

# Operational Art in Pontiac's War

A Monograph

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## Abstract

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Pontiac's War began on 6 May 1763 when a pan-Indian movement attacked several British forts in the Great Lakes region, also known as the *pays d'en haut*. Pontiac's War emerged following the French defeat in the French and Indian War, as it was known in America. The Ottawa chief Pontiac rallied support from several different Indian tribes to fight in defiance of Major General Jeffrey Amherst's new Indian policies. The Indians' surprise attacks seized eight British forts and placed two others under siege. Amherst responded with enough British forces to maintain a foothold in the *pay's d'en haut* through the end of 1763. In 1764, the British dispatched Colonel John Bradstreet and Colonel Henry Bouquet into the *pay's d'en haut* to pacify the hostile Indians and reassert control. The war finally ended when Sir William Johnson, the Indian Superintendent representing George III, negotiated treaties with the major tribes of the *pays d'en haut* in 1765.

This monograph explores Pontiac's War to find elements of operational art in a historical study of a brutal conflict in colonial America. Operational planners will be able to better understand how to apply operational art in future irregular conflicts.

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## Acronyms

ADP	Army Doctrine Publication
ADRP	Army Doctrine Reference Publication
AP	Amherst Papers
GP	Gage Papers
WJP	William Johnson Papers

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## Introduction

The loss of French power in the Great Lakes region was an unsatisfactory end for allied Indians following the French and Indian War. Most tribes in the area had developed long-term relationships with the French settlers and crown through trade, social, political, and military interactions. The settlement that ended the war, the 1763 Peace of Paris, had turned Canada, the Ohio Country, and the existing French forts over to British possession. The British policy towards the Indians resulted in increased tensions with the tribes in the region. Many Indian nations began to see the British presence as a direct threat to Indian sovereignty, which resulted in a tenuous relationship with British rule. These tensions caused the Ottawa chief Pontiac to create a coalition of tribes to rise against the British. After building consent among some regional tribes, the coalition was able to overtake, in an impressive manner, several British forts through decentralized tactical actions that surprised the British regulars. The British regulars, commanded by General Sir Jeffery Amherst, developed plans to reassert control in the Great Lakes region in response to the Indian uprising. Pontiac's War began in the summer of 1763 with the siege of Fort Detroit and ended three years later with a treaty at Fort Niagara.

Pontiac's Rebellion provides an opportunity for military planners to better understand the utility of the current US Army doctrinal concept of operational art. The tribal coalition was able to work together regardless of tribal differences to influence British actions in the Great Lakes region. The initial success of the Indians in 1763 forced both a political and military reaction from the British. As a political measure, the Proclamation of 1763 was the first British attempt to regulate land use of the new empire and protect the Indians perception of land ownership was safe from British expansion.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 565; J.

Militarily, the British conducted operations to regain control of several forts. Operational art provides useful analytical tools by which to analyze and understand the course of Pontiac's Rebellion. Pontiac needed to combine the actions of the various Indian tribes to take the British forts across the Great Lakes region in order to achieve his strategic goals. The British also needed to connect multiple actions over time and space to retake the forts and pacify the militant Indian tribes.

Examining Pontiac's War using the US Army doctrinal concept of operational art as an analytical tool provides usefulness for modern military planners. Developed from the study of military theory and history, doctrine provides operational planners with a set of tools to consider when analyzing current operations. Applying operational art to Pontiac's War gives operational planners the ability to learn from the successes and failures of past military commanders. Analyzing from the Indian point of view provides a perspective of a military combatant with a significantly different cultural organization unrestrained by borders and western beliefs. From the British perspective it gives modern military planners the ability to see how considering current doctrinal concepts in planning and execution can lead to success or failure. This study will use several aspects of operational art both in application and in theory through the elements of operational art following a discussion of the events surrounding Pontiac's War.

## Pontiac's War

The period of armed conflict following the signing of the Treaty of Paris in February of 1763 has several names, which reveal a diverse understanding of the war by scholars and historians. Francis Parkman described the conflict as a conspiracy of French

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Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benians, eds., *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. 1, *The Old Empire from the Beginnings to 1783* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1929), 641–644.

involvement in motivating Pontiac to attack the British.<sup>2</sup> The British certainly had a reason to believe that this could be the case; France had just lost a large portion of its holdings in North America and its interests in the fur trade. The British were caught off guard across the whole *pays d'en haut*, the Great Lakes region, except at their two largest posts, Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt. The British believed the French coordinated the attacks, because they refused to believe that the Indians could have been so cunning or intelligent to pull off an operation of this magnitude so well. Indian dependence on European supplies provided more seeming evidence of the French conspiracy.

Although fraught with racism and bias against the Indians, Parkman's seminal work, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and The Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*, gave responsibility of the uprising to Pontiac, along with with heavy influence from the French. The conflict has borne Pontiac's name since. Howard Peckham titled his work *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, and tried to focus on telling the story from Pontiac's point of view, yet does not fully release the biases introduced by Parkman.<sup>3</sup> Several modern writers have taken a new approach to the conflict, attempting to shed the biases, and writing with new lenses following the Civil Rights and American Indian movements. Gregory Evans Dowd in *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire*, gives greater detail to the events surrounding Pontiac's War from a more culturally sensitive perspective. Dowd's account is valuable to this study by providing a better understanding of the social interdependences of the belligerents involved, but does not spend much time on the military actions of the Indians or British forces.<sup>4</sup> Colin

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<sup>2</sup> Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and The Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1906), bk.

<sup>3</sup> Howard Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), bk.

<sup>4</sup> Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), bk.

Calloway gives an account from a strategic perspective, focusing on how the Treaty of Paris vastly changed the political and social environment in *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America*.<sup>5</sup> Calloway's work gives credible insight on the social changes throughout North America following the Seven Years' War but also gives short shrift to military art and science.

Finally, two other modern authors provide a more military-minded account of Pontiac's Rebellion; David Dixon's *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* and Richard Middleton's *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences*.<sup>6</sup> Dixon gets to the heart of the conflict by providing the context of the war and its causes and consequences, and frames Pontiac's War as a leading factor of the American Revolution. Middleton's account tells the story from the combatants' points of view and is the first to give adequate value to the coordinated efforts of Pontiac and the other Indian tribes involved.

John Grenier provides significant value and importance to understanding Pontiac's War and its place in American history in *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814*.<sup>7</sup> Grenier outlines the war as a unique blend of unlimited war in the Clausewitzian sense and what contemporary military theorists called *petite guerre* or little war.<sup>8</sup> According to Grenier, the nature of warfare in early America involved

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<sup>5</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), bk.

<sup>6</sup> David Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* (Norman: University Of Oklahoma Press, 2014), bk; Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences* (New York: Routledge, 2007), bk.

<sup>7</sup> John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), bk.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

disrupting enemy troop, supply and support networks; gathering intelligence through scouting and the taking of prisoners; ambushing and destroying enemy detachments; serving as patrol and flanking parties for friendly forces; operating as advance and rear guards for regular forces; and, most important, destroying enemy villages and fields and killing and intimidating enemy noncombatant populations.<sup>9</sup>

Grenier notes that by the end of the Seven Years' War, the conduct of the combatants, Indians, Britons, and American colonists alike, had blended and legitimated unlimited war and *petite guerre* into the "first way of war."<sup>10</sup>

Each Indian tribe involved in the conflict fought the British for similar causes. The Indians felt the effects of the policies developed by Amherst, and the existential threat to Indian possession of land given to them by the "great creator." The conflict was a clash of peoples who did not understand each other. The British were driven by power gained from an expanding empire; the Treaty of Paris had legally transferred control of the land and people, to the British Crown. The Indians could not understand how a piece of paper, the Treaty of Paris, could define ownership of land that was not rightfully theirs to divide in the first place.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the Indians believed they were subject to no higher authority. Even to use the term *subject* brings conflict to the meaning of the relationship both in contemporary terms and by modern historians. Contemporary use of *subject* applied to the white inhabitants in terms of an emerging concept of citizenship, according to Gregory Evans Dowd, which stands in contrast to Richard White's that all in the new British Empire were *subjects* of the king in the traditional sense. Dowd refers to another piece of paper, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, to describe the Indians relationship to the British within the *pays d'en haut*. The royal proclamation categorized

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<sup>9</sup> Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>11</sup> R. Douglas Hurt, *The Indian Frontier, 1763-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 3.

them as separate, even sovereign, peoples within the “Crown’s Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion.”<sup>12</sup>

Giving the conflict Pontiac’s name incorrectly gives ownership and agency to one man. The idea that Pontiac was solely responsible for the uprising is a flat argument, because historical analysis indicates each tribe fought for separate social, economic, and political interests.<sup>13</sup> Certainly, Pontiac’s confederacy of tribes near Fort Detroit initiated the series of attacks against British occupied forts in the spring of 1763 and remained a focal point of British leadership through 1766. Pontiac’s coordination with other tribes in the *pay’s d’en haut* cannot be underestimated, as Middleton points out.<sup>14</sup> Yet, other lesser-known Indians and events emerged, demonstrating a common interest regardless of Pontiac’s leadership role. What can be said is that Pontiac’s War was a series of events by allied Indian tribes with a similar cause focused at stopping British and colonial encroachment west of the 1763 proclamation line. The war took place against the backdrop of Britain struggling to assert control over the territory gained from the French as the British Army operated under increasingly scarce resources and funding amidst the mounting debt from the Seven Years War.

Operational planners will find utility and relevance in exploring Pontiac’s War. They would benefit from understanding this irregular conflict from the perspectives of the belligerents. Focusing the discussion on the operations undertaken by both sides will give operational planners a relevant example of how operational art can be applied against an irregular enemy with different cultures and worldviews. Characteristics of the conflicts emerging around the world today are similar to those in Pontiac’s War. The

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<sup>12</sup> Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 174–179; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 248, 256, 268.

<sup>13</sup> Hurt, *The Indian Frontier*, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac’s War*, 65–67.

period of history in America encompassing Pontiac's War was just as complex as today's interdependencies along political, military, economic, and cultural frontiers. Prior to 1763 the French had integrated themselves into Indian culture with the intent of drawing wealth out of the fur trade, but did so by appealing to mutual interests with the Indians. The British on the other hand, focused on expanding the empire to generate wealth but also to increase their hold on global power. The fur trade had created economic ties between the Indians and Europeans in America, which fostered an Indian dependence on European goods that relied upon the European desire for furs. Similarly, if not precisely, present-day global economic ties have created a more interdependent world.<sup>15</sup>

Much as current operations in Iraq and Afghanistan have forced the United States Army to adapt its tactics, techniques, and procedures, so too did Indian fighting challenge the traditional European fighting styles.<sup>16</sup> There was a fundamental difference in the way that the British approached Indian culture. Finally, the British conducted operations in a fiscally constrained environment following the Seven Years War; an extended war that truly spanned the globe. Current US efforts mirror this challenge after a decade plus of the Global War on Terror.

### Operational Art

Current US Army doctrine defines operational art as “the pursuit of strategic objectives, in whole or in part, through the arrangement of tactical actions in time, space,

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<sup>15</sup> Hurt, *The Indian Frontier*, xi–xvi.

<sup>16</sup> John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003), 115–127. Lynn describes the development of honor and aesthetics during the Enlightenment in influencing military culture and organization in Europe. Both the French and British faced distinct challenges fighting along side Native Americans in the dense woodlands in America in contrast to open battle in the plains of Europe.

and purpose.”<sup>17</sup> There is evidence of what is today termed operational art in the campaigns and operations in Pontiac’s War. The Indian actions against the British regulars in the Great Lakes region from May through June of 1763 are first visited as a campaign. While there were several campaigns and operations attempted by the British regulars throughout the war, three serve to highlight the arrangement of tactical actions in order to achieve strategic goals: General Jeffrey Amherst’s response to the Indian uprising in 1763, Colonel Henry Bouquet’s campaign in 1764, and Colonel John Bradstreet’s campaign in 1764.

Army doctrine states that operational art is not limited to the type or size of formation or even the level of responsibility of command.<sup>18</sup> This nuance provides an opportunity to analyze Pontiac’s War from many different points of view. The Indians conducted largely decentralized military actions throughout the Great Lakes region with varying levels of participation. The actions on the part of the British, however, were clearer to identify. Those of General Amherst, commander-in-chief of all British forces in America, allows for a look at the arrangement of actions at the army level, whereas those of Bouquet and Bradstreet give a perspective from a lower echelon.

Doctrine further outlines several areas for commanders to consider when arranging actions in time, space, and purpose. Balancing risk and opportunity is introduced as a necessity for commanders to “seize, retain, and exploit the initiative to gain a position of relative advantage” over the enemy.<sup>19</sup> Operational art also “requires commanders who understand their operational environment, the strategic objectives, and

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<sup>17</sup> Army Doctrine Publication (ADP) 3-0 *Unified Land Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2011), 9.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 10.

the capabilities of all elements of their force.”<sup>20</sup>

Army Doctrine Reference Publication (ADRP) 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, defines and outlines how commanders and staffs apply the elements of operational art to achieve a desired end state. Doctrine calls the elements of operational art intellectual tools for commanders and staffs to selectively use to understand, visualize, and describe the arrangement of actions in any operation. Used analytically, these elements assist in understanding how the Indians and British regulars aligned their tactical actions in pursuit of their larger goals.<sup>21</sup>

### **Strategic Context**

Pontiac’s War emerged following a larger war that spanned the globe. To the peoples of North America, the conflict is known as the French and Indian War, the rest of the world knows it as the Seven Years’ War. The difference in name is important to the context of Pontiac’s War and the actors involved. Depending on their interests, the Indians participated in the French and Indian War as belligerents fighting with both the British and the French. The end of the French and Indian War resulted in no defeat of the Indians, even as the end of the Seven Years’ War resulted in the defeat of the French. The distinction of differing names for war is important because the Indians never had a say in the process that decided who claimed the disputed land. The Indians were left out of the negotiations that ended with the Treaty of Paris in February of 1763 and ceded to the British the land south of the Great Lakes from the Mississippi River to the Appalachian Mountains. With no voice in the negotiations, the Indians of the Great Lakes region could

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<sup>20</sup> ADP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Army Doctrine Reference Publication (ADRP) 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2012), 4-1 – 4-3. The elements of operational art are end state and conditions, center of gravity, decisive points, lines of operations and lines of effort, operational reach, basing, tempo, phasing and transitions, culmination and risk.

not understand how their land could be handed over by Onontio or the “Great Father” (the French) when the land was not theirs to begin with. The land dispute may be the most recognizable cause for the Indians to rise up against the British, but there are several other issues surrounding this conflict.

### The Fur Trade and Gifting

The New World was an arena for competing colonial powers. It was ripe with opportunity for exploration and to harvest resources to bring back to Europe. As European powers settled on the North American continent, contact with the Indians was inevitable. Through trial and error, the French established a setting for peaceful coexistence between fur traders and Indians in the *pays d'en haut*.<sup>22</sup> Many of the fur traders settled, lived with, and even married into many of the tribes in the Great Lakes region. Seeking peaceful interaction with the Indians, the French understood it was in their best interest to cooperate with the Indians.<sup>23</sup> French policy included a system of “gifting” which helped the fur traders navigate Indian lands while seeking furs to be sold in Europe. The process of gifting was an exchange of items the Indians desired in return for services, furs or other animal skins, or safe passage throughout the backcountry. The gifting process started with small things in the 1600s and early 1700s, such as beads, clothing, or metal tools. As interactions with Europeans grew, the Indians became dependent on their goods, and the gifting became a means of necessity for Indian survival, including war. As the eastern Indian tribes, such as those in the Iroquois Confederacy, acquired muskets and gunpowder from the British, so too did the

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<sup>22</sup> Hurt, *The Indian Frontier*, 5.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii.

Algonquian tribes of the *pays d'en haut* acquire muskets and gunpowder to stand their ground in intertribal disputes.<sup>24</sup>

The practice of gifting had other effects on the interaction between the French and the Great Lakes Indians. The gifting process had another meaning for the Indians who saw the gifts from the French in the same manner as those from a father to his children. The French understood the cultural aspects of the tribes after years of coexistence and were willing to concede the gifts to maintain alliances with the Indians in the *pay's d'en haut*. The French crown also was willing to support this practice in order to ensure the flow of furs from America to Europe.<sup>25</sup> Once ownership of the land changed hands from the French to the British, the scene changed; the British were unwilling to support the practice. The British were unaware of the cultural importance gifting had with the Algonquian speaking Indians in the *pay's d'en haut* and enacted policy that widened the Anglo-Indian divide. The British saw all Indians as lesser peoples, yet still understood the need for their support. Prior to the French and Indian War, it was British policy to maintain alliances with some Indians for times of war. Following the war's conclusion in 1763, however, the British saw a reduced need to maintain this martial relationship and intercultural diplomacy. New Indian policy handed down from the British crown through General Amherst slowed if not halted the process of giving gifts to maintain mutual alliances. The British failure to see the cultural importance of the gifting process and their lack of respect for the Indians as a people fueled the flames that broke out in rebellion.<sup>26</sup>

#### Treaty of Paris and the end of the French and Indian War

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<sup>24</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*, 112–114.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 181–183.

<sup>26</sup> Daniel K Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 182–183, 187–189.

The Treaty of Paris had a profound impact on North America. Dixon and Calloway argue that it was the beginning of the end for the British hold on North America. It certainly was a mark of British dominance in the world and arguably the peak of the First British Empire in the eighteenth century. Signed 10 February 1763 in Paris, the treaty enacted a number of things across the world.<sup>27</sup> Many of the Anglo-American settlers believed that British victory had earned them the right to settle and exploit the formerly-French lands. In the waning years of the French and Indian War, several land speculation companies emerged with intent to begin new colonies on Indian land. From Virginia to New York, these land companies used deceptive tactics to gain land from the Indians. Intoxicating Indians with alcohol before producing a deed for sale was common practice among several land companies.<sup>28</sup> The official British position following the Treaty of Easton in 1758, was that colonists were to refrain from settling on Indian lands west of the Appalachians. However, actions countered the words of the treaty as squatters moved in and the British built and occupied forts throughout the *pay's d'en haut*.<sup>29</sup>

#### Amherst's Reforms

The British faced considerable fiscal challenges following several years of war around the globe. Amherst attempted to enact a new policy in America to reduce British military expenses. In the summer of 1761, conflict with the Cherokee in the Carolinas influenced the Indian policy Amherst developed. A short uprising by the Cherokee ended

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<sup>27</sup> Max Savelle, *The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary 1749-1763* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1940), 146; and Daniel A. Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754-1763: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest* (New York: Longman, 2011), 639–640.

<sup>28</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 27–29.

<sup>29</sup> Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 192–193.

due to the Indians' lack of arms and ammunition.<sup>30</sup> Amherst therefore enacted a new Indian policy intended to keep other Indians from rising up against the British in America. Amherst believed the Indians were more dependent on the British than previously expected. He decided he could influence the Indian population by regulating trade in ammunition and powder, and suspending the diplomatic gifting of supplies. Another important conclusion of this short conflict was the lack of help by other tribes on behalf of the Cherokee nation, giving a false understanding to Amherst that the natives would not rise up against the British in any significant fashion without French help. Pontiac countered Amherst's assumption less than two years later. Amherst lacked any cultural understanding concerning the Indian situation. He saw importance in the trade and friendship of the Indians insofar as keeping them happy to prevent them from mischief. His policy allowed for the trade of clothing and limited supplies for furs to keep the Indians satisfied, but stopped the gifting process.<sup>31</sup> Amherst's strict orders to stop gifting resulted in significant tensions among the Indians of the Great Lakes region, something that Sir William Johnson, the crown's leading Indian agent in the region, understood thoroughly.<sup>32</sup> The Indians felt disrespected because the British would not participate in the exchange of pleasantries that the Indians saw as a diplomatic necessity. The orders given to the traders and commanders of the interior forts were now to follow a few strict practices with the Indians. First, the practice of gifting was to cease. Second, the trading of alcohol was strictly forbidden. The amount of lead and gunpowder was limited to only give the Indians enough for the purpose of hunting. Amherst's intent was to keep the Indian population from mischief and drunkenness, to soberly participate in

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<sup>30</sup> Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again*, 78.

<sup>31</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 468–469.

<sup>32</sup> Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again*, 80–82; Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 69.

trade with the British, and earn their place in the economy. What actually happened was that Amherst gave the Indians of the *pays d'en haut* a common grievance to band together against British treatment.<sup>33</sup>

#### Delaware Prophet Neolin and the Pan-Indian Uprising

As European goods began to decrease following the evacuation of the French and the diminishing support from the British, a religious and spiritual movement emerged in opposition to British encroachment on Indian land. Several Indian spiritual leaders began to preach about an Indian return to traditional ways, most notably the Delaware prophet Neolin. Neolin saw that the growing Indians dependence on European goods had undermined traditional Indian ways. Drunkenness was commonplace among the natives, which contributed to a loss of spirituality within many tribes. Others began to lose the ability to live off the land in ways that their ancestors had before the interactions with the European settlers. Although Neolin intended to motivate his tribe to return to traditional ways, his message spread throughout the *pays d'en haut*. Neolin's message, coupled with the actions of the British and the absence of the French Father, helped convince other tribes to take heed to Neolin's teachings, most significantly Pontiac of the Ottawa.<sup>34</sup>

Pontiac learned of Neolin and his message through the interconnected web of intertribal trade. On 27 April 1763, Pontiac gathered the "council of the three nations" in his village near Fort Detroit. Pontiac echoed Neolin's teachings to the group of Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Wyandot Indians. Pontiac's council rallied over 460 Indians to prepare for an attack on Fort Detroit that would begin the Pontiac War.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 470–471.

<sup>34</sup> Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), 209–210; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 535–536.

Reports of the Indian uprising trickled across the Atlantic to London. The expectation of peace in America was broken by the surprising reports of British losses throughout the American west. The politicians were astonished that Amherst had allowed the situation to devolve and his reputation was tarnished. Several parliamentarians, including Secretary of State Charles Wyndham the Earl of Egremont and former governor of Georgia Henry Ellis, began to develop plans to deal with the Indian problem in America. The Proclamation of 1763 was born out of the deliberations. The Royal Proclamation outlined several ways to pacify the American west, return stability to the region, and reinvigorate the fur trade. Signed on 7 October 1763, the proclamation attempted to divide the land in North America to isolate the Indian problem. The proclamation forbade settlement or purchase of land from the Indians west of the Appalachian Mountains. The land west of the Proclamation Line of 1763 was reserved as Indian Territory and to the east, land for the colonies. Travel into Indian country was only allowed for licensed traders. The Proclamation of 1763 was the first document attempting to regulate the land gained through the Treaty of Paris signed eight months earlier. The royal proclamation arrived too late, and only served to instigate more discontent, not only on the part of the Indians, but also on the part of the colonists who saw the American West as a prize for their efforts in the war.<sup>36</sup>

### **Indian Actions in 1763**

Tensions continued to rise between the Indians and the British over the reduced sale of British goods and the continuation of white encroachment on Indian land in the spring of 1763. Pontiac, inspired by the teachings of the Delaware prophet Neolin,

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<sup>35</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 538.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Finkelman and Bruce A. Lesh, eds., *Milestone Documents in American History: Exploring the Primary Sources That Shaped America* (Dallas: Schlager Group, 2008), 3–14.

gathered several tribes in his camp near Fort Detroit for a speech that has since made him famous. Tribes came from throughout the *pays d'en haut* to listen to Pontiac echo the words of Neolin to return to the traditional ways of their ancestors. Pontiac's message was certainly more hostile than the words of Neolin, as they gathered around the culturally significant Indian symbol of the war wampum sent by the Delaware.<sup>37</sup> Pontiac motivated the tribes present at the council and others through the wampum to begin, as Colin Calloway has described it, the "first war for American independence," in May of 1763.<sup>38</sup> In the three months that followed, Pontiac and other tribes in the Great Lakes region overwhelmed the British regulars, thinly spread out among the forts in the region. By the end of the summer of 1763, Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt were under siege, eight other forts had fallen to the Indians, and one surrendered without a fight.

#### Wampum War Belts

Common throughout North America, Indians of many tribes, both friend and foe, sent symbolic messages using beaded belts. Some belts signified the exchange of land or other agreements between the Indians and the French or British. Others, like the ones sent to the tribal leaders gathered to listen to Pontiac, were symbols of an alliance against a common foe.<sup>39</sup> Pontiac received wampum from the Delaware asking for help to rise against the British. Pontiac used this communication to rally support in his address on the Ecorse River and sent belts throughout the *pay's d'en haut* with a similar message.<sup>40</sup> The

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<sup>37</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 66–67.

<sup>38</sup> Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 66.

<sup>39</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*, 100.

<sup>40</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 66–68.

wampum in this story is the connection to the tribes throughout the Great Lakes region that has famously given the war in 1763, Pontiac's name.

### Pontiac's Coalition

Growing tensions between the Indians and the British, and Pontiac's message of war distributed through wampum belts in the Great Lakes region led historians, such as Parkman and Peckham, to believe all of the Indians were fighting solely under his direction. Pontiac was able to motivate the tribes in the Great Lakes region through the distribution of wampum exploiting the common narrative of struggle against the British. This is easily misinterpreted without understanding the intertribal connections and cultural differences that spanned the continent from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River. In fact, according to Middleton, after Pontiac initiated his attack on Fort Detroit and the ensuing siege, he sent several more belts throughout the area to garner more support.<sup>41</sup>

### The Indians Attack

Pontiac held the "council of the three nations" with neighboring tribes in the Fort Detroit area on 27 April 1763.<sup>42</sup> The Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Wyandot band of the Huron Indians provided around 460 warriors who all gathered to listen to Pontiac's message.<sup>43</sup> Pontiac spoke of the need to return to traditional Indian ways, limit, or stop drinking all together, and to repel the British from their lands. The gathered warriors were taken by Pontiac's wit and smoothly delivered message and committed to take up arms

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<sup>41</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 73–76.

<sup>42</sup> Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 113; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 538; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 67.

<sup>43</sup> Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 113.

against “those dogs clothed in red.”<sup>44</sup> Pontiac then delivered his plan to seize Fort Detroit, sending the Potawatomi and Huron to lay quietly in their villages until summoned for war. Pontiac sent wampum to other tribes throughout the Great Lakes region, the Ohio valley, and the Illinois backcountry with the same message calling for support to act when notified. Other bands of Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and Wyandot Indians of the Great Lakes received Pontiac’s message and accepted the wampum’s message. The Miami, Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Wea accepted the wampum in the west. The Chippewa supported in the north and east, while the Delaware and Shawnee supported in the south and southeast. Pontiac’s actions on 9 May 1763 set off a series of Indian attacks on British held forts throughout the *pay’s d’en haut*.

#### Siege on Fort Detroit

Pontiac planned two operations to deceive the British at Fort Detroit, a tactic copied by other tribes in the *pays d’en haut* over the coming months. Pontiac planned to enter the fort following a “peace-pipe dance” in order to conduct a reconnaissance of the defenses within.<sup>45</sup> After the reconnaissance, Pontiac planned to gather the other warriors to prepare for the attack. An unsuspecting Ottawa woman overheard Pontiac’s plan and warned Major Henry Gladwin.<sup>46</sup> Pontiac and a band of about forty hand-picked warriors entered the fort on 7 May following the planned traditional dance. Pontiac and his warriors observed armed regulars stationed throughout the fort, which forced Pontiac to abandon his plan of attack, and instead to conduct a siege. Pontiac withdrew his reconnaissance party to inform the others of the change in plan. The siege commenced on

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<sup>44</sup> Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 114–116.

<sup>45</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac’s War*, 67.

<sup>46</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 538; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 119–122; Middleton, *Pontiac’s War*, 67–69.

9 May and lasted until the end of October when the tribal leaders agreed to separate for the winter hunt to support their families in the coming winter. Amherst's reaction to the siege was delayed both through disbelief that the Indians could accomplish such a feat and to the distance Gladwin's notification had to travel to reach New York.<sup>47</sup>

#### The Forts Surrounding Michigan

Word of the siege on Fort Detroit spread fast through the tribes. A week later, the Wyandot band of the Huron captured Fort Sandusky on the southwestern shore of Lake Erie on 16 May. On 25 May, Pottawatomi warriors seized Fort St. Joseph near the southern shore of Lake Michigan. Two days later, Miami Indians overtook Fort Miami on 27 May along the Maumee River. The Miami continued cross-country southwest recruiting Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Wea warriors before sacking Fort Ouiatenon on 1 June. Following Pontiac's example, the Chippewa gained entry to Fort Michilimackinac, and achieved a brilliant deception by playing a game of baggataway (lacrosse) outside the gate. The attack on 2 June left the entire British detachment killed or captured. Across Lake Michigan to the west, the commander of Fort Edward Augustus surrendered to an eastern band of Sioux warriors on 21 June. The British losses resulted with the Indians in control of all of the land of today's Lower Michigan peninsula and surrounding area.<sup>48</sup>

#### The Forts East to Niagara

To the east of Fort Detroit, three more forts fell while Pontiac continued to lay siege to Fort Detroit. Aided by Ottawa and Chippewa warriors, the Seneca initiated attacks on a series of thinly manned forts securing the line of communication from Fort

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<sup>47</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 538; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 70, 126–127.

<sup>48</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 538–540; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 154–166; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 73–78.

Pitt to Lake Erie. Fort Venango, Fort Le Boeuf, and Fort Presque Isle lay along the supply route connecting Fort Pitt over land to Lake Erie further linking across the water to major forts through Niagara eventually to the British headquarters in New York. Fort Venango fell on 16 June followed by Fort Le Boeuf two days later. At Fort Venango, the Seneca war party captured the fort so swiftly that the commander was unaware of the attack. Lieutenant Francis Gordon only found out when the Seneca leader knocked on the commander's quarters asking to enter on friendly terms. When Lieutenant Gordon exited, he saw his detachment of regulars lying about hacked to pieces. The Seneca leader forced the commander to pen a note of the Indian grievances before they too then killed him.<sup>49</sup>

Fort Ligonier, Fort Bedford, and Fort Pitt

Word of the actions of the Algonquian nations surrounding the Great Lakes spread to the interior lands of the Shawnee and Delaware in western Pennsylvania. In late May and throughout June, the Delaware and Shawnee conducted several actions that kept Colonel Henry Bouquet's troops busy, under the command of Captain Simeon Ecuyer garrisoned at Fort Pitt. The Shawnee and Delaware first attacked and killed several soldiers at a small settlement twenty-five miles north of Fort Pitt on 27 May. Two soldiers were killed at the Fort Pitt sawmill a day later. The Indians continued to threaten the lines of communication from Fort Pitt to the east along the Forbes Road for the rest of the month attacking blockhouses and civilian settlements throughout the backcountry. Several times the Indians attacked Forts Ligonier and Bedford, effectively cutting Fort Pitt off from supplies and reinforcements. The distributed attacks by the Shawnee and Delaware had the same effects on Fort Pitt as Pontiac's siege of Fort Detroit. On 24 June, the leaders of the Shawnee and Delaware attempted to convince Ecuyer to abandon Fort

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<sup>49</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 540–541; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 167–168; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 83–99.

Pitt. Following a short meeting, Captain Ecuyer provided diseased blankets with smallpox to the Indian leaders, an early use of biological warfare. When Ecuyer refused to surrender, the Indians besieged the fort for several days, and set buildings on fire with burning arrows. The Shawnee and Delaware continued attacking settlers and baggage trains west of the Allegheny Mountains for the duration of their involvement in the war.<sup>50</sup>

By the end of June, Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt were the only forts to survive the Indian attacks. The British response was slow. It took days, even weeks, for garrison commanders to communicate with General Amherst, and vice versa. Beginning in May, rumors began to spread east that the British were under attack by Pontiac's Indian coalition, much to the disbelief of Amherst. Even amidst the suspicion of an Indian offensive, Amherst's orders to hold all forts and not surrender to the Indians did not reach most officers before the attacks. It was not until 6 June that Amherst finally received letters from one of his most trusted officers, Colonel Henry Bouquet. In them, Amherst learned about the attacks in the Pennsylvania backcountry and initial reports of the situation in Detroit. Amherst ordered an immediate response to the actions in Pennsylvania sending Colonel Bouquet orders to gather as many troops as possible to relieve Fort Pitt. Amherst, still in denial of the situation at Detroit, dispatched his own aide, Captain James Dalyell, to gather forces on his way to reinforce the besieged fort. Amherst confirmed his suspicions on 18 June, when he finally received a letter penned by Major Gladwin six weeks earlier of the dire situation at Fort Detroit. By the sureness of time, Sir Jeffery Amherst had lost all credibility and prestige gained from his successful ending of the French and Indian War.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 540–541; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 127–131; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 222–226; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 166–170; Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 70–73; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 87–89.

<sup>51</sup> Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 172–175; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 541; Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 71–73.

### Amherst Responds

Sir Jeffery Amherst started 1763 as a hero for his leadership and actions to end the Seven Years' War in America. By the summer of 1763, Amherst was ready to return home after five years of field command in America. On 6 June 1763, Amherst received letters from Colonel Henry Bouquet and Captain Simeon Ecuyer that forced a change to Amherst's plan. The letters told of Indian actions throughout the American west threatening several posts and British control of the backcountry. A second letter arriving on 21 June confirmed the threat to the British hold on the backcountry. Forced to act, Amherst responded by reallocating several units to reinforce Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt while he continued to gather information and understanding of the problem he faced. Amherst then devised a campaign plan for the following year as the Indian attacks continued into the fall.<sup>52</sup>

#### Sir Jeffery Amherst Responds, 1763

Amherst was furious over the situation presented by the letters he received in June. His reaction to the first letter was to order several regiments to be prepared to reinforce Fort Pitt upon the request of Colonel Bouquet. The 17th, 42nd, and 77th regiments relocated to Staten Island to prepare for movement to Philadelphia. Unsure of the official situation at Fort Detroit, Amherst sent his personal aide, Captain James Dalyell, to travel through Albany and Niagara to Detroit, reinforcing posts as necessary along the way. Major Gladwin's letter arrived on 21 June, confirming the rumors of a siege at Fort Detroit, and reinforcing his hunch to send Dalyell. Distraught with the chaos under his command, Amherst struggled to find other ways to fight the rising Indian threat. In a letter to Bouquet, Amherst directed the use of an early instance of biological

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<sup>52</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 541; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 101.

warfare through the distribution of smallpox-infected blankets to the Indians at Fort Pitt. Amherst's order and the response from Bouquet showed their collective desire to "extirpate" the Indians by any means necessary and a demonstration of Grenier's "first way of war."<sup>53</sup>

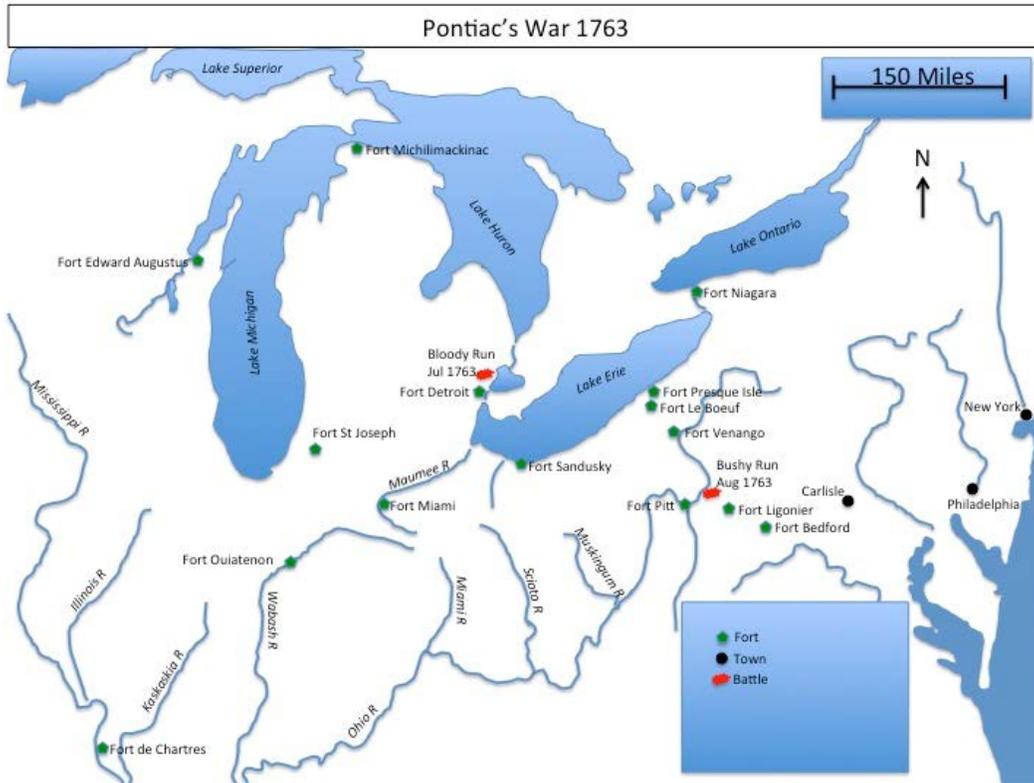
#### Dalyell through Niagara to Detroit

Following the orders of General Amherst, Dalyell gathered the men along the way. Dalyell's formation included several companies from the 55th, 60th, and 8th regiments of foot. Additionally he recruited the experienced Major Robert Rogers and his detachment of Rangers in Albany. After gathering forty additional men of the 80th Regiment at Fort Niagara, Dalyell embarked the bateaux for Fort Detroit hugging the southern shore of Lake Erie along the way. En route, Dalyell stopped to review the conditions of the destroyed Fort Presque Isle. The next stop was Sandusky Bay, where Dalyell took some men several miles inland to rout Huron warriors from the village of Junundat. Finding an empty village, Dalyell destroyed the houses and crops and returned to the boats. Captain Dalyell approached Fort Detroit on 28 July with 260 men and twenty bateaux. Expecting to meet heavy resistance approaching the fort, the relief convoy navigated the Detroit River under the cover of fog and docked safely. Following two days of rest, Dalyell planned to attack Pontiac's camp two miles north of the fort. Ignoring Major Gladwin's advice not to attack, Dalyell led 247 men on an early morning patrol to Pontiac's camp. Pontiac's warriors were ready and ambushed the patrol, killing Dalyell and nineteen others, with an additional thirty-eight wounded. Major Rogers, prevented the entire element from becoming overwhelmed by Pontiac's warriors. Rogers performed a brilliant rearguard action providing covering fire from a house, allowing the

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<sup>53</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 541–543; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 172–176; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 144–145; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 103–104.

remaining soldiers to withdrawal. This significant loss by Dalyell at Parent’s Creek became known to historians as the Battle of Bloody Run and is overshadowed by the success of Colonel Henry Bouquet less than a week later at the Battle of Bushy Run (see map 1).<sup>54</sup>



Source: Author created.

### Bouquet to Pennsylvania from New York

While Dalyell traveled a northern route from New York to Detroit, Bouquet gathered troops near Carlisle, Pennsylvania and prepared to reinforce Fort Pitt against the

<sup>54</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 541–548; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 201–209; Stephen Brumwell, *White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and Vengeance in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006), 266–268; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 231–232; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 135–136; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:315–330; Middleton, *Pontiac’s War*, 105–108.

rising threat from the Shawnee and Delaware Indians. Bouquet corresponded with Amherst throughout the month of June as he gathered men and supplies in route from Philadelphia to Lancaster. He stopped in Carlisle before beginning the operation to relieve Fort Pitt on 18 July. Amherst ordered Bouquet to reinforce the western frontier from Fort Pitt to Fort Presque Isle and to reduce the Indian threat along the way. Amherst gave another order for Bouquet to spread smallpox infected blankets to the Indians, which signified the increasing threat and Amherst's search for options. Bouquet and Amherst may have found out, after the fact, that Captain Ecuyer committed this action at Fort Pitt while his superiors wrote each other discussing its possibility.<sup>55</sup>

Bouquet left Carlisle on 18 July with the remnants of the 42nd, 60th, and 77th regiments, 460 men in total. Unable to wait for the Pennsylvania assembly to recruit 700 provincials to join the operation, Bouquet used elements of the regulars to reinforce the blockhouses and stations along the Forbes Road that connected Fort Pitt with the east. Bouquet reinforced Fort Bedford with one company on 25 July, and sent a detachment of Scottish Highlanders from the 42nd ahead to Fort Ligonier because of the slow movement of the larger main formation. Bouquet reached Fort Ligonier on 2 August where he paused to rest and reconfigure the supply train. Leaving the wagons because of an expected attack by the Indians, Bouquet continued on to Fort Pitt. Nearing Bushy Run Creek along a ridge called Edge Hill, Bouquet's lead element came under fire from warriors of the Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo, Wyandot, Ottawa, and Miami tribes. The Battle of Bushy Run began around 1 p.m. in the high heat of the afternoon.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and The Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*, vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1906), 36–48; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 170–175; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 541–543; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 109–110.

<sup>56</sup> Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:61–67; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 210–212; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 548–549; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 145; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 111–112.

Bouquet intended to reach Bushy Run Creek to resupply his water and rest his column before marching the final twenty-five miles to Fort Pitt the following day. Instead, the column fended off the fierce Indian attack until nightfall. Bouquet and his men created a perimeter using the supplies from the pack train to form breastworks to shield the wounded from the Indian assaults. The next morning, a force of about 500 Indians attacked the perimeter atop Edge Hill. Seizing an opportunity to save his men from defeat, Bouquet devised a plan to deceive the Indian attackers. Bouquet purposely collapsed his western flank withdrawing a company into the center of the perimeter to draw the Indians into the open. The Indian warriors thought the British formation was collapsing and charged from the wood line. Bouquet then ordered a second company of light infantry to flank the approaching warriors with bayonets fixed following a devastating volley into the exposed Indians. This action broke the Indian resolve to fight and the warriors withdrew into the backcountry. Bouquet's men finally drank from Bushy Run Creek, and recovered the dead and wounded. The victory resulted in a heavy price for Bouquet and his men. The fighting on 5 and 6 August resulted in fifty killed and sixty wounded in Bouquet's formation. Bouquet's formation limped along the Forbes Road finally reaching Fort Pitt on 10 August.<sup>57</sup>

#### British Operational Approach for 1764

Amherst remained challenged to respond to the growing Indian problem in the fall of 1763. The tight grip Pontiac held on Fort Detroit, the condition of the regulars under Bouquet's command at Fort Pitt, and the continued harassing attacks against the settlers throughout the backcountry led Amherst to conclude that he would have to wait

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<sup>57</sup> Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:67–78; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 212–213; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 549–550; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 145–146; Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 87–89; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 112–114.

until 1764 to regain the initiative against the Indian threat. Amherst maintained that the best he could do was to hold onto control of the three major forts in the area, Fort Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Fort Niagara, until the next summer. Amherst also knew his time in America was coming to an end, as he had been ordered to return to England. Many civil and military leaders blamed Amherst for the Indian problem and his inability to quell the uprising. Amherst left America 17 November 1763 aboard *Weasel*, leaving General Thomas Gage as the new commander-in-chief. Amherst, however, had set in motion a plan to deal with the Indian problem; Gage did little to alter the plan.<sup>58</sup>

Gage was familiar with the threat posed by Pontiac and the confederation. Before becoming the commander-in-chief of all British forces in America, Gage had fought against a numerically inferior French and Indian force in the battle known as Braddock's Defeat in 1755. Commanding the advance guard of Braddock's column, Gage and the British regulars lost to the French and Indians fighting.<sup>59</sup> Promoted to major general in 1761, Gage was the next most senior British officer commanding the British troops north of the St. Lawrence River, and headquartered in Montreal when the king recalled Amherst to England. This made the selection for a successor easy, one, which Gage was certainly obliged to accept. Anxious to leave Montreal, Gage hurriedly relocated to New York upon receiving orders in late October. Gage arrived in New York on 16 November 1763 and took command the day after. At the time, Gage expected a temporary command, viewing Amherst's recall as formal leave of absence, and was not officially

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<sup>58</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 127–128.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

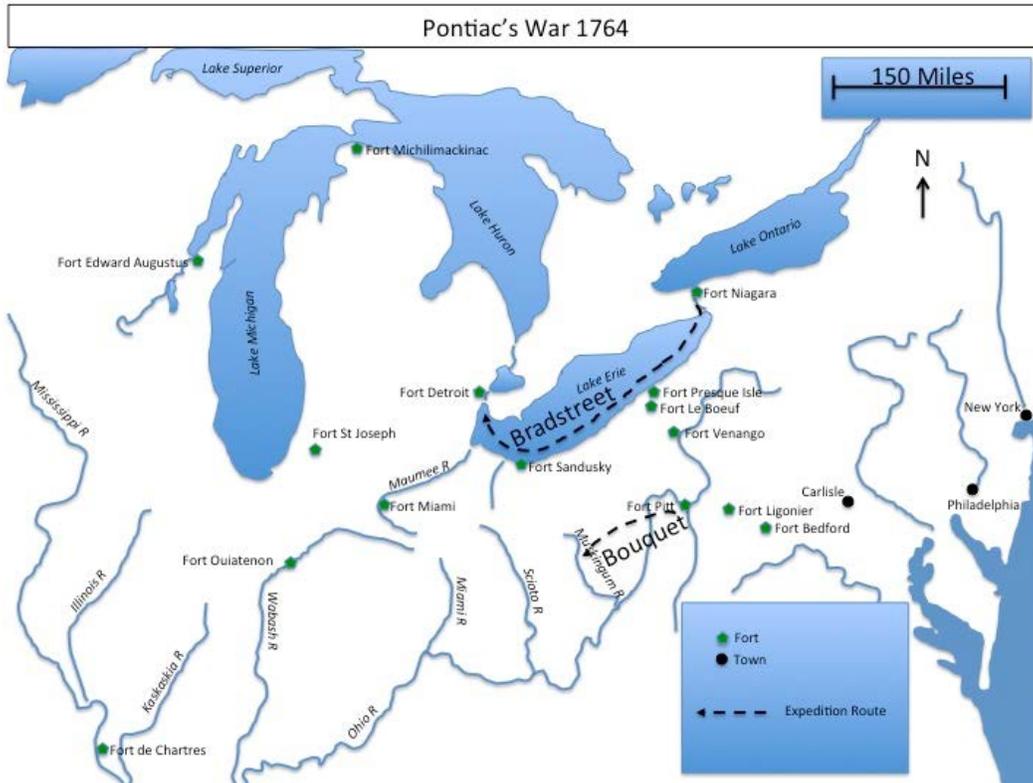
commissioned commander-in-chief until 16 November 1764. Therefore, Amherst's plan for 1764 remained largely intact within Gage's temporary command status.<sup>60</sup>

Amherst envisioned the reduction of the Indian threat through two efforts. Amherst commissioned Colonel John Bradstreet to command an expedition from Niagara through Lake Erie to Detroit with the task of pacifying the hostile Indians along the way. Upon accomplishing that mission, Bradstreet would send troops to reopen the lost forts at Michilimackinac, St. Joseph, and LeBouf followed by a march south to the Muskingum and Scioto river valleys to pacify the hostile Delaware and Shawnee Indians. Amherst ordered Colonel Henry Bouquet to lead the second major expedition from Fort Pitt. Once a credible force had gathered at Fort Pitt, Amherst tasked Bouquet to march directly to the Muskingum and Scioto Valleys to subdue the Delaware and Shawnee threat. Bouquet's expedition, Amherst hoped, would deal the final blow to the warring Indian parties throughout the Ohio backcountry while Bradstreet dealt with the hostile tribes further west. Each commander had additional tasks along their routes of march: devastate all resisting Indian settlements, liberate any white captives, subject the rebellious Indian chiefs to British authority, and coordinate for representatives of the defeated tribes to negotiate terms of surrender with the northern Indian superintendent, Sir William Johnson (see map 2).<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> John Alden, *General Gage in America: Being Principally A History of His Role in the American Revolution* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 57–63; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 129.

<sup>61</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 617–619; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 93–94; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 149–150, 167.



Source: Author created.

### Colonel John Bradstreet's Campaign 1764

Amherst planned to bring vengeance upon the belligerent Indian tribes of the *pay's d'en haut* in 1764. The two-pronged operation, consisting of Colonel John Bradstreet's movement in the north across Lake Erie and Colonel Henry Bouquet's inland movement west from Fort Pitt was designed to exert pressure on the Delaware and Shawnee along the Scioto and Muskingum River Valleys and the Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and Huron to the north and west. Gage, believed to be an interim commander, did little to change Amherst's vision for success: pacify the rebellious Indians, free any white settlers, and bring the Indian leaders to Indian Superintendent Sir William Johnson in Niagara to negotiate for peace. Gage's plan was postponed due to problems in recruitment of manpower and raising supplies, and although he had planned for a

simultaneous start for each operation in the spring of 1764, the campaign against the Indians began in August with Bradstreet's expedition followed by Bouquet's early in October.<sup>62</sup>

Planning to raise 4,000 men for the expedition, Bradstreet managed to muster a mere 1,400 men. The majority of the force assembled following Gage's requests to the colonies of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, which provided about 250 to 300 men each. Gage also recruited 300 Canadians to take part in the expedition, a move he hoped would send a message to the hostile Indians when seen fighting next to the British. Bradstreet's only regular forces were from the 17th Regiment still recovering from its latest campaign in Havana, and thus not in the best fighting shape having suffered many casualties in the campaign from fighting and disease. Another significant addition to the expedition was about 500 Indians resulting from the peace negotiations conducted by Sir William Johnson, the northern Superintendent for Indian Affairs. Bradstreet's expedition also commissioned three new vessels built at Niagara over the winter: the schooners *Boston* and *Gladwin*, and the sloop *Charlotte*.<sup>63</sup>

Approving Johnson's diplomatic efforts at Niagara was one deviation Gage made to Amherst's original direction. After months of delays in recruiting and staging for Bradstreet and Bouquet's expeditions, Gage finally agreed to Johnson's requests to initiate a peace conference. Johnson sent messengers throughout the *pay's d'en haut* to gather representatives of all the hostile tribes in hopes of returning the hostile backcountry to peace. The conference met on 11 July 1764 at Fort Niagara. This initial diplomatic event was largely successful, and most of the hostile tribes sent delegates to

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<sup>62</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*, 290–291; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 244–245; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 618–620.

<sup>63</sup> Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 255; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 619–620; John Shy, *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 135; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 96; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:187–189.

negotiate terms of peace with Johnson. Several tribes, including the Delaware, Shawnee, and some Pottawatomi, including high profile Indian leaders and Pontiac, kept their distance. Johnson promised the Indians a reversal of Amherst's policies renewing trade and lifting the ban of alcohol in exchange for safe passage of the traders, releasing white prisoners, and further promise to peaceful settlement of future issues with Johnson or the commander at Fort Detroit.<sup>64</sup>

Having witnessed the negotiations conducted by Johnson, Bradstreet set out on his expedition in early August. Traveling south along the coast of Lake Erie, Bradstreet first stopped at Presque Isle. Bradstreet was hesitant to initiate hostilities with the belligerent Indians due to the inexperience of the provincials and the war weariness of the weakened regulars under his command, although he vocally announced otherwise. Gage ordered Bradstreet to bring peace to the west. Bradstreet interpreted these orders to meet his personal goals in the region. On 12 August, several Indians approached Bradstreet's camp under terms for peace. Bradstreet initiated his own negotiations with several "ambassadors" of the Shawnee and Delaware instead of sending them to negotiate with Johnson as Gage ordered. Gage angrily wrote him later stating that Johnson was the only person in North America to legally negotiate with the Indians working directly for the crown as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.<sup>65</sup>

Following Bradstreet's flagrant error, the expedition continued on to Sandusky and Fort Detroit. The terms of the unauthorized treaty directed the Shawnee and Delaware Indians to bring their prisoners to Sandusky within twenty-five days if they

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<sup>64</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 620; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 253–255; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:176–188; White, *The Middle Ground*, 289–290; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 154–155.

<sup>65</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 620–621; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 96–97; Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 136–137; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:189–192; White, *The Middle Ground*, 291–292; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 255–256; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 155–157; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 156–157.

truly desired peace. Bradstreet then sent Captain Thomas Morris inland along the Maumee River into Illinois country to spread word of the treaty with the Shawnee and Delaware and invite willing tribes to Fort Detroit to negotiate similar terms. Bradstreet proceeded to Fort Detroit to relieve Major Gladwin and readied the fort to continue his unauthorized exchanges with the Indians he was sent to destroy. Bradstreet additionally sent separate elements north to reoccupy Forts Michilimackinac and Edward Augustus.<sup>66</sup>

By the end of August, Bradstreet believed he completed the mission General Gage directed and sent letters indicating this end. Bradstreet wrote to General Gage announcing success and wrote to Bouquet telling him there was no need for his expedition to commence because he completed the mission of pacifying the west. Bradstreet's first indication of trouble came from Captain Morris. Morris's detachment ran into significant trouble along the Maumee. Morris met initial resistance in a short engagement at Pontiac's village. Warriors captured Morris and his men, separated, and likely beat them en route to the village. At first, Pontiac was reluctant to appeal to Morris's message of peace from Bradstreet, but eventually gave in to the possibility for peace. Pontiac allowed Morris to continue into Illinois country while concurrently sending a wampum belt of peace to Bradstreet in Detroit.<sup>67</sup> Pontiac also informed Morris that he knew the Shawnee and Delaware would not honor Bradstreet's arrangement after recently receiving a war belt. Morris continued west approaching the formerly British occupied Fort Miami. Miami warriors stripped, beat, and bound Morris to a stake in the Miami Village until he found solace from a young Miami Chief allowing Morris behind

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<sup>66</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 620–621; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 96–98; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:189–200; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 155–159; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 255–262.

<sup>67</sup> John Montresor and James Gabriel Montresor, *The Montresor Journals* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1882), 286–287. Bradstreet destroyed the belt in front of other tribes desiring peace at Fort Detroit. This indicates both Bradstreet's lack of cultural understanding of the significance of the wampum as well as Pontiac's desire to continue armed resistance into 1765.

the gates of Fort Miami. After two days, Morris abandoned the mission into the Illinois backcountry and returned to Detroit under the threat of approaching Shawnee and Delaware warriors. Reaching Fort Detroit on 17 September, Morris sent his journal with a letter to Bradstreet, now camped again at Sandusky, announcing that the Shawnee and Delaware had fooled him.<sup>68</sup>

On 14 September, Bradstreet returned to Sandusky following rumors of Shawnee and Delaware hostilities. Bradstreet's confidence in assuming that he would be able to pacify the west without a shot fired, was largely undercut when the Shawnee and Delaware never fulfilled the terms of the Presque Isle treaty. Gage chastened Bradstreet's actions in letters to Johnson and Bouquet. Gage responded to Bradstreet's letter outraged over his disobedience and condemned the treaties made with the Indians in a letter dated 2 September, which found Bradstreet already in Sandusky. Gage ordered Bradstreet to ignore the unauthorized treaties and proceed with the original plan to attack the Shawnee and Delaware from the north. Bouquet was almost ready to embark on his expedition and if Bradstreet began movement by by October, the "pincer movement" would be achieved and the Indians defeated. Bradstreet again ignored this order and prepared his expedition to return to Niagara due to lack of supplies and low confidence that his men could survive an overland attack to the Scioto and Muskingum rivers.<sup>69</sup>

Bradstreet sat idly by in Sandusky weighing his options while his men exhausted supplies and became sick with fevers. There were men on the expedition who could have supported an overland campaign into the Ohio backcountry, yet Bradstreet only tried to

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<sup>68</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 623–624; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 98; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 159–161; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:193–208; Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 256–262; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 158–161.

<sup>69</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 621–624; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 98–100; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 161–162; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:208–210; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 162–163.

send the Iroquois and Seneca warriors to complete his task. Bradstreet's Indian allies were reluctant to commit. They did not understand why the British were unwilling to fight. Bradstreet sent several letters to Gage in defense of his actions since August and ordered the expedition to return to Niagara on 18 October. Bradstreet's return ended in disaster, losing half of his boats, six cannon, and other desperately needed supplies in a storm while camped along southern Lake Erie. Unable to transport the men on the expedition in their entirety, Bradstreet ordered about 150 provincials and Iroquois warriors to walk back to Niagara while the rest moved along in the remaining battered boats.<sup>70</sup>

Bradstreet finally returned to Niagara on 3 November with the main body of his expedition. It took several weeks for the stragglers to traverse the 300-mile overland route, losing some men to starvation and exposure. Bradstreet's expedition ended, marred by disobedience, faulty leadership, and loss of men and equipment. Tactically, Bradstreet never engaged his enemy. Operationally, he had only succeeded in regaining control of forts Michilimackinac and Edward Augustus, and had confirmed peace with tribes near Detroit, who were not opposed to the British in the first place. Bradstreet's actions, or inaction, had only succeeded in delaying peace with Pontiac and the hostile Ottawa, Wyandot, Miami, and Illinois Indians. Moreover, Bradstreet lost respect from his men, peers, General Gage, and the Iroquois allies of the British. As for the Shawnee and Delaware, they continued harassing attacks in the Scioto and Muskingum valleys until Colonel John Bouquet embarked on his expedition fully intent on following General Gage's orders west of Fort Pitt.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 164–165.

<sup>71</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 624–625; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 99; Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:209–213; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 164–165.

### Colonel Henry Bouquet's Campaign 1764

General Amherst chose Colonel Henry Bouquet to lead the other major campaign against the Indians of the *pays d'en haut*. Amherst requested about 3,500 men from the provincial governments of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and planned to split them between Bradstreet and Bouquet. Amherst ordered Bouquet to march into the Muskingum and Scioto Valleys and subdue the core of the Indian resistance. Amherst tasked Bouquet to attack the hostile Indian villages, free the white prisoners, subject the chiefs to British authority, and dispatch representatives to Niagara to negotiate official terms of surrender with Sir William Johnson. Amherst and Gage respected and admired Bouquet and believed that he was the best man for the endeavor, especially following his success at the battle of Bushy Run.<sup>72</sup>

Bouquet faced many of the same challenges as Bradstreet. He continued to pressure the provincial assemblies to support his expedition late into the summer of 1764 amid continuing attacks throughout the backcountry forts and settlements. The attacks and repeated requests from the colonists for more troops to provide security notwithstanding, Bouquet still had to overcome significant obstacles to raise at least one thousand men for the expedition. The Virginia assembly refused to allow its regiment to operate outside the colony borders and refused to pay the several hundred provincials who volunteered to serve. Pennsylvania reluctantly agreed to fund one thousand troops to join Bouquet as he mustered his troops in Carlisle. His manning problem did not end before he left Carlisle, as about one third of the force deserted before it reached Fort Pitt. The challenges Bouquet faced in marshaling enough troops prevented him from beginning the expedition in July. He did not reach Fort Pitt until September. The delay

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<sup>72</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 617–619; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 93–94; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 162–163; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 243; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 167.

also prevented Bouquet and Bradstreet from proceeding simultaneously as directed by General Gage.<sup>73</sup>

Bouquet finally left Fort Pitt on 3 October 1764, two months after Bradstreet's departure. Bradstreet had tried to stop Bouquet when he sent a letter saying that Bouquet's mission was unnecessary following Bradstreet's unauthorized peace treaty with the Ohio Indians. Bouquet knew the Indians had tricked Bradstreet because attacks continued throughout the Pennsylvania and Ohio backcountry. Moreover, Gage continued to receive reports of the attacks on backcountry settlers and frontier forts through September. Furious with Bradstreet's insubordination, Gage attempted to force Bradstreet to march south in support of Bouquet's approach into the Muskingum and Scioto valleys. Bradstreet refused to comply, which left Bouquet without support from the north. The Indians also tried to deceive Bouquet, but he refused the bait and crossed the Ohio River, following Gage's orders to "extirpate the Shawnee and Delaware."<sup>74</sup>

Indian scouts watched Bouquet's expedition closely as it traveled into the heart of Delaware and Shawnee country. The Indians knew Bouquet was willing to combat the hostile Indians he met along the way. Bouquet's reputation from the costly battle of Bushy Run a year earlier may have contributed to the safety of the formation as it traveled. Bouquet additionally implemented several lessons learned from the previous year and moved in a more defensible posture through the woods, supported with mounted troops and flank security. On 17 October, Bouquet established a defensible position near the Delaware village of Tuscarawas complete with trenches and stockades. The Delaware and Mingo tribes sent their chiefs to negotiate terms of peace with Bouquet. Bouquet

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<sup>73</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 619; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 94; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 163; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 243–244; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 168–173.

<sup>74</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 624; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 98–99; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 163; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 247–248; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 173–174.

offered similar terms that Bradstreet had at Sandusky and Presque Isle, despite Gage's intent for a deliberate attack on the Indian village. Bouquet knew the Indians told Bradstreet they would turn over their prisoners, but had never followed through with their promise. Bouquet used this knowledge against the Indians and warned the chiefs he would attack if they did not comply with the new terms of peace. The Indians claimed other tribes further west were responsible for the continued raids in settlements throughout the backcountry. Bouquet gave the chiefs two weeks to hand over their prisoners and moved his camp into Shawnee territory near the Muskingum River.<sup>75</sup>

Bouquet's men traveled over 130 miles in 23 days, reaching the Muskingum River on 25 October. The expedition built a larger fortification near the main Shawnee village on the Muskingum. Bouquet continued negotiations with the Delaware and Mingo and now the Shawnee. Bouquet insisted on an immediate end to hostilities against the settlements and frontier forts in the Pennsylvania backcountry, all individuals taken prisoner returned, and hostages given until received by Bouquet's men. Additionally, Bouquet demanded representatives travel to Niagara to finalize formal terms of peace with Sir William Johnson. The Indians complied and handed over 200 prisoners to Bouquet. The Shawnee were hesitant to comply at first, but reluctantly gave in to Bouquet's terms. The Shawnee turned over several hostages as collateral until the following spring. Bouquet completed negotiations on 13 November and prepared the expedition to return to Fort Pitt facing the threat of winter approaching.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 625; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 99; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 164–165; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 248–249; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 173–176.

<sup>76</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 625–626; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 99; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 164–165; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 249–250; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 176–179.

On 28 November, Bouquet reached Fort Pitt following a successful campaign against the hostile Indians in the Ohio backcountry. General Gage congratulated Bouquet on a successful mission and commented that talks with Pontiac and other western tribes might produce a more general and lasting peace. West of the Scioto River, the Indian tribes in the Illinois backcountry remained hostile to the British. Bradstreet's destruction of Pontiac's peace wampum increased tensions with the Indians west of the Maumee River. The limited peace gained by Bouquet's efforts demonstrated to the Indians that the British remained committed to restoring control to the territory gained following the Seven Years War. Peace was far from over, but Bouquet's campaign achieved success where Bradstreet's did not.<sup>77</sup>

### **Elements of Operational Art in Pontiacs War**

Operational Art is a useful concept in looking at historical events for current operational artists to inform future planning efforts. Looking at Pontiac's War through the lens of the current doctrinal concept of operational art provides utility in understanding how to combine tactical actions in time, space, and purpose to achieve strategic goals in a complex environment. Today's operational environment for US or western forces is similar to that faced by the British army in 1763 and 1764. Both environments contain a technologically advanced and sophisticated military force fighting against an increasingly influential enemy fighting along ideological terms absent of any formal borders recognized by the international community. Therefore, current operational planners can benefit from understanding Pontiac's War through the conceptual lens of operational art when planning operations in the current operational environment.

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<sup>77</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 626; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 165–168; Alden, *General Gage in America*, 99–101; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 249–250; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 179–180.

ADP and ADRP 3-0 *Unified Land Operations* defines operational art, discusses its application and outlines the elements of operational art to guide commanders and staffs to “understand, visualize, and describe operations to establish conditions to achieve a desired end state.”<sup>78</sup> ADRP 3-0 further delineates that the elements of operational art is a collective set of tools to assist commanders and staffs in planning operations. Revisiting Pontiac’s War using the elements of operational art as a lens, will help operational planners understand how considering these concepts will benefit their organizations, and, if not considered, could lead to operational failures.

1763

One of the most prevalent concepts evident in the military actions in 1763 is tempo. ADRP 3-0 defines tempo as “the relative speed and rhythm of military operations over time with respect to the enemy” and that it “reflects the rate of military action.”<sup>79</sup> As Middleton suggests, the Indian actions followed a coordinated fashion throughout the summer of 1763 and occurred before the British could respond effectively.<sup>80</sup> The attacks guided by Pontiac’s direction provided the Indians the ability to maintain operational initiative and dictate the terms of each engagement. The Indians were able to deceive British forces throughout the *pay’s d’en haut* through synchronized and sequential operations resulting the loss of nine forts, the abandonment of another, and laying siege to the two major forts of Detroit and Pitt. Amherst was unable to recover from the Indian actions in 1763. The British forces were constantly on the defensive as they tried to generate enough combat power to respond. At Detroit, Dalyell’s ability to reinforce the fort under fog from the river allowed the British to hold out long enough for winter to

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<sup>78</sup> ADRP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, 4-1.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 4-7.

<sup>80</sup> Middleton, *Pontiac’s War*, x.

approach that forced Pontiac and the Indians to withdraw for the hunting season. Even Bouquet's success at the battle of Bushy Run was temporary. In fact, Bouquet had lost so many men that he knew he would be unable to pursue the Delaware and Shawnee into the Muskingum and Scioto valleys. As the summer progressed into fall, Amherst began to see that the most important thing the British could do was to maintain possession of the key forts at Detroit and Pitt and prepare for the following campaign season.

Another prevalent element of operational art in 1763 is decisive points. "A decisive point is a geographic place, specific key event, critical factor, or function that, when acted upon, allows commanders to gain a marked advantage over an adversary or contribute materially achieving success."<sup>81</sup> Both the Indian coalition and British forces saw the two key forts at Detroit and Pitt as decisive points in their respective campaigns. Pontiac and the Delaware both attempted to seize each fort yet were unsuccessful forcing them to resort to siege tactics. Pontiac also attempted to allow Major Gladwin to evacuate Fort Detroit during the siege in order to restore control of the area to Indian and French control. The Shawnee and Delaware attempted the same at Fort Pitt until Bouquet's advance from eastern Pennsylvania forced the Indians to resort to area attacks on the frontier forts and civilian populations having the same effect as a formal siege. Amherst knew that Fort Detroit's location was key to holding influence in the Great Lakes Region. The fort connected the water line of communication from Lake Erie to Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior the major route supporting the fur trade. Fort Pitt's importance lay in its location on the Ohio River that feeds into the Mississippi River and thus gave the British the ability to navigate to the western edge of the land gained from the Treaty of Paris. The ground line of communication connecting Fort Pitt to Presque Ile, and thus

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<sup>81</sup> ADRP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, 4-4.

Lake Erie and Niagara, was also important to Amherst but he could not act fast enough to maintain this key supply route.

#### British Operational Approach for 1764

ADRP 3-0 outlines that for commanders to apply operational art it is important for continuous collaboration to create shared understanding of the operational environment and problem in order to facilitate assessment, foster critical analysis, and anticipate opportunities and risk.<sup>82</sup> In the fall of 1763, Amherst's understanding of the environment shaped the plan he developed for the following year. General Gage made few changes to the plan upon assuming command before issuing the orders to Colonel Bradstreet and Colonel Bouquet. Continuous collaboration in 1763 and 1764 was difficult to maintain due to time and distance constraints between commanders resulting in a limited ability to achieve effective shared understanding of the operational environment and problem. Despite this constraint, Gage issued orders to Bradstreet and Bouquet on 2 and 4 April 1764 respectively. Analysis of the British plan using end state and conditions, and lines of operations provides unique clarity. As an element of operational art, "the end state is a set of desired future conditions the commander wants to exist when an operation ends."<sup>83</sup> Gage gave orders for both commanders to pacify the west through offensive operations ultimately ending with negotiations from the subdued tribes to seek negotiations with Sir William Johnson, the Indian superintendent, at Fort Niagara. Gage was deliberate in delineating the end state to which he desired but was vague in outlining the conditions to meet in order to achieve the desired end state. This led to Bradstreet and Bouquet to conduct their campaigns differently with varying levels of success. In the end, the belligerents reached a peace in the *pay's d'en haut* but not due to an overt British

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<sup>82</sup> ADRP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, 4-1.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 4-3.

military success on the battlefield. Rather, it was a negotiated political end to the conflict. The British realized that a prolonged military offensive in the backcountry would not gain support from the colonists or from Whitehall and gave in to the Indian demands to lift the trade restrictions and increase support through gifting.

Lines of operations give further clarity to the British plan for 1764. “A line of operations is a line that defines the directional orientation of a force in time and space in relation to the enemy and that links the force with its base of operations and objectives.”<sup>84</sup> Bradstreet and Bouquet received orders to march along clearly distinct lines of operation. Bradstreet’s northern operation was oriented from Fort Niagara over Lake Erie to Fort Detroit followed by an overland movement south into the Muskingum and Scioto valleys in support of Bouquet. Bouquet’s operation oriented west from Fort Pitt into the Muskingum and Scioto valleys to deal the decisive blow to the hostile Shawnee and Delaware Indians. Each line of operation deliberately connects Amherst’s decisive points as earlier described. Amherst planned a third line of operations sending Major Arthur Loftus from West Florida up the Mississippi to occupy Fort Chartres. Loftus never left West Florida due to skirmishes with hostile Indians in the south loyal to the French. Describing the plan through lines of operations also shows how the British intended to conduct a series of actions operating on exterior lines that converged on the enemy.

1764

Examining the British actions in 1764 through the lenses of operational reach and risk provides additional clarity to the success and failures in Pontiac’s War. “Operational reach is the distance and duration across which a joint force can successfully employ

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<sup>84</sup> ADRP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, 4-5.

military capabilities.”<sup>85</sup> ADRP 3-0 further explains operational reach as “a tether” with a “natural tension between endurance, momentum, and protection.”<sup>86</sup> Through this lens, history shows that Bradstreet failed to account for the natural tension throughout his campaign. Bradstreet failed to employ his army effectively against the Indians he encountered resorting to peace negotiations instead of using force which affected the endurance of his operation. Captain Morris’ failed mission along the Maumee River further undermined the purpose of the expedition. Bradstreet misleadingly achieved momentum following the false peace negotiations at Presque Isle finally stalling his mission near Sandusky in October in defiance of Gage’s new orders to attack into the Muskingum and Scioto valleys. Bradstreet’s inaction and deteriorating conditions led to widespread sickness among his army forcing a withdrawal to Niagara. Bradstreet also failed to protect his force along the return to Niagara losing men and equipment along the way. Conversely, Bouquet effectively managed the natural tension and completed his mission with relative success. Bouquet took deliberate steps to maintain the endurance of his men keeping them occupied through an active defense while moving into the Ohio backcountry. The aggressive posture of Bouquet’s force was two fold in providing tangible success to maintain the momentum and protect his men throughout the expedition. Bouquet’s experience in the Battle of Bushy Run provided him the ability to reorganize his force for wilderness fighting effectively balancing endurance, momentum, and protection throughout the campaign to the Muskingum.

Risk is the final lens to analyze Pontiac’s Uprising. Although ADRP 3-0 does not define risk, the term is used in the explanation of several of the elements of operational art. As an element of operational art, ADRP 3-0 says “commanders accept risk and seek opportunity to create and maintain the conditions necessary to seize, retain, and exploit

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<sup>85</sup> ADRP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, 4-5.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

the initiative and achieve decisive results.”<sup>87</sup> Through this lens, the evidence presented shows how Bradstreet failed to trade risk for opportunity during his operation in 1764. Regardless of the validity of the Indians intentions to negotiate for peace at Presque Isle, Bradstreet failed to accept risk to enforce the terms he negotiated. Instead, he chose to send Captain Morris with a relatively small element up the Maumee River into the Illinois country, which almost resulted in his death. If he had gone inland with his whole force, as Bouquet did, he might have brought Pontiac and the Indians still under arms to the negotiating table. When Pontiac did send intentions of peace via a belt of wampum, Bradstreet destroyed the belt effectively prolonging the war for another year. Regardless of the approaching winter season, Bradstreet could have done more to consider taking prudent risk in his operation in order to produce opportunity for success. In the end, his risk adverse nature led to a failed attempt to pacify the west. Bouquet, on the other hand, understood that he needed to accept risk to achieve results in his campaign to pacify the Muskingum. After gathering the forces necessary at Fort Pitt, Bouquet led his entire force into the heart of Shawnee and Delaware territory intent on achieving decisive results. Bouquet’s bold movement to Tuscarawas showed he was willing to take action against the Indians. Bouquet’s march was a successful military operation in the fall of 1764. Coupled with his reputation from the Battle of Bushy Run, Bouquet’s action resulted in freeing over 200 white prisoners and finally brought the hostile Indians to negotiate with Johnson at Niagara meeting Gage’s intent. Bouquet’s ability to effectively balance risk provided him the ability to take advantage of opportunity in the Ohio Backcountry.

Pontiac’s War is an appropriate subject to analyze how commanders can use the elements of operational art in planning and execution to achieve strategic objectives through the arrangement of tactical actions in time, space, and purpose. This historical analysis suggests that considering the elements of operational art in planning and

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<sup>87</sup> ADRP 3-0, *Unified Land Operations*, 4-9.

execution will provide opportunities for military commanders to seize, retain, and exploit the initiative in complex environments.

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