The French and Indian War

For sixty-five years France and England had warred intermittently with all the venom of business rivals over possession of the territory between the Mississippi River and the Allegheny Mountains. The prizes they sought included fisheries, land and the fur trade for which they fought the first three of the wars in vain. Now, in 1754, they resumed hostilities in the French and Indian War, which, in its broader European phase, is known as the Seven Years' War. The American phase began as a dispute over possession of the Ohio Valley and gradually involved a large part of North America.

The French claims to the interior of the continent originated in 1671 when Daumont de Saint Luggon, swinging aloft his sword in the presence of awed Indian allies, proclaimed the sovereignty of France of "all the countries, rivers, lakes, and streams . . . both those which have been discovered and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their strength and breadth, bounded on one side by the seas of the North and the West, and the other by the South Sea." Coincidentally, Batts and Fallam a few months later proclaimed the same territory for England. Thus with a few words a Frenchman and two Englishmen were instrumental in plunging their countries and several others into a series of intercolonial wars which in the end converted such widely scattered regions as the plains of India, the hinterland of Prussia and the forests of North America into bloody battlefields and which at the peace table changed the course of world history.

In 1673 Louis Joliet, the son of a wagonmaker of Quebec, and
Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit priest, descended the Mississippi from the mouth of the Wisconsin to a point beyond the mouth of the Ohio and planted France in the heart of North America. A few years later La Salle dreamed of securing the region for his king by building across the Lake Country and down the Mississippi a chain of forts which would hem in the English colonies to the east and at the same time would serve as depositories of the royal fur trade.
The French and Indian War

When La Salle's dream faded with his tragic death on the banks of the Trinity, his mantle fell on the chivalrous shoulders of Pierre La Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, who with 200 men in 1699 built Fort Maurepas on Biloxi Bay. For some years the impoverished young Louisiana colony was run unsuccessfully by a wealthy merchant, Antoine de Crozat, and then by John Law's glittering bubble, the Company of the Indies. Eventually returned to the Crown, it began to grow strong and to prosper despite the opposition of the Montreal merchants who prevailed upon the Crown to export all furs from the upper Mississippi through the St. Lawrence rather than down the river.

Meanwhile, in 1718, on a malarious plain infested by snakes and alligators, John Baptiste La Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, brother of Iberville, laid the foundations of the present metropolis of New Orleans. Within twenty years the golden lilies of France were waving over the territory from New Orleans northward to the Ohio and the Missouri. Thousands of settlers planted themselves along the Mississippi, establishing Fort de Chartres in 1720, St. Philippe in 1723, Prairie du Rocher in 1733 and Vincennes—which was to figure prominently in the campaigns of George Rogers Clark—in 1734. On the Alabama River the French built Fort Toulouse to establish trade with the Creek Indians.

By the middle of the eighteenth century France began to realize her dream of an unbroken empire stretching from New Orleans to Quebec and fortified by a chain of strongholds and trading posts connecting fur centers on the Mississippi with those on the St. Lawrence. Thanks to her skill and diligence, she was confident that she had stemmed the swelling tide of English colonization. At Niagara a fort commanded the entrance to the heart of North America. One at Detroit guarded the territory from Lake Erie to the north. Another at St. Mary's stood sentinel to warn of any hostile approach to Lake Superior. Still another at Michilimackinac guarded the narrow channel between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. A fort at Green Bay and one at St. Joseph debarred these two routes to the Mississippi by the Wisconsin and Illinois rivers. Fort Ouiatenon on the Wabash and Fort Miami on the Maumee protected the trading highway from Lake Erie to the Ohio. Kaskaskia and Cahokia in the Illi-
The Appalachian Frontier

nois Country were armed emporiums of the Indian trade.

France had now only to prevent the English from overrunning the Ohio Valley whose strategic importance she had realized as early as 1721 when her difficulties with the Fox Indians forced her traders to shift their routes from the portage between the Wisconsin and Illinois to that between the Maumee and Wabash. They discovered that the new route shortened considerably the distance between the Canadian and the Louisiana settlements.

The first British traders in the Ohio Valley were perhaps Carolinians and New Yorkers, whose visits were sporadic and in-sequential. Next came Pennsylvanians who had followed Shawnee and Delawares in their migration westward to Kittanning and Logstown, near Economy, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. For deer, elk, buffalo and beaver skins the Pennsylvania traders exchanged rum, guns, gunpowder, lead, lace, thread, jewelry, women’s stockings and other articles which they had bought from such merchants as Jeremiah Warder of Philadelphia and Joseph Simon and Levi Andrew Levy of Lancaster.

Thanks to their aggressive and enterprising leader, George Croghan, a Dubliner who had migrated to America in 1731, the Pennsylvanians soon dominated the trade in the upper Ohio Valley. Croghan shortly opened trading centers at Pine Creek, Logstown and Beaver Creek, while his men with their pack horses came and went on trails that spread out like the sticks of a fan to the country of the Miami Indians and that of the Illinois Indians at the mouth of the Scioto. Croghan had reached French domain, but he was still unsatisfied. In 1748 he climaxd his prosperity by building a palisaded fort at the Miami village of Pickawillany, deep in French territory.

Virginia claimed the Ohio Valley under the charter of 1609 and by the Batts and Fallam discovery of 1671. Many of her leading citizens were resentful of what they regarded as the encroachments of Pennsylvania traders on her domain. To forestall them as well as to stem the French advance, Colonel Thomas Lee and twelve others, including Lawrence and Augustine Washington, half brothers of George Washington, George Mason and John Hanbury, a Quaker merchant residing in London, peti-
tioned the Board of Trade in England to organize a trading and speculating enterprise which became known as the Ohio Company.

Anxious to strengthen English control in a region which France also claimed, the Board of Trade approved the request and granted the company a tract of 200,000 acres free of quitrents for ten years, and promised it an additional award of 300,000 acres on condition of settling a hundred families on the original tract and of building and garrisoning a fort for their protection. Governor Robert Dinwiddie, who became a member of the company, hoped it would serve as a powerful weapon in checking the French advance while it encouraged British progress. He knew that it would secure a good share of the Indian trade which hitherto had been monopolized by Croghan and his men.

Moreover, possession by the company of a tract of land in a region disputed among the colonies would strengthen the claims of Virginia. To facilitate its success, Dinwiddie planned to reconcile the southern and northern Indians, who, though allies of the English, were constantly at war with each other. The company failed to secure the required number of immigrants, but it became a keen competitor of the Pennsylvania traders. Its agent, Christopher Gist, established a storehouse at Wills Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, and explored much of the region.

France wasted no time in taking steps to regain lost ground. In 1749 La Galissonière, the French governor, sent Pierre Joseph Céloron de Blainville to renew possession of the Ohio Country, to ascertain the attitude of the Indians and to expel the British traders. In pursuance of these aims, Céloron descended the Ohio, burying at important points along the river lead plates claiming the region for France. This exploit aroused the indignation of the Indians, who interpreted it as evidence that the French meant to deprive them of the region. They therefore sided with the British traders with whom Céloron left, for the English governors, messages warning them against future trespasses in French territory. When the governors ignored these warnings, the French in 1752 established forts at Presque Isle, on the present site of Erie, Pennsylvania, farther south on French Creek at Waterford and at Fort Venango—now Franklin, Penn-
sylvanias—at the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny River.

On learning of these activities, Dinwiddie sent a small party under twenty-one-year-old George Washington to warn the French that they were on Virginia territory. The party, which included Christopher Gist as interpreter, made its way to Fort Le Boeuf at Waterford where the French commander, Legardeur de St. Pierre, received Washington courteously but told him that in taking possession of the region he was merely following the orders of his superior. After a similar experience at Fort Venango, Washington returned home to report that force alone would drive out the French.

Dinwiddie promptly struck back. In January 1754 he sent a construction crew of thirty-three men to forestall the French by building a fort at the forks of the Ohio. Three months later the governor, thinking that the fort was completed, sent Washington with 150 men to garrison it. At Wills Creek the young Virginian met the construction crew, who informed him that on April 17 a large force of Frenchmen had landed before the unfinished fort, planted cannon against it and summoned the ensign in charge, Edward Ward, to surrender. Ward had complied and had been permitted to depart with his men. The French demolished the unfinished fort and began a more elaborate one which they named Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor of Canada.

Washington regarded the seizure of a King's fort by the threat of cannon as an overt act of war. Henceforth he acted as though hostilities between England and France had begun. Though he knew he was greatly outnumbered, he decided to march against the enemy, 140 miles away. On May 24 he reached Great Meadows, a grassy valley where traders pastured their pack horses. Considering the place "a charming field for an encounter," he set his men to throw up an entrenchment while he sent out scouts to search the forest for French troops. They found none.

Two days later Christopher Gist, who had recently settled on Laurel Hill, near present Uniontown, Pennsylvania, brought word that during his absence on the previous day fifty Frenchmen had intended to burn his house but had been dissuaded by the two Indians left in charge of it. Washington vainly sent
seventy-five men to find the enemy. That evening a friendly
chief named Half King who was encamped near by with a few
warriors sent Washington word that he had found the tracks of
two men, presumably made by French scouts, leading into the
forest. Washington resolved to find the enemy himself. Leaving
the main force to guard Great Meadows against the possibility
of a surprise attack, he led forty men toward Half King's wig­
wams. Through heavy rain, through a forest "as black as pitch,"
they moved along a path so narrow that they sometimes lost it
and sometimes tumbled over one another in the dark. When at
sunrise they reached their destination, they numbered only
thirty-three; seven of their comrades had been lost and left behind
in the forest.

Washington and Half King decided to proceed against the
French without delay. Following the tracks of the French scouts
found the day before, they pushed into the forest until they
came to a rocky hollow or quarry in which the French had
concealed themselves. In the ensuing fight, which lasted less than
fifteen minutes, the young French commander, Coulon de Ju­
monville, and nine of his comrades were killed. One was
wounded, and the remaining twenty-one in the French party
threw down their guns. Some of the Indians knocked the
wounded on the head and then scalped them. One Englishman
was killed and three, including an officer, were wounded.

Expecting to be attacked any time by a superior force, Wash­
ington returned with his prisoners and men to Great Meadows
and sent to his superior, Colonel Joshua Fry, for reinforcements.
At the same time he began to build Fort Necessity, a simple
square enclosure with a knee-deep trench. While this work pro­
gressed Christopher Gist brought word from Wills Creek that
Fry had been killed in a fall from his horse. Thus Washington,
at twenty-two years of age, found himself the commander of the
expedition.

The three companies of Virginians left in Wills Creek now
joined him, bringing nine small guns and the swivels on which to
place them so that they could be fired in any direction. Next
arrived a company of South Carolina regulars under Captain
James Mackay. Because he had been commissioned by the King,
Mackay thought himself superior to any officer commissioned by the governor. Insisting that his command represented a separate force, he chose his own camp site and refused to exchange salutes and countersigns. Washington discreetly avoided a controversy; instead, he calmly assembled his Virginians and began a road to Red Stone Creek, where he hoped to build a fort and hold it until the arrival of reinforcements should enable him to march to the forks of the Ohio.

Washington advanced very slowly with his men and wagons and swivels to Gist's where he held a council with forty Indians who warned him that he would soon be attacked by overwhelming numbers. Their curiosity in examining the fort and their expostulations in discussing the French, however, aroused Washington's suspicions; and when, despite their many avowals of friendship for the English, they hurriedly retired, he realized that they were spying for the French. Even Half King deserted him. Finding that Washington had no presents to give him and had very meager provisions for his warriors and their families, he moved off with them on the pretext that he was not in good health. Washington had to use his own inexperienced men as scouts to prevent surprise by the French.

The next few days brought him disheartening news. He heard that the French were to march from Fort Duquesne with 800 white troops and 400 Indians. Washington, accepting this unfounded rumor as reliable information and fearing an attack might come at any moment, held another council in which he and his officers agreed to retreat to Great Meadows, where they felt confident they would have a better chance of victory. Washington had neither bread nor bacon and only a quart of salt to preserve his scant meat supply. His retreat would give him better access to needed supplies while it would force the French to traverse thirteen more miles of bad road over mountain country before they could strike at him.

The task before him required the utmost of his fittest men. Washington had, a few days before, sent back to Great Meadows all but two of the wagons and most of the horses to convoy expected supplies. The two wagons, a few scraggy horses, and the officers' mounts were all he had to move the nine swivels, the
ammunition and the baggage. Furthermore, he could count only on his Virginians, for Mackay forbade his men to lift a finger either in clearing the road or in dragging the swivels.

When Washington found that the wagons did not suffice for the ammunition, he ordered his mount to be loaded with powder and shot. His officers quickly followed suit. Then, in sweltering heat, the retreat began. His strongest men dragged the swivels over the roughest road of the Alleghenies. Over rut and rock and stump they pulled like dray horses, every grade a despair, every furlong a torture, in a journey which, though short in mileage, seemed endless. Two days later, bedraggled and hungry and exhausted, they reached Great Meadows—not to rest but to strengthen their rampart to meet the attack they hourly expected.

It soon came. At dawn on July 3 a sentinel, shot in the heel—perhaps by an Indian scout of the French—alerted the fort. Common danger drove Virginians and Mackay's regulars together for the first time. Aroused from sleep they sprang from their beds while their commanders ordered them to prepare for action. A heavy rain was falling as they slipped into the trenches. The French, yelling and firing aimlessly, charged 500 strong from the edge of the forest. Their leader was the dead Jumonville's brother, Coulon de Villiers, who, because he burned with revenge, had been sent from Fort Duquesne with orders to capture Washington and drive the English from the territory.

From tree and stump, from stone and bush, the French poured a withering fire at the defenders, at their horses and cows, and even at their dogs, in desperate endeavor to deprive them of transportation and food. Hour after hour the rain whipped down. It churned the trenches into soft mud, soaked the cartridge boxes, half drowned the soldiers and almost silenced the muskets and swivels. It showed no more respect for the French who—unable to use their arms effectively, distrusting their Indian allies and fearing the arrival of enemy reinforcements—toward dusk asked for a parley.

At first Washington, suspecting a scheme to get into and examine the trenches, refused. But when the French asked him to send an officer to receive a proposal, he hesitated no longer. Negotiations conducted by Captain Jacob van Braam, a Dutchman who
understood the French language imperfectly, eventually led to terms of capitulation. The English were granted honors of war and were permitted to march out with drum beating, taking with them one of the swivels and their property. They were protected against insult from the French and their Indian friends. The prisoners taken in the tussle with Jumonville were freed, and two officers, Van Braam and Robert Stobo, were retained as hostages. Of Washington’s 300 fighting men, thirteen had been killed and fifty-four wounded. Mackay left no record of his losses. Villiers, returning triumphantly to Fort Duquesne, claimed the battle cost him only twenty men in killed and wounded.

Since the Indians had killed the horses, the defeated men began to march back to Wills Creek on foot on the morning of July 4, leaving the swivel and most of their baggage behind and carrying their wounded and sick on litters or on their backs. The Indians pursued and plundered them, destroying Dr. Craik’s medicine chest and thus preventing him from effectively treating the sick and wounded. Three or four days later they arrived in Wills Creek. Washington and Mackay went to Williamsburg where they informed Dinwiddie of their defeat. The governor, blaming it on the delay of the regulars and North Carolinians and on the inability of Croghan to provide promised supplies, upheld Washington and made plans to prosecute the struggle with greater vigor. The French and Indian War had openly begun.

At the beginning of the war Governor Dinwiddie, in conjunction with Governor William Dobbs of North Carolina, took measures to convert the Indians of the region from potential enemies to active allies. In recent years the Cherokee and Catawbas had been more friendly toward the English than toward the French, though they resented both as encroachers of their country. The whack of the white man’s ax or the crack of his rifle was like a knell warning them of the eventual doom of their race. They grew more and more resentful with every buffalo the white man killed, every tree he felled, every acre he cleared, every cabin he built.

In the summer of 1755 they learned that General Edward
Braddock, starting for Fort Duquesne with 1,400 redcoats, 450 Virginia militiamen under Washington and 50 Indian scouts, had met tragic defeat at the hands of 600 Frenchmen and 200 Indians. The tribes of the Old West quickly sided with the victors in an effort to rid themselves of the English encroachers once and for all. In the fall of 1755 Dinwiddie and Dobbs decided to gain the Indians’ friendship and enlist their support by sending commissioners to formulate treaties with them.

The Virginia commissioners, Colonel William Byrd, third of that name, and Colonel Peter Randolph, met the Cherokee at the Broad River in North Carolina and delivered a message from Dinwiddie warning them against the French:

I advise you to be on your Guard against them, their Speeches are made up of Falsehoods and unjust Reports, let none of them remain among you, and by no Means allow them to build any Forts on the [Tennessee River] in the upper Cherokee Country, for their Intentions are with evil Design against you and your brothers the English.

The Cherokee chief was Attakullakulla, the most celebrated and influential Indian among all the tribes then known. He was a mere wisp of a man of about eighty, who weighed little more than a pound for each year of his life. The white men called him Little Carpenter, because his deep, artful and ingeniously diplomatic gifts enabled him to fit the pieces of a treaty together as skillfully as a carpenter fits pieces of wood. To Dinwiddie’s advice Little Carpenter replied with a threat: “If no Steps are taken for our Security, the French will extinguish the Friendly Fires between us.” In return for a present of goods and the promise of a strong fort, Little Carpenter pledged four hundred warriors within forty days.

In the late spring of 1756 the North Carolina commissioners, Chief Justice Henley and Captain Hugh Waddell, met King Heygler of the Catawbas at Salisbury. Following the example of the Cherokee, Heygler petitioned Governor Dobbs to send him ammunition and to build his people a strong fort to secure “our old men, women and children when we turn out to fight the
Enemies on their Coming.” Henley agreed to provide the am­munition and promised to urge his superior to have the fort built as soon as possible. Whereupon Heygler, a master of dry irony, made another request:

I desire a stop may be put to the selling of strong liquors by the white people to my people especially near the Indian nation. If the White people make strong drinks, let them sell it to one another, or drink it in their own families. This will avoid a great deal of mischief which otherwise will happen from my people getting drunk and quarreling with the white people. I have no strong prisons like you to confine them for it. Our only way is to put them under ground and all these [he pointed proudly to his warriors] will be ready to do that to those who shall deserve it.

That spring and summer Dinwiddie and Dobbs concerted their plans to build the promised forts. Captain Waddell with a construction crew was sent to the Catawba country where, near the mouth of the South Fork of the Catawba River, he set his men to build a fort for that tribe; but before the building was completed Dobbs ordered him to discharge his men and return home. French agents and South Carolina traders who desired to retain the Catawba trade for their own colony had prevailed upon King Heygler to request Dobbs to desist from building the fort. Some years later South Carolina built for the Catawbas a fort at the mouth of Line Creek, on the east bank of the Catawba.

Meanwhile Dinwiddie had sent Major Andrew Lewis with sixty workmen to Chota, the chief town of the overhill Cherokee, where Little Carpenter gave him a cordial welcome. Major Lewis immediately began construction of a fort; but the nearer it approached completion the cooler grew Little Carpenter’s friendship until he began to equivocate about sending the warriors he had pledged. The truth was that he had momentarily opened his ears to French agents who promised him goods free of charge and succeeded in convincing him that the English had come with irons to tie his people hand and foot, enslave the women and children and take the Cherokee lands for themselves. Lewis suspected that Little Carpenter had formed some scheme against the English. He pictured the Cherokee chief as “a great villain”
who would "do everything in his power to Serve the French."

One day Lewis walked inadvertently into a great council of the headmen of the overhill towns. The assembled Indians had agreed to write to Captain Robert Demere, who was coming with several hundred soldiers to garrison the fort, ordering him to return to Charleston. Speaking of the few soldiers who had already arrived, Little Carpenter heatedly said that he "would take their Guns, and give them to his young men to hunt with, and as to their clothes they would soon be worn out and then their skins would be tanned, and be of the same colour as theirs, and that they should live among them as Slaves." Lewis reminded him of the treaty solemnly negotiated the previous spring. In reply Little Carpenter and other chiefs requested Lewis to tell Dinwiddie that "they [the Cherokee] had taken up the Hatchet against all Nations that were Enemies to the English." This subterfuge failed to impress Lewis. He was not surprised when he could secure only ten Cherokee—seven men and three women—to accompany him back to Virginia. In the fall of the same year the fort was completed.

Meanwhile South Carolina had begun a fort in the Cherokee country, apparently to prevent the wavering Cherokee from yielding to the wishes of the French. The fort—named in honor of Lord Loudoun, commander-in-chief of all the English forces in America—stood on the left bank of the Little Tennessee, seven miles from the Virginia fort. Its completion in the early summer of 1757 gave the English control of the surrounding region. The commander of the garrison, Captain Paul Demere, brother of the commander of the fort at Chota, won the friendship of the Cherokee by giving them numerous presents, by rewarding them for scalps and by constantly assuring them of safety from French attacks. Out of gratitude many of the Cherokee joined the Virginians against the French while smaller groups participated in raids against the French and French Indians on the Ohio River.

By this time the French and Indian War had widened into the world conflict known as the Seven Years' War. The declaration of war in May 1756 brought Russia, Austria and Poland to the side of France while Frederick the Great of Prussia stood with
England. By entrusting the European phase of the war to the efficient armies of her ally, England was able to concentrate her forces against the French colonies in North America and India. In the next two years, however, nearly all her military efforts ended in defeat, thanks to Lord Loudoun. He spent much time in writing dispatches he never sent and, in the opinion of one who knew him, was like St. George on a tavern sign—always on horseback but never moving on.

On the contrary, the enterprising but poorly supplied French commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, made most of every opportunity. In the summer of 1756 he swooped down with 3,000 men on Fort Oswego, an important key to the Indian trade on the Great Lakes, and after storming it for three days forced the garrison of 3,000 men to surrender with considerable supplies. In the following summer Montcalm struck at Fort William Henry, at the southern end of Lake George, forced it to surrender, burned it and returned to his headquarters at Fort Ticonderoga. A year later the French commander won another great success when he defended the fort against 13,000 Redcoats. The soul of the British force expired, however, when General William Howe was killed. Under cover of darkness, General James Abercromby withdrew, counting 1,944 killed, wounded and missing. Montcalm lost only 377. The year ended with the Indians spreading desolation along the Mohawk Valley and sending the settlers scurrying to the safety of Albany and Schenectady.

Gradually the martial picture changed. Thanks to the vigorous efforts of William Pitt, who had dominated the British government since the fall of 1757, England easily wrested victory from France. So enthusiastic was Parliament in voting sums for the prosecution of the war that, said Walpole, “You would as soon hear ‘No’ from an old maid as from the House of Commons.” Pitt speedily removed supine and incompetent commanders who owed their positions to birth or prestige and replaced them with such gifted and vigorous young men as Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe. Thereafter England marched from victory to victory.

The harmony between the frontiersmen and the Cherokee was of short duration. As they marched homeward from military
service in the spring of 1758, a small group of young Cherokee braves seized some stray horses. The owners, hastily forming a party, went in pursuit of the thieves and killed twelve or fourteen of them. The relatives of the slain sought revenge by killing a number of settlers in various places on the Virginia frontier. Little Carpenter—now pro-English with the advent of English victories—protesting his friendship for the English, cautioned his people against thinking ill of them and disavowed the crimes in the name of the Cherokee nation.

Eventually his advice was accepted and peace returned to the frontier. Some Cherokee, including Little Carpenter, showed their friendship for the English by joining the expedition which General John Forbes had prepared against Fort Duquesne. But these warriors quickly became dissatisfied. The whites insulted them as they passed through Virginia, and General Forbes himself treated them harshly. Little Carpenter complained that the general had not furnished them "so much as with a little paint." Small wonder that two days before Fort Duquesne fell Little Carpenter and nine other Cherokee deserted the expedition. Forbes had them pursued, disarmed and sent home.

In the spring of 1759 Governor William Henry Lyttelton of South Carolina heard that Cherokee had attacked several white settlements in the colony and had renewed negotiations with the French. Late in April a party of young men from the village of Settico fell upon North Carolina settlers in the region of the Yadkin and Catawba rivers and returned with twenty scalps. Lyttelton then sent Little Carpenter a reminder of his pledges of friendship toward the English and demanded satisfaction for the murders committed by the young men of Settico. This message was delivered at a conference between many of the overhill warriors and Captain Demere in the guardhouse of Fort Loudoun.

Little Carpenter replied that he was powerless to secure the arrest of the headmen of Settico, because they were kinsmen to Oconostota, one of the most influential chiefs of the tribe. Oconostota was a wrinkled old man who had been "president" of his nation for over half a century and who, as agent and envoy extraordinary to the King of England, had once crossed the "big river." In London he had dined with George III and had successfully completed his mission. The high standing he enjoyed
The Appalachian Frontier

had gained him the confidence and good faith of his people in all and everything he would advance in support of their rightful claims. In view of these circumstances Little Carpenter could promise nothing save that he would do his best to maintain peace between his people and the English.

So long as Little Carpenter remained in the Indian towns he succeeded in restraining the young men from making further attacks. But during his absence in September they again went on the warpath and severed communication between Fort Loudoun and Fort Prince George, which had been built in 1753 near the important Indian village of Keowee. When news of these new attacks reached Lyttelton, he immediately fitted out an expedition to compel the Cherokee to keep peace. On October 26 he gathered an army of 1,500 men and proceeded from Charleston to Fort Prince George, where Little Carpenter and other warriors met him and professed their desire for peace. In reply the governor demanded that the Cherokee surrender the twenty-four young men suspected of having committed the recent crimes. If they rejected his wishes, he said, he would destroy their warriors and starve their women and children.

Little Carpenter strained every effort to meet Lyttelton’s demand, but he was able to bring to the fort only two of the wanted men. The rest either had been rescued by their friends or had fled across the mountains. Meanwhile smallpox and desertions had so reduced Lyttelton’s army that he was constrained to reach a satisfactory settlement with Little Carpenter. He requested the chief to surrender twenty-two men, saying that a hostage would be confined in the fort for each one undelivered. Moreover, he demanded that the English traders be permitted to return to their homes in the Cherokee towns and that all Frenchmen who ventured into Cherokee country be killed. Having confirmed these terms by treaty, Lyttelton set out for Charleston, leaving as hostages twenty-two of the most prominent of the Indians who had accompanied him, regardless of his promise to give them safe passage back to their homes.

The Cherokee saw no reason why innocent men should be imprisoned and requested Captain Demere to release them. When Demere refused, they attacked the fort but were driven off.
They then sought vengeance by killing a number of traders in the neighborhood, while their comrades in the lower towns raided settlements in the Carolinas and Georgia, scalping men, women and children and driving the survivors to the more thickly settled regions.

On February 16, 1760, Oconostota came to the riverbank opposite Fort Prince George and asked to speak to Lieutenant Coytmore, the officer in charge. Previously he had asked for the release of the hostages and had been refused. Now, as Coytmore with two of his men came down to the riverbank, the chief waved a bridle he carried in his hand. At this preconcerted signal a volley blazed from patches of tall grass, killing Coytmore and wounding his attendants. The garrison, enraged by this treachery, killed the Indian hostages. From the surrounding hills Oconostota and his warriors poured volleys of musketry into the fort all day and throughout the night, but they wrought no damage. The garrison returned the fire, destroying the near-by town of Keowee.

Word of the murder of the hostages brought the whole Cherokee nation into the war against the English. Ignoring Little Carpenter’s pleas for peace, bands of infuriated and painted young men vainly attacked Fort Loudoun. The chief, still protesting his friendship for the English, shook his wise head and retired into the woods with his family.

On hearing of the new atrocities, Lyttelton sent an appeal to Major General Jeffrey Amherst, newly appointed commander of the British forces in America. Amherst immediately ordered Colonel Archibald Montgomery with 1,300 men to South Carolina. In April 1760 Montgomery crossed Twelve-Mile River into Cherokee country, burning all the Indian villages in the valley of the Keowee and killing and capturing more than a hundred of their warriors. When they still refused to make peace, he marched against their middle towns.

The savage yells of the red men mingled with the loud huzzas of the kilted Highlanders who, waving their Scotch bonnets, dashed against their enemies and drove them from the field. Nevertheless, Montgomery, burdened with the wounded, lacking means of removing his baggage and fearful of ambuscades, si-
lently withdrew his forces. He returned to Keowee, and from there went to Charleston and New York. By leaving Captain Demere and his devoted band to their fate he acknowledged ignominious failure.

The defenders at Loudoun scorned all thought of surrender. When their bread was gone, they killed and roasted and ate their dogs and horses. Sometimes the Indian women defied the protests of their warriors to bring in a few pots of pork and beans. Gradually the besieged garrison weakened from disease and lack of food. For two months they had heard nothing from the English; they abandoned all hope of being relieved. They believed they had been "forsaken by God and man." At last some of them deserted while others threw themselves on the mercy of the Indians.

In these circumstances Captain Demere saw the futility of prolonging the hopeless contest and on August 7 surrendered the fort. The Indians seemed generous with their terms of amnesty. The soldiers were to march out of Fort Loudoun with their drums, arms, as much powder as the officers thought necessary and what baggage they could carry. They were to be provided with horses and with an Indian escort to hunt for them, and they were to proceed unmolested to Virginia or to Fort Prince George, while the sick and the lame were to be nursed in the Indian towns until they should recover. They were to surrender all cannon and unnecessary ammunition.

The next day the garrison evacuated the fort and the Indians took possession, moving their families into the barracks and officers' houses. As many of the garrison as could march—men, women and children—soon started for Fort Prince George. Accompanied by Oconostota and most of the overhill warriors, they felt confident that no harm would befall them. But as they advanced their captors gradually withdrew until they found themselves alone at dusk. Next morning, when they resumed their march, they were fired upon by Indians hidden in patches of tall grass. Demere was wounded with the first volley. When another officer returned the fire, the Indians raised the war whoop, surrounded them and poured arrows and endless volleys
of small arms fire into their ranks. Demere, three other officers, twenty-three privates and three women fell dead.

Seeing the hopelessness of fighting, the survivors surrendered. An Indian seized a certain Captain Stuart and carried him across the creek to safety. He and those of the garrison who remained—some one hundred and twenty in number—were made prisoners, taken to Chota and compelled to dance before a vast throng of rejoicing Indians. Only Little Carpenter deplored the scene. With all he could command of worldly goods, he purchased Stuart from his captor, lodged him for a few days in Fort Loudoun and then, on the pretext of going hunting, took him, his servant and an old doctor to the camp of the Virginians on the Holston River. The Indians sent other prisoners to the French in New Orleans. Many were ransomed by the South Carolinians in the course of the next few months.

The Indian triumph was short-lived. In the following year Colonel James Grant laid waste the lower and middle towns, and the Cherokee sued for peace. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, Little Carpenter gathered as many of the prisoners as were willing to quit the Indian country and returned them to their homes. The Cherokee agreed to surrender Fort Loudoun to anyone who might be sent to take possession of it, but it was not regarrisoned and was shortly destroyed.

The long duel for empire had now reached its last phase. It was on July 26, 1758, that 12,000 redcoats under Amherst and Wolfe captured the French stronghold at Louisbourg, while John Bradstreet swept across the Mohawk Valley to Lake Oswego, crossed it, and captured Fort Frontenac, which he destroyed together with seven of the nine ships he found in the harbor.

Bradstreet’s victory was magnificent, for it brought Lake Ontario under British control, isolated Fort Niagara, cut off French communication with the Ohio River and permitted General John Forbes with 6,000 men to advance on Fort Duquesne. The French, deserted by their Indian allies and reduced to 500 men, blew up the fort and scattered by land and water. The final
blow came in the following year on the Plains of Abraham above the city of Quebec where the vanquished Montcalm and the victorious Wolfe alike met death. The next year the fall of Montreal yielded all Canada to the English. As the war drew to a close Spain entered it on the side of France, but too late to revive her sinking ally. Indeed, Spain lost Cuba and the Philippines. But the new king, George III, wanted peace. Pitt resigned, and by the beginning of 1763 the warring powers were ready to discuss terms.

With a scratch of the pen France surrendered to Great Britain an empire which had taken her two centuries to secure and develop. By the definitive Treaty, signed on February 10, 1763, she gave up all her possessions save two colonies in India, a few West Indian islands and two fishing posts in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. She also ceded Canada and all her possessions east of the Mississippi save the Island of Orleans. England, unaware of the fact that the Philippine Islands had fallen to her forces before the preliminary treaty was signed, restored them to Spain and exchanged Cuba for Florida. France compensated Spain for her losses by ceding Louisiana west of the Mississippi and the Island of Orleans.

Great Britain now faced the responsibility of organizing the territory she had acquired. To this difficult task she gave her prompt and earnest attention. The Proclamation of 1763, promulgated by George III on October 7, divided the territory acquired from Spain into the provinces of East Florida and West Florida and organized the Canadian possessions into the Province of Quebec. To each of these jurisdictions she appointed a governor with full power, though she guaranteed to the inhabitants the same civil rights enjoyed by the thirteen English colonies. She also promised that each of the three provinces would eventually be granted representative government of the same type as that which existed in the crown colonies.

In dealing with Indian affairs the proclamation departed drastically from England's old policy. The endless wilderness of North America teemed with savages whom she must keep under control. Hitherto each colony had supervised its own relations with the Indians, a policy which had given unscrupulous traders
ample opportunity to cheat them of their furs and speculators to rob them of their lands. The proclamation eliminated the possibility of such recurrences. Now only imperial agents could purchase lands from the Indians.

The vast region west of the Allegheny Mountains was set off as an Indian reservation. No settler was permitted west of the watershed which separated the sources of rivers flowing westward to the Mississippi from those flowing eastward to the Atlantic Ocean. No lands could be purchased from the Indians; no white settlements could remain in the reservation which was divided roughly at the Ohio River into two departments with an Indian superintendent over each.

This barrier, however, was only a temporary arrangement. Great Britain foresaw that imperial agents would grant charters to land companies from time to time, and that this would necessitate the opening of new areas of colonization. Indeed, the proclamation served only as a challenge to the restless and curious and adventure-loving Americans to hunt and explore in the mysterious and forbidden land beyond the line. Before the decade was over the Long Hunters had crossed the mountains into the country of Kentucky.