signed in Paris did little to change things in the backcountry world inhabited by Indians and American frontiersmen. Frontier vendettas continued and old scores remained unsettled. Some people on the eastern seaboard were appalled by the massacre of the Moravian Delawares in 1782, but William Irvine, commanding at Fort Pitt, knew that people who lived closer to the Indians and had lost relatives in the war felt very differently. He warned his wife to keep her opinions about the massacre to herself, as he would: "No man knows whether I approve or disapprove of killing the Moravians." The Indian hating that produced and sanctioned the Moravian massacre paid no regard to words of peace exchanged in Paris and made real peace impossible in Indian country. Commander De Peyster at Detroit warned his superiors in the fall of 1782 that the backcountry settlers would continue to make war on the Delawares, Shawnees, and Wyandots even after Britain and her revolted colonists made peace. Allan MacLean at Niagara feared that while he was busy preventing the Indians from going to war in the spring of 1783, the rebels "were preparing to cut the throats of the Indians."

Nor were all Indian people eager to embrace the peace. Warriors with relatives to avenge paid little attention to formal peace terms worked out by men far from the bloodletting. A Potawatomi, singing the war song, told Major De Peyster he was eager for action in 1781 because "you see me here in mourning and I am ashamed to remain so." Another asked De Peyster "for means to enable him to revenge himself" for the loss of his kinsman. John Montour, a mixed-blood Delaware who flits in and out of the records, "was one of Seven Brothers, all of them reckoned able good Warriors at the Commencement of the Rebellion, five of them have been Since killed in the service." While the war drew to a close and the British tried to keep their allies at peace, John and his surviving brother were out in Indian country, anxious for revenge. In November 1782, they came into Fort Niagara with four scalps and three young female prisoners, saying they knew nothing about the suspension of hostilities.

The end of the Revolution produced a new phase of conflict between Indians and Americans in the Ohio country. Murders, horse thefts, raids, and counterraid continued

with little abatement. "While empires and states went about making peace," explains Richard White, "the villages continued to act on their own." Like the British after 1763, American policymakers could no more control their citizens than Indian chiefs could control their young men. A flood of backcountry settlers invaded Indian country, broke down what remained of the "middle ground" arrangements of coexistence that had been built up over generations, and knocked the heart out of federal attempts to regulate the frontier. Many of these people, reported a congressional committee, had no more desire for peace with the Indians than the British had for peace between Indians and Americans. As revolutionary violence gave way to postwar peace and a future of prosperity in some other areas of the country, vengeance and strife continued to be a way of life and of getting things done in Indian country, even in relations between whites. Tension between frontier settlers and eastern elites resulted in western demands for autonomy, separatist movements, violent confrontations, and the breakdown of normal means of redress.

During the war, American soldiers had returned from expeditions into Indian country with stories of the rich lands awaiting them once independence was won. With the Peace of Paris under their belts, Americans now set about taking over Indian lands as the spoils of victory. Peace initiated a new era of land speculation and unleashed a new land rush into Indian country. Between 1783 and 1790, the white population of Pennsylvania's three western counties grew by 87 percent; by the end of the century, western Pennsylvania's population had jumped from around thirty-three thousand to ninety-five thousand. Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia confessed to Governor Alexander Martin of North Carolina that he was "shocked when I reflect on the unbounded thirst of our people after Lands that they cannot cultivate, and the means they use to possess themselves of those that belong to others." Frenchman Francois Jean de Chastellux, traveling in North America as the war wound down, predicted that an inevitable consequence of the peace for the Indians "must be their total destruction, or their exclusion at least from all the country within the lakes." A delegation of 260 Iroquois, Shawnee, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and "Loup" Indians visiting the Spanish governor of Saint Louis in the summer of 1784 already felt the effects of the American victory:

The Americans, a great deal more ambitious and numerous than the English, put us out of our lands, forming therein great settlements, extending themselves like a plague of locusts in the territories of the Ohio River which we inhabit. They treat us as their cruelest enemies are treated, so that today hunger and the impetuous torrent of war which they impose upon us with other terrible calamities, have brought our villages to a struggle with death.

Faced with an empty treasury and no means of replenishing it except by selling off Indian lands, the United States government focused its attention on the Old Northwest, where individual states relinquished their claims to western lands to the national government. A congressional committee, reporting in October 1783, noted that the Indian tribes of the northwest and the Ohio Valley seriously desired peace, but cautioned that "they are not in a temper to relinquish their territorial claims, without further struggles." Nevertheless, the report continued, the Indians were the aggressors in the recent war. They had ignored American warnings to remain neutral and "had wantonly desolated our villages and destroyed our citizens." The United States had been obliged, at great expense to carry the war into Indian country "to stop the progress of their outrages." The Indians should make atonement and pay compensation, "and they possess no other means to do this act of justice than by compliance with the proposed boundaries." Rather than continue a costly

war, the report recommended that the United States make peace with the tribes and negotiate boundaries that could then be renegotiated as Indians retire west before the inevitable press of settlement.

Acting on the assumption of Indian war guilt and eager for the spoils of victory, American commissioners demanded lands from the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix in 1784; from the Delawares, Wyandots, and their neighbors at Fort McIntosh in 1785; and from the Shawnees at Fort Finney in 1786. They brushed aside Indian objections in arrogant confidence that Indian lands were theirs for the taking by right of conquest. In 1775, Congress had instructed its treaty commissioners to "speak and act in such a manner as they shall think most likely to obtain the friendship or at least the neutrality of the Indians." Times had changed. James Duane, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Continental Congress and mayor of New York City from 1784 to 1789, urged the United States not to continue the British practice of cultivating relations with the Indians as if they were nations of equal standing. The Six Nations should be treated as dependents of the State of New York. They should adopt American diplomatic protocol, not vice versa. Unless the United States seized the opportunity to implement this new hard-line approach, said Duane, "this Revolution in my Eyes will have lost more than half its' [*sic*] Value." American treaty commissioners followed Duane's advice and dispensed with wampum belts and elaborate speeches. "In their place," writes James Merrell, they "substituted blunt talk and a habit of driving each article home by pointing a finger at the assembled natives." Moreover, the federal government was just one player in the competition, as individual states, land companies, and speculators scrambled for Indian lands.

Iroquois delegates at Fort Stanwix tried to argue for the Ohio River as the boundary to India lands, but the American commissioners would have none of it. "You are a subdued people," they lectured the delegates. "We are at peace with all but *you, you* now stand out *alone* against our *whole* force." Lest the Indians miss the point, American troops backed up the commissioners. At Fort McIntosh, when chiefs of the Wyandots, Chippewas, Delawares, and Ottawas said they regarded the lands transferred by Britain to the United States as still rightfully belonging to them, the American commissioners answered them "in a high tone," and reminded them they were a defeated people. At Fort Finney, when Shawnees balked at the American terms and refused to provide hostages, one of the American commissioners picked up the wampum belt they gave him, "dashed it on the table," and told them to accept the terms or face the consequences.

Indian representation at these treaties was partial at best, and the Americans exploited and aggravated intratribal divisions. Six Nations delegates who returned home from Fort Stanwix were denounced by their own people, and the Six Nations in council at Buffalo Creek refused to ratify a treaty made under such duress. Western Indians were furious at the Six Nations for making a treaty without consulting them. In 1785, the Seneca chief Cornplanter delivered up his copy of the articles of peace concluded at Fort Stanwix, saying they had become "burdensome." Chiefs who made cessions lost face with their people. Captain Pipe, who lost his place to other Delaware captains in 1782, tried to regain standing by acting as a mediating chief rather than a warrior, and signed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, which only cost him more support. Nevertheless, chiefs had little choice but to make land cessions. Their ability to act as chiefs by backing up their words with the distribution of gifts to their followers had long made them dependent on outsiders. The British had provided them with gifts as allies seeking their support, but the Americans demanded land in return for the few gifts they offered. Some chiefs signed treaties knowing that others would do so if they refused.

"If ever a peace failed to pacify, it was the peace of 1783," observed historian Arthur Whitaker in reference to the South. The end of the Revolution marked the beginning of years of turmoil as the region became an arena of competing national, state, and tribal interests, international intrigues, land speculation, and personal ambitions. The principal result of the war in the southern backcountry was to transfer control of a vast frontier from the Indians and their British allies and associates to the Whigs and the new men who emerged to lead them in the course of the Revolution. Until the southern states yielded their claims to western lands, the federal government had no lands to sell in the South and simply hoped to prevent full-scale Indian war. North Carolina did not cede its western land claims to Congress until 1789; Georgia not until 1802. These states, plus the "state" of Franklin, made their own treaties with the Indians, generally refused to cooperate with the federal government in its attempts to implement a coherent Indian policy in the region, and sometimes tried sabotage federal treaty-making efforts. Meanwhile the aggressions of Carolina and Georgian backcountry settlers threatened to embroil the whole frontier in conflict. The United States negotiated the Treaties of Hopewell, with the Cherokees in late 1785 and with the Choctaws and Chickasaws in January 1786. The treaties confirmed tribal boundaries but did little to preserve them. Cherokee leaders appealed for assistance to Patrick Henry of Virginia in 1789: "We are so Distrest by the No. Carolina People that it seems Like we sho'd soon become no People. They have got all our Land from us. We have hardly as much as we can stand on, and they seem to want that little worse that the Rest."

The Creeks emerged from the Revolution with their lands relatively intact, but Georgia demanded all the lands between the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers as war damages. At the Treaty of Augusta in November 1783, a handful of compliant Creek chiefs, primarily from the neutral and pro-American groups in the nation, led by Hopoithle Mico (the Tame King) of Tallassee and Cussita Mico (the Fat King) of Cussita ceded roughly eight hundred square miles to Georgia. McGillivray and rest of the Creeks condemned the treaty, and in June 1784 signed the Treaty of Pensacola, placing themselves under Spanish protection. The Creeks entered the postrevolutionary era further divided into bitter factions. Factionalism had helped them avoid exclusive dependence on one ally throughout much of the eighteenth century and had secured them multiple outlets for trade. But as European allies began to fall away after the Revolution, McGillivray recognized that without Spanish support, "we may be forced to purchase a Shameful peace & barter our Country for a precarious Security." Now factionalism became dangerously dysfunctional, and the conflict between McGillivray and Hopoithle Mico augured the civil strife of 1813.

Treaties made over the opposition of the majority of the tribes left boundaries in dispute. Indians punished intruders whom the United States government failed to keep off their lands, and settlers retaliated. Even where there was no conflict, the fiction that all Indians had fought for the British in the Revolution justified massive dispossession of Native Americans in the early republic, whatever their role in the war. Catawbas derived maximum mileage from their revolutionary services, and by wrapping themselves in the flag used their record of service in the patriot cause "to carve a niche for themselves in the social landscape of the Carolina piedmont. However, they were an exception. Whereas other revolutionary veterans were granted land bounties, Indian veterans lost land. The Mashantucket Pequots served and suffered in the patriot cause, but in 1785 they were complaining to the government of Connecticut that "our Tribe find ourselves Interrupted in the Possession of our Lands by your People round about Cutting & Destroying our Timber & Crowding their Improvements in upon our Lands." Neighboring Mohegans found that

both "white strangers & foreign Indians" encroached on their land and sold their timber from under them in defiance of state laws. In Massachusetts, Indians had fought and bled alongside the colonists in their struggle for liberty, but in 1788 the state reinstated its guardian system for Indians, and deprived Mashpee of its right of self-government by establishing an all-white board of overseers. The Penobscots and Passamaquoddies found their Maine hunting territories invaded by their former allies. Passamaquoddies appealed for justice to Congress, "that we may Enjoy our Privileges which we have been fighting for as other Americans," but Congress dismissed John Allan from his role as superintendent of eastern Indians, and Massachusetts resumed its pursuit of Indian lands in Maine. The state stripped the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies of most of their land in a series of post-Revolution treaties. New England Indians who had moved to Oneida country only to be driven back by the war, and "who for their Fidelity and Attachment to the American Cause, have suffered the Loss of all things," petitioned the Connecticut Assembly for relief at the war's end.

The Oneidas had suffered mightily in the American cause during the war. General Philip Schuyler had assured them during the Revolution that "sooner should a fond mother forget her only son than we shall forget you." Once they had helped the Americans win independence, the Oneidas would "then partake of every Blessing we enjoy and united with a free people your Liberty and prosperity will be safe." But the Oneidas fared little better than their New England friends or their Cayuga and Seneca relatives in the postrevolutionary land grabbing conducted by the federal government, New York State, and individual land companies. Schuyler interceded on their behalf, and Congress guaranteed the territorial integrity of their Oneida and Tuscarora allies at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, a guarantee the United States confirmed at Fort Harmar in 1789, and at Canandaigua and Oneida in 1794. But paper commitments gave little protection. In 1794, the government absolved its obligations to the Oneidas with an award of \$5,000, an annuity of \$4,500, and promises to build a sawmill, a gristmill, and a church. The State of New York meanwhile negotiated a string of treaties, illegal under the Indian Trade and Non-Intercourse Act of 1790, that by 1838 had robbed the Oneidas of their entire homeland. The bitter divisions the Revolution produced within the Oneidas were "not yet forgotten" by 1796.

As many Revolutionary War veterans, often illiterate, signed away their land grants for a pittance to more powerful and prosperous citizens of the new nation, so too Indian veterans, who had fought to win the United States's independence, often found themselves reduced to selling off land simply to survive. Simon Joy Jay, or Choychoy, a Mohegan who was wounded in the Revolution, "fighting for the Country," had to sell his land to support himself in old age and infirmity. The widow of Indian Daniel Cyrus, a white woman named Sarah, who lost two sons in the war, likewise had to sell her land to support herself in old age. Abenaki Indian patriots in Vermont fell on equally hard times.

The widows of men from Mashpee who had given their lives in the struggle for independence were forced to look outside their communities for husbands. By 1793, Indian towns like Mashpee included not only Africans and Anglo-Americans, but also Germans who had served in the war as mercenaries and had since married into the community and were raising families.

Many Indian peoples clung to their ancestral lands, even where those lands had been in the middle of war zones. Some Mohawk families returned and remained in their Fort Hunter and Canajoharie homes until the 1790s. But most Mohawks found new homes at Grand River or the Bay of Quinté. The peace that ended the Revolution did no end the vast movement of people that scattered Loyalists and African Americans across the globe and

displaced Indian populations throughout North America. The war's end found Indian refugees at Niagara, Schenectady, Detroit, Saint Louis, Saint Augustine, and Pensacola, and the peace continued to dislocate thousands of Indians. Indian peoples pressured by Anglo-American expansion continued, as they had in the past and would in the future, to seek refuge in Canada. The Moravians established a new Delaware mission village at Moraviantown on the Thames River. Indian Loyalists moved to new homes at Grand River and the Bay of Quinté in Ontario rather than return to homelands engulfed by the Americans. By the end of the Revolution, Shawnees who remained in Ohio were crowded into the northwestern reaches of their territory. In time they joined other Indians in creating a multitribal, multivillage world centered on the Glauze. There some two thousand people lived around three Shawnee towns, two Delaware towns, a Miami town, and British-French trading communities, along with some Nanticokes, Mingoos, and Chickamauga Cherokees. Stockbridge Indians, unable to secure relief from their former allies after the Revolution, joined other Christian Indians from New England in moving to lands set aside for them by the Oneidas in New York, joining "People of many Nations" at New Stockbridge. Hundreds of refugee Indians drifted west of the Mississippi and requested permission to settle in Spanish territory. Abenaki Indians, dispersed by previous wars from northern New England into the Ohio Valley, turned up in Arkansas and Missouri in the decade after the Revolution, testimony to the continuing dislocation of Indian communities that the conflict occasioned in eastern North America. The migrations of Indian Peoples across the Mississippi generated repercussions on the plains and threatened to disturb "the tranquility of the Interior Provinces of New Spain."

For American Indians, the new republic was still very much a revolutionary world in which their struggles continued with little abatement. For many Indian peoples, the Revolution was one phase of a "Twenty Years' War" that continued at least until the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. Before it was over, a whole generation had grown up knowing little but war. The Indians' war of independence went on until 1795, 1815, and beyond, and it took many forms, as Indians mounted "spirited resistance" and "sacred revolts." Confronted with renewed pressures and aggressions, spurred on by the murder of mediation chiefs like Moluntha and Old Tassel, and encouraged by the presence of Britons and Spaniards waiting in the wings for the experiment in republicanism to fail, many of the tribes renewed their confederacies. Shawnees, Chickamaugas, and Creeks carried war belts throughout the eastern woodlands; Indian ambassadors traveled from Detroit to Saint Augustine and back, urging united resistance. Warriors from a host of tribes continued a war of independence that was multitribal in character. In council held at the mouth of the Detroit River in November and December 1786, delegates from the Five Nations, as well as Hurons, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatomis, Miamis, Cherokees, and Wabash allies, sent a speech to the United States from the "United Indian Nations," declaring invalid all treaties made without the unanimous consent of the tribes. Led by capable chiefs who had risen to prominence during the Revolution — Joseph Brant, Little Turtle, Buckongahelas, Blue Jacket, Dragging Canoe, and McGillivray — revived Indian confederacies continued the wars for their lands and cultures into the 1790s and exposed the American theory of conquest for the fiction it was.

Americans in the new republic, like their British and Spanish rivals, were often hard-pressed to keep up with the political changes the Revolution generated in Indian country, as new communities emerged, new power blocs developed, and new players called different tunes. "Tribes" ceased to be the functioning unit of Indian politics and diplomacy, if they ever had been. Young warriors continued the war from multitribal communities. "Banditti



of several tribes find asylum in the Lower Towns of the Cherokees," Arthur Campbell reported to George Washington; Cherokees removed to new homes with the Creeks, a nation that "seems always to have been the receptacle for all distressed Tribes," said the Cherokee Turtle at Home, who had joined the Chickamauga resistance and spent so much time in Shawnee country that he spoke Shawnee fluently.

Not until the mid-1790s did the Indian war for independence as waged by these warriors come to an end. General Josiah Harmar and General Arthur St. Clair met with defeat and disaster in their campaigns against the northwestern confederacy. Only in 1794 did the Americans inflict a telling victory on the tribes at Fallen Timbers and get at the extensive cornfields on the Auglaize and Maumee rivers, which had sustained the Indian war effort for years. Anthony Wayne described this as "the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the West," and claimed he had never seen "such immense fields of corn, in any part of America, from Canada to Florida." Defeated in battle and abandoned by the British, the Indians could only watch as Wayne's troops put the area to the torch. A dozen years after the end of the Revolution, the American strategy of burning Indian food supplies finally ended the Indians' war for independence. Before the war, said Little Turtle to the French scientist Constantin-Francois de Volney several years later, "We raised corn like the whites. But now we are poor hunted deer." Cherokees had voiced similar sentiments after the Revolution and the devastation of their crops: "We are now like wolves, ranging about the woods to get something to eat."

By 1795 the war for Ohio was lost. Little Turtle and others who had been on the forefront of resistance joined the old chiefs in making peace at the Treaty of Greenville, and ceded most of Ohio to the United States. That same year, the Treaty of San Lorenzo effectively deprived southern Indians of Spanish support in their resistance to American expansion.

In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the United States had committed itself to expansion while simultaneously treating Indian people with "the utmost good faith." Men like Henry Knox and Thomas Jefferson wrestled with the dilemma of how to take Indian lands and still act with "justice and humanity." With their victory finally secured and Indians no longer a major military threat, Americans finally resolved the dilemma inherent in their belief that United States Indian policy could combine "expansion with honor." Since too much land encouraged idleness and presented an obstacle to "civilization," and Indian people could survive in the new nation only by becoming "civilized," the United States would deprive them of their lands for their own good. Not surprisingly, the good intentions of a few men became lost amid the pressure to rid the Indians of their lands.

Burned villages and crops, murdered chiefs, divided councils and civil wars, migrations, towns and forts choked with refugees, economic disruption, breaking of ancient traditions, losses in battle and to disease and hunger, betrayal to their enemies, all made the American Revolution one of the darkest periods in American Indian history. The emergence of the independent United States as the ultimate victor from a long contest of imperial powers reduced Indians to further dependence and pushed them into further dark ages. Two Mohegans, Henry Quaduaquid and Robert Ashpo, petitioning the Connecticut Assembly for relief in 1789, expressed the sentiments and experiences of many Native Americans as the new nation came into being: "The Times are Exceedingly Altr'd, Yea the Times have turn'd everything Upside down." Seneca communities, in Anthony Wallace's words, became "slums in the wilderness," characterized by poverty, loss of confidence in traditional certainties, social pathology, violence, alcoholism, witch fear, and disunity.

Cherokees, reeling from the shock of defeat and dispossession, seemed to have lost their place in the world, and the very fabric of their society seemed to be crumbling around them.

And yet, in the kaleidoscopic, "all-change" world of the revolutionary era, there were exceptions and variations. Despite the new colors on the map of Florida, political change in Seminole country reflected not new dependence on a foreign power so much as increasing independence from the parent Creek confederacy. While Alexander McGillivray continued traditional Creek policies of playing off competing nations with considerable skill, the Seminoles emerged by the new century as a new player and an unknown quantity in the Indian and international diplomacy of the southeast. Many Indian communities succumbed and some disappeared in the new world produced during the Revolution, but others were in process of formation and asserting their separate identity.

Like the Shawnees who built and rebuilt Chillicothe, Indians adjusted and endured. Contrary to predictions of extinction and assumptions of stasis, Indian communities survived, changed, and were reborn. The Revolutionary War destroyed many Indian communities, but new, increasingly multiethnic, communities – at Niagara, Grand River, Chickamauga, and the Glaize – grew out of the turmoil and played a leading role in the Indian history of the new republic. The black years following the Revolution saw powerful forces of social and religious rejuvenation in Handsome Lake's Longhouse religion among the Iroquois, far-reaching stirrings of cultural assertiveness, political movements like the northwestern Indian confederacy of the 1780s and 1790s, a renaissance in Cherokee country, and pan-Indian unity under the leadership of Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet in the early years of the new century.

The American Revolution was a disaster for most American Indians, and the turmoil it generated in Indian country continued long after 1783. But by the end of the eighteenth century, Indian peoples had had plenty of experience suffering and surviving disasters. They responded to this one as they had to others and set about rebuilding what they could of their world. But now they were building on quicksand, for the new America had no room for Indians and their world.

Source: Colin G. Calloway. The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. 272-291.

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**"IF THE MEN WILL TAKE THE LABOR OF THE EARTH  
FROM THE WOMEN..."**

To Captain Hendrick, The Delawares, Mohicans, and Munries

The picture which you have drawn, my son, of the increase of our numbers and the decrease of yours is just, the causes are very plain, and the remedy depends on yourselves alone. You have lived by hunting the deer and buffalo...[Instead] Let me entreat you, therefore, on the lands now given you to begin to give every man a farm; let him enclose it, cultivate it, build a warm house on it, and when he dies, let it belong to his wife and children after him. Nothing is so easy as to learn to cultivate the earth; all your women understand it, and to make it easier, we are always ready to teach you how to make ploughs, hoes, and necessary utensils. If the men will take the labor of the earth from the women they will learn to spin and weave and to clothe their families. In this way you will also raise many children, you will double your numbers every twenty years, and soon fill the land your friends have

given you, and your children will never be tempted to sell the spot on which they have been born, raised, have labored and called their own. When once you have property, you will want laws and magistrates to protect your property and persons, and to punish those among you who commit crimes. You will find that our laws are good for this purpose; you will wish to live under them, you will unite yourselves with us, join in our Great Councils and form one people with us, and we shall all be Americans; you will mix with us by marriage, your blood will run in our veins, and will spread with us over this great island.

T. Jefferson, Washington, December 21, 1808.

Source: Library of Congress, Series 1, Vol. 12, No. 676.

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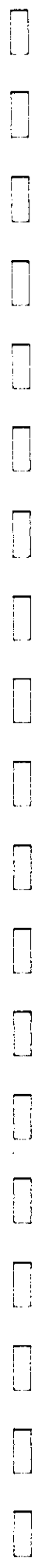
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