

LESSON PLAN:

“A Peace which shall be lasting”? Analyzing Early American Diplomacy with Indigenous Peoples

Overview: One of the most important functions of the War Department in its first years was managing relationships with the native peoples and nations that abutted America’s ever-expanding borders. White Americans’ unceasing appetite for land constantly brought them into contact with the indigenous peoples who had inhabited the land for thousands of years before the arrival of European colonists.

As those populations came into increasing contact, native populations suffered, struggled, negotiated, attacked, retreated, and sometimes collaborated with whites as they attempted to preserve parts of their culture and society from the steady encroachment of a new and often threatening country.

In the United States’ first decades, the War Department served as the primary government office mediating relations between white Americans and indigenous peoples. Its files contain a wealth of reports, letters, and observations about the character and nature of those interactions. The documents in the early War Department collection reflect a distinctly white, American perspective, a product of the function of the early War Office within the new Federal government. But the archive nevertheless offers a unique and fascinating window into these important efforts at early diplomacy, before the confrontational and punitive policies of the nineteenth century became settled. These documents reflect a moment when that outcome was only one of a range of possibilities, from a time when the deliberately weak standing army established by the Constitution required the central government to use tools beyond brute force in its dealings.

This lesson explores some of the ways that the early War Department attempted to manage what it termed “Indian Affairs” during the 1790s using letters, speeches, and reports from the last years of the eighteenth century. It is suitable for classes in early American history, in human geography, and some cultural anthropology courses. (It is also appropriate for teachers and students looking for a more complex view of the early frontier than the one presented in David McCullough’s 2019 book *The Pioneers*.)

ACTIVITY:

Historical background: Winning their independence in the war against Great Britain did not end all the threats facing the new American nation. In the two decades following the War of Independence, the young United States faced a variety of challenges to their security. Some of those threats came from European great powers: the ongoing rivalry with Great Britain would erupt into war again in 1812, and conflict with former ally France nearly broke into naval warfare during the Quasi-War from 1798 to 1800. Other threats were internal challenges to the central government: the uprising known as Shays’ Rebellion in western Massachusetts tested the authority of the Articles of Confederation in 1786 and 1787, while the Whiskey Rebellion challenged the sovereignty and determination of the government under the new Constitution from 1791 to 1794.

The framers of the Constitution intended it to create a government that could, in part, “insure domestic Tranquility” and “provide for the common defense,” though they adamantly opposed supporting a

standing professional army in peacetime. The military that would help provide for the new nation's security would, by design, be small and relatively weak compared to the grand professional armies of Europe.

In America's first decades, a critical part of providing for the common defense was managing relationships with the indigenous nations near the ever-expanding white settlements. For white Americans, the most persistent and most immediate threat to their security came not from the great European powers across the Atlantic but from the native peoples on the immediate frontier.

For the indigenous peoples of North America, of course, the situation looked vastly different. They faced simultaneous threats from white Americans moving westward and, often, from rival neighboring indigenous populations. For them, the formation of the United States between 1775 and 1789 marked only the newest chapter in a long and fraught history that had begun nearly two hundred years earlier with the arrival of the first European settlers on the Atlantic seaboard.

The U.S. government's history with the indigenous nations of North America is a long and complex one, and the treatment of Native American peoples at the hands of the federal government constitutes a protracted and shameful chapter in American history. That history includes the 1830 Indian Removal Act under Andrew Jackson's administration; the lengthy series of brutal military actions against the Plains Indians spanning decades in the mid- to late-nineteenth century; seizure of tribal lands and the forced relocation to reservations; and the establishment of the Carlisle Indian School in 1879, with its professed aim of stripping indigenous children of their tribal heritage and, in so doing, "Kill the Indian: Save the man."

Conflict between whites and native populations began with the first arrival of Europeans in North America in the seventeenth century, and flowed in often violent cycles for the next two centuries. Indigenous nations were not passive during this process: in an effort to preserve their families, lands, and culture, they would act as vigorous agents in their own right, using diplomacy, force, and negotiation to carve out accommodations alongside the expanding white population. Those interactions entered a new phase following the United States' victory in the War of Independence.

One of the most important tasks assigned to the new War Department was the management of what it termed "Indian Affairs." Using a variety of means, agents of the modest office attempted to shape relations between white Americans and indigenous nations. Given the staggering persecution that characterized white Americans' relations with indigenous nations in the nineteenth century, it is easy to imagine that the power dynamic was always one-sided, exploitive, adversarial, and violent. But while the earliest federal efforts to accommodate the interests of both whites and indigenous people would hardly be characterized as benign, the documentary record suggests that those relationships were complex, multifaceted, and frequently changing.

This lesson explores some of the ways that the early War Department tried to manage those relationships, using documents and reports from the last years of the eighteenth century. Those documents tell a distinctly white, American story (that perspective is, in fact, one of the defining features of the archive), but offers a unique look into the early efforts to accommodate competing interests and cultures on the evolving and often violent frontier.

Lesson objective: To explore the evolving relationships between native peoples and the government of the newly-independent United States in the 1790s by examining correspondence from the files of the early War Department.

Lesson materials

Primary source document packet:

Document A, Richard Butler to Delaware Chiefs, 1787 (p. 7-8)

Document B, Anthony Wayne to Secretary of War Henry Knox, October 1789 (p. 9-11)

Document C, Anthony Wayne to Secretary of War Henry Knox, August 1792 (p. 12-19)

Document D, Timothy Barnard to Henry Gaither, February 1793 (p. 20-22)

Document E, Cussetah Chiefs to Henry Gaither, April 1793 (p. 23-25)

Historian's worksheet (p. 26)

Teacher answer key (p. 27-31)

Lesson preparation

Prepare copies of **Documents A, B, C, D, and E** and the **Historian's worksheet** for the class.

Depending on students' level of familiarity with early eighteenth-century American history, the lesson can work as either an individual or group activity. Students with a good working knowledge of eighteenth-century primary sources can work the exercise individually. Students who are less experienced can work on the documents in groups. If your students are still becoming comfortable with primary sources (especially older ones, like the ones in this packet), assign one document to each group.

Lesson procedure

Optional icebreaker introduction: Each of the primary sources comes with a transcription. The eighteenth-century originals were all handwritten, and digital scans of each original letter accompany the transcribed version in the lesson packet. If your students can read cursive handwriting, you can begin the lesson with a short exercise in which students transcribe a document themselves. **Document D**, Timothy Barnard's letter to Henry Gaither, is an excellent choice for the transcription exercise since the handwriting is very legible. (In fact, this document is actually a copy of the original, made by a clerk in the War Department as a record of the correspondence. Such copies were compiled in a large volume

called a “letterbook,” which served as a kind of eighteenth-century version of the modern e-mail outbox or sent folder.)

The transcription exercise works best in groups of two or three, since good transcribers must often use context clues and inference to figure out words and abbreviations that are unclear.

Students will likely find this process extremely frustrating (professional historians find it frustrating, too!), but a five-minute attempt to transcribe the documents can help them appreciate the challenges that teachers and textbook authors face in making sense of original letters from this period, even if the student attempts are unsuccessful. Distribute the document transcriptions once you are ready to begin the exercise and encourage students to check their attempts.

Before looking at the documents themselves, begin the session with some brainstorming: What do the students know about the relationships between indigenous peoples and the U.S. government in the 1800s? Students may list the Trail of Tears, the reservation system, and the wars against the Plains Indians (Custer’s defeat at Little Bighorn in 1876 often stands out in memory as a rare and thorough victory by native peoples over the whites.)

Next, engage the students in some follow-on inference: Based on what they know about relationships between whites and indigenous people in the nineteenth century, what do they imagine those relations to be like in the late 1700s? A reasonable assumption, given the brutality that characterized many of the interactions in the 1800s, might be that the relationship was violent and one-sided, with white Americans using military threats and military force to impose their will on native populations.

Once you have cataloged students’ hypotheses, introduce the collection of documents as a way to test their guesses. The War Department was the main office that managed what they termed “Indian affairs” during this period, and the correspondence coming and going from that office gives a unique window into the relationships between white Americans and indigenous nations in the years immediately following the American War of Independence.

Provide copies of **Documents A-E** and the **Historian’s worksheet**. The worksheet serves as a guide to help the students summarize, analyze, and interpret each document. The **Teacher answer key** contains information and insights into each of the documents.

Once the students have completed the summary and interpretation, reconvene the class to fit these samples into a broader pattern. What do they notice about late-eighteenth-century relations between white Americans and indigenous peoples? How were their hypotheses confirmed by the primary sources? How were their hypotheses complicated?

In that guided discussion, students may arrive at several somewhat surprising conclusions about the interactions between whites and native peoples under the new Federal government:

1. There are many different groups of native peoples (and different groups of whites) with different goals. The two groups are not monolithic. White settlers in different parts of the sprawling but thinly

populated new country have different relationships with the neighboring Indian nations. And different indigenous nations have markedly different cultures and relationships, with each other and with the growing new country to the east. **Document E** in particular shows one group of native leaders urgently explaining that a recent rash of violence against whites was not undertaken by their own people but by a rogue chieftain whom they cannot control.

2. White attitudes toward native populations are not monolithic, and native attitudes toward white Americans are not monolithic, either. The tone of the correspondence varies widely. Some of the letters are accommodating if not conciliatory; agent Timothy Barnard’s letter, **Document D**, is nearly sympathetic to the grievances of the native peoples, and he warns outright that unless someone prevails upon the whites to exercise some restraint in their grazing patterns, the settlers will deserve the rough treatment they are likely to get.

At the other end of the spectrum, Anthony Wayne’s two letters are especially bellicose and openly hostile—Wayne (whose reputation as a fierce fighter had earned him the nickname “Mad Anthony” at the 1779 Battle of Stony Point during the War of Independence) seems to have already decided that there can be no negotiation with any of the native nations in the Northwest until they are subdued militarily, and urges Secretary of War Henry Knox to use military intimidation with a large armed force in order to secure American goals there.

3. Violence is not necessarily the government’s first resort for managing relations between whites and native nations. The agents representing the new government of the United States demonstrate a strong preference for negotiation in their relationships. That preference appears in several of the documents: for example, in **Document A**, Richard Butler offers invitations to negotiate with various tribal chiefs and closes his address with the earnest hopes that those invitations “will induce you all to come with hearts disposed to perpetual Peace & Friendships with the United States.”

Students might wonder: Why would the Federal government appear to prefer negotiation and accommodation in favor of brute force? Some guided reflection can help reveal some important broader themes about the nature of the early Federal government and its War Department that are helpful in making sense of late eighteenth century U.S. history generally.

The U.S. showed restraint not purely out of magnanimity or benevolence but in some important ways out of practical reality. The Constitution, by design, kept the peacetime standing army very small. The Federal government could not afford to keep troops stationed on the long frontier border indefinitely. And in military conflict native peoples enjoyed many advantages, especially their knowledge of the terrain and ability to support themselves off the land. Early American military expeditions against indigenous nations often proved disastrous for whites. (Wayne’s 1794 campaign in the upper Midwest was a devastatingly effective exception.)

Given its limitations in resources and troops, the United States government in the late 1700s could ill afford to threaten war against every indigenous group that responded to white encroachment on the frontier. Adopting a more circumspect approach to its frontier diplomacy was a strategic choice made as much out of necessity as benevolence.

Later in the 1800s, as the government grew in power, wealth, and military strength—and as the economic logic of expansion quickened whites’ movement westward—the U.S. approach to indigenous diplomacy would grow more belligerent and more inflexible, giving way to the shocking policies familiar from nineteenth-century American history.

To the Chiefs, Warriors, & others of the Delaware nation.
Brothers,

As a message which I had from the order of Congress, dated at Carlisle the third day of August 1794, delivered at Sandusky by George Washington, I told you that Congress had taken the Representatives of the Indian nation, & dated it 18th of September their various considerations, & I will give you an account of the same in due time. I am informed you that Congress in consequence of said Representation were pleased by a Resolution dated the 27th day of October last to send George the Fourth the Governor of the Western Territory and (George) the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern district to send for the Chiefs of the Five nations, Delaware, Muncie, Chickasaw, Ottawa, Shawnee, & to be with all other Indian nations within the said northern district which extends from the middle of the Lakes south to the Chesapeake the Mississippi River, in order to hold a general Treaty with you for the purpose (if possible) of settling your moving all your complaints and grievances upon paper to exist between the United States & the Indian Nations; and to establish a Peace which shall be lasting.

It is intended that the Treaty will be held at the Falls of the Niagara about twenty miles from Sandusky from the third or the fourth day of August 1794. It is as soon as possible after that day if there is some Deputy and Chiefs will not fail to attend, and that you of the Muncie will go on & send this invitation through the nations to inform of what the Western Chiefs particularly, as we shall endeavour to have every thing ready to receive you at that time & place.

The Resolution of Congress must convince you of their sincerity & pacific disposition towards the Indian nations and I hope will induce you all to come with hearts disposed to perpetual Peace & Friendship with the United States.

Dated at Carlisle the 23rd day of Oct. 1794

Your sincere Friend & Brother
Rich^d. Butler
Superintendent of the Western Territory

To the Chiefs Warriors & others of the Delaware nation

Brothers,

In a message which is sent you, by order of Congress, which is the great council of the United States dated at Carlisle the third day of August 1787 delivered at Sanduskie by George Lovelace I told you that Congress had taken the Representation of the Indian nations Dated Decr. 18th 1787 into thus Serious considerations & would give an answer thereto in due time.

I now inform you by James Rinkey & William Willan that Congress in consequence of said Representation were pleased by a Resolution dated the 27th Day of October last to Authorize the Hon'ble the Governor of the Western Territory and (myself) the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern District Invite & meet the Chiefs of the Five Nations, Delawares, Wiandots, Chippawas, Ottawas, Skomias, Shawanas., Wabash & all other Indian nations within the said northern District which Extends from the middle of the Lakes South to the Ohio & west to the Mississippi Rivers, in order to hold a General Treaty with you & them for the purpose (if Possible) of setting & removing all just complaints and uneasiness Supposed to Exist between the United States & the Indian Nations; and to establish a Peace which shall be lasting.

It is intended that the Treaty will be held at the Falls of Muskingum about Seventy miles west said River from the Ohio on the first day of May next 1788 or as soon as possible after that day - I therefore Expect your Chiefs will not fail to Attend, and that you & the Wiandots, will gain & send this Invitation through the nation to inform & collect the Western Chiefs punctually, as we shall endeavor to have Evry thing ready to Receive you & them at that time & Place.

The Resolution of Congress must convince you of thus Friendly & Pacific disposition toward the Indian nations. And I hope will induce you all to come with hearts disposed to perpetual Peace & Friendships with the United States

I am your Real Friend & Brother

Richd. Butler

Superintendt. Indn. Affrs. Northn Distr

Dated at Pittsburgh the 23d Day of Decr 1787

Savannah State of Georgia
25th Oct 1734

Dear Sir

I am much oblig'd by your very polite favor of the 9th August in answer to my letter of the 15th June, the Military arrangement then suggested appears now to be necessary, as the Commissioners have not been able to succeed in holding a treaty with the Indians without offering in judgment, without even deigning to return an answer to the bait delivered by verbal question, which gives just ground to apprehend an immediate serious war; in fact they have already commenced hostilities on the frontiers of this State, as appears by an express from an Col. Irvine of the Militia on the 13th Instant who says "the Indians have burst down Kemps fort in Washington County, & some houses". One reason for their refusing to treat, may probably be accounted for, by the following circumstances, as Mr. Gibney was on his way with the Indians to the rock landing, he was overtaken by an express from New Orleans, with the ratification of a treaty commenced some time since, between the Spanish & the Indians, & lately confirmed by Charles the 5th the present King of Spain, guaranteeing to the Indians all their lands.

I am much obliged by your very polite favor of the 9th., August in answer to my letter of the 15th June, the Military arrangement then suggested appears now to be necessary, as the Commissioners have not been able to succeed in holding a treaty with the Indians

Col Irvine of the Militia who says the Indians have beat down Kemps fort in Washington County & some houses.

The reason for them refusing to treat may possibly be accounted for by the following circumstance as Mr. Gilvery was on his way with the Indians to the rock landing, and was overtaken by an express from New Orleans, with the ratification of a treaty commenced sometime since between the Spanish & Creek Nations, & lately confirmed by Charles the IV the present King of Spain guaranteeing to the Indians all their land they possess or claim on the East side of the Mississippi, this instrument of writing Mr Osbourne one of the Commissioners, assures me (upon his Sacred Honor) he both seen & read, being handed to him by Mr. Gilvery for that purpose;

I believe I told you on the 15th June “that I was decidedly of Opinion, we never should have a permanent peace with the Creek Nation; who are numerous & insolent, until they were made to experience our superiority in the Fields & an Army stationed for the protection of the Southern States, not only against the incursions of the Indians, but also against the ideal claims of the Spaniards”

Their late Conduct verifies this Opinion, & points out the indispensable neglect of compelling the Creeks to treat upon our own terms in the Heart of their Country, which I pledge myself to effect, at the head of Four Battalions of Infantry of Six hundred effectives each two Regiments of Cavalry of Four Hundred Forty forenty pin each & ^ (a Corps of) two Hundred & fifty Artillery—purposely Offered & well appointed, which is as large as a Operating force, as can be conveniently supplied with provisions & a draft of Militia in addition to this force may be necessary for the purpose of keeping open the Communication between the cavalry from which we undecipherable draw our supplies & the Indian Nation, & for the defense of proper deposits & places of Arms in case of a serious Operation; I expect shortly to obtain an accurate acct of the numbers of Gun men which can be afforded to us from a Mr Gilvery, and a trader of the Indians. Mr Gilvery, formerly a trader, now a rich planter near this place / I undecipherable had a list of the towns & number of fighting men in each, but it is mislaid, however I recollect that the aggregate of the Upper & lower Creeks was some where about 6,000 the Chocktaws 5,000 the Cherokee, 1,500 & the Cherraws 800 Gun mans,

We have nothing to apprehend I believe but from the Creeks, on the Contrary we may probably have the assistance of the Chocktaws & Cherokees if necessary as they have heretofore been enemies to the Creeks & frequently at war with them; but should a general confederacy take place, they can not support themselves but for a very short time in body- & should they collect upon the undecipherable of the Occasion, it may be the happy means of putting a speedy conclusion to this war, as their numbers will only serve to confuse & render them an easy undecipherable to our undecipherable Cavalry often being routed by the Infantry & artillery, in an open wood & campaigns County, such as that professed by the Creek Nation for thier most part is,

is I shall be much Obliged by the earliest

information should a Military Arrangement be thought necessary, & also for your undecipherable with His Excellency the President, in Obtaining me the Command of this Expedition.

Circumstances will admit in order to facilitate an affectual Operation, should such measures be adopted.

I have the honor to be
Your Most Able
Giving
Humblest

Anthony Wayne

N^o 10

To Major Genl. Howe
J. Coy of Genl.

Pittsburgh ^{Pa} Aug^t 1792

Sir,

I have the honor of enclosing copies of two letters from Mr. Rosserantz of the 19th ultimo, and one from Capt. Casp of the 27th; in addition to these accounts an express arrived last evening from Fort Washington, by which Genl. Wilkinson informs me of the loss of a Serjeant, Corporal and fourteen men, who were cutting & curing hay, in the vicinity of Fort Jefferson, by a party of nearly one hundred Indians on the 25th of June: & also that on the 7th of July a canoe ascending the river, to the neighbouring settlement of Columbia, was fired upon by a party of savages within 3 miles of Fort Washington, by which one man was killed and another dangerously wounded & a boy, the only son of Genl. Spencer taken prisoner: but of these affairs you must be fully informed before this period, as Genl. Wilkinson ^{tells} ~~informs~~ me, that he had dispatched an express by land, with letters to you dated the 6th & 9th of July, copies of which he transmitted me on the 12th at:

at which time no new occurrences had happened. The account from St. Vincent, by Mr. Vigo of the murder of our flag, is but too well corroborated by that mentioned in Rosecrantz's Letter, brought by an Indian from Detroit - the officer in all probability was Major Trueman; Col^d Harding as I am informed wore a plain coat or rather hunting suit. The idea mentioned by Genl. Wilkinson in his letter of the 6th of July that a new tribe had engaged in the war, & that they had recently been furnished with clothing from the whites of their Skirts, is also corroborated by a man who was taken prisoner by the Indians, in the course of last summer from the County of Washington, & was lately liberated at Detroit, which place he left some time in June, & arrived in Washington on Monday last, where he was examined by the Lieut^t of the County & says that about seven weeks since - or early in June upwards of one hundred Canoes, came by the way of Lake Huron to Detroit (now head quarters) in which were about 800 Indians i.e. eight to a canoe; that the Indians were supplied at Detroit with clothing, arms, ammunition & provision in abundance, and immediately proceeded to join the hostile Indians, at the mouth of

of the Miami or Seminole people. I have not
seen this man as yet, but I am informed by a gentleman
of veracity who was present at his examination, that he
told his story very short & very particular. —

The report of the massacre of Col^o Harding
and Major Freeman, so recently after that of Freeman
& the Frenchman, if true & I really ~~believe~~^{fear} it is true
indicates a very vindictive spirit in the savages, who
generally revere a flag. — can these things be proved, by?
would it not stamp disgrace upon the American charac-
ter, in the eye of the world, were such enormities per-
mitted with impunity? these reports — and they
bear but too strong marks of authenticity, leaves
little ground to hope for an honorable or lasting peace,
should the event be war, — by heaven's! the Savages
shall experience its keenest effects!

Inclosed is a general monthly
return of all the troops at this place; together with
copies of General Orders upon the Courtmartial
of Captⁿ Shaylor and Captⁿ John Platt —
I have information of two small parties of
recruits being near — we have not more than

than twelve complete suits of clothing at this place,
nor have we any information of any being actually on
the road: - independent of the two hundred & eighty five
suits for Capt. Tho' Lewis's, Howel Lewis's and W^m ~~Johnson~~^{Pratt}
companies - nearly Sixty of Springers and ninety five of
Sparks's are yet to be clothed - Capt. Sparks was here yesterday
and says that he is nearly complete - I have ordered Maj^r Clark,
to muster & march these men to this post the soonest possible
& expect them in the course of ten days, so that there will
be four hundred and forty suits wanting for those five
companies. I really feel uneasy upon this business - as the
troops ordered to Point Pleasant will probably be obliged
to wait there, for some time, in a very unpleasant situa-
tion; in addition to this it is necessary from present
appearances to reinforce Genl. Wilkinson with three very
regiment, in order to enable him to procure forage
at Fort Jefferson, which is an object of the first con-
sequence: as the dismounted Dragoons arrive, I will
immediately forward them to him, & direct him to order
the Horse to some convenient & safe place on the
Kentucky side of the river, ready for mounting; I hope
that the Arms, & Horse equipments are forward.

There is however some very reprehensible conduct respecting the transportation of stores &c. many of the Essential articles mentioned in the invoice from the 1st of January, until the 30th of June 1798 have not yet arrived; & not one single article contained in that from the 1st to the 17th of July - what can be the cause?

Whilst I am writing I am honored with yours of the 27th ult^o with the enclosures - among which is a copy of yours of the 23rd No 8 the original has not yet arrived.

As you do not mention the letters Express from Gen Wilkinson of the 6th 9th with interesting intelligence from Major Hamtramck, I take the liberty to enclose you the copies sent me by Gen Wilkinson, lest some accident may have happened the express; and as it will be impracticable for me to have them copied in time for the post - I pray you to return the same or Copies, when convenient.

We have a number of sick in our hospital; the last detachment brought with them another malady, besides the small pox many of the men are afflicted with a virulent Venere - every precaution

is taken to prevent its spreading; & I mean to lay
the men under moderate stoppages who have contracted
this malady, to be appropriated for the support & comfort
of the children of the army. - the duty is too severe
for one Physician - Doctor Carmichael is the only
Surgeon belonging to the army now at this post - nor
has a single one come forward, out of all the late appoi-
ntments - do, be so good as to order on a Dozen of these
Medicine & Medicinal Stores are & will be much wanting
at this post. - The clothing for the rifle men
being, only now, ordered on from Phil^a I am almost
tempted to direct one hundred more mounted rifle
volunteers from Kentucky, in order to insure the cutting
& securing forage at Fort Jefferson - should the
next information from Mr. Rosecrantz be unfavour-
able, I shall adopt the measure. -

I have the honor to be

Sir,

your most obed^t & very
hum^l Serv^t.

Wm
Major Genl Knox
Fed of war.

A. W. Wayne.

To Major Genl Knox Secy of War
Pittsburgh 3d Augt. 1792

Sir,

I have the honor of enclosing copies of two letters from Mr. Rosecrantz of the 19th ultimo, and one from Capt Cass of the 27th; in addition to their accounts an express arrived last evening from Fort Washington, by which Genl. Wilkinson informs me of the loss of a sergeant, corporal and fourteen men, who were cutting & curing hay, in the vicinity of Fort Jefferson, by a party of nearly one hundred Indians on the 25th of June: & also that on the 7th of July a canoe ascending the river, to the neighbouring settlement of Columbia, was fired upon by a party of Savages within 3 miles of Fort Washington, by which one man was killed and another dangerously wounded & a boy, the only son of Genl. Spencer taken prisoner: but of these affairs you must be fully informed before this period, as Genl. Wilkinson informs tells me, that he had dispatched an express by land, with letters to you dated the 6th & 9th of July, copies of which he transmitted me on the 12th at which time no new recurrence had happened. The account from St. Vincents, by Mr. Vigo, of the murder of our flag[bearer], is but too well corroborated by that mentioned in Rosecrantz's Letter, brought by an Indian from Detroit - the officer in all probability was Major Trueman; Colo. Harding as I am informed wore a plain coat or rather hunting shirt.

The idea mentioned by Genl. Wilkinson in his letter of the 6th of July "that a new tribe had engaged in the war, & that they had recently been supplied with clothing from the whiteness of their Shirts", is also corroborated by a man who was taken prisoner by the Indians, in the course of last summer from the County of Washington, & was lately liberated at Detroit, which place he left some time in June, & arrived in Washington on Monday last, where he was examined by the Lieutt of the County & says that about seven weeks since - or early in June upwards of one hundred canoes, came by the way of Lake Huron to Detroit (now head quarters) in which were about 800 Indians i. e. eight to a canoe; that the Indians were supply'd at Detroit with clothing, arms, ammunition & provision in abundance, and immediately proceeded to join the hostile Indians, at the mouth of of the Miami or [illegible] river of Lake Erie. I have not seen this man as yet, but I am informed by a Gentleman of veracity who was present at his examination, that he told his story very strait & very particular.

The report of the massacre of Colo Harding and Major Trueman, so recently after that of Freeman & the Frenchman, if true & I really believe fear it is true indicates a very vindictive spirit in the savages, who generally revere a flag - can these things be passed by? would it not stamp disgrace upon the American character, in the eye of the world, were such enormities permitted with impunity? these reports -and they bear but too strong marks of authenticity, leave little ground to hope for an honorable or lasting peace; should the event be war, by heavens! the Savages shall experience its keenest effects!

Inclosed is a general monthly return of all the troops at this place; together with copies of General Orders upon the Courts martial of Captn Shaylor and Captn John Platt - I have information of two small parties of recruits being near - we have not more than than twelve complete suits of clothing at this place; nor have we any information of any being actually on the road: - independent of the two hundred & eighty five suits for Captn Thos Lewis's, Howell Lewis's and Wm Preston's companies - nearly sixty of Springers and ninety five of Spark's are yet to be clothed. Capt. Sparks was here yesterday and says that he is nearly complete. I have ordered Majr Clark to muster & march the men to this post the soonest

possible & expect them in the course of ten days, so that there will be four hundred and forty suits wanting for those five companies: I really feel uneasy upon this business—as the troops ordered to point pleasant will probably be obliged to wait there, for some time, in a very unpleasant situation; in addition to this it is necessary from present appearances to reinforce Genl Wilkinson with those very riflemen, in order to enable him to procure forage at Fort Jefferson, which is an object of the first consequence: as the dismounted Dragoons arrive, I will immediately forward them to him, & direct him to order the Horse to some convenient & safe place on the Kentucky side of the river, ready for mounting; I hope that the arms, & Horse equipments are forwarded

There is however some very reprehensible conduct respecting the transportation of stores &c: many of the Essential articles mentioned in the invoice from the 1st of January, until the 30th of June 1792 have not yet arrived; & not a single article contained in that from the 1st to the 17th of July - what can be the cause?

...

We have a number of sick in our hospital; the last detachment brought with them another malady, besides the small pox many of the men are afflicted with a virulent veneri - every precaution is taken to prevent its spreading; & I mean to say the men under moderate stoppages who have contracted this malady, to be appropriated for the support & comfort of the children of the army - the duty is too severe for one Physician - Doctor Carmichael is the only Surgeon belonging to the army now at this post nor has a single one come forward, out of all the late appointments - do, be so good as to order on a Dozen of them Medicine & Medicinal Stores are & will be much wanting at this post. The clothing for the riflemen being, only now, ordered on from Phila I am almost tempted to direct one hundred more mounted rifle volunteers from Kentucky, in order to insure the cutting & securing forage at Fort Jefferson - should the next information from Mr. Rosecrantz be unfavourable, I shall adopt the measure.

I have the honor to be Sir, your most obedt & very Huml Servt.
Anty Wayne

Honble Major Genl Knox Secy of War

434.

having committed murders and outrages in the County of Glynn,
I have therefore to call on you for an explicit declaration of what
aid can be obtained on the part of the federal government in
order that I may be more fully enabled to make arrangements
for the emergency

I am Dear Sir

Yours &c
(signed) Edward Telfair.

Timothy Barnard to Major Henry Gaither
Buzzard Wood. 18th February 1793.

Sir,

I have not the honor of your acquaintance
but the present situation of affairs in this quarter dictates
to me that it is strictly necessary that you should be informed
that which if not obstructed may shortly prove of fatal conse-
quence to the frontiers of Georgia, which is as follows. I have
certain information that the Inhabitants on the upper frontiers
have drove over a number of cattle into the fork of the Fullapatche
which ground the Indians still look upon as theirs, therefore are
determined to go down, and drive off all the stock they find there
and if they meet with any opposition will kill those that oppose
them, as there you may be sure will go a body large enough to
execute their designs, I have prevailed on the head men to
restrain them for twenty days, and am setting off to the town
to do the same, there, and am in hopes they will be stopped

that

that long till the people can get their cattle back, but there is a great probability that the hunters in the woods may collect and drive them off, if so those people that have put their cattle over must abide by the consequence, as they have no right to carry on such irregular proceedings. I am amazed at the heads of the country, that they will not oppose such measures at this critical juncture; there is now ten Indians from the Northward nations trying all they can to set the brooks on the frontiers of Georgia and such proceedings as these will be the effectual means to make the brooks take their talk, besides ever putting it out of the power of any person to have a boundary line, I have to beg, as it is for their own good, to insist for the settlers on receipt of this to drive their stock back, if they do not. I have now discharged my duty and they must abide by the ill consequences that may and will attend.

I am Sir,

(signed) Timothy Barnard

The bearer of this, three of the head men of the Choptank begs they may have a bag of rum apiece, and some corn and tobacco to bring with them, as I have got them to take down these letters if you give them a few articles the Governor will not be against paying for it; as I can assure you, if these cattle are not removed soon the owner will lose them all, and some of their lives too, its in vain to strive to keep peace, when the White people goes so head long to work, before the boundary line is settled.

Timothy Barnard to Major Henry Gaither
Buzzard Roost, 18th February 1793.

Sir,

I have not the honor of your acquaintance but the present situation of affairs in the quarter dictates to me that it is strictly necessary that you should be informed that which if not obstructed may shortly prove of fatal consequences to the frontiers of Georgia, which is as follows.

I have certain information that the Inhabitants on the upper frontiers have drove over a number of cattle into the fork of the Tullapatchee which ground the Indians still look upon as theirs, therefore are determined to go down, and drive off all the stock they find there and if they meet with any opposition will kill those that oppose them, as there you may be sure will go a body large enough to execute their designs; I have prevailed on the head men to so restrain them for twenty days; and am setting off to the towns to do the same, there, and am in hopes they will be stopped that long till the people can get their cattle back, but there is no great probability that the hunters in the woods may collect and drive them off, if so those people that have past their cattle over must abide by the consequences, as they have no right to carry on such irregular proceedings. I am amazed at the heads of the Country, that they will not oppose such measures at the critical juncture; there is now here Indians from the Northward nations trying all they can to set the breaks on the Creeks on the frontiers of Georgia and such proceedings as these will be the effectual means to make the Creeks take their talks, besides ever putting it out of the power of any person to have a boundary line; I have to beg, as it is for their own good, to insist for the settlers on receipt of this to drive their stock back, if they do not, I have now discharged my duty and they must abide by the ill consequences that may and will attend.

I am Sir &c, (signed) Timothy Barnard

The bearers of this, three of the head men of the Cussetahs begs they may have a keg of rum apiece; and some corn and tobacco to bring with them, as I have got them to take down these letters if you give them a few articles the Governor will not be against paying for it; as I can assure you, if those cattle are not removed soon the owner will lose them all, and some of their lives too, it's in vain to strive to keep peace, when the White people goes so head long to work, before the boundary line is settled.

I have sent a copy of this letter from the Friendly King which of
 real is truly friendly)

The Soldiers are as healthy as I could expect
 them any where, and perfectly reconciled, and attentive to their
 duty - I have got all the stores from the Rocklanding and ordered
 the guard from this place to join me tomorrow.

Sir, Yours &c

(Signed) Henry Gaither, Major Comm^{dt}

[Enclosure.]

Cape Charles, April 13th 1793

Dear friend and Brother

I have heard that the halfway King was
 going to do mischief, but I did not believe it, but this day I am informed
 and know it to be the truth that he is gone - I have been talking
 to the head commander, which the commander told me, if I should
 hear anything respecting the nation to inform him; The warriors
 are out upon the Oakjesty path, whether they fall above or below
 I cannot tell you may think it was the wish of the nation to boost
 War but there is no such thing - it is only one town, the halfway
 house King and obstinate mad persons that will not hearken to
 advice. We all hold the talks that were delivered to be lost, and
 mean to abide by it still, until Major Seagrove comes up when
 we expect matters will be settled upon good terms both for ourselves
 and us - You may think if they divide themselves the warriors in
 two parties (there is two towns) but that is not the case, I am your
 friend

462
friend, and always have been, if any thing was to happen, I was to
inform you - and if any thing was to happen your side, you was to let me
know likewise.

I have sent you this talk, and wish for you to send
the talk to your brother Officers above and below you, that they may be
upon their guard, against any thing that may happen.

The three rivers have talked and wished for peace
and to have things settled to the satisfaction of both sides, It is only this
one town that is led astray by the obstinate King, which is not to be govern-
ed or advised. It is a pity our nation and your Country should suffer
by a party of bad people. I send you now to let you know my talk, that you
may expect bloodshed in a few days, which I advise you to guard your-
selves as much as possible, and if they should do mischief punish them
as you think proper, fight them, but do not come over this side the
river unless you find them coming upon you.

Friend, brother and father, the hospitable people
are your friends and are always passing backwards and forwards a hunting
and do not wish to be troublesome to any person. We have not taken any
bad talk, if there should be any blood shed we have no hand in it, rather
will you find us to join them, is our determination. My young people are out
upon this side the Cocones if you should see any of them they are friends do not hunt
them. My town and all the other towns are sitting still waiting the talk of Ulaya
Seagrove, when he comes up. This one bad town has brought us into this trouble
you likewise.

From your friends and brothers

signed

Bird King

Cuspetas King

To Major Henry Gaither, Commanding Officer

CUSSETAHS, April 13th, 1793.

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

I heard that the Half-way king was going to do mischief, but I did not believe it; but this day I am informed, and I know it to be the truth, that he is gone. I have been talking to the head commander; which the commander told me, if I should hear anything respecting the nation, to inform him. The warriors are out upon the Oakfuskee path; whether they fall above, or below, I cannot tell. You may think it was the wish of the nation to be at war, but there is no such thing; it is only one town, the Half-way house king, and obstinate mad persons, that will not hearken to advice. We all hold the talks that were delivered to us last, and mean to abide by them still, until Major Seagrove comes up, when we expect matters will be settled upon good terms, both for yourselves and us. You may think, they divide themselves, the warriors, in two parties, (there is two towns) but that is not the case. I am your friend, and always have been; if any thing was to happen, I was to inform you; and, if any thing was to happen your side, you was to let me know likewise.

I have sent you this talk, and wish you to send the talk to your brother officers, above and below you, that they m^ot^o upon their guard against any thing that may happen.

The three river have talked, and wished for peace, and to have things, settled to the satisfaction of both sides. It is only this one mad town, that is led astray by their obstinate king, which is not to be governed, nor advised. It is a pity that our nation, and your country, should suffer by a party of bad people. I send you, now, to let you know my talk, that you may expect bloodshed in a few days; which I advise you to guard yourselves as much as possible, and, if they should do any mischief, punish them as you think proper; fight them, but do not come over this side the river, unless you find them coming upon you.

FRIEND, BROTHER, and FATHER: The Cussetah people are your friends, and are always passing backwards and forwards a hunting, and do not wish to be troublesome to any person. We have not taken any bad talks. If there should be any blood shed, we have no hand in it; neither will you find us to join them, is our determination. My young people are out upon this side the Oconee; if you should see any of them, they are my friends, do not hurt them.

My town, and all the other towns, are sitting still, waiting the talks of Major Seagrove, when he comes up. This one mad town has brought us into this trouble, and you likewise.

From your friends and brothers

BIRD KING

CUSSETAH KING.

Who is the author of this document? Who is the author writing for?

Summarize the document in a few sentences. What is the author describing or requesting?

What adjective described the author's *tone*? Is this document conciliatory, hostile, friendly...?

Select one line or phrase from the document that stands out as memorable or representative.

Document A

Who is the author of this document? Who is the author writing for?

This is an address from Richard Butler, the Superintendent of Indian affairs in the Northern District of the U.S. to the members of the Delaware nation in 1787.

Summarize the document in a few sentences. What is the author describing or requesting?

Butler writes to invite the Delaware leaders that the chiefs of the Five Nations to make a treaty with the U.S. government in the hopes of settling lingering disputes and establishing a peace between white Americans and the indigenous nations.

What adjective described the author's *tone*? Is this document conciliatory, hostile, friendly...?

“Hopeful”; “optimistic”; “friendly”; “earnest”

Select one line or phrase from the document that stands out as memorable or representative.

“to establish a Peace which shall be lasting”

“I hope I will induce you to come with hearts disposed to perpetual Peace & Friendships with the United States.”

Document B

Who is the author of this document? Who is the author writing for?

Anthony Wayne, a hero of the War of Independence, is writing to Secretary of War Henry Knox

Summarize the document in a few sentences. What is the author describing or requesting?

Anthony and Knox appear to have been exchanging a series of letters. In this one, Wayne describes violent actions by native peoples on the frontier. Wayne believes that the new outbreak of violence was triggered by the possibility of a new treaty between native peoples and Spain (a rival of the new United States), which promises indigenous peoples land on the east side of the Mississippi river. The possibility of a treaty seems to have emboldened the indigenous nations in the upper Midwest.

Wayne seems to have concluded that there can never be genuine peace with indigenous peoples and that the only way to negotiate with them is to provide a demonstration of violent force. Wayne requests a very sizable military force from Knox to achieve that effect and proposes to lead the expedition himself.

Wayne acknowledges that the various native nations may be assisting each other but proposes to use a large American force to exploit confusion and tensions among the indigenous populations.

What adjective described the author's *tone*? Is this document conciliatory, hostile, friendly...?

“Hostile”; “threatening”; “belligerent”; “certain”

Select one line or phrase from the document that stands out as memorable or representative.

“we never should have a permanent peace with the Creek Nation; who are numerous & insolent, until they were made to experience our superiority in the Fields & an Army stationed for the protection of the Southern States”

Document C

Who is the author of this document? Who is the author writing for?

Anthony Wayne, a hero of the War of Independence, is writing to Secretary of War Henry Knox

Summarize the document in a few sentences. What is the author describing or requesting?

Anthony and Knox appear to have been exchanging a series of letters. In this one, Wayne describes an attack (more or less unprovoked, according to Wayne's account) by indigenous warriors on white American troops. Wayne terms the attack a "massacre" and uses it as evidence that the indigenous peoples have no desire to coexist peacefully with white settlers.

Wayne also argues that the American government cannot allow the attack to go unanswered. Failure to respond in kind, Wayne argues, would harm America's reputation not just in the eyes of the native nations but in the eyes of the wider world. Wayne appears to have concluded well in advance that the whites and indigenous people can never coexist peacefully, and that white Americans have little choice but to attack or be victims of an attack themselves. To refuse to respond to the violent attack, Wayne suggests, would humiliate the American government.

In the closing paragraphs, Wayne lists some other events that have occupied his attention—the failure of promised supplies to arrive on schedule, and an outbreak of smallpox among the men—which provide some interesting details about life on the frontier for the peacetime army.

What adjective described the author's *tone*? Is this document conciliatory, hostile, friendly...?

"Hostile"; "threatening"; "belligerent"; "warlike"; "cautionary"

Select one line or phrase from the document that stands out as memorable or representative.

"it indicates a very vindictive spirit in the savages"

"little ground for an honorable or lasting peace"

"should the event be war, by heavens! the Savages shall experience its keenest effects"

Document D

Who is the author of this document? Who is the author writing for?

Timothy Barnard, who acts as an “Indian Agent” on behalf of the federal government, writes to Major Henry Gaither, an Army officer

Summarize the document in a few sentences. What is the author describing or requesting?

Barnard writes to inform of a situation on the Georgia frontier that threatens to boil over to disaster. Some of the white inhabitants of the area have begun driving their cattle into an area the indigenous people regard as theirs. The indigenous peoples have promised to return to the area, drive off the cattle, and kill any whites who oppose them, and Barnard warns that the natives have amassed enough warriors that they will be able to do just that. Barnard has successfully negotiated for a stay of 20 days before the indigenous force takes action.

Barnard is firmly on the side of the indigenous tribe here, since the whites have no right to graze their cattle in the region. Barnard is “amazed” at white leaders’ refusal to rein in white settlers. He closes the letter by begging Gaither to get the whites to withdraw their livestock and suggests that if they do not retreat the whites will deserve the unpleasant consequences that are coming.

What adjective described the author’s *tone*? Is this document conciliatory, hostile, friendly...?

“cautionary”; “exasperated”; “frustrated”; “pleading”

Select one line or phrase from the document that stands out as memorable or representative.

“it is for their own good, to insist for the settlers on receipt of this to drive their stock back, if they do not, I have now discharged my duty and they must abide by the ill consequences that may and will attend.”

Document E

Who is the author of this document? Who is the author writing for?

The leaders of the Cussetah indigenous peoples address Henry Gaither, an army officer in their area.

Summarize the document in a few sentences. What is the author describing or requesting?

The Cussetah leaders (who refer to themselves as “kings”; Gaither and other white Americans would likely have referred to them as “chiefs”) have learned that another leader has left and plans to attack white settlers. The Cussetah write in part to warn Gaither to make sure his men keep up their guard, and in part to assure him that they are not behind the coming attacks and have no part in the violence.

The Cussetah leaders go to great lengths to attempt to reassure Gaither that their intentions toward their white neighbors are peaceful and that the “Half-way king” is acting on his own. In the closing lines they suggest that both the whites and their own peoples are being dragged into conflict, to everyone’s misfortune.

What adjective described the author’s *tone*? Is this document conciliatory, hostile, friendly...?

“conciliatory”; “cautionary”; “urgent”

Select one line or phrase from the document that stands out as memorable or representative.

“You may think it was the wish of the nation to be at war, but there is no such thing”

“I am your friend, and always have been”

“FRIEND, BROTHER, and FATHER: The Cussetah people are your friends”