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A DISCOURSE  
RELATING TO THE  
EXPEDITION OF LORD DUNMORE,  
OF VIRGINIA,  
AGAINST THE  
INDIAN TOWNS UPON THE SCIOTO  
IN 1774.

Delivered before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, in the Hall of  
Representatives, Columbus, January, 1840.

BY CHARLES WHITTLESEY,  
OF CLEVELAND.

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## LORD DUNMORE'S EXPEDITION

TO THE SCIOTO TOWNS, 1774.

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GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

In the selection of a subject for this discourse, it seemed to me necessary that it should be of an historical, rather than a philosophical kind. It is evident, from the circumstances which attended the formation of this Society, that it was originally intended for historical purposes only. The gentlemen who brought it into existence were not men of philosophical acquirements, though many of them were possessed of profound general learning, they were, in the old phase, the "pioneers of the country." The striking circumstances of that undertaking were still held in vivid recollection by them, and they felt that this thorough revolution, effected through their means, was worthy of a history in detail. They found here, at their coming, nothing but a wild though luxuriant waste, occupied by a barbarian race, who drew their supplies from the spontaneous abundance of nature, always consuming, and rarely if ever producing. The Indian occupant, although he had held un-

disputed possession for a period of perhaps one thousand years, had formed no permanent connexion with the soil. He had not fulfilled the apparent design of heaven, that the earth should become every where the scene of cultivation and permanent habitation. He roamed through the land, like the wild animals of whom he was in chase, a passing wanderer, rather than a fixed resident; leaving behind him no marks of his presence, save the rubbish of his wigwam and the ashes at its door. The falling leaves of the first autumn concealed one, and the decay of the seasons dissipated the other. Even the places of his burial, which men love to make known by permanent objects, were without other monuments than the small white flag, rudely fastened to a pole, and a hieroglyphic record of the enemies slain in battle carved upon a tree. This luxuriant soil, destined for the sustenance of many millions, expended its powers in the production of an annual crop of weeds and flowers, to go annually into decay upon the spot where they grew. The riches of the mineral world lay dormant and unknown. The mechanical agency of our streams was not brought into requisition; and the Great Lakes, instead of being the medium of communication between opposite and distant countries, were impassable to the Indian in his light canoe. Not one of the abundant resources of nature was fully developed.

We now observe every where the exact reverse of all these things; and those men who may be considered the

founders of the Historical Society, were eye witnesses of, and participators in, the change. The incidents attending it were necessarily interesting; and it became to them, now in the decline of years, a matter of high consequence that there should be a common repository, where each might place on record the reminiscences of his early life. And to all others, and to posterity, it is of importance that the heroic enterprise of those men, whose bravery and endurance has perhaps no parallel, even in the relations of fiction, should be authenticated and made public.

It would then be a deviation in me from the wishes of the projectors of this institution, and doubtless of its present members, to introduce any other than an historical subject. I have, therefore, collected some facts relative to the expedition of Lord Dunmore into this region in the fall of 1774. With the opportunity allowed me, it will not be expected that much original information can be presented to you in relation to this campaign.

With this, as with most of the early war parties beyond the Ohio, no journalist or regular diarist appears to have been present. It is indeed probable, that there may be among the descendants of the officers and soldiers, connected with those military expeditions, the remains of memoranda of dates, deaths, and other incidents, still in existence. We might reasonably expect to find, either in Virginia or England, a sketch of the operations of Lord Dunmore, prepared by himself, his Secretary, Adjutant, or

some of the Surgeons. An address to the Historical Society of Virginia, and some individual or British Society in London, would doubtless bring to light something of the kind.\*

There were also several incursions from Virginia, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, into the country now called Ohio, between the time of Dunmore's expedition and the campaigns of St. Clair and Harmar. These were often mere marauding parties of individual and not official enterprise; but at this day it is impracticable to obtain many details respecting them. They were composed of dauntless men, who thought, fought and acted with great energy, but seldom or never wrote.

In 1778, Major McIntosh collected a party in Pennsylvania, and penetrated the Indian country to the Muskingum river, near Bolivar, in Tuscarawas county, and built Fort Laurens. His route was along the Tuscarawas trail, a track or highway of the aborigines, portions of which are still visible on the waters of the Little Beaver and Sandy rivers.

In 1782, Gen. George Rogers Clark issued from Kentucky, at the mouth of the Licking, (opposite Cincinnati,) with a small command, and proceeded to destroy the Pick-

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\*Since the delivery of this Discourse, a letter from John Connally to Col. George Washington, dated Winchester, Va., Feb. 9, 1775, has fallen under my observation, and contains the following paragraph—"I have transmitted a copy of the Treaty to his Excellency, and should have sent you one also, only as I have desired the journal of the expedition to be printed including the whole, I deemed it unnecessary."

awee, Chillicothe and Wills towns, situated on the upper waters of the Great Miami. There is an intimation that this was not his first expedition against the Pickawee towns. The Wapatomaka villages on the Muskingum, near where the town of Dresden now is, were attacked and destroyed in July, 1774, by a party of four hundred men, under Major McDonald.

In the year 1782, Col. Williamson, who had accompanied Lord Dunmore seven years previous, embodied a force in Pennsylvania, and came to the Moravian towns, on the Upper Muskingum, where he committed the noted massacre of the christian Indians. Soon after Col. Crawford made his unfortunate advance upon the tribes and villages on the waters of the Sandusky, by way of Fort Laurens. Other similar expeditions are reported to have taken place from time to time, but there is very little known respecting them. I have made mention of them here, for the purpose of calling the attention of gentlemen travelling in Kentucky and Pennsylvania to the subject, hoping that something of importance may thus be collected from the survivors or their families.

The meagre details which I am able to find in our printed histories, concerning the operations of Dunmore in the Indian country, show us how little is known of the transactions of that eventful period.

To understand fully the immediate causes of Dunmore's war, we should refer a moment to the previous relations of

the Indian tribes to the French and English colonists in America.

The French established themselves at Montreal in the years 1607-8, about the time of the settlement of Jamestown, Va., by the English. Prior to the year 1642, the "Six Nations," as the confederacy occupying Lake Ontario and the east end of Lake Erie was called, had given only occasional trouble to the British Colonists; in fact they had held amicable meetings and perfected treaties of friendship. The colony of Wm. Penn, after the influence of the French had ceased, reposed much confidence in the northern Indians, regarding them as steadfast friends. It was otherwise with the Western and Scioto tribes, embracing the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes, Tawas and Wyandots, occupying at that period the waters of the Scioto, and that portion of Lake Erie west of the Cuyahoga River. The French had taken possession of their country, and their friendship at an early day. The Jesuit Missionaries were at Onondoga in 1656, and were found by La Salle at many places on the Lakes and on the Illinois River in 1680. There are other evidences of their early occupation. I saw during the last summer the stump of an oak tree, upon the farm of Hezekiah Chidester, in Canfield, Trumbull county, in this state, which had been cut by an axe when the tree was young, doubtless the work of the French adventurers. Relying upon the circles of growth as each corresponding with a year in time, this cutting was made 180 years previ-

ous, or in the year 1660. Axe marks were found in a white-wood or poplar log, in Newburgh, Cuyahoga county, some years since, of about the same age. These wandering Jesuits were soon followed by traders, and the latter by a few ardent discoverers, each pushing his way in advance of the other, till at last, having passed through the entire length of the northern Lakes, they struck upon the Mississippi, and this led them to the gulf of Mexico, and the Ocean.

The efforts of a few obscure men, thus added in the course of 25 years more territory to the French crown than all of Europe. By the year 1722, a prominent settlement was fixed at New Orleans, having a direct communication with Canada, by the way of the Ohio river and the Alleghany, to Fort Venango; thence to Presque Isle on Lake Erie, and thus by water to Montreal. In the mean time, the dominion of France had been established throughout the entire region watered by the tributaries of the left bank of the Mississippi, by the means of the erection of numerous Forts, garrisoned by French troops. All this was effected, moreover, without any disagreement on the part of the Indians. Such was the force of fine talk, rum and trinkets upon his untaught mind, that with more warriors in the field than all the French souls in Canada and Louisiana, he gave up his country to an armed occupation by a stranger, and turned his forces against a less dangerous foe to his independence, than the friends he professed to assist.

The relations of the French government to the English being those of perpetual jealousy and conflict, and the former power, having now encircled the possessions of the latter in America, with a chain of posts in full communication, they mutually transferred a portion of their warlike operations to their respective colonies here. The actual occupation of the English, in 1754 (the year of the French war,) was limited on the west by the Alleghanies. The activity and enterprise of the French had so far outstripped that of the English, that while the attention of the colonists was directed to the reduction of the French power about the Bay of Funday and Lake Champlain, they were unexpectedly surrounded by a cordon of fortresses, sustained by a formidable savage force. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, the differences between the respective colonies of Nova Scotia and New England were arranged; but the question relative to western possessions were left for reference to an arbitration in the field. The western Indians, having their native hostility to the English well inflamed by the efforts of French traders, officers and priests, entered upon the French war with more than usual vigor. This contest continued eight years, and resulted in the complete abandonment of their Indian allies, on the part of the French, and the confirmation to great Britain, by the treaty of Paris, 1763, of all the French possessions in North America. In this condition, the western confederations, left to cope single handed with



the whites now crowding upon their territory, seem to have hesitated for a time as to the policy it became them to pursue. They were numerous in the field, delighting in war, burning with revenge, and anxious to preserve a country to which they were attached, from further encroachments. On the other hand, were the sturdy colonists, indulging a thorough hatred of their red enemy, thirsting for the possession of his soil, full of courage, and capable of endurance as soldiers. War, under these circumstances, could not long be deferred; and accordingly, in 1774, eleven years after the treaty of Paris, a general conflict began, which continued, with unexampled fierceness, and attended by peculiar horrors, until the victory of Wayne at the Maumee Rapids, in August, 1794. It is of the leading expedition of that war that I propose to give some account.

The immediate rupture was occasioned by murders on the part of the whites, in the following manner.

After the French claims to the lands upon the Ohio were disposed of, the colonies of Virginia and Wm. Penn set up common title to the country about the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers. The followers of Wm. Penn adopting the French, rather than the English policy, towards the Indians, had thoroughly conciliated such of them as were within their settlements, and lived with them as friends and brothers. Penn's successors were in possession. In the spring of 1774, Lord Dunmore, as the provincial governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation warning

all the inhabitants west of Laurel Hill of their allegiance to that colony.\* And an agent of Governor Dunmore's by the name of Conolly contrived to get possession of Fort Pitt in the name of Virginia. The governor of Pa. puts forth a counter proclamation; and the Westmoreland militia were mustered into service, partly on account of Indian disturbances, and also to sustain the authority of Pennsylvania. About this time a party of Delawares and Shawanese, on account of their friendship for the Pennsylvanians, escorted a party of their traders up the Ohio in safety to Fort Pitt. Conolly, the Virginia agent, fell upon this band by surprise, at the mouth of the Big Beaver, and wounded Silverheels, their chief. On the 23d of April, a party, headed by Capt. Michael Cresap, killed two Indians a short distance above Wheeling.† He also attacked a camp below Wheeling the same day and killed several. The next day, one Daniel Greathouse, his two brothers and twenty-one men, massacred *eleven* Indians at Baker's tavern, which is forty miles above Wheeling, and nearly opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek.§ This is the affair to which Logan, the Mingo Chief, refers in his famous speech, supposing it to have been conducted by Cresap.

Logan was in camp opposite Baker's, and was probably among those who attempted to cross over to the tavern af-

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\*American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 1, p. 790.

†Letter of Devereux Smith, June 10, 1774. American Archives vol. 1, ps. 344-467.

§Declaration of John Sappington. Jefferson's notes, appendix, p. 46. Also of Charles Polke, p. 26.

ter the first slaughter.\* He is known to have lost some female relatives at Baker's, and other connexions at the camp, which Michael Cresap attacked. The excuse offered by the whites for the commission of these murders was, that the Indians had committed some late robberies, and premeditated a general attack upon the frontier settlements. Both parties being now fully exasperated, the work of retaliation began on all sides, and continued, with remarkable cruelty, during the summer and fall.‡ In August, Lord Dunmore collected a force of 3,000 men, destined for the reduction of their towns on the Scioto, situated within the present limits of Pickaway county. One half of the corps was raised in Botetourt, Fincastle and the adjoining counties, by Col. Andrew Lewis, and of these 1,100 were in rendezvous at the levels of Green Brier on the 5th of September. It advanced in two divisions; the left wing,

1774  
 Brier

\*Jefferson's notes, appendix, p. 44. And affidavit of James Chambers, p. 24.

‡Message of John Penn, governor of Pa., to the assembly, July 18, 1774. American Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 602.—“I am to inform you, that in the latter end of April last, about eleven Delaware and Shawanese Indians were barbarously murdered on the River Ohio, about ninety miles below Pittsburgh, by two parties of white men, said to be Virginians. As soon as the unfortunate affair was known on the frontiers of the province, messengers were dispatched to assure the Indians that these outrages had been committed by wicked people, without the knowledge of any of the English governments, and requesting that they might not be the means of disturbing the friendship existing between us. This step had so far a good effect as to quiet them for the present, and to prevent them from coming to a resolution to enter into a general war with us. It did not, however, restrain the particular friends and relations of the deceased, who, it seems, contrary to the advice of their chiefs, in a short time afterwards, took their revenge by murdering a number of Virginians settled to the westward of the Monongahela.”

See also letter of Wm. Preston, of Fincastle, page 707, dated Aug. 13, 1774, detailing the Indian murders in his vicinity.

commanded by Lewis, struck the great Kenhawa, and followed that stream to the Ohio. § The right wing, attended by Dunmore in person, passed the mountains at the Potomac Gap, and came to the Ohio somewhere above Wheeling. About the 6th of October, a talk was had with the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Delawares, some of whom had been to the Shawanese towns on a mission of peace. They reported unfavorably.\* The plan of the

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§ Letter of an officer from Fort Augusta, dated Nov. 21, 1774. American Archives, vol. 1, page 1017.

\* On the 14th day of October, 1774, an express arrived at Williamsburg, Va., with a talk between Dunmore and chiefs of the Six Nations and Delawares, and also with some of the Mohawks, the time and place not named, probably at Pittsburgh or its vicinity.

PART OF LORD DUNMORE'S REPLY TO THE DELAWARE AND SIX NATIONS CHIEFS.—“Brethren: I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken to heal the sores made by the SHAWANESE. I would have been very glad to have now given you a more favorable answer as to them; but, you yourselves must be well acquainted how little the Shawanese deserve the treatment or appellation of brothers from me, when in the first place they have not complied with the terms prescribed to them by Col Bouquet, (and to which they assented,) of giving up the white prisoners, nor have they ever truly buried the hatchet; for the next summer after that treaty they killed a man upon the frontiers of my government. The next year they killed eight of my people upon Cumberland River, and brought their horses to their towns, where they disposed of them, (together with a considerable quantity of peltry,) to the traders from Pennsylvania. Some time after, one Martin, a trader from my country, was killed with two men on the Hockhocking by the Shawanese, only because they were VIRGINIANS: at the same time permitting one ELLIS to pass only as he was a PENNSYLVANIAN. In the year 1771, TWENTY of my people were robbed by them, when they carried away NINETEEN horses and as many owned by Indians, with their guns, clothes, &c., which they delivered up to one Callender and Sprague, and other Pennsylvania traders, in their towns. In the same year, on the Great Kenhawa, in my government, they killed \*\*\*\*\* one of my people and wounded his brother. And the year following, ADAM STRAND, another of my people, his wife and seven children, were most cruelly murdered on Elk waters. In the next year they killed Richards, another of my people, on the Kenhawa. A few moons after, they killed Russell, one of my people, and FIVE white men and two negroes, near Cumberland Gap, and also carried their horses and effects into their towns, where they were purchased by the Pennsylvania traders.

campaign was to form a junction before reaching the Indian villages, and Lewis accordingly halted at the mouth of the Kenhawa on the 6th of October for communication and or-

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All these, with many other murders, they have committed upon my people before a drop of SHAWANESE blood was spilt by them. And have perpetrated robberies upon my defenceless frontier inhabitants; which, at length, irritated them so far that they began to retaliate. I have now stated the dispute between them, and leave it to you to judge what they want."

Capt. Pike, who had been on a mission to the Shawanese, said: "At my arrival at the lower towns I was told by CORNSTALK, that he was much rejoiced to hear from his brothers, the white people, in the spring, upon the first disturbances; that he had in consequence ordered all his young people to remain quiet and not to molest the traders, but to convey them safe to their grandfathers, the DELAWARES, where they would be safe. The Shawanese chiefs declared they were well pleased to hear from their brothers the English; and that they had spoke to all their young people to remain quiet. Upon my arriving at the STANDING STONE, (now Lancaster, Ohio,) I sent word to the Shawanese to assemble their counsellors; but as they were out hunting, it could not be immediately effected. The principal warriors listened to the chiefs, and had no hostile intentions. The mischief which had been done was perpetrated by the foolish young people; but that now, as soon as they were assembled, they would be able to prevent any thing of that nature for the future."

The Shawanese said, "That a party of Twightwees, and of Tawas, and a party of Wyandots were as far advanced on their way to war against the white people as their towns, but that they had advised them to return; that they expected that the war which threatened them would be extinguished as they now desired peace."

THE MOHEGANS DELIVERED THE FOLLOWING SPEECH TO THE SHAWANESE.—  
 "Brethren: Formerly you came to us on the other side of the mountains and told us we were your elder brothers; desiring us to come over and show ourselves to your grandfathers the DELAWARES, that they might know our relationship. We did so, and our people held fast the same chain of friendship; but now we see you only holding with one hand while you keep a tomahawk in the other. We desire you, therefore, to sit down and not be so haughty, but pity your women and children. We, therefore, take the tomahawk out of your hands and put it into the hands of your grandfathers the DELAWARES, they are good judges and know how to dispose of it."

The SHAWANESE replied.—"Brethren: We are glad to hear what you have said, and that you have taken the tomahawk out of our hands and given it to our grandfathers the DELAWARES. But, for our part, we are not sensible that we have had the tomahawk in our hands. It is true, some foolish young people may have found one out of our sight hid in the grass, and may have made use of it. But that tomahawk which we formerly held, has been long since buried, and we have not since raised it. I heard some of the young people express a threat at the DELAWARES

ders from the Commander-in-Chief. While there he encamped on the ground now occupied by the village of Point Pleasant, without entrenchments or other defences. On the morning of the 10th of October, he was attacked by 1,000 chosen warriors, of the western confederacy, who had abandoned their towns on the Pickaway plains to meet the Virginia troops, and give them battle before the two corps could be united. The Virginia riflemen occupied a triangular point of land, between the right bank of the Kenhawa and the left bank of the Ohio, accessible only from the rear. The assault was therefore in this quarter. Within an hour after the scouts had reported the presence of the Indians, a general engagement took place, extending

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for interfering so much with their quarrel with the white people; that if they had any thing to say they wondered why the white people did not come themselves to speak."

**CAPTAIN WHITE EYES, IN BEHALF OF THE DELAWARES, TO LORD DUNMORE.**—"Brother: As your brothers, the Shawanese are desirous to speak to you by themselves. I hope you will listen to them. I will desire them to speak to you and would be glad to acquaint them when they could see you to enter into a conference."

The **BIG APPLETREE**, a Mohawk, said—"This day it hath pleased God that we should meet together who are sent on behalf of another nation. The **SHAWANESE** told me that they heard there was something yet good in the heart of the **BIG KNIFE**. They desired me to take their hearts in my hands and speak strongly in their behalf to the **BIG KNIFE**. I am glad the Shawanese, my younger brother, have desired me to undertake this business, and am equally rejoiced at the appearance thereof from your good speeches."

**HIS ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE REPLY.**—"Brothers: I have already informed you of the evil disposition of the Shawanese towards us; but to convince you how ready the **BIG KNIFE** is to do justice at all times, even to their greatest enemies, at the request of my brothers the **SIX NATIONS**, and you the **DELAWARES**, I will be ready and willing to hear any good speeches which the **SHAWANESE** may have to deliver to me, either at **WHEELING**, where I now propose to be, or if they would not meet me there, at the **LITTLE KENHAWA**, or somewhere lower down the River."

[American Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, page 873-6.]

from one bank of one river to the other, half a mile from the point.

Col. Andrew Lewis, who seems to have been possessed of military talent, acted with steadiness and decision in this emergency. He arrayed his forces promptly, and advanced to meet the enemy, with force equal to his own. Col. Charles Lewis, with 300 men, forming the right of the line, met the Indians at sunrise, and sustained the first attack. Here he was mortally wounded in the onset, and his troops receiving almost the entire weight of the charge, were broken, and gave way. Col. Fleming with a portion of the command, had advanced along the shore of the Ohio, and in a few moments fell in with the right of the Indian line, which rested on the river.

The effect of the first shock was to stagger the left wing as it had done the right; and its commander also was severely wounded at an early stage of the conflict, but his men succeeded in reaching a piece of timber land, and maintained their position until the reserve, under Colonel Field, reached the ground. It will be seen, by examining Lewis' plan of the engagement, and the ground on which it was fought, that an advance on his part, and a retreat of his opponent, necessarily weakened their line by constantly increasing its length, if it extended from river to river, and would eventually force him to break it or leave his flanks unprotected. Those acquainted with Indian tactics inform us, that it is the great point of his generalship to

preserve his flanks and overreach those of his enemy. They continued, therefore, contrary to their usual practice, to dispute the ground with the pertinacity of veterans along the whole line—retreating slowly from tree to tree, till one o'clock P. M., when they reached a strong position. Here both parties rested, within rifle range of each other, and continued a desultory fire along a front of a mile and a quarter, until after sun-set.

The desperate nature of this fight may be inferred from the deep-seated animosity of both parties towards each other, the high courage which both possessed, and the consequences which hung upon the issue. The Virginians lost one-half their commissioned officers and 52 men killed. Of the Indians, 21 were left on the field, and the loss in killed and wounded is stated at 233.\* During the night the Indians retreated and were not pursued.

Having failed in this contest with the troops while they were still divided in two parties, they changed their plan and determined at once to save their towns from destruction by offers of peace.

Soon after the battle was over, a reinforcement of 300 Fincastle troops, and also an express from Lord Dunmore, arrived, with an order directing this division to advance towards the Shawanese villages without delay. Notwithstanding the order was given in ignorance of the engage-

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\*Burke's History of Virginia, vol. 3, ps. 392-8. American Archives, vol. 1, ps. 1015-16-17-18, letters of the day.



ment, and commanded them to enter the enemy's country unsupported, Col. Lewis and his men were glad to comply with it, and thus complete the overthrow of the allied Indians.

The Virginians, made eager with success, and maddened by the loss of so many brave officers, dashed across the Ohio in pursuit of more victims, leaving a garrison at Point Pleasant. Our next information of them is, that a march of eighty miles, through an untrodden wilderness, has been performed, and on the 24th of Oct. they are encamped on the banks of Congo Creek, in Pickaway township, Pickaway county, within striking distance of the Indian towns. Their principal village was occupied by Shawnees, and stood upon the ground where the village of Westfall is now situated, on the west bank of the Scioto, and on the Ohio Canal near the south line of the same county. This was the head quarters of the confederate tribes, and was called Chillicothe; and because there were other towns, either at that time, or soon after, of the same name, it was known as *Old Chillicothe*. One of them was located at the present village of Frankfort, in Ross county, on the north fork of Paint Creek, and others on the waters of the Great Miami. In the mean time, Lord Dunmore and his men had descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Hockhocking, established a depot, and erected some defences called Fort Gower. From this point he probably started the express directed to Lewis, at the mouth of Kenhawa, about

[1842] fifty miles below, and immediately commenced his march up the Hockhocking into the Indian country. For the next that is known of him, he is in the vicinity of Camp Charlotte, on the left bank of Sippo Creek, about seven miles south-east of Circleville, where he arrived before Lewis reached the station on Congo, as above stated. Camp Charlotte was situated about four and one-half miles north-east of Camp Lewis, on the farm now owned by Thomas J. Winship, Esq., and was consequently farther from the Chillicothe villages than the position occupied by the left wing. There has been much diversity of opinion and statement respecting the location of the true Old Chillicothe town, and also in regard to the positions of Camp Charlotte and Camp Lewis. The associations connected with these places have given them an interest which will never decline. This is probably a sufficient excuse for presenting here, in detail, the evidence upon which the positions of these several points are established.

It was at the Chillicothe towns that Logan delivered his famous speech. It was not made in council, for he refused to attend at Camp Charlotte where the talk was held, and Dunmore sent a trader by the name of John Gibson to enquire the cause of his absence. The Indians, as before intimated, had made propositions to the Governor for peace, and probably before he was aware of the result of the action at Kenhawa. When Gibson arrived at the village, Logan came to him, and by his (Logan's) request, they

went into an adjoining wood and sat down. Here, after shedding abundance of tears, the honored Chief told his pathetic story.\* Gibson repeated it to the officers, who caused it to be published in the Virginia Gazette of that year. Mr. Jefferson was charged with making improvements and alterations when he published it in his notes on Virginia; but from the concurrent testimony of Gibson, Lord Dunmore, and several others, it appears to be as close a representation of the original as could be obtained under the circumstances. The only versions of the speech that I have seen are here contrasted, in order to show that the substance and sentiments correspond, and that it must be the production of Logan, or of John Gibson, the only white man who heard the original.

Williamsburg, Va., Feb. 4, 1775.

The following is said to be a message from Capt. Logan, an Indian warrior, to Gov. Dunmore, after the battle in which Colonel Charles Lewis was slain, delivered at the treaty :

“I appeal to any white man to say that he ever entered Logan’s cabin but I gave him meat; that he ever came naked but I clothed him.

“In the course of the last war Logan remained in his cabin an advocate for peace. I had such an affection for the white people, that I was pointed at by the rest of my nation. I should have ever lived with them had it not been for Col. Cresap, who last year cut off in cold blood all the relations of Lo-

New York, Feb. 16, 1775.

Extract of a Letter from Va.—

“I make no doubt the following specimen of Indian eloquence and mistaken valor will please you, but you must make allowances for the unskilfulness of the interpreter.”

“I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan’s cabin hungry and I gave him not meat, if ever he came cold or naked and I gave him not clothing.

“During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent an advocate for peace. Nay, such was my love for the whites, that those of my own country pointed at me as they passed by and said: ‘Logan is the friend of white man.’ I had even thought to live with you, but for

\*Affidavit of John Gibson, Jefferson’s Notes, appendix page 16.

gan, not sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called upon me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many, and fully glutted my revenge. I am glad there is a prospect of peace on account of the nation; but I beg you will not entertain a thought that any thing I have said proceeds from fear. Logan disdains the thought. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? No one."

the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cool blood, and unprovoked, cut off all the relatives of Logan; not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human 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. Yet, do not harbor the thought, that I am 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."

The right hand translation is literally the same as the copy given in Jefferson's Notes, page 124, and is doubtless the version given out by himself at the time. The authenticity of the ideas, and if not the words, at all events the style is, in some degree, sustained by another piece of Logan's composition, which was found tied to a war club at the house of one Robertson, in Fincastle county, Va., after a massacre of his family by the Indians. Logan had previously caused it to be written with a burnt stick by a prisoner named William Robinson, saying he would kill somebody and leave the letter in the house.

"Capt. Cresap—what did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga a great while ago, and I thought nothing of that; but you killed my kin again at Yellow Creek and took my cousin prisoner. I thought I must kill too. I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry, only myself. July 21, 1774.

CAPT. JOHN LOGAN."

I have shown elsewhere that Logan was mistaken as to the connexion of Cresap with the murders at Baker's.

It was repeated throughout the North American colonies as a lesson of eloquence in the schools, and copied upon the pages of literary journals in Great Britain and the Continent. This brief effusion of mingled pride, courage and sorrow, elevated the character of the native American throughout the intelligent world; and the place where it was delivered can never be forgotten so long as touching eloquence is admired by men.

Camp Charlotte was situated on the south-west quarter of section 12, town 10, range 21, upon a pleasant piece of ground in view of the Pickaway plains. It was without permanent defences, or at least there are no remains of intrenchments, and is accessible on all sides. The creek in front formed no impediment to an approach from that quarter; and the country is level in the rear. Camp Lewis is said to be upon more defensible ground on the north-east quarter of section 30, same township and range. The two encampments have often been confounded with each other. . . . .

The testimony which I shall here introduce, was developed in the year 1830, in a case in the Supreme Court of Ohio for Pickaway county, where questions relating to the position of Camp Charlotte and the Chillicothe towns, were involved. It was furnished me by J. D. Calwell, Esq., of Chillicothe, counsel for defendants, in the suit of John Gibson's heirs vs. Duncan McArthur, and others. It consists of depositions taken upon the ground at Camp Charlotte, for the purpose of sustaining the description of a

*Brewer*  
*of Chillicothe*

Virginia military warrant, which reads thus—"August 2d, 1787—Entry No. 450. John Jolliff's (heir) enters 2,666 $\frac{2}{3}$  acres; a military warrant No. 825, on the Scioto river, at the first fork above the old Chillicothe town, which town is about seven miles from a place called Camp Charlotte," &c.

CALEB EVANS deposes and says, that he was here 32 years ago, and noticed these stumps, and old John Hargus told me it was Camp Charlotte. Hargus said he was a captain of spies with Dunmore, and when they came here the Indians crowded them so that Dunmore and six or seven others, myself included, went across to meet Lewis, who was encamped on Congo (creek) on some knolls where Judge Barr now lives. We met Lewis just after he had left his camp to give battle to the Indians, and ordered him back. I was here when there were no marks of an axe in these parts except at these two camps. Hargus and myself were the only persons then in this vicinity. The cattle of the army were kept on a prairie across the creek.

THOS. BARR. Deponent was here 32 years ago. I went back to Pennsylvania and saw Col. Williamson, who was with Dunmore. We differed about the appearance of Camp Charlotte; and after I saw this place the next season, and I went back again, we agreed in every particular. There was a spring and five or six trees deadened by him in a drain. Lewis' camp is about five miles west of this on Congo. One Boggs came through the country about that time, who was at the camp, and said this is the spot. Boggs told about Dunmore overtaking Lewis and ordering him to stop and not attack the Indian towns. I saw Mr. McIntyre, of Zanesville, soon after that place was settled. Mr. McIntyre and Mr. Zane were to lay out a road from Wheeling through Zanesville, Standing Stone, (now Lancaster,) Chillicothe, (meaning the settlement in Ross county,) to Limestone, now Maysville. They took an Indian pilot to lead them to Chillicothe. He led them to the place now called Westfall, and said that was Chillicothe, the only Chillicothe he knew of. This was about 29 years ago.

GEORGE WOLF. I live near Camp Lewis, and came here 33 years ago. I heard John Hargus and John Boggs talk about this place and call it Camp Charlotte.

JAMES MOORE. I came to Chillicothe (in Ross county,) in 1796. In 1797 or 1798, I went upon the ground where Westfall now is. I moved there in 1799, and it appeared to have been an Indian town. The Indians who were about there said the inhabitants called themselves Chillicothees and their town Chillicothee. They had a town on the north fork of Paint Creek of the same name, and another on Mad river. They called this at Westfall Old Chillicothee. These Indians were Shawnees, Delawares and Wyandots, and said the reason the Chillicothees left was the prevalence of the small pox. Describing the disease, the Indians said the people—die—die—die—Some day one—some day two; and they bury—bury—bury—and pointed out the graves.

Fergus Moore testified to same as James Moore, and added, that in digging the Ohio Canal, bones were found in great numbers at the places shown to them as graves.

This evidence will probably be considered as conclusive in relation to the position of Old Chillicothe and the two camps.

Before Lord Dunmore reached the vicinity of the Indian towns he was met by a flag of truce, borne by a white man named Elliott, desiring a halt on the part of the troops, and requesting for the Chiefs an interpreter with whom they could communicate.\* To this his Lordship, who, according to the Virginians, had an aversion to fighting, readily assented. They furthermore charged him with the design of forming an alliance with the confederacy, to assist Great Britain against the colonies in the crisis of the revolution, which every one foresaw. He, however, moved forward to camp Charlotte, which was established rather as

\*Gibson's Affidavit.

*Brown*

a convenient council ground, than as a place of security or defence. The Virginia militia came here for the purpose of fighting, and their dissatisfaction and disappointment at the result amounted almost to mutiny. Lewis refused to obey the order for a halt, considering the enemy as already within his grasp, and of inferior numbers to his own. Dunmore, as we have seen, went in person to enforce his orders, and it is said drew his sword upon Colonel Lewis, threatening him with instant death if he persisted in farther disobedience.

The troops were concentrated at Camp Charlotte, numbering about 2,500 men. The principal Chiefs of the Scioto tribes had been assembled, and some days were spent in negotiations. A compact or treaty was at length concluded, and *four* hostages put in possession of the Governor to be taken to Virginia.|| We know very little of the precise terms of this treaty, nor even of the tribes who gave it their assent. It is said the Indians agreed to make the Ohio their boundary, and the whites stipulated not to pass beyond that river.

An agreement was entered into for a talk at Pittsburgh

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||The following extract of a Letter from Arthur St. Clair to Gov. Penn, dated Legionier, Dec. 4, 1774, needs confirmation. It is but one of many instances of the contradictory statements which embarrass our conclusions in reference to the important doings of the year 1774.

"The Mingoes that live on the Scioto did not appear to treat, and a party was sent to destroy their towns, which was effected, and there are (12) twelve of them prisoners in Fort Pitt."

[American Archives, vol. 1, p. 1,013.]



in the following spring, where a more full treaty was to be made.\*

At what precise time the British standard left the Pickaway plains we are not informed; nor by what route, after passing Fort Gower, or whether in a body or in detachments, the troops made their way home to the settlements. It is said that they reached Virginia highly dissatisfied with the Governor and the treaty; but this dissatisfaction does not appear to have been general.

Dunmore had assumed the credit of the battle at Point Pleasant. The Virginians, who participated in that action, denied that it was an event in which he had the remotest concern; and not only was not aware of the affair till after it had occurred, but had neither anticipated or desired its occurrence.† The troops were not paid, and they represented the whole proceeding as a method of forming an alliance with the western confederacy, of which fighting formed no part in his Lordship's plan. His position was one of difficulty; and he seems to have been deficient in the qualities of prudence, determination and self-command so necessary to one thus situated. He is represented as a haughty, wayward, and unapproachable person, with a selfish, hesitating and overbearing mind.

In addition to the scattered items of this expedition here given, I will add a statement, which comes very well au-

\*American Archives, vol. 1, p. 1,222.

†Burke's History of Virginia, vol. 3, p. 406.

thenticated, but seems to contradict other well known facts. It is in relation to another campaign to the Indian country, by Dunmore, in the year following, or 1775. It was related to me by Walter Curtis, Esq., of Belpre, Washington county, Ohio, and I think transmitted by him in substance to the Secretary of this Society. Mr. Curtis received it from Gen. Clark, an eminent citizen of Missouri, a brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark, of Kentucky.

In 1831, a steam-boat was detained a few hours near the house of Mr. Curtis, on the Ohio, a short distance above the mouth of the Hockhocking, and Gen. Clark came ashore. He inquired respecting the remains of a Fort or encampment at the mouth of the Hockhocking river, as it is now called. He was told that there was evidence of a clearing of several acres in extent, and that pieces of guns and muskets had been found on the spot; and also, that a collection of several hundred bullets had been discovered on the bank of the Hockhocking, about 25 miles up the river. Gen. Clark then stated, that the ground had been occupied as a camp by Lord Dunmore, who came down the Kenhawa with 300 men in the spring of 1775, with the expectation of treating with the Indians here. The Chiefs not making their appearance, the march was continued up the river 25 or 30 miles, where an express from Virginia overtook the party. That evening a council was held and lasted till very late at night. In the morning the troops were disbanded, and immediately requested to enlist in the Brit-

ish service for a stated period. The contents of the despatches had not transpired when this proposition was made. A major of militia, by the name of McCarty, made an harangue to the men against enlisting, which seems to have been done in an eloquent and effectual manner. He referred to the condition of the public mind in the colonies, and the probability of a revolution, which must soon arrive. He represented the suspicious circumstances of the express, which was still a secret to the troops, and that appearances justified the conclusion, that they were required to enlist in a service against their own countrymen, their own kindred, their own homes. The consequence was, that but few of the men re-enlisted, and the majority, choosing the orator as a leader, made the best of their way to Wheeling. The news brought out by the courier proved to be an account of the opening combat of the Revolution at Lexington, Mass., April 20, 1775. Gen. Clark stated that himself (or his brother,) was in the expedition.

Lord Dunmore is said to have returned to Virginia by way of the Kenhawa river.

There are very few historical details sustained by better authority than the above relation. Desirous of reconciling this statement with history, I addressed a letter to General Clark, requesting an explanation, but his death, which happened soon after, prevented a reply. It would be as difficult to pronounce it an entire error, as to give it full belief.

On the 20th of April, Dunmore had lost all influence in

Virginia, entrenched himself in his house at Williamsburg, and removed the powder from the magazine on board the Fowey, a British vessel of war. The people were then in arms, not for the purpose of organizing war parties against the Indian country, but intending to assault the troops and marines of England, which the Governor had posted on his premises, to ensure the safety of, or to prevent access to, his person. Before the 17th of July, he had abandoned the capital, and removed to the Fowey with his family and papers. There is no mention of more than one expedition in the history of Virginia, and he is stated to have been there when the battle of Lexington was first known; and is accounted for from that time until August of the subsequent year.

I leave it for further information to refute or establish the truth of this narrative; and offer it here because no shadow of evidence respecting the transactions of that interesting period in the west, ought to be neglected. For the same reason I attach the following copies of Resolutions, &c., taken from the "American Archives," a most valuable publication, issued and issuing at the expense of the United States. In this publication the government has spared no pains to obtain correspondence in all the states, and in foreign countries, illustrating our history prior to the close of the Revolution. The first extract has some relation to the statement of Gen. Clark of a meeting of the officers under Dunmore, but in a different year.

“ At a meeting of the Officers under the command of His Excellency Rt. Hon. Earl of Dunmore, convened at *Fort Gower*, Nov. 5, 1774, for the purposes of considering the grievances of *British America*, an officer present addressed the meeting in the following words :

“ Gentlemen—Having now concluded the campaign by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the Colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the stronger assurance that we are ready at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just rights and privileges. We have lived about three months in the woods, without any intelligence from Boston, or from the Delegates at Philadelphia. It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our countrymen may be jealous of the use such a body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt ; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but that of the canopy of heaven ; and that we can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them for no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves us then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments by way of Resolves, at this very alarming crisis.

“ Whereupon the meeting made choice of a committee to draw up and prepare Resolves for their consideration ; who immediately withdrew, and after some time spent therein, reported that they had agreed to and prepared the following Resolves, which were read, maturely considered, and agreed to nem. con. by the meeting, and ordered to be published in the Virginia Gazette :

“ Resolved, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third, whilst His Majesty delights to reign over a brave and a free people ; that we will, at the expense of life and every thing dear and valuable, exert ourselves in the support of the honor of his Crown and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve ; that we will exert every power within us for the defence of American

*Resolved*

liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges, not in any precipitous, riotous, or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.

Resolved, That we entertain the greatest respect for His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against the *Shawanese*, and who we are confident underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interests of the country:

Signed by order and in behalf of the whole corps.

“BENJAMIN ASHBY, Clerk.”

These resolutions bear date only ten days after the arrival of Lewis at camp Charlotte. Of this time at least four days must have been occupied in the march, which must have exceeded eighty miles in distance, and we may infer that the troops moved from the Indian towns about the 1st of November, 1774.

We are not able to determine whether Lord Dunmore was present when these resolutions were adopted. On the 12th instant he is found at Fort Burd, near Pittsburg, sitting in judgment upon one of the refractory Pennsylvanians for violating the Virginia proclamation. He arrived at Williamsburg, Va., on the 4th of December, and received the attentions and congratulations of the public authorities. —*American Archives*, vol. 1, page 1,018.

It is highly probable that the army was disbanded at Fort Gower, and came home in different parties, and by such routes as were nearest and most convenient. The hostages had not arrived at Williamsburg at the above date,

in fact (12) twelve of them were left at Fort Dunmore, as the Virginians called Fort Pitt.

The delivery of white prisoners and horses in possession of the Indians appears to have taken place at Point Pleasant early in February.

“ Williamsburg, Va., Feb. 10, 1775.

“ A private letter from the frontiers gives an account that the Cornstalk King of the *Shawanese* nation, a few days ago arrived at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, where Capt. Russell is stationed, and delivered to him several of the old white prisoners, and a number of horses, agreeable to Lord Dunmore's desire. The Cornstalk informs that every thing at present is peaceable and quiet in the quarter he left, but that he would not undertake to say how long that pacific disposition would last, as the Pennsylvanians have sent some of their traders there, who were endeavoring all they could to persuade them that Lord Dunmore's view, in bringing the hostages to Williamsburg, was to deceive them, and that whenever it was in his power to raise another army, he would immediately take every advantage and cut them off. This kind of reasoning had no material effect it seems, as the Indians throughout the different tribes entertain the highest opinion of his Lordship's conduct with respect to his late manœuvres on the frontiers.

“ This morning we received information from a gentleman at the Ohio, that the *Mingo* Indians have killed three of the *Delawares*, which gives much concern to the neighboring white people. The Pennsylvanians, it appears, are greatly blamed, as they use every artifice in their power to create discontent and jealousy among the Indians.— Our correspondent says, they took one of our constables and immediately confined him in one of their jails; upon which *two* companies of the Virginians assembled, being determined to rescue him, which they did, together with some others which they served in the same manner, and also pulled down the jail. The Mingoës, we are likewise informed, are very desirous to see Lord Dunmore, in order fully to comply with his terms, and to make a lasting peace with him.”

*American Archives*, page 1,226.













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