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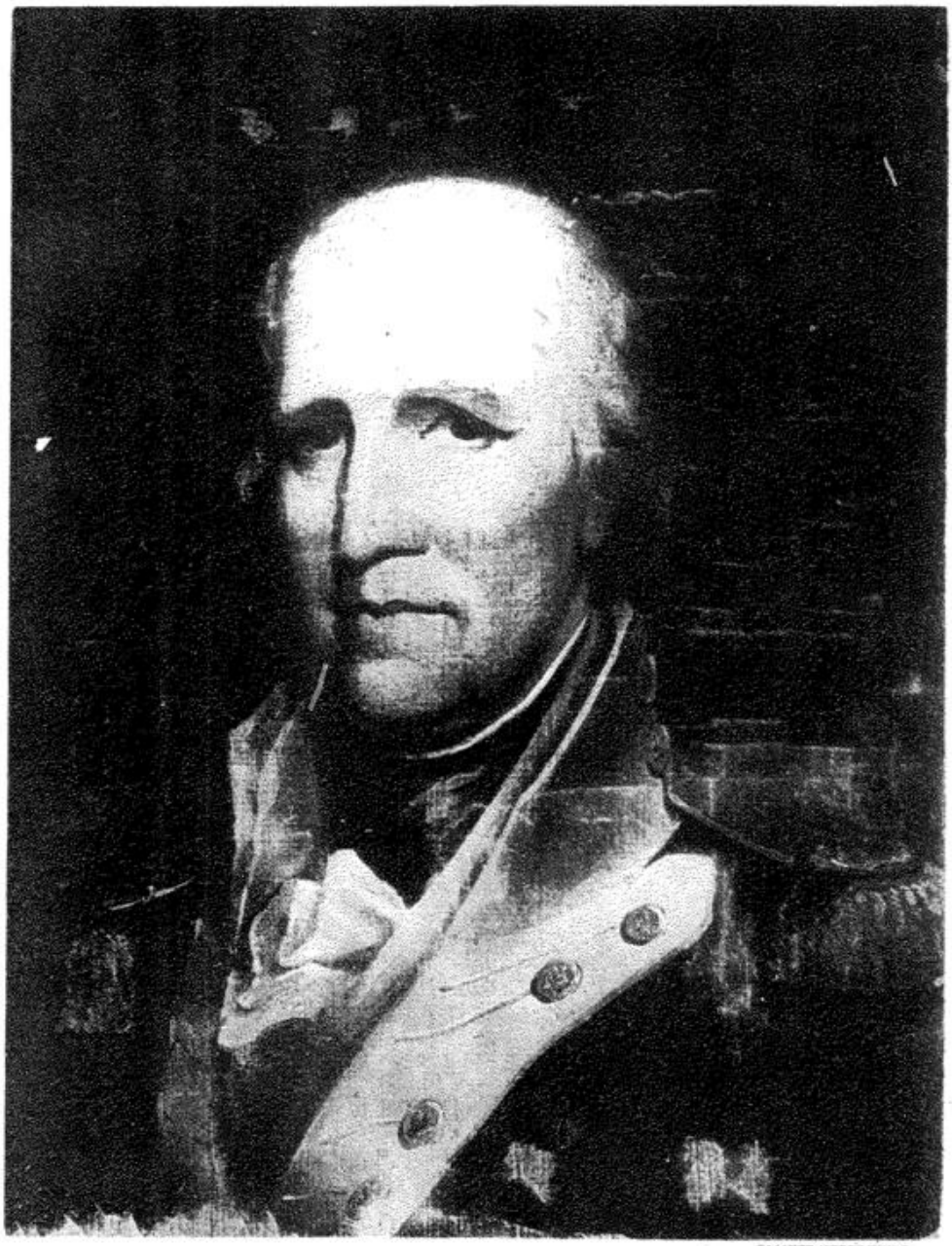
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VIRGINIA SERIES

VOLUME III

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK PAPERS

1771-1781



ELLIOTT, NORTH PHILA.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

From a portrait painted by Matthew Harris Jouett in the collection of Colonel R. T. Durrett of Louisville, Kentucky

COLLECTIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY
VOLUME VIII

VIRGINIA SERIES, VOLUME III

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK PAPERS

1771-1781

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
JAMES ALTON JAMES
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE
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PREFACE

During the year 1908, upon the recommendation of the Advisory Commission of the Illinois State Historical Library the collection of the letters and papers of George Rogers Clark was begun. The present volume, the third of the Virginia Series, contains all the available Clark papers prior to November, 1781. The remainder of this material will be published in a fourth volume which is to follow; and it is planned to complete the series with a fifth volume on the financiering of the Revolution in the West, dealing especially with the contributions and influence of Oliver Pollock.

In addition to the Clark papers, it has seemed best to include many letters written to and about Clark which have not heretofore been printed and which are believed to be essential to the explanation of his work. The aim throughout has been to interpret events connected with the chief phases of the Revolution in the West. The general arrangement of the documents has been chronological though some exceptions occur, as in the case of the *Memoir*, where the documents describe the conditions of a period other than that in which they were written.

The division into chapters is purely artificial and is done for typographical purposes. Nor have all the topics of the chapters been mentioned in the headings. On page 639 will be found a complete list of the printed documents, and on page 631 the full titles of books to which reference has been made.

With but few exceptions, the documents have been

selected by myself after careful reading. Most of the documents here printed have been copied and collated by the following persons:

The Draper MSS., by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg; the manuscripts in the Congressional Library, by Dr. James A. Robertson; those in the Virginia State Library, by Dr. H. J. Eckenrode; and those in the British Museum, by Miss Mary Martin of London, England. The proof-sheets of the Mason letter, the documents from the Draper Manuscripts and those from the Virginia State Library have been compared with the original manuscript.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Wisconsin Historical Society for their many suggestions and assistance to me in securing many of these documents; and to Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Kentucky, for giving me permission to use the documents in his library. My thanks are due also to Dr. Arthur Doughty for the copies of documents from the Canadian Archives; to Dr. H. R. McIlwaine for the privileges extended to me in the Virginia State Library; to Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University for numerous suggestions relative to the collection; to Professor Clarence W. Alvord, editor of these Collections, who has read the manuscript and proof and otherwise rendered material assistance; and to Miss Mary G. Doherty of the Illinois State Historical Library staff for her careful reading of the proof, and the preparation of the Index and of the List of Documents.

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS,
February, 1912.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. D. S. =	Autograph Document Signed.
A. L. S. =	Autograph Letter Signed.
B. M. =	British Museum.
C. A. =	Canadian Archives.
Draper MSS., 48J28 =	Draper Manuscripts, Clark Papers, vol. 48, p. 28; 2W39 = Harmar Papers, etc.
D. S. =	Document Signed.
f. =	Folio.
I. H. C. =	Illinois Historical Collections.
K. MSS. =	Kaskaskia Manuscripts.
L. S. =	Letter Signed.
[ ] =	With Italics: editorial explanations within documents or translations.
[ ] =	With Roman: words supplied by editor in documents or translations.
( ) =	In document, implied in document, or supplied punctuation.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Contest for Indian Alliance

From the opening of the Revolutionary War, American leaders desired the conquest of Detroit, the headquarters of the posts and the key to the fur trade and to the control of the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio.[1] Throughout the war this post, in the possession of the British, continued, as Washington wrote, "to be a constant source of trouble to the whole Western country.

The garrison at Detroit, at the beginning of the year 1776, consisted of one hundred and twenty soldiers under the command of Captain Richard B. Lernoult. The fort was defended by a Stocade of Picquets about 9 Feet out of the earth, without Frize or ditch." Three hundred and fifty French and English made up the entire number of fighting men in the

[1] *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., III., 1368; *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XXVII., 612 *et seq.* From this post, a trace led westward by way of the Maumee and across the upper Wabash to Post Vincennes. In like manner, an Indian path extended to Kaskaskia and other posts on the upper Mississippi. Not only was it a great center for the fur trade, but in years of good harvests flour and grain were furnished to other posts from Detroit. (*Draper MSS.*, 46J9.) The post was of great importance during the French regime. Indians from the Northwest took part, in common with Canadians, in the battle on the Plains of Abraham. June 29, 1759, a courier announced that there were about to arrive one hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians from Detroit; six hundred to seven hundred Indians with M. Linctot, one hundred Indians with M. Rayeul, and the convoy of M. Aubry from Illinois with six hundred to seven hundred Indians. Twelve hundred other Indians from the same region were also reported to be on the way. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 212.

[2] Washington, *Writings* (Sparks ed.), VII., 345.

town and near-by country[1] the majority of whom were French militia-men assembled under their own officers. Commanding the fort were two British armed schooners and three sloops manned by thirty "seamen and servants." There was not a single gunner among the crews who were dissatisfied with the service and incapable of making much resistance.

Three hundred miles away to the southeast was Fort Pitt, the only American fortification (1775) guarding the long frontier stretching from Greenbrier, in southwestern Virginia, to Kittanning on the upper Allegheny.[2] This fort was without a garrison. The inhabitants of the town were dependent on the protection of the militia of the neighboring counties and large numbers were reported to be in a most defenseless condition.[3]

From these two centers, in council after council, was to be exercised all the diplomatic finesse of white men in their attempts to gain control over the Indians of the Northwest Assembled at some of these conferences were the chiefs and other representatives of the Delawares of the Muskingum and the Ohio; the Shawnee and Mingo of the Scioto; the Wyandot, Ottawa and Potawatomi of Lake Michigan; the

[1]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 147 *et seq.* Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton arrived November 9, 1775, but Captain Lernoult commanded the troops until the summer of 1776. The total population in 1773 was about 1,400; 298 of them men (*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 649). The population in 1778 was 2,144, 564 being men. *Ibid.*, 469.

[2]Fort Blair, near the mouth of the Kanawha, had been evacuated by order of Governor Dunmore and was burned by some of the Ohio Indians. *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., IV., 201.

[3]George Morgan, Indian agent at Fort Pitt, in a letter of May 16, 1776, reported that there was "scarcely powder west of the Mountains sufficient for every man to prime his gun and only 200 lb. wt. in the Fort here." Letter to Lewis Morris, *Papers of Cont. Cong.*, CLXIII., entitled "Generals Clinton, Nixon, Nicola, et al.," 237 *et seq.*

Chippewa of all the Lakes; and, besides these, the Miami, Seneca, Sauk and numerous other tribes. All told, the northwestern tribes numbered some eight thousand warriors.[1]

Even before the actual outbreak of hostilities, leaders on both sides were considering the Indian as a factor in the contest. In March, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts accepted the proffered services of a number of the Stockbridge Indians and enlisted them as minute-men.[2] Colonel Guy Johnson, obedient to orders, removed dissenting missionaries from among the Iroquois. One of these men, Samuel Kirkland, who had been forbidden to return to his post among the Oneida, declared that in attempting to keep the Indians neutral his interpretaticn of the acts of Congress to the sachems "had done more real good to the cause of the country or the cause of truth and justice than five hundred pounds of presents would have effected."[3] Through him the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, April 4, 1775, appealed to the Iroquois to whet their hatchets and be prepared together with the colonists to defend their liberties and lives.[4] It was declared that since the colonists were to be

[1] Delawares and Munsee six hundred, Shawnee six hundred, Wyandot three hundred, Ottawa six hundred, Chippewa five thousand, Potawatomi four hundred, Kickapoo, Vermilion and other small tribes of the Wabash eight hundred, Miami or Pickawillanee three hundred, Mingo of Pluggy's Town (Scioto River) sixty. (Morgan, *Letter-Book*, III., March 27, 1778.) Wyandot one hundred and eighty, Ottawa four hundred and fifty, Potawatomi four hundred and fifty, Chippewa five thousand, Shawnee three hundred, Delawares and Munsee six hundred, Miami three hundred, Vermilion and other Wabash tribes eight hundred. (Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, III., 560.) The Sauk, Foxes and Iowa numbered some fourteen hundred warriors in 1806. *Ibid.*, 562.

[2] *Amer. Archives*, 4th scr., I., 1347.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII., 656.

[4] *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., I., 1349.

deprived of guns and powder by order of the British government that the Indians would, in consequence, be unable to secure the necessary means of procuring food and clothing.

It is not certain which of the urgent invitations issued in May, 1775 by Colonel Guy Johnson[1] and by Ethan Allen to take up arms, met with the earliest response. The latter wrote to some of the Canadian tribes:[2] "I want to have your warriours come and see me, and help me fight the King's Regular Troops. You know they stand all along close together, rank and file, and my men fight so as *Indians* do, and I want your warriours to join with me and my warriours, like brothers, and ambush the Regulars: if you will, I will give you money, blankets, tomahawks, knives, paint, and anything that there is in the army, just like brothers; and I will go with you into the woods to scout; and my men and your men will sleep together, and eat and drink together, and fight Regulars, because they first killed our brothers."

"Ye know my warriours must fight, but if you our brother *Indians* do not fight on either side, we will still be friends and brothers; and you may come and hunt in our woods, and come with your canoes in the lake, and let us have venison at our forts on the lake, and have rum, bread, and what you want and be like brothers."

At first the general American policy tended towards securing Indian neutrality, which was clearly stated by the Continental Congress in a speech prepared for the Six Nations early in July, 1775. The war was

[1] *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., II., 665.

[2] This letter was written from Crown Point, May 24, 1775. *Ibid.*, 713.

declared to be a family quarrel between the colonists and Old England, in which the Indians were in no way concerned. It was urged that they should remain at home and not join on either side, but "keep the hatchet buried deep."[1] Since, however, they were apprehensive of the policy to be pursued by the British three departments of Indian affairs were created, to be under the control of commissioners, whose duties were to treat with the Indians in order to preserve their peace and friendship and prevent their taking part in the present commotions. They were to superintend also the distribution of such arms, ammunition, and clothing as were essential to the Indians' existence.[2]

Within a year, however, a resolution was passed that it was highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the united colonies and especially to secure their co-operation in bringing about the reduction of Detroit. Notwithstanding the arraignment of the British in the Declaration of Independence for the enlistment of savages, Congress granted Washington full power to use Indians as auxiliaries and to offer them bounties for all their prisoners.[3]

In a dispatch to Congress, Colonel George Morgan outlined the plan which, in general, was pursued by Indian agents of the best type on the frontier. "We

[1] July 13, 1775.

[2] July 12, 1775, *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., II., 1879. The three departments were Northern, Middle and Southern. The Northern Department included the Six Nations and all other Indians north of these tribes. The Southern included the Cherokee and other southern tribes. The Middle, all Indians between the territory of the two others. There were to be five commissioners for the Southern and three each for the two other departments.

[3] *Journals Cont. Cong.* (new ed.), IV., 395. The commissioners were instructed, May 25, 1776, to offer an inducement of £50 Pennsylvania currency for every prisoner (soldier of the garrison) brought to them. The Indians were to be given the free plunder of the garrison. On June 17, 1776, Washington was authorized to employ Indians. *Ibid.*, V., 452.

shall ever hold it our duty," he wrote, "to exert our utmost influence to prevent hostilities, and to promote peace and Harmony with the Indian Tribes. . . . . The cheapest and most humane mode of obtaining an alliance with the savages is by buying of their Friendship; they have been long taught by contending Nations to be bought and sold. . . . . We are well satisfied we can bestow our Country no service more essential to her Interest, than by restraining the hostilities of the Indians, and giving ease to the minds of our Frontier Inhabitants."[1]

Indeed, this was the safest course to pursue, for on the frontiers constant danger from retaliatory attacks outweighed any assistance which might be secured through the enlistment of Indians.

The British early employed the savages to cut off outlying settlements. Under plea that the "rebels" had used Indians in their hostilities on the frontier of Quebec, after the capture of Ticonderoga, and that they had brought Indians for the attack on Boston, General Gage urged that General Carleton might be privileged to use Canadians and Indians for a counter stroke.[2] The letter which followed, containing "His Majesty's commands for engaging a body of Indians," and promising a large assortment of goods for presents, was of form merely. On the day it was written, five hundred Indians were brought to Montreal to join the English army.[3] Thereafter, the British were to enlist the savages for service with the regular army as well as to

[1]Morgan, *Letter Book*, II., July 30, 1776.

[2]General Gage to Lord Dartmouth, June 12, 1775. *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., II., 968.

[3]July 24, 1775, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII., 596.

employ them with more terrible results in cutting off outlying settlements and raiding the frontiers.

There was necessity for prompt action on the part of the Americans in order that they might gain the friendship of the tribes beyond the Ohio. In the provisional treaty at Camp Charlotte, Governor Dunmore promised the Indians that he would return in the spring and bring it to completion. By that time, the Revolutionary movement had assumed such proportions that he deemed it inadvisable to risk a journey to the frontier. Once more he found a ready agent in Dr. John Connolly,[1] a bold, enterprising, restless character who had been left in command of the garrison of seventy-five men at Fort Dunmore. In a conference at Williamsburg in February, Major Connolly was instructed by Lord Dunmore to use his efforts to induce the Indians to espouse the cause of Great Britain. In this he succeeded, in so far as he brought together at Pittsburgh the chiefs of the Delawares and a few Mingo, whom he assured that a general treaty, with presents, was soon to be held with all the Ohio Indians.[2] Disbanding the garrison in July, he returned to find Governor Dunmore a fugitive on board a man-of-war off York. Together, they concocted a plan fraught with grave consequences for the back country and for the American cause in general. In a personal interview, Connolly won the assent of General Gage to the plan and received instructions for its development.[3] It was designed that Connolly should proceed to

[1] *Pa. Archives*, IV., 477, 484, 485, 637, 682.

[2] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 35.

[3] The entire plan is given in *ibid.*, 140 *et seq.* Connolly, after his interview with Gage in Boston, returned with his instructions to Lord Dunmore. Craig, *The Olden Time*, I., 521.

Detroit, where he was to command the garrison from Fort Gage, led by Captain Hugh Lord. This nucleus of an army, together with the French and Indians of Detroit, was to proceed to Fort Pitt. It was hoped that this force would be enhanced by the Ohio Indians, for whom liberal presents were provided, and by numbers of the militia from Augusta County, who for their loyalty were to have three hundred acres of land confirmed to each of them. Forts Pitt and Fincastle were to be destroyed, should they offer resistance, and the expedition was then to take and fortify Fort Cumberland and capture Alexandria, assisted by troops led by Dunmore and landed under protection of the ships of war. The southern colonies were in this manner to be cut off from the northern.

Conditions promised well for the success of the enterprise. Connolly had won the favor of the Indians; Fort Pitt, as already noted, was in a condition to offer but little defense; and the backwoodsmen were without the necessary equipment in arms and ammunition to obstruct such an expedition. They were disunited, also, because of the Pennsylvania and Virginia boundary dispute. A letter from Connolly to a supposed friend at Pittsburgh led to his betrayal. Virginia authorities were informed of the intrigue and runners bearing orders for his arrest[1] were sent out from all the southern provinces into the Indian nations through which he purposed to pass. He and three associates were captured near Hagerstown, while on their way to Fort Pitt.[2]

[1] *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., III., 1543.

[2] A copy of the plan was in their possession. Capture of Connolly, in *ibid.*, IV., 616.

For upwards of two years thereafter, the frontier was free from any general participation in the war. Meantime, immigration to the West continued,[1] and the contest went on between British and American agents for ascendency over the Indians of that region.

Major Connolly had conducted his treaty with the Indians at Pittsburgh in the presence of the committee of correspondence of West Augusta County.[2] The provisions and goods furnished by the committee on that occasion assisted materially in gaining the good-will of the Indians for later negotiations. A petition to Congress from the committee followed at an early date setting forth their fears of a rupture with the Indians on account of the late conduct of Governor Dunmore and asking that commissioners from Pennsylvania and Virginia be appointed to confer with the Indians at Pittsburgh.[3]

On June 24, therefore, six commissioners were appointed by Virginia for the purpose of making a treaty with the Ohio Indians and a sum of £2,000 was appropriated for that purpose. Captain James Wood, one of the commissioners well versed in frontier affairs, was delegated to visit the tribes and extend to them an invitation to attend the conference at Pittsburgh. He was likewise to explain the dispute to the Indians, make them sensible of the great unanimity of the colonies and "Assure them of our Peaceable Intentions towards them and that we did not stand in need of or desire any Assistance from them."[4]

[1]More "cabin improvements" were made in 1776 than in any other year. *Draper MSS.*, 4C485.

[2]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 37.

[3]*Journals Cont. Cong.*, II., 76.

[4]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 35.

The day following, Captain Wood set out from Williamsburg on his hazardous journey of two months, accompanied by Simon Girty,[1] his sole companion, who acted as interpreter. The report made on his return was not wholly promising for the cause he represented. His reception by the Delawares, Shawnee, and other tribes was friendly, for the fear excited by the battle of Point Pleasant was still upon them.[2] He learned, however, that two British emissaries had already presented belts and strings of wampum to seventeen nations, inviting them to unite with the French and English against the Virginians.[3] They were warned that an attack by the "Big Knives" was imminent from two directions—by the Ohio and by the Great Lakes. The Virginians were a distinct people, they were assured, and an attack upon them would in no case be resented by the other colonies. Besides, the invitation to a treaty which would be extended to them should, under no conditions, be accepted as the representatives who were to meet at Pittsburgh could not be depended upon. Similar advice was given the tribes of the upper Allegheny River, brought together at Niagara. Many of these Indians, at the instigation of Governor Carleton and Guy Johnson, were induced to go to Albany and many more to Montreal to join the British armies.

[1]Simon Girty was born in Pennsylvania in 1741. As a boy, he was captured by the Indians and lived with them for three years. He later became chief of the Delaware tribe. At the opening of the Revolution he was engaged in enlisting men for the American army, but in 1778, he joined the British at Detroit. During the remainder of the war he was a leader of numerous Indian attacks against the frontier settlements and was greatly feared and hated. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys*, 73.

[2]These two tribes had invited others to unite with them against the English in 1764. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 262.

[3]*Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., III., 76 *et seq.*

The Virginia commissioners, together with those appointed by Congress, assembled at Pittsburgh September 10. Thus, notwithstanding English opposition[1] which in a measure had been overcome by traders, chiefs and delegates from the Seneca, Delawares, Wyandot, Mingo and Shawnee gathered slowly for the conference. Each tribe on arrival was received with "Drum and Colours and a Salute of small Arms from the Garrison."[2]

During a period of three weeks, the commissioners strove by speech and through presents of clothing and strings of wampum to convince the Indians that they should keep the hatchet buried and use all endeavor to induce the Six Nations and other tribes to remain absolutely neutral. They were assured that the cause of Virginia was the cause of all America. "In this dispute," they said, "your Interest is Involved with ours so far as this, that in Case those People with whom we are Contending shou'd Subdue us, your *Lands*, your *Trade*, your *Liberty* and all that is dear to you must fall with us, for if they wou'd Distroy our flesh and Spill our Blood which is the same with theirs; what can you who are no way related to or Connected with them Expect? . . . . we are not Affraid these People will Conquer us, they Can't fight in our Country, and you Know we Can; we fear not them, nor any Power on Earth."[3]

In the event of American success, they declared, with true American assurance, they would be so incensed against those Indians who fought against them,

[1] *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., III., 1542.
[2] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 74.
[3] *Ibid.*, 95.

"that they would march an army into their country, destroy them, and take their lands from them."[1] To convince the Indians still further of their invincibility, they asserted that the Indian tribes at the North were ready to become their allies, and that the people of Canada, with the exception of a few of Governor Carleton's fools, were friendly to the American cause.[2] The natives were invited to send their children to be educated among the white people without expense to themselves.[3] No little trouble was experienced in inducing the Indians to agree to surrender all prisoners and negroes and deliver up stolen horses. This done, peace "to endure forever" was established.

That these children of the woods were greatly divided and at a loss how to act is in no way surprising. Promises of the British emissaries for a successful issue of their arms were presented in a fashion quite as alluring. Shortly after it was concluded, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton learned of the treaty through an Indian who was present and a Frenchman who had been stationed within ten miles of Pittsburgh. The special mission of this Frenchman was to discover the effect of the treaty upon the savages and to neutralize the results wherever possible.[4] Hamilton felt convinced that any treaty which might have been made would endure for a brief period only, on account of the "haughty, violent dispositions" of the Virginians. But arms, ammunition, rum and other presents in ever-

[1] *Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., II., 518.

[2] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 95.

[3] *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., III., 1542 Dr. Thomas Walker, on his return, took a young Indian with him to be educated. On quitting Virginia in 1779, this Indian became an enemy of the state.

[4] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 127 *et seq.*

increasing quantities were the ready means of winning savage favor.[1] That the colonists might make a show of presents at first but that they would be unable to furnish the different nations with their necessary wants was an argument shrewdly used by British officials, for the savages had already become aware of American poverty. Threats to send canoe-loads of goods back to Montreal were effective whips upon such tribes as might show any disposition to waver.

But the jealousy of the Indians was most quickly aroused by accounts of encroachments upon their lands. The contest for their alliance brought out what seemed to the Indians to be two distinct policies. Congress decreed that no encroachments should be made upon the line agreed upon at Fort Stanwix.[2] The commissioners at Pittsburgh declared it to be their purpose not to encroach on Indian lands and to retain only the tracts acquired by treaty.[3]

It became increasingly difficult for the authorities to keep faith with the Indians since the acquisition of extensive tracts of their lands beyond the fixed boundary was continuous.[4] Frontiersmen continued to push the settled area forward in total disregard of

[1]"What I mentioned to you on the subject of Expenses," General Carleton wrote to Hamilton, October 6, 1776, "was in consequence of Instructions from the Treasury, but it was not intended to limit you with regard to such as are absolutely necessary for putting your Post in a proper state of defence, and for keeping the Indians in readiness for, and a disposition to act as circumstances shall require." *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 344.

"But the Indians must have presents," another official exclaimed; "whenever we fall off from that article they are no more to be depended upon." De Peyster to Haldimand, *ibid.*, 375.

[2]Action of April 29, 1776; see *Journals Cont. Cong.*, IV., 318.

[3]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 98, 118.

[4]From 1775 to November, 1778, the amount of Indian lands thus acquired was reported to be seventy million acres. Letter of George Morgan to Henry Laurens, November 29, 1778, Morgan, *Letter Book*, III.

proclamations and boundaries. There were many of them who even hoped for a general Indian war in order that the seizure of lands might go forward. To this end parties were formed for the purpose of killing Indians on their way for a friendly visit and for way-laying hunters on their own lands Scouting parties employed by the county-lieutenants on the Monongahela and the Ohio were guilty of acts of lawlessness[1] which pointed to a premeditated design to bring on general hostilities.

According to an English proclamation, no deeds to lands were considered valid untii they were passed by the authority of the chief governor, registered at Quebec and entered at the office in Detroit. Governor Hamilton declared at the close of the year 1778 that he had never granted lands at Detroit.[2] He said: "As there has been a restraint laid upon the granting land to the settlers at this place, whose farms are small and families numerous, the consequence has been, young men growing to age engage as Canoe men, go off to distant settlements and in general become vagabonds, so that the settlement does not increase in numbers as may be seen by comparing the recensment of 1776 with that of 1766."[3]

The attention of the Indians was called to the fact, of which they were already well aware, that the "Big Knife" had been pushing them back for many years and would not rest until he was possessed of all this

[1]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 27, 34. Morgan, *Letter Book*, I., April 1, 1777. Five or six spies fired on three Delaware Indians in their hunting camp, which they afterwards plundered.

[2]*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 474.

[3]*Ibid.*, 433.

country. The origin of the following message, therefore, from the Six Nations and Chippewa to the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, early in the year 1777, may be easily discerned.[1] "You have feloniously taken Possession of part of our Country on the branches of the Ohio, as well as the Susquehanna, to the latter [Pennsylvanians] we have some time since sent you word to quit our Lands as we now do to you, as we don't know we ever give you liberty, nor can we be easy in our minds while there is an arm'd Force at our very doors, nor do we think you, or anybody else would—Therefore to use you with more lenity than you have a right to expect, we now tell you in a peaceful manner to quit our Lands wherever you have possessed yourselves of them immediately, or blame yourselves for whatever may happen."

Another significant problem considered by the commissioners was the means of capturing Detroit. A plan outlined by Arthur St. Clair proposed a volunteer expedition for the surprise of Detroit, providing it should not be opposed by the Indians.[2] Because of the approval of the project by his associates, St. Clair proceeded to raise five hundred men for the expedition. They were to furnish their own horses and provisions. Ammunition, which could not be procured in that section, was to be provided at the expense of the government. The proposal was discussed in Congress but the season was thought too far

[1]Morgan, *Letter Book*, I., February 2, 1777.

[2]St. Clair was acting as secretary for the commissioners. He supposed it was due to this plan that he received his first appointment as colonel by Congress. Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I., 15; St. Clair, *Campaign against the Indians, 1791*, p. 233.

advanced for undertaking such an expedition.[1] Besides there was a feeling generally prevalent that Arnold was about to capture Quebec and as a result that Canada and the West would come into possession of the Americans. Washington shared this view and it is probable his attitude led to the disapproval of St. Clair's plan by Congress. "The acquisition of Canada," he wrote to General Schuyler, "is of immeasurable importance to the cause we are engaged in. . . . . If you carry your arms to Montreal, should not the garrisons of Niagara, and Detroit &c., be called upon to surrender or threatened with the consequences of a refusal? They may, indeed, destroy their stores, and, if the Indians are aiding, escape to Fort Chartres; but it is not very probable."[2]

That expedition failing, a committee of Congress was instructed to prepare plans for an expedition against Detroit with an estimate of the expense.[3] General Charles Lee urged the absolute necessity of straining every nerve to possess Niagara, if not Detroit.[4] The committee recommended that an expedition should be sent immediately against Detroit[5] for it was understood that the one hundred and twenty soldiers in that garrison were indifferent, the French neutral and the Indians wavering.[6] Final action was postponed, however, until the arrival of

[1] *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., III., 717.

[2] Letter of November 5, 1775. *Ibid.*, 1368. Hamilton and his associates were aware of the contemplated expedition from Fort Pitt and set about putting the fort at Detroit in a state for defense.

[3] *Journals Cont. Cong.*, IV., 301.

[4] *Ibid.*, 318.

[5] *Amer. Archives*, 2d ser., VI., 1677. *Journals Cont. Cong*, IV., 373. Unsigned letter, *Draper MSS.*, 3U580.

[6] *Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., I., 35 *et seq.*

Washington. While he sanctioned the project, it was found that it could not be carried out because of insufficient means. Besides, the Iroquois were averse to having an army march through territory to which they laid claim.[1]

II. Morgan vs. Hamilton

While the treaty at Pittsburgh had been made, in the language of its text, to last "until the sun shall shine no more, or the waters fail to run in the Ohio," both of these reverses of nature seem to have taken place in the Indian imagination by the following spring. In the meantime, they had been visited by British agents to secure their adherence.[2] The trails to Detroit were well worn by the tribes assembled there to meet Hamilton who strove in every possible way to excite the Indians to take up the hatchet.[3] To this end, British officers were generous with their presents and lavish in their hospitality, partaking with the Indians in the feast of roast ox, and, as the Indians said, "recovering their dead anew with rum."

Various desultory expeditions by the Indians kept the frontiers in continuous alarm. During the conference at Pittsburgh, wandering bands of Wyandot and Mingo went to the mouth of the Kentucky, "to look at the White people." On their return, they shot two white boys at Boonesborough. Three warriors of the Six Nations returned in June with two prisoners. A party of four Shawnee, returning in August from the

[1]Ballagh, *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, I., 185, 193.
[2]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 144.
[3]Morgan, *Letter Book*, II., August 31, 1776.

Cherokee country, killed two white men at Big Bone Lick. The whites retaliated by shooting two of the Indians.[1]

Congress, early in April, appointed Colonel George Morgan Indian agent for the Middle Department. The choice was a wise one. For a number of years he had been a trader in the Illinois country where he had become noted among the Indians for his generosity and strict honesty. No man of the time better understood the methods necessary in winning the friendship of the western tribes. He was instructed to forward at once the great belt presented to the Indians at Pittsburgh.[2] The commissioners for the Middle Department were directed to conclude a treaty with the western tribes at the earliest convenient time. Morgan was, so far as possible, to adjust all differences through arbitration[3] and, in the language of the instructions:[4] "Inspire them with sentiments of Justice and humanity, and dispose them to introduce the arts of civil and social life, and to encourage the residence of husbandmen and handicrafts men among them."

In pursuance of this general policy, assurance had already been given to the Delawares by Congress, upon the request of their chief, that in addition to the establishment of satisfactory trade relations and the protection of their right to the lands,[5] there should be sent to them a schoolmaster, a Christian minister

[1] Morgan, *Letter Book*, II., August 7, 1776.

[2] *Journals Cont. Cong.*, IV., 268.

[3] One of the arbitrators was to be selected by the commissioners, or, in their absence, by the Indian agent, and one by each of the parties in the dispute. *Ibid.*, 268.

[4] *Ibid.*, 294, 301.

[5] *Ibid.*, 268.

and a man competent to give them instruction in agriculture.[1]

Arriving at Pittsburgh, May 16, 1776, Morgan, in his endeavor to prevent the attendance of the Indians at a council called by Hamilton at Detroit, proceeded at once to the Shawnee towns.[2] William Wilson, a trader who accompanied Morgan, extended the invitation to other tribes to assemble at Pittsburgh, September 10, for the purpose of making a treaty.

No incident better illustrates the situation which Americans were forced to meet in these critical preliminary years than Wilson's reception by Hamilton. With three companions, Wilson, upon invitation of the Wyandot, visited their village opposite Detroit and delivered to the chiefs the speech and belt sent by Morgan.[3] Hamilton having expressed the desire to speak with him in a friendly manner, Wilson accompanied the chiefs to Detroit. In explaining the message to the Indians, Hamilton declared that the people who sent it were enemies and traitors to his king and that he would prefer to lose his right hand rather than take one of them by the hand. Tearing the speech and cutting the belt to pieces he then spoke to the assembled Indians on a tomahawk belt. White Eyes, chief of the Delawares, who accompanied Wilson, was ordered to leave Detroit before sunset, "as he regarded his head." Wilson, likewise, was directed to leave at once, receiving a parting word from the governor, which was well calculated to excite fear

[1]Speech (April 10, 1776) to Captain White Eyes, who had passed the winter in Philadelphia. (*Journals Cont. Cong.*, IV., 269.) The preceding November, two blacksmiths were employed to reside among the Iroquois and work for them. *Ibid.*, III., 366.

[2]*Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., II., 514.

[3]White Eyes and John Montour were two of his companions. *Ibid.*, 515.

among the frontiersmen and enthusiasm for the British cause among the savages. In reporting the affair, Wilson thus quoted Hamilton's remarks: "He would be glad if I would inform the people on my return of what I had seen; that all the Indians I saw there at the treaty were of the same way of thinking; and that he would be glad if the people would consider the dreadful consequences of going to war with so terrible an enemy, and accept the King's pardon while it could be obtained."

Hamilton then informed Wilson that an army of twenty thousand men were landed in Canada, had driven the rebels entirely out of that government and were pursuing them to the southward; that twenty thousand more were landed in New York and the same number to the southward, with the completest train of artillery that every came out of Europe on any occasion; and that the king's triumph was assured.[1]

The summer months were full of foreboding for the now terror-stricken frontiersmen. Six hundred Cherokee were reported as being ready to strike the Virginia frontier with a determination to kill or make prisoners of all the people. These savages had also accepted the war-belt from the Shawnee and Mingo, and agreed to fall on the Kentucky settlements.[2] A general confederation of all the western tribes was reported, whose purpose was to destroy all frontier settlements[3] as soon as their scattered young men could be called in and

[1] *Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., II., 518. General Howe wrote Lord Germain as to the actual situation as follows: "Upon the present appearance of things, I look upon the further progress of this army for the campaign, to be rather precarious, an attack upon Rhode Island excepted."

[2] *Ibid.*, 1236 "Overhill Cherokee."

[3] Morgan, *Letter Book*, II., August 31, 1776; Indian commissioners to a committee of Westmoreland County.

the corn necessary for subsistence should ripen. In a speech to the Mingo, the most desperate of savage tribes, Hamilton is said to have stirred up their most brutal instincts. As he delivered to them the tomahawk, bullets and powder, having previously taken part as usual with his officers in the war-song,[1] he declared:[2] "That he wonder'd to see them so foolish as not to observe that the Big Knife was come up very near to them, & claimed one half the water in the Ohio, & that if any of the Indians cross'd over to their side of the River they immediately took him, laid his head on a Big Log & chopp'd it off—that he had now put them in a way to prevent such Usage, & that if they met any of them they should strike their Tomahawks into their heads, cutt off some of the hair & bring it to him."

It was suspected that fifteen hundred Chippewa and Ottawa were rendezvousing with the intention of attacking Fort Pitt.[3] Driven to desperation, backwoodsmen forsook their clearings and evacuated the country for two hundred miles except at certain places where some of them forted.[4]

At the time, the frontier defense was entrusted to one hundred men at Fort Pitt, one hundred at Big Kanawha, and twenty-five at Wheeling, all in the pay of Virginia. These numbers were far too meager for the purpose, much less were they suitable for any offensive warfare.[5] Messengers were dispatched to Congress

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 482.

[2] Morgan, *Letter Book*, II., August 18 and 31, 1776; Morgan to the committee of Congress on Indian affairs.

[3] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 200.

[4] Morgan, *Letter Book*, I., November 8, 1776; George Morgan to John Hancock, president of Congress.

[5] *Ibid.*, II., August 18, 1776; Morgan to Committee on Indian affairs.

and to Williamsburg, imploring an augmentation of the numbers in the garrisons and the formation of new posts having proper supplies of ammunition and provisions.[1] The militia of Westmoreland and West Augusta counties were called out.[2] The county-lieutenants of Hampshire, Dunmore, Frederick and Berkeley were directed to collect provisions and hold their militia in readiness to march to Fort Pitt for immediate service.[3] A company of militia was ordered out as "rangers" for Fincastle County. But notwithstanding the defenseless condition of the frontier, apprehension was so widespread lest the savages should destroy their homes during their absence, that the militia was gotten together only after great delay,[4] many absolutely refusing the draft.[5]

Not until the six hundred and forty-four warriors and chiefs representing the Six Nations, Delawares, Munsee and Shawnee assembled at Pittsburgh, was it known for what purpose they came. The conference served to dissipate the widespread gloom, for these Indian envoys promised "inviolable peace with the United States and neutrality during the war with Great Britain."[6] Twelve chiefs were induced to visit Philadelphia, where they were introduced to Congress. For a few months after the treaty, all the other western

[1] Congress directed that a ton of gunpowder should immediately be sent. *Journals Cont. Cong.*, IV., 396.

[2] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 200.

[3] Morgan, *Letter Book*, II., August 31, 1776; Indian commissioners to county-lieutenants.

[4] *Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., II., 513.

[5] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 174, 240.

[6] Morgan, *Letter Book*, I., November 8, 1776; Morgan to John Hancock *Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., III., 599.

tribes, with the exception of a few of the Mingo known as Pluggy's Band, seemed desirous of preserving peaceful relations.[1]

With difficulty, Colonel Morgan persuaded the Virginia authorities that an expedition[2] against these banditti would tend to bring on general hostilities with the tribes already jealous of the slightest encroachment by Americans.[3] He thought it more essential to restrain the frontiersmen and promote good order among them, to pacify leading men among the tribes by liberal donations, and in all respects treat the Indians with "Justice, Humanity and Hospitality."[4]

The year 1777 was long memorable as the "bloody year" in the annals of border history. Early in the year, British authorities began to employ more aggressive measures with the view of distressing the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania as much as possible and with the hope that the main American army would be weakened through the withdrawal of forces to meet this attack. September 2, 1776, Hamilton proposed the employment of Indians for this purpose. The British government received the recommendation with favor and orders were sent General Carleton directing him to employ every means "that Providence has put into His Majesty's Hands, for crushing the Rebellion &

[1] It has been estimated that there were some seventy families included in this band. They were joined by twenty young men of the Shawnee tribe. Morgan, *Letter Book*, I., January 4 and March 9, 1777.

[2] "You are to take command," wrote Patrick Henry to Colonel David Shepherd, "of three hundred men drawn from the Militia of Monongalia, Yohogania & Ohio Counties, or either of them, ... and to march with the utmost secrecy & expedition to punish the Indians of Pluggy's Town for their late Cruelties committed upon the people of this State." *Ibid.*, March 12, 1777.

[3] They were at the time exercised because of the settlement of lands on the Ohio below the Kanawha and in Kentucky.

[4] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1777.

restoring the Constitution."[1] Hamilton was commanded to assemble as many Indians as convenient, under "suitable leaders," in the spring, to carry out this decree or march elsewhere as they might be most needed.[2] Similar orders were sent to Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger with regard to the Six Nations.[3] From the friendly disposition manifested by the representatives of many leading tribes of the Northwest in a council held at Detroit (June 17, 1777), Hamilton felt assured that one thousand warriors were ready to overrun the frontiers.[4] Although war bands were exhorted to act vigorously, they were urged to act with humanity. But resolutions voiced by the chiefs to pay strict attention to the injunction that they should spare the blood of the aged and of women and children were idle. Special presents for proofs of obedience signified little.[5]

The conduct of affairs at Detroit was left almost entirely to the judgment of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton and he was informed that the power of the sword was alone to be trusted.[6] By September, 1777, his power was absolute. He reported in July that fifteen bands of savages had been sent by him to raid the frontiers. In isolated localities, too remote for warning, men were killed or captured while at work in

[1] Letter of Lord George Germain, March 26, 1777 in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 347. On July 24, 1776, the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state, wrote Colonel Guy Johnson that in suppressing the unnatural rebellion he should lose no time in taking such steps as might induce the Six Nations to "take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII., 596.

[2] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 344.

[3] *Ibid.*, 346.

[4] A complete report of this celebrated council is given in the *Draper MSS.*, 49J13.

[5] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 469.

[6] *Ibid.*, 345.

the fields or out hunting. Women and children were burned in the houses or, as in other cases, the entire family were carried away as prisoners.[1] Hard pressed by their pursuers, the Indians killed such prisoners as hindered their rapid retreat. Thus the tomahawk saved them from sharing in the fate of their companions which was frequently more cruel. Upon arrival at an Indian village men prisoners were forced at times to satisfy the cruel instincts of their captors by running the gauntlet or were burned at the stake. Some were sold to British and French traders and later effected their escape or were ransomed. Women were compelled to become the wives or slaves of the warriors and children were adopted into the tribe.

That Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton offered rewards for scalps can not be absolutely proved. But Americans generally believed him guilty of this crime, and he was, while a prisoner, accused of it by the Council of Virginia.[2] That scalps were paid for seems well established through the testimony of spies, disguised as traders, who visited Detroit and of American prisoners.[3] Among the goods listed at Detroit, which included blankets, kettles, knives, razors and rum, were one hundred and fifty dozen scalping knives.[4] Hamilton's own dispatches indicate that the taking of scalps was by no means exceptional. January, 1778, he wrote General Carleton

[1]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 249 *et seq.*

[2]See *post*, 337.

[3]Morgan, *Letter Book*, III., March 20, 1778. Daniel Sullivan, in a letter to Colonel John Cannon, wrote of a visit to Detroit for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of that post. While there, he learned that Hamilton in his determination to destroy the frontier settlements was wont to pay "very high prices In Goods for the Scalps the Indians brought in. That he likewise pays for Prisoners but does not redeem them from the Savages & says he will not do it untill the Expiration of the present Warr."

[4]*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 471.

that the Indians had brought in seventy-three prisoners and one hundred and twenty-nine scalps,[1] and in a letter of September he says: "Since last May, the Indians of this district have taken 34 Prisoners 17 of which they delivered up and 81 scalps."[2] At the same time, he asserted that it was customary to present a gift on "every proof of obedience they shew, in sparing the lives of such as are incapable of defending themselves."[3]

But charges of inhumanity cannot be brought againt all British officials. Lieutenant-Governor Abbot in his appeal to General Carleton (June 8, 1778) to prevent the continuance of savage barbarities declared that "it is not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack, but the poor inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, and who are inhumanly butchered sparing neither women or children."[4] Captain Bird, one of the noted leaders of the British and Indians, offered the Wyandot four hundred dollars if they would spare the life of a certain prisoner. His harsh language to them on their refusal is said to have aroused the ill-will of the savages towards him.[5] Major de Peyster who succeeded to

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections*, IX., 431.

[2] *Ibid.*, 477.

[3] *Ibid.*, 465. The epithet, "hair-buyer," was applied indiscriminately by Americans to all British officers. Thus Captain Willing, in a letter to Clark, September 1, 1778, says with reference to Rocheblave: "God send him a sight of Williamsburgh, Govr Henry won't be displeased to see one of these *Hair Buyers*." See *post*, 67.

[4] *Post*, 47.

[5] Hackenwelder tc Colonel Brodhead, June 30, 1779. *Pa. Archives*, VII., 524. "You cowards," he is recorded as saying; "is that all you can do to kill a poor innocent prisoner. You dare not show your faces where an Army is but there you are busy when you have nothing to fear. Get away from me never will I have to do with such as you are and be guilty in such a murder as you have committed."

the command at Detroit was accustomed to pay more for prisoners than for scalps. Lord Chatham opposed the enlistment of Indians. "But who is the man," he said (November, 1777), "who has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? . . . . What! to attribute the sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife. . . . . They shock every sentiment of honor. They shock me as a lover of honorable war and a detester of murderous barbarity. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand a most decisive indignation."[1]

Much time was consumed at Pittsburgh in the discussion on the character of aggressive operations to be undertaken. It was counseled that an expedition to Detroit was the only remedy against the incursions of Indians. Others held this plan to be impracticable and unnecessary. No more telling reasons for an attack on Detroit and the probability of its success were formulated during the entire war, than those submitted by Colonel Morgan. He urged:[2] First, that the road was practicable; second, that the Delawares and Shawnee were disposed to remain quiet; third, that there were no powerful tribes near or on the road to Detroit to oppose such an expedition; fourth, that Detroit was at the time in a defenseless state; fifth, that it was from that post that the offending western

[1]This speech, in Parliament, was made in reply to Lord Suffolk who had declared that "there were no means which God and Nature might have placed at the disposal of the governing powers, to which they would not be justified in having recourse."

[2]Morgan to Colonel Daniel Brodhead, July 17, 1778, Morgan, *Letter Book*, III.

Indians were supplied "in all their wants and paid for all their murders;" and sixth, that its possession would induce all the tribes, through fear and interest, to enter into an American alliance.[1] For the purpose, he advised from twelve to fifteen hundred regular troops and such volunteers as might be secured. He opposed continuously all plans looking towards retaliatory expeditions which were then instituted by Congress. Finding that his advice was unheeded, and confident that the policy then adhered to would produce a general Indian war, Colonel Morgan resigned his office as Indian agent.

III. Defense of the Frontier

Meantime, preparations against a possible attack on the Virginia frontier settlements in the early spring of 1777 were hastened by order of Governor Patrick Henry. County-lieutenants were warned to have the militia in readiness.[2] Magazines were directed to be erected in Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia counties, and ammunition was forwarded. With the coming of spring, two hundred warriors entered Kentucky with the design of cutting off the settlers gathered in the forts at Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and at Logan's Station. Such a stroke, it was hoped by Hamilton, would put an end to American control in Kentucky. The fury of the attack upon each in turn

[1] It was his belief that there were only some three hundred hostile Indians in the Western Department. Schoolcraft estimated that of the 7,280 Indians capable of bearing arms, only 380 were in the employ of the British. In this estimate, however, he did not include the numbers enlisted from the Sauk, Fox, and Iowa tribes. These alone were able to summon 1,400 warriors. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, III., 560.

[2] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 223.

was met with such desperate resistance that the savages withdrew from Harrodsburg and Boonesborough. The timely arrival of Colonel John Bowman with two companies of a hundred men from Virginia, saved the besieged inhabitants at Logan's Fort from death by starvation or final surrender.

The situation for the Kentucky people was still desperate during the succeeding winter. For twelve months they had scarcely ventured to go beyond the protection of the three forts. The greater part of their stock of corn had been burned. Their horses had been driven off and the two hundred women and children, many of them destitute of necessary clothing, could not be sent to the older settlements.[1] Before the expiration of the time of enlistment of Bowman's men, the fields were cultivated and stocks of provisions and of ammunition were collected. Large numbers of emigrants entered Kentucky and the feeling of security increased.

During April and May, small bands of Indians caused the utmost consternation on the Ohio frontier by committing a number of murders. Forts and blockhouses were hastily constructed in some localities, while in others the inhabitants sought safety by flight.[2] It was learned at Fort Henry through Cornstalk, noted chief of the Shawnee, that a general confederacy of the northwestern tribes was well nigh complete, lacking only the addition of his tribe, and that hostilities were about to begin.

[1]The men numbered sixty-five at Harrodsburg; twenty-two at Boonesborough, and fifteen at Logan's Fort. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 208. *Draper MSS.*, 58J192. Captured letter of Colonel Bowman to General Hand, December 12, 1777. See *post*, 22, n. 2, for an account of Colonel Bowman.

[2]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 255.

Informed of these hostile demonstrations, Congress resolved to send an experienced officer to take command at Fort Pitt, who was to embody the militia and plan for the general defense. This difficult undertaking was intrusted to Brigadier-General Edward Hand, who proceeded at once to Pittsburgh, arriving there June 1. To assist him on this mission, Congress voted arms and ammunition for the use of troops at Pittsburgh and elsewhere on the frontier, and four thousand dollars for strengthening the works at that post and for contingent expenses. Discretionary power was granted him to embody one thousand or more militia for the defense of the frontier.[1]

It was anticipated that the high opinion in which General Hand was held on the frontier would cause the militia when summoned to respond at once. Five companies assembled at Point Pleasant with the object of invading the Indian country, and there awaited General Hand's coming from Fort Pitt.[2] Upon his arrival with but few troops and without provisions the expedition was reluctantly abandoned and the militia returned to their homes. Messengers were then sent to the various isolated settlements recommending that they should be immediately abandoned and the settlers take shelter within the fortresses or retire east of the

[1] *Journal Cont. Cong.*, VII., 247, 256. Fourteen boat carpenters and sawyers had been sent in February from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Thirty bateaux, forty feet long, nine feet wide, and thirty inches deep were built by them for the purpose of transporting troops and provisions in case an invasion of the Indian country was determined upon.

[2] While awaiting the coming of General Hand, some mutinous soldiers murdered Chief Cornstalk, who had been held as a hostage, together with his son and two companions. Rewards were offered by the governor and council of Virginia for the apprehension and conviction of the murderers, but without avail, owing to the excited state of public feeling. The Shawnee were thereafter the inveterate foes of the whites and as a result the Indian war was renewed with greater vigor the following year. *Draper MSS.*, 13S102, 144.

mountains. Notwithstanding the vigilance of scouting parties, constantly traversing the woods, deeds of savage violence were continuous.

General Hand learned, through messages brought by runners from the Moravian towns, that the Ohio settlements were soon to be attacked by an army of Indians under the leadership of Simon Girty.[1] Settlers hastened to retire to the security of the forts. The first blow fell on Fort Henry, garrisoned at the time by two companies of militia, forty men in all, under Colonel David Shepherd. Warned by General Hand of the approaching danger, Colonel Shepherd had early in August assembled the militia for the defense of the fort, but as the enemy did not appear vigilance was relaxed and nine companies of militia returned to their homes. This fort, which stood upon the bank of the Ohio near the mouth of Wheeling Creek, was next in importance to Fort Pitt.[2] Between the fort and the base of a steep hill was an open level space partly occupied by log cabins. The settlers were assured by scouts who had been watching the approaches that there was no immediate danger. During the night of August 31 between two and three hundred warriors ambushed themselves within a short distance of the village. Early next morning Andrew Zane and three companions, while searching for some horses were surprised by six Indians and one of the whites was killed. The others escaped, Zane, it is said, having leaped from

[1]Moravians from the Muskingum. Girty was not the leader of this expedition.

[2]Fort Henry, formerly called Fort Fincastle, was built in 1774. It was an oblong stockade of pickets pointed at the top and with bastions and sentry-boxes at the angles. About half an acre of ground was enclosed. Within the enclosure were log barracks, a storehouse, a well and cabins.

a cliff seventy feet high. With the belief that the enemy was few in numbers, fourteen men marched out to the attack. Discovering the main body of the Indians, they attempted to escape, but were all killed with the exception of two who were badly wounded but finally reached the fort. Another party of twelve advancing to the relief of their comrades, were in like manner shot down or butchered, one only escaping. The defense of the terror-stricken settlers, who meantime had fled for refuge to the fort, was dependent on thirty-three men. To their surprise, the Indians did not make an attack. After throwing up rude earthworks, they killed all of the live stock within their reach, set fire to the cabins and retreated across the Ohio.[1]

On September 26, a scouting party consisting of forty-three men set out from Fort Henry. Returning the next day, they were attacked by Half King, chief of the Wyandot, who with forty of his braves were lying in ambush. Twenty-one of the whites were killed. Contrary to their usage, the savages continued their depredations after the setting in of winter, when the borderers were off their guard.

Fearful lest these forays carried on at the instigation of British agents would lead to the depopulation of the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers, Congress late in the year, appointed three commissioners who were to co-operate with General Hand in carrying the

[1]Many stories of the heroism of both men and women have been related in connection with this event. Most of them are mythical; some had their foundation in the siege of Wheeling, September 11, 1782.

war into the enemy's country.[1] They were empowered to extend such operations so as to include an immediate advance on Detroit and its dependencies, provided it was thought feasible at that season of the year and could be accomplished with a force not to exceed two thousand men, exclusive of Indian auxiliaries.

Throughout the winter, preparations were carried on for protection against the recurrence of the outrages of the preceding year. New forts were built and old ones strengthened. General Hand now determined upon an aggressive policy. During February, 1778, with a force of five hundred men, chiefly militia, he set out for the Indian strongholds beyond the Ohio. Because of the heavy rains, the advance was slow. After taking possession of some Indian towns almost deserted by their inhabitants, the expedition was abandoned. This, the first movement by Americans against the Indians during the Revolution was deemed a failure. It resulted only in the capture of a number of non-combatants and was commonly known as "the squaw campaign." Disappointed at the outcome, which was not due to lack of ability on his part, and "much pestered with the machinations" of the Tories who were numerous on the frontier, General Hand requested to be recalled from the command at Pittsburgh. He was succeeded by Lachlan McIntosh who had entered the army at the opening of the war and had been advanced to the rank of brigadier-general.

[1]November 20, 1777. The commissioners appointed were Colonel Samuel Washington, Colonel Joseph Reed and Gabriel Jones. General Washington was also directed to send Colonel William Crawford to Pittsburgh to take command under General Hand of the continental troops and militia in the Western Department. *Journals Cont. Cong.*, IX., 942, 944.

The incursions of the savages, assisted by the Tories, upon the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia were almost continuous during the spring and summer of 1778. While these attacks were incited by the authorities at Detroit many of the settlers themselves were not without blame. The borderers were characterized in a report of the Board of War as "a wild, ungovernable race, little less savage than their tawny neighbours; and by similar barbarities have in fact provoked them to revenge."[1] But the suffering of the innocent with the guilty made immediate relief necessary. It appeared certain, moreover, that these forays were but the preliminaries to a general Indian war which threatened with devastation the whole frontier region.[2] It was reported that sixteen hundred warriors from the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Mingo, Wyandot, and a few of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Shawnee tribes, together with a number of British emissaries, were collecting for this purpose.[3] All attempts to conciliate these tribes and the threatenings of the commissioners no longer availed, for the Indians were firm in the opinion, which had been assiduously inculcated among them, that the forbearance of the states proceeded from their inability to revenge the outrages committed against them. Influenced by these considerations and aware that Detroit

[1]The Board of War to Washington, May 19, 1778. *Washington MSS.*, Box 35, no. 5, in Library of Congress.

[2]Extracts from the Minutes of Congress, June 11, 1778. *Letters to Washington, 1778*, XXV., f. 86, in Library of Congress.

[3]Hamilton reported the lake Indians in readiness to go to war in the spring. He hoped to have one hundred and fifty militia and thirty to forty men of the garrison join them in this enterprise. He was possessed of a plan of Fort Pitt and was convinced that it might at the time be captured by a small force. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 431.

was still in a defenseless condition,[1] Congress determined to abandon the policy of a defensive war and to undertake immediately two expeditions. One of them was to have as its object the capture of Detroit and the subjugation of such Indian tribes on the way thither as were enemies of the states. The other expedition was to be organized for the purpose of carrying the war into the Seneca country and the conquest of such tribes of the Six Nations as were hostile. Another object of this expedition was to gain possession of Oswego. The expedition against Detroit was projected on so large a scale that its success seemed assured. An army of three thousand men, the majority of them to be furnished by Virginia, was to advance in two equal divisions; one by the way of the Big Kanawha to Fort Randolph, where it was to be joined by the other division coming from Fort Pitt down the Ohio. Nine hundred and thirty thousand dollars were appropriated towards defraying the expenses.[2]

That the French at Detroit would render no assistance to the English upon the approach of the enemy seemed certain.[3] Hamilton himself had knowledge of

[1] *Journals Cont. Cong.*, XI., 588.

[2] *Ibid.*, 590. This meant an expenditure of two hundred and sixty-one thousand dollars more than would be required for the maintenance of the defensive policy. Should Detroit be captured, however, it was shown that an amount larger than this additional sum would be saved in a single year, for the defense of the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers would no longer be necessary.

[3] Letter of John Leath to George Morgan, August 19, 1778, in Morgan, *Letter Book*, III. French merchants were suspected of being inclined to the cause of the states. Trade for a number of years had been restricted in such a way that the people were willing to pay even higher prices for the goods brought from New Orleans and other Spanish posts for trade at Kaskaskia and Detroit than for the goods furnished by the English themselves. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 290.

The total population of Detroit (1778), exclusive of the British soldiers, was 2,144. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 469.

this disaffection. Writing General Carleton, he said: "When it is considered how many people in this settlement have connections with the Americans, it will not be surprizing if the Virginians should have notice of anything projected against them from this Quarter & tho a great deal if not everything depends upon secrecy I must not flatter myself 'twill be concealed (as it should) since an Indian for a Gallon of Rum may be engaged to carry letters or intelligence."[1]

General McIntosh set out, in June, for Fort Pitt with five hundred men, including the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment under Colonel Daniel Brodhead and the Thirteenth Virginia regiment under Colonel John Gibson. Commissioners sent by Congress assembled at Pittsburgh, and through the judicious distribution of presents among the Delawares, ten thousand dollars having been appropriated for that purpose, obtained permission to traverse their territory. In the meantime, Congress determined to defer the expedition against Detroit. This change of plan was due chiefly to the report that it was impracticable to secure the necessary men, horses, flour and cattle within the time stipulated.[2]

General McIntosh was directed to assemble fifteen hundred troops at Fort Pitt with which he was to proceed against the hostile tribes and destroy their towns. As a step in fulfillment of this plan, he built a fort (Fort McIntosh) at the mouth of Big Beaver Creek,

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 432.

[2] Resolutions of Congress, July 25, 1778. Based on letters from Patrick Lockhart, commissary of the expedition, and from Patrick Henry. *Letters to Washington. 1778*, f. 88, in Library of Congress. *Journal Va. House of Burgesses*, July 7, 1778, p. 287.

thirty miles below Pittsburgh. This was the first fort built on the right bank of the Ohio, and although primarily intended as a refuge in case of defeat, it was well located to furnish assistance to the settlements which had reached the Muskingum and extended a few miles up that river.

With a force of one thousand men, General McIntosh, towards the last of October, advanced westward. Reaching an elevated plain on the Tuscarawas River,[1] seventy miles from Fort McIntosh, and while waiting for his main supplies to come up, he began the erection of a stockaded fort.[2] The construction of Fort Laurens completed, the season was then so far advanced, the time of enlistment of some of the soldiers had expired, and the difficulty of procuring provisions was so great[3] that the forward movement was abandoned. Leaving Colonel Gibson in charge with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, McIntosh conducted his remaining force to Fort Pitt, where the militia were disbanded.

During the course of these events a plan was evolved, which, like many another paper proposal, met with almost unanimous support in Congress. This included the capture of Detroit and Niagara and also an attack on Quebec, in which American troops were to be supported by a French fleet and army under General La Fayette. Once more the far-sightedness of Washington prevented the enormous expenditure of money necessary for the equipment of these expeditions which must, at the time, have resulted only in failure and the

[1] A branch of the Muskingum River.

[2] Near this spot Bouquet had built a stockade, 1764.

[3] *Draper MSS.*, 58J32. Clinton to Haldimand, February 1, 1779.

possible destruction of American hopes for ultimate victory.[1]

The winter proved a trying one for the garrison at Fort Laurens. Late in January, a party of fifteen men which had carried provisions to them was waylaid, three miles from the fort, while returning to Fort Pitt, by a band of Mingo and Wyandot led by Simon Girty.[2] Other convoys of provisions failed to reach the fort because of attacks by Indians and the garrison was on the verge of starvation. In February, Captain Henry Bird of the King's regiment, accompanied by Simon Girty and a few soldiers, led one hundred and twenty savages against the fort itself. Colonel Gibson, aware of the presence of the enemy although they were in hiding, persisted in sending out eighteen men

[1]October 22, 1778, *Journals Cont. Cong.*, XII., 1042 *et seq.*

1. For the capture of Detroit, three thousand men were to be called for from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and of these, fifteen hundred of the most effective were to be selected for the expedition. Together with one hundred light cavalry, they were to be prepared for marching orders by June 1.

2. For the protection of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, five hundred men were to be stationed near Wyoming, and this number was to be increased by one thousand in the spring.

3. Fifteen hundred men were to be stationed along the Mohawk. In the spring, twenty-five hundred more men were to be used for the same purpose.

4. Twenty-five hundred men were to be marched from Fort Schuyler about the middle of May for an attack on Oswego.

5. Five thousand regular troops were to be recruited during the winter with the aim of marching against Montreal.

These plans proving successful, the combined French and American attack against Quebec was to follow. It was urged as a tempting offer to France to join in the undertaking: (1) A share in the fisheries of Newfoundland, and in the fur-trade at that time monopolized by Great Britain; and (2) An extension of French commerce.

Washington regarded the whole plan as visionary, requiring as it would more troops and money than were available. He argued that the American government would in attempting its fulfillment become involved in engagements to France which could not be met. He felt also that it would be but natural, in case Canada was taken, for France to demand that province as the price of her assistance. His opinions were of such weight when stated in the presence of a committee of Congress that this part of the scheme was abandoned. Washington. *Writings* (Sparks ed.), I., 311 *et seq.*

[2]Two whites were killed, four were wounded and one was made prisoner.

to bring in the horses belonging to the fort. Sixteen of the party were killed and the two others were made prisoners. For a month the fort was invested, the besiegers finally retiring for want of supplies. A few days later General McIntosh reached the fort with five hundred regulars and militia. He learned of the critical situation through an Indian who succeeded in stealing through the lines with a message from Colonel Gibson. The relief was timely, for the garrison had subsisted chiefly on roots for nearly a week.

On his return to Fort Pitt, General McIntosh learned that his request to be relieved from the command of the western army had been granted and that Colonel Daniel Brodhead, a man well acquainted with the conditions in the back country, had, on the recommendation of Washington, been appointed as his successor.[1] While little had seemingly been accomplished by these movements, nevertheless the British plans to gain possession of the West and lend assistance to their eastern forces had been foiled. The rumor that another expedition was to be sent from Pittsburgh in April not only frightened the officials at Detroit, but "greatly damped the spirits" of their Indian allies.[2] They were soon forced to turn their attention to the more aggressive operations of George Rogers Clark, with whose coming a new phase of the war in the West was inaugurated.

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 1H33. Preceding the outbreak of the Revolution, Daniel Brodhead was a deputy-surveyor in Reading, Pennsylvania. October 25, 1776, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel and within six months was promoted to the office of colonel in the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment. In this capacity he accompanied General McIntosh on the expedition described. After the war, he became a member of the Pennsylvania assembly and was subsequently made surveyor-general in that state.

[2] *Ibid.*, 49J20; 58J9; 58J32.

IV. George Rogers Clark

At this time, Clark was twenty-six years of age and was well prepared to assume the leadership of a frontier expedition. He was full six feet in height, well proportioned and noted for his great courage. After a few months schooling he had been taught surveying by his uncle and turned his attention to the Ohio Valley where locations of land were being made. On June 9, 1772, together with a few other adventurers he set out from Fort Pitt in a canoe on an exploring expedition down the Ohio.[1] They reached the mouth of the Kanawha and spent a month in the exploration of the lands on the Ohio and its upper tributaries.

Clark then returned for a short time to his home in Caroline County, but having determined to locate permanently in the West, he returned to the Ohio region. His glowing descriptions of the new country induced his father and a number of friends to accompany him. They remained only for a short time, however, and Clark, with a single companion, having gone down the river some three hundred miles below Pittsburgh, returned to take possession of land which he had selected on Fish Creek, one hundred and thirty miles below Fort Pitt.[2] After building their log-cabin, they spent the fall and winter in girdling trees and burning brushwood in preparation for the cultivation of the land. At the time, settlers were coming in large numbers to the region and Clark gave considerable attention to surveying their lands. Settlements

[1]David Jones, a missionary, was one of the party, and in his *Journal* gives an account of the expedition. Printed in Cist, *Cincinnati Miscellany.*

[2]*Draper MSS.*, 1L6.

had reached the mouth of the Scioto, and in April Clark set out with a company of adventurers from Virginia to go to that region and carry on the exploration of the Kentucky country. He accompanied them only a portion of the distance and then returned for a brief visit at his old home. In September he was again at the Fish Creek settlement in time to harvest his crop of corn.

In the early spring, Clark with some ninety other men, as prearranged, collected at the mouth of the Kanawha in order to descend the Ohio to settle Kentucky. Since, however, there was general alarm over the threatened hostilities of the Shawnee, and some depredations had already been committed, Clark with his associates, selected Michael Cresap as leader and ascended the river to Wheeling. He took an active part in the events which followed, accompanied Captain Cresap on his expedition against the Shawnee and served in the right wing of Governor Dunmore's army.[1] On that expedition were Joseph Bowman, Leonard Helm and William Harrod, men who were to render notable service in the conquest of the Northwest.

At the close of Dunmore's War the movement of population to Kentucky went on rapidly, and Clark early in the spring set out for the Kentucky River. He engaged in surveying lands in the interests of the Ohio Company, located land on his own account, visited Harrodsburg and the other stations and assisted in laying out a town.[2] So pleased was he with the beauty and richness of the country that he determined to make his home there.

[1]Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*, 155, n.

[2]Leestown was seventy miles up the Kentucky, about a mile distant from the site of Frankfort. This attempt to found a town proved a failure.

He was aware of the unrest among the pioneers because of the claims of Henderson and Company to the area south of the Kentucky River known as Transylvania, and while spending the winter in Virginia came to the determination to contest these claims. Returning to Kentucky, Clark visited the settlements and camps, thus becoming acquainted with the problems of the people, and by his attractive personality and enterprising spirit gained their confidence and friendship. He planned in a meeting of the people which he called at Harrodsburg, June 6, 1776, to have agents appointed who should treat with the Virginia assembly, and advocated the establishment of an independent state in case they failed to secure concessions. When Clark reached Harrodsburg on the day appointed for the assembly, he found that two delegates, another besides himself, had been selected to attend the assembly of Virginia and present a petition asking for recognition as a separate county,[1] setting forth their distressed and defenseless situation and urging that efforts should be made to send them relief and protection.[2] Within a few days they set out for Virginia. Their journey over the wilderness road was full of hardship owing to the heavy rains and their suffering from cold and hunger. They were in constant fear of attack by the Indians.[3]

Before Clark reached Williamsburg,[4] he learned that the legislature had adjourned, but he pushed on and, after an interview with Governor Patrick Henry,

[1]It was a part of Fincastle County.

[2]*Journal Va. House of Burgesses, 1776*, p. 19.

[3]Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 210.

[4]Jones, his companion, had returned to take part in the war against the Cherokee. *Ibid.*, *post*, 212.

presented his petition to the Council, at the same time asking for five hundred pounds of powder then sorely needed for the defense of Kentucky. The Council stood ready to make a loan of the ammunition, providing Clark would himself become responsible. But this offer he promptly rejected, saying that "if a Cuntrey was not worth protecting it was not worth Claiming." Fearful lest the Kentuckians should seek protection elsewhere, as intimated by Clark, the Council finally acquiesced. The petition which he presented to the assembly, notwithstanding the opposition of Henderson and other leaders, was likewise agreed to, and early in December the new county of Kentucky was established.[1] Clark then set out for Kentucky, going by the way of Pittsburgh in order to get the powder which had not yet been forwarded. With eight other men he began the descent of the river in a single boat. Narrowly escaping capture by Indian scouting parties, they landed at the mouth of Limestone Creek, hid the powder and proceeded to Harrodsburg in order to get a guard strong enough to bring on the supplies in safety. Clark and two companions hurried forward, leaving the other members of the party at the Licking. Shortly afterwards, a small force under Colonel John Todd arrived and it was determined that he should go with ten men and bring on the ammunition. They were attacked by Indians and three of the party were killed.[2]

Early in January, the powder and other stores were

[1]Fincastle County was by this act divided into three counties, Kentucky, Washington and Montgomery. (Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX., 257.) To Henderson and his associates were assigned by act of November 17, 1778, two hundred thousand acres of land between the west bank of Green River and the Ohio. *Ibid.*, 571.

[2]One of these was John Gabriel Jones, who had accompanied Clark to Virginia. Clark's *Diary*, *post*, 20.

brought to Harrodsburg by a force of thirty men. It came at the right time for the Kentuckians, cooped up in their three small settlements, were forced to defend themselves against a succession of organized attacks through which British officials hoped to gain control of the whole West.[1]

At the time, Clark's presence and services were indispensable. During the spring the government for Kentucky County went into effect. Harrodsburg was made the county seat. In addition to the county-lieutenant, colonel, and lieutenant-colonel, commissions were likewise issued by the governor of Virginia to justices of the peace who were to constitute the county court.[2] The court was to meet once a month and had associated with it a sheriff and a clerk. Two delegates were chosen to represent the county in the House of Burgesses.[3] The immediate need was military protection, and to Clark was entrusted the organization of the militia at Harrodsburg.[4] Every man, whether a permanent resident or not, was expected to report in turn for his share of service in one of the companies. During the summer there was a succession of skirmishes with the Indians. Many venturing to leave the confines of the posts were killed or captured and no corn was raised at Harrodsburg that year. On the retaliatory

[1]See *ante*, xli.

[2]John Todd, John Floyd and Benjamin Logan were among the justices appointed.

[3]The qualifications for electors were as follows: Every free white man who one year previous to the date of the election of delegates was possessed of twenty-five acres of land with house and plantation and having right to estate for life in his own right or right of his wife. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX., 259.

[4]Clark was commissioned major, and Daniel Boone, James Harrod, John Todd and Benjamin Logan, captains. John Bowman had been appointed colonel by Governor Henry, but he did not reach Harrodsburg until September 2.

expeditions, Clark led the militia. While many of the people were advocating the abandonment of Kentucky, he quieted their fears by assurance of assistance from Virginia.

V. Expedition Against Illinois

At the same time his mind was occupied with the problem of conquering the region north of the Ohio. He was well aware that as long as the British held control in the French villages of the Illinois, they would be rallying points for the Indian war-parties sent against the Kentucky posts. He saw that the surest defense against their forays would be to capture these posts and win the friendship of the French. As a first step, therefore, in April he sent Benjamin Linn and Samuel Moore as spies to Kaskaskia and Vincennes. What his designs were was a secret which he shared with no one. Disguised as hunters, these young men succeeded in their mission and at the end of two months returned to Harrodsburg. They reported that there was no suspicion of an attack from Kentucky, that the fort at Kaskaskia was unguarded; and that while the French feared the American backwoodsmen, whom they regarded as desperadoes, they were not strongly attached to the British.[1] Clark advocated sending a force to capture Kaskaskia, for, he declared "[we must] either take the town of Kuskuskies, or in less than a twelve month send an army against the Indians on Wabash, which will cost ten times as much, and not be of half the service." He was aware that if all the men in the Kentucky settlements were enlisted the capture

[1]Clark to Patrick Henry, *post*, 32. *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VIII., 491.

of these posts would not be possible unless re-enforcements should be secured. On October 1, therefore, he started for Virginia to lay his plans before Governor Henry.[1] He joined a company composed of seventy-six men and a number of women and children who, fearing further Indian outrages, were returning to their old homes. Progress along the wilderness road was still further delayed on account of the cattle which they drove along with them to be used for food. From fourteen to twenty miles constituted a day's journey. On the nineteenth day, having reached the region where it would be possible to spend a night at some settler's cabin or frontier town, Clark rode on alone and finally, on November 1, reached his father's house, having traveled six hundred and twenty miles.[2]

After a visit of one day he pushed on to Williamsburg, where he found the people still greatly excited over the news of Burgoyne's surrender. For two weeks he was forced to wait for an agreement by the state auditors to accept his accounts and those of the Kentucky militia. During that time, he mentions buying a ticket in the state lottery for three pounds and his attendance at church on Sunday.[3]

On December 10, Clark presented his views to Governor Henry and at once won his favor. But the Governor hesitated to order an expedition into that unknown country. To lay the plans before the assembly would deprive them of all secrecy and thus defeat their purpose. Thomas Jefferson, George Mason and George Wythe, to whom the project was presented, advised

[1]Clark's *Memoir, post,* 218. *Diary, post,* 24.
[2]Clark's *Diary, post,* 26.
[3]*Ibid.*

that it be carried out, and promised to use their influence in securing three hundred acres of conquered land from the assembly for each man enlisting in the expedition, providing it should prove successful. On January 2, final action was secured in the Council which made the expedition possible. The assent of the assembly had been gained through the general plea that it was designed as a defense for Kentucky.[1]

Clark was made lieutenant-colonel and was authorized to raise anywhere in Virginia seven companies of militia, each containing fifty men.[2] He was advanced twelve hundred pounds in depreciated currency and was given an order on the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for the necessary boats, ammunition and supplies. By strict interpretation of his open letter of instructions, Clark was to go to the defense of Kentucky. But in his private instructions, he was directed to capture Kaskaskia. With no one, evidently, did he share his secret thought that after the conquest of the Illinois country he would march against Detroit.[3]

Elated over the thought that it would soon be within his power to put an end to attacks by the Indians, Clark hastened to the frontier. From the beginning, his recruiting officers encountered difficulties in enlisting men. Virginians and Pennsylvanians were still contending for the control of the territory about Pittsburgh and many leading men were opposed to making the sacrifice necessary to hold possession of Kentucky.

"I found my case desperate," Clark wrote. But no obstacle moved him from carrying out his designs.

[1]Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX., 375.
[2]Patrick Henry's letter of instruction to Clark, January 2, 1778, *post*, 34.
[3]*Mason Letter*, *post*, 116.

Finally on May 12,[1] with his one hundred and fifty frontiersmen who had agreed to accompany him on the expedition, together with a number of private adventurers and settlers with their families, he set out from Redstone. After taking on stores at Pittsburgh and Wheeling, they proceeded cautiously down the Ohio, not knowing when they might be surprised by Indian war parties.

Reaching the Falls of the Ohio, Clark was, as he said, "made desperate" upon learning that instead of the four companies of men expected from the Holston, only part of a company would be available, and that but a small force of Kentuckians had arrived. But he did not despair and worked more steadfastly to overcome this disappointment.

Throughout the Revolution, Clark regarded the falls of the Ohio as his chief center of operations. This spot, when fortified, gave him control of the river traffic, for boats could not there be taken up or down the river until they were first unloaded. Besides, while affording protection to expeditions from the Kentucky settlements to the Illinois country, it served to hold in check the Indian tribes. At first he took possession of an island in the center of the falls in order the more easily to prevent desertions. Then, for the first time he disclosed to his men the real object of the expedition. The proposal was enthusiastically received by officers and men. A few of the Holston men manifested fear at being taken so far into the enemy's country and escaped to the mainland during the night. They were pursued by horsemen but only seven or eight of the deserters were captured.

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 117.

Meantime, a small portion of land had been apportioned to each of the twenty families which had accompanied Clark. They were to remain on the island in order to cultivate their crop of corn and defend the block-house where the provisions were stored.

Clark was the more eager to go forward after he learned of the French alliance, for he counted on its effect over the Illinois people. On June 24, after a day of rejoicing, Clark set off with his little army of one hundred and seventy-five men.[1] They shot the falls during a total eclipse of the sun, an omen which was variously interpreted by his men. The four companies were made up of picked men, for all had been rejected who were thought unable to stand the necessary hardships. With oars double-manned, they descended the Ohio River to the mouth of the Tennessee, where final preparations were made for the overland march to Kaskaskia. Had the ordinary route down the Ohio to its mouth and up the Mississippi been selected, they could not have escaped being discovered by scouts of the enemy. A boat descending the river containing a party of American hunters was captured. As they had but recently come from Kaskaskia, Clark was able to gather from them the information he sought. Moreover, upon their request, they were granted permission to accompany the expedition and serve as guides.

Dropping down the river ten miles to Fort Massac, an abandoned French stronghold where the boats were secreted, the expedition struck off through the wilderness towards the northwest. Each man carried only such

[1]Letter of Joseph Bowman, July 30, 1778, in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 559. One account states that Clark was accompanied by about one hundred and seventy men.

equipment as was absolutely necessary. They marched single file in order to make as little show of tracks as possible and thus excite no suspicions in those who might cross the trail.

For the first fifty miles they pushed through the woods with great effort. On the third day, having reached the stretches of level plains, John Sanders, who was serving as chief guide, lost his way, and at once there was the greatest confusion. Clark, fearful lest they should be discovered by spies or attacked by Indians, suspected the guide of treachery and threatened, with great anger, to put him to death unless he found his way that evening. Within two hours he succeeded in getting his bearings again and the march was resumed. On the evening of the fourth of July they came to the Kaskaskia River three miles above the town. Six days had been consumed in the march of one hundred and twenty miles. Their meager store of provisions was exhausted at the end of the fourth day. Two days of hunger and fatigue did not, however, deprive them of the resolution to succeed at whatever cost. As darkness approached, they moved silently down the river to a farm-house. The family were made prisoners and from them Clark learned that Rocheblave,[1] who was then in command at the British fort, hearing rumors of a possible attack, had summoned the men to arms, but that his spies having returned without discovering any trace of an enemy, the people were again off their guard.[2]

Boats were procured, and within two hours Clark and

[1]Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 373, has a good account of Rocheblave.

[2]On the conditions at Kaskaskia see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), xxxi, xlii *et seq.*, and *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, V.), xvi *et seq.*

his men had crossed the Kaskaskia River. So silently did they move that no alarm was given. One division of the troops surrounded the town while Clark with the other division pushed on to the fort gate which was found to be open. Following their guide, they advanced to the governor's house.[1] Rocheblave, completely surprised, was found in an upper room and captured. The loud huzzas which followed were answered by shouts from the other division, scattered in small squads in different parts of the town. Not a shot had been fired and within fifteen minutes every street was secured. Runners were sent through the town ordering the people, on pain of death, to keep close to their houses, and by daylight all were disarmed. The villagers were in greatest confusion for they had been told of the savage nature of the Americans. "Giving all for lost," wrote Clark, "their Lives were all they could dare beg for, which they did with the greatest fervancy; they were willing to be Slaves to save their Families."[2] But instead of employing extreme measures, Clark was desirous of gaining their allegiance for he was well aware that with his small force it would be impossible to hold in subjection a town having a population of one thousand, together with their numerous Indian allies. Besides he hoped for their assistance in carrying out the remainder of his plan. To a deputation of the leading men, therefore, he explained the causes for the war, saying that although by the laws of war they were completely at his mercy, yet it was an American principle to free and not enslave those whom

[1] John Sanders was the hunter who piloted them. *Draper MSS.*, 7L51. Extracts from a memorandum book of Jonathan Clark.

[2] *Mason Letter, post*, 120.

they conquered. All who chose to become loyal citizens and take the oath of fidelity, he assured them, should have all the privileges of Americans.[1] Complete liberty was extended to any who desired to take their families out of the country. This promise of liberty, together with the news of the French alliance and the influence of American traders who resided among them, won the adherence of the French, but Clark's generous conduct towards their church served still more to excite their enthusiasm for the American cause. To Father Pierre Gibault, who asked permission to conduct the usual services in the village church, Clark replied that he had nothing to do with churches except to protect them from insult, and that the Catholic church, under the laws of Virginia, would be granted as many privileges as any other.[2] The effect was expressed by Clark as follows: "In a few Minutes the scean of mourning and distress was turned to an excess of Joy, nothing else seen nor heard—Addorning the Streets with flowers & Pavilians of different colours, compleating their happiness by singing &c."[3] In the same spirit, all took the oath of loyalty to the United States.[4]

Meantime, Joseph Bowman led thirty mounted men against the other Illinois towns. Prairie du Rocher, St. Philippe and Cahokia were each surprised in turn and the people promptly took the oath of allegiance.[5]

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 121.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Because of the insulting conduct of Rocheblave, he was sent as a prisoner to Virginia. His slaves were sold and the money derived therefrom, amounting to twenty-five hundred dollars, was distributed among the troops.

[5] Letter of Joseph Bowman, July 30, 1778, in English, *Conquest of the Northwest,* I., 559.

At the same time, Father Gibault undertook to gain the support of the French at Vincennes for the American cause.[1] Together with Dr. Laffont and a few others, he went on horseback to Vincennes. The mission was completely successful and on the first of August they returned with the news that the American flag was floating over that post. Captain Leonard Helm was then sent to take command of the French militia at Vincennes.

VI. Finances and Indian Affairs

But would Clark be able to hold possession of the region he had conquered. His position was a perilous one. The time for which his troops were enlisted had expired and the most of them were anxious to return to their homes. Without re-enforcements, and he had no promise of any, he could scarcely hope to deal successfully with the thousands of savages who were allies of the British, much less would he be able to capture Detroit, the key to British authority in the West. At no time in his career did he display greater talents and energy. By rare tact, he gained the good will of the two factions which existed among the Frenchmen at Kaskaskia, and their leading men contributed to the support of his followers.[2]

Without money, Clark began to issue bills of credit on Virginia in exchange for provisions. These proved satisfactory to the merchants and traders for they were received and paid at their face value in silver by Oliver

[1] See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), xlv.

[2] For an account of this party strife, see Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 235; also, Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), xliv.

Pollock, agent for Congress and for Virginia at New Orleans. Scarcely had the Revolution opened when Pollock began his zealous endeavors, as agent of the state, to secure assistance from the Spanish authorities for the American cause. During the summer of 1776 he obtained ten thousand pounds of powder from Governor Unzaga, and the greater part of it was delivered by Lieutenant William Linn at Wheeling at a time when that post and Fort Pitt needed it greatly for protection and to further their dealings with the Indians.[1] By the end of the year 1777, Governor Galvez, largely through Pollock's influence, had aided the Americans by sending arms, ammunition, and provisions to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia amounting to seventy thousand dollars.[2]

On July 18, 1778, Clark wrote Pollock: "I have succeeded agreeable to my wishes. & am Necessiated to draw Bills on the State and have reason to believe they will be accepted by you the answering of which will be acknowledged, by his Excel[y] the Governor of Virginia."[3] Large bateaux, rowed with twenty-four oars, loaded with goods sent by Pollock under protection of the Spanish flag, slipped past Natchez then under the control of the British, and in eighty-five or ninety days arrived at St. Louis or the Illinois posts.[4] Full credit was given by Clark to Pollock for his assistance by which he was enabled to hold the Illinois country. "The invoice Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills;" Clark declared, "I considered

[1]See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, xv., 226 *et seq.*

[2]See James, "The Significance of the Attack on St. Louis, 1780," in Miss. Valley Hist. Assn., *Proceedings, 1908*, p. 199 *et seq.*

[3]Clark to Pollock, *post*, 55.

[4]See *post*, 57, for typical letter from Clark to Pollock.

at the Time and now to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to keep Possession of that Country."[1] During September, 1778, goods were sent by Pollock to Clark amounting to seventy-two hundred dollars. The following January, five hundred pounds of powder and some swivels were received by Clark from the same source. By February 5 of that year, bills were drawn on Pollock by Clark amounting to forty-eight thousand dollars. In paying ten thousand dollars of this amount, Pollock had been forced to dispose of his remaining slaves at a great disadvantage.[2]

Friendly relations between Clark and De Leyba, the Spanish lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, were begun immediately after the capture of Kaskaskia and became constantly more intimate, through correspondence, through the influence of Colonel François Vigo, trusted associate of Clark and friend and business partner of De Leyba, and through the visits of Clark at the home of the latter in St. Louis. "This gentleman," Clark wrote Governor Henry, September 16, 1778, "interests himself much in favor of the States, more so than I could have expected. He has offered me all the force that he could raise, in case of an attack by Indians from Detroit, as there is now no danger from any other quarter."[3]

By presents and promises, Clark induced one hundred of his troops to continue their enlistment for eight months. "To color my staying with so few troops,"

[1]Certificate signed by Clark, July 2, 1785. Copy in *Calendar of Pollock Letters and Papers*, Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, CXV., Miscellaneous Letters, January–April, 1791.

[2]*Papers Cont. Cong.*, L. "Pollock Papers," I., 1 *et seq.*

[3]Clark to Henry, *post*, 69.

he wrote, "I made a faint of returning to the Falls, as though I had sufficient confidence in the people, hoping that the inhabitants would remonstrate against my leaving them, which they did in the warmest terms, proving the necessity of the troops at that place that they were afraid if I returned the English would again possess the country."[1] With seeming reluctance he yielded to their entreaties. He agreed to remain with his two companies but assured them that at any time he would be able to increase his force from the garrison at the falls.

Clark then gave his attention to the pacification of the Indian tribes. Those in the vicinity of Kaskaskia offered to treat for peace at once, but the task with which he was confronted at Cahokia was gigantic. Hundreds of savages were gathered at that town to hear what the Big Knives had to say. Some of them had come from a distance of five hundred miles. Among them were warriors from the Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk, Foxes, Miami and numerous other tribes between the Mississippi and the Great Lakes.[2] In all of the councils, Clark showed a complete understanding of Indian nature. While treating them with justice he adopted an attitude, as occasion demanded, either kind, conciliatory or severe. He seemed to be confident but was always on his guard and prepared for any emergency. He declared that it signified little to him whether they chose the peace-belt or the war-belt, and challenged them on behalf of his people to continue the war.

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 123.

[2] Clark in his letter to Mason, *post,* 125, states that during the five weeks he was at Cahokia he made peace with ten or twelve different nations.

Over-awed by his manner and influenced by the fact that the French and Spaniards were now friendly to the American cause, the chiefs, when summoned to the grand council where all of the Indian ceremonies were rigidly observed, agreed thenceforth to be at peace with the Americans. Returning to Kaskaskia, Clark took up the problem of establishing government for the towns under his control. By the close of October, courts, resembling the county courts of Virginia and having both criminal and civil jurisdiction, were established at Cahokia and Kaskaskia.[1] By the enlistment of young French volunteers, his four companies of troops continued their original number of men and the drill to which he subjected them soon transformed them into a well-disciplined body of troops.

VII. The Struggle for Vincennes

By August 6, Hamilton knew of Clark's success in the Illinois country.[2] While in expectation of a like report from Vincennes, he began preparing an expedition to regain the captured posts. Agents were sent at once among the Wabash, Miami and Shawnee with liberal presents, to stir the Indians up against the Americans. The Ottawa, Chippewa and other tribes tributary to Detroit met in council, were feasted by

[1]See Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 235; also Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), xlvi *et seq.*

[2]Hamilton supposed the attack had been made by a portion of the force under Captain Willing. Willing had been authorized to go from Fort Pitt to New Orleans for the purpose of destroying British influence at the latter place. (*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 460.) For an account of Willing's expedition, see James, "The Significance of the Attack on St. Louis, 1780," in Miss. Valley Hist. Assn., *Proceedings*, *1908-1909*, p. 199 *et seq.* The news of the capture of Vincennes reached Detroit September 26. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 479.

British officials in the usual manner and told of the plans about to be executed. The commandants at Mackinac and St. Joseph were urged to co-operate through sending forces by way of the Illinois River. Hamilton was more confident of success because of conditions in the Illinois country, described by him as follows: "The Spaniards are feeble and hated by the French, the French are fickle and have no man of capacity to advise or lead them, the Rebels are enterprizing & brave, but want resources, and the Indians can have their resources but from the English if we act without loss [of] time in the favourable conjuncture."[1] During the month of September, provisions, artillery stores and presents for the Indians were collected and forwarded in fifteen pirogues, each capable of carrying from eighteen hundred to three thousand pounds.[2] By October, some one hundred and seventy-five white troops, two-thirds of them French volunteers and militia, and sixty Indians were drawn up on the common, the Catholics receiving a blessing at the hands of the aged Father Pothier, upon condition that they should strictly adhere to their oath of allegiance. Led by Hamilton himself, they started on their journey of six hundred miles, which was to consume seventy-one days.[3] Three objects, among others, it was hoped ultimately to accomplish by means of the expedition. These were: (1) To erect a fort at the junction of the Mississippi and the Ohio which was to constitute a "bridle" on American trade; (2) To get control of the mouth of the Missouri, with the hope of underselling

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 478.
[2] *Ibid.*, 477.
[3] See Hamilton's *Report, post*, 177.

the Spaniards, and thus gain the favor of the Indians of that region;[1] (3) By dislodging the rebels from the Illinois to regain the Mississippi trade, which otherwise, as an English official expressed it, would be completely knocked up;[2] and at the same time contribute to the security of the Floridas.[3] Besides, such an expedition presented to Governor Hamilton relief from the burdens of his office. For three years he had been forced to administer affairs of government under most trying circumstances in a community made up of French, Indians, traders and British soldiers. To the Frenchmen, who grudgingly accepted British dominance, his orders were deemed most arbitrary and intolerable. While collecting supplies for his expedition, the presentment of a grand jury in Montreal was being prepared in which he was held responsible for the acts of one of his officials who at various times "transacted divers, unjust & illegal, Terranical & felonious acts & things contrary to good Government and the safety of His Majesty's Liege subjects."[4]

The traverse of thirty-six miles on Lake Erie from the mouth of the Detroit River to the mouth of the Maumee was made with great difficulty. A gale during the night almost swamped the boats and forced the expedition to go ashore at a spot near the mouth of the Maumee. Because of the lowness of the water they proceeded slowly up this river until they reached

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 477.

[2] De Peyster to Haldimand, September 21, 1778. *Ibid.*, 371.

[3] Haldimand to Clinton, November 10, 1778. *Draper MSS.*, 58J2.

[4] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, X., 293, 294, 304, 336. One of the charges was that a Frenchman had been illegally hanged. Hamilton and the officer named, Dejean, were acquitted of this charge by the chief justice.

a large Indian village, on the portage to the headwaters of the Wabash, where conferences were held with a number of tribes. Having crossed the portage of nine miles, they found the river so shallow that the boats could not have proceeded farther had the water not been deepened by a beaver dam four miles below the landing. A passage was cut in the dam and through this the boats passed. They were delayed by swamps and twice dams had to be built in order that the boats might be floated across. Meantime the winter had set in and the ice cut the men as they were forced to drag the boats over the rocks. At times the stores had to be carried around the shoals. After a number of conferences at Indian villages, they reached Ouiatanon where they received the allegiance of a number of Wabash chiefs who had previously declared for the Americans. When within a few days of Vincennes, they captured four men who had been sent out by Captain Helm as a reconnoitering party. Parties were ordered out to intercept any messengers who might be sent to the Illinois or the Falls of the Ohio. Thus two men carrying a note from Helm to Clark announcing the approach of the British were made prisoners. Hamilton and his force, which had been increased to the number of five hundred by accessions from the Indians, entered Vincennes on December 17.[1]

Because of the capture of his spies, Captain Helm was uncertain of the whereabouts of the enemy until they were within three miles of Vincennes. Panic seized the French inhabitants at the first sight of the British

[1]Clark in his letter to Governor Henry, *post*, 97, says that Hamilton's force numbered six hundred. In his *Mason Letter*, *post*, 138, he says eight hundred. This number is also given by Bowman in his letter to Isaac Hite, June 14, 1779, *post*, 332.

and they deserted leaving Helm but a single American soldier to guard the fort. Resistance was impossible and Helm was forced to surrender.

The inhabitants, when summoned to the church, renewed their oath of allegiance and the militia seemingly manifested no reluctance in surrendering their American commissions. During the winter the garrison consisted of ninety whites, the Detroit militia having been sent home. Most of the Indians also returned to their villages.

Had Hamilton pushed forward at once, it is probable he could likewise have regained control of the Illinois towns[1] But to him the obstacles seemed insurmountable. His stock of provisions was not adequate, he thought, for a mid-winter march which would be delayed by the flooded country. Scouting parties were sent out, one to the mouth of the Wabash to capture any boats on the Ohio, and others towards the Falls of the Ohio and Kaskaskia. Messages were forwarded to Stuart, Indian agent among the southern tribes, urging him to prepare these Indians for a combined attack. Hamilton was confident of the complete success of his plan in a spring campaign in which he was to be aided by troops from Pensacola. The people of the Illinois villages were warned to flee from the storm which was about to break and destroy the rebels and all who should support them.[2]

Clark, shortly after the capture of Kaskaskia, was

[1]The story of the loaded cannon as related in Butler, *Hist. of Kentucky*, 80, note, is not referred to in any of the sources to which I have had access. See also, Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, II., 63; and Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, 211.

[2]Proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton to the people of Illinois, December 29, 1778, *post*, 95.

gratified to learn of the proposed march of General McIntosh from Fort Pitt against Detroit. Late in December, while in expectation of the news that this fort had been captured, he was informed that the expedition had been abandoned. At the same time he learned of the expedition which had set out under Hamilton, presumably against Kaskaskia. Within a few days Clark set out for Cahokia to confer with some of the leaders regarding their conduct should the surrender of that post, which seemed inevitable, take place. Three miles out from Kaskaskia he and his guard of six or seven men and a few "gentlemen in chairs" narrowly escaped being captured by a party of forty Ottawa under white leaders.[1]

Ten miles farther on they arrived at the village of La Prairie du Rocher where they expected to pass the night. While attending a ball given in their honor, a messenger arrived with the report that Hamilton and his entire force were within three miles of Kaskaskia and preparing for an immediate attack. Clark's unconcern, as he ordered them to continue the dance until his horses were saddled, dissipated the general confusion in the company. When Clark and his companions reached Kaskaskia they found the people in great consternation over the attack which they were convinced was imminent.

By morning the plan for defense was complete. Clark determined to burn that part of the town near the fort and prepare to withstand the attack. The villagers, confident of the success of the British, were at a loss how to act. Their resolution to remain neutral

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 133. Hamilton's *Report, post,* 185. Note the points of difference in these accounts.

was quickly overcome upon seeing some of the buildings on fire. After he received the declaration of their allegiance, Clark more completely won their favor through his kindly consideration for all their wishes. Captain Bowman arrived the next day with re-enforcements from Cahokia. Their fears were lessened also when it was learned that "the great army" that gave the alarm consisted only of a small body of whites and Indians making their retreat as fast as possible to Vincennes. Clark now felt convinced that Hamilton was in possession of that post and that the attack on the Illinois posts was but a question of time. While uncertain how to proceed, the information brought by a Spanish trader, François Vigo, enabled him to decide at once on the course to be followed. Colonel Vigo who had favored the American cause from the time of the capture of Kaskaskia, was a partner of the governor of Upper Louisiana in Indian trade. He was at Vincennes when it was retaken by Hamilton and was held as a prisoner. When released he hurried to St. Louis, having agreed not to do anything injurious to the British interests on his way to that post. This agreement fulfilled, he proceeded to Kaskaskia and on January 29, gave Clark "every Intiligence that I could wish to have."[1]

Clark's position was desperate when he resolved to risk all he had gained by at once taking the offensive and attempting the reduction of Vincennes. "It was at this moment," he declared, "I would have bound myself seven years a Slave to have had five hundred Troops." The wish was vain, for not only had he

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 138.

received no re-enforcements from Virginia, but for nearly a year he had not received, as he said, "a scrape of a pen" from Governor Henry.[1]

His confidence that the expedition would be successful seemed to inspire his men, and "in a day or two the Country seemed to believe it, many anctious to retrieve their Characters turned out, the Ladies began also to be spirited and interest themselves in the Expedition, which had great Effect on the Young men. With this enthusiasm, provisions and stores were soon collected. On February 5, the Willing, an armed row-galley, the first armed boat on a western river, mounting two four-pounders and four swivels, with a crew of forty men commanded by Lieutenant John Rogers, set off under orders to take station a short distance below Vincennes and prevent any boat from descending the Wabash, for it was surmised that in case of defeat the British would attempt to escape by this route.[2] The following afternoon, Clark, with his one hundred and thirty men, nearly one-half of whom were French volunteers, Father Gibault having granted them absolution, marched out of Kaskaskia.[3]

From the outset they encountered trials which became steadily more extreme as they dragged themselves over the one hundred and eighty miles to their goal. The weather was mild, but the roads were heavy on account of the frequent rains, and in the lowlands and prairies the water stood several inches deep. With

[1]Letter April 29, 1779, *post*, 169.

[2]See orders to Lieutenant Rogers, *post*, 100.

[3]Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 156. Clark's *Mason Letter*, *post*, 139, says that the boat's crew and other men consisted of a little upwards of two hundred. Lieutenant Rogers, in a letter to Jonathan Clark, May 6, 1779, said that sixty of the one hundred and thirty men were French.

[4]Bowman to Hite, June 14, 1779, *post*, 332.

great effort Clark succeeded in keeping up the spirits of his men worn out with fatigue. At night, with no tents for shelter, they gathered around the great campfires and feasted on buffalo and other game, each company taking turns in hunting and cooking. Singing, dancing and other diversions followed. February 13, they reached the first branch of the Little Wabash. Vincennes was then about twenty miles distant, but the intervening country was almost completely under water. The two branches of the river, although but a league apart, were now so flooded that they made a single stream five miles wide, with water three feet deep in the shallowest places. "This," wrote Clark, "would have been enough to have stop'ed any set of men that was not in the same temper we was." He ordered a canoe to be built to be used in ferrying men and stores across the main stream. A scaffold was built at the far side of the channel upon which to place the baggage until the pack horses should be brought over and again loaded. This done, they marched on to the second branch, which was crossed in the same way, and on the evening of the fifteenth, they came to a higher spot upon which they encamped "in high spirits."

Their real trials now began, for provisions were scarce and all the game had been driven off by the floods. On the evening of the seventeenth, they reached the Embarrass River which was so high they could not cross. Later in the evening they found a spot from which the water had but recently receded, and there, hungry and shivering with the cold, they passed the remainder

of the "drizzly and dark" night.[1] The next morning they heard the morning gun at the fort, then only nine miles away. Still unable to ford the river, they marched down stream and early in the afternoon reached the Wabash. Here they remained during the two following days. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to get men across to the vicinity of Vincennes to gather information and to steal boats.[2] Two men were dispatched in a canoe with orders to Lieutenant Rogers to bring on the Willing as fast as possible. The hungry, dispirited men were set to building boats which might be used to cross the Wabash. For two days they had been without food and many of the French volunteers, in despair, talked of returning. Confident that his regular troops would not abandon the enterprise, Clark talked of the victory so soon to be gained, laughed at their fears, and by his confidence gave courage to all the faltering. About noon of the twentieth, five hunters going down the river were captured, from whom it was learned that their approach had not been discovered and that the people of Vincennes sympathized with the American cause. The next night the troops were ferried to the eastern bank of the river and landed on a small hill. All thought

[1]Clark refers to the assistance given by a drummer boy in cheering the men as they waded through the water. (Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 271.) In the *Draper MSS.*, 25S41, John Law gives the story, as told him by residents of Vincennes. It was said that on one occasion in the vicinity of the Embarrass the water became so deep that the men refused to go further. A drummer boy was placed on the shoulders of a tall sergeant, and the ludicrous spectacle of the lad beating his drum in that position "so excited the laughter of the men that they readily fell in and waded along cheerfully." The story is related also in Law, *Vincennes*, 32. There is no reference, in any of the records consulted, to insubordination among Clark's men. The volunteers according to his statement, *Memoir*, *post*, 272, were almost in despair, but the regulars had no thought of abandoning the enterprise.

[2]Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 158.

of bringing the horses across was abandoned.[1] Disregarding the warning of their French guides that Vincennes could not be reached they plunged ahead three miles, with the water at times up to their shoulders, and reached another hill. There they encamped and, notwithstanding their sufferings, took comfort, as Clark said: "from the hopes of their Fatiegue soon being at an end and their wishes accomplish in getting in contact with the Enemy."[2] On the morning of the 22d, the march was again resumed with shouts and favorite song, as ordered by Clark who was in the lead, the canoes bearing those who were unable to walk. Before reaching the deepest water one of the men found that he had struck a path and by following it with care along the higher ground, they finally reached a small area of ground covered with hard maples. This spot, which was comparatively dry, had been used as a sugar camp. They were now six miles from Vincennes. The prisoners declared that any attempt to ford the water of greatest depth between them and the town would be extremely dangerous and utterly futile. The gloom of their situation was well expressed in the striking words of Colonel Bowman: "No provisions yet, lord help us."[3]

To add to their suffering the night was so cold that the water in quiet places was covered with ice one-half an inch in thickness. Shortly after sunrise on the clear morning of the twenty-third, Clark told his followers that within a few hours they might expect to see an end to their fatigue. He then plunged into the water,

[1]Clark to Patrick Henry, *post*, 303.
[2]Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 273.
[3]Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 159.

giving orders to Colonel Bowman, with twenty-five men to close the rear and shoot any man who refused to march. His half-frozen, famished followers, with a cheer, imitated the example of their leader.

In crossing the Horse-shoe Plain, then a shallow lake four miles wide, they encountered their greatest trials; the hardships which they had undergone began to tell on the weakest and the canoes, by making several trips to an island about ten acres in extent, saved them from drowning. Clark encouraged his men at every step and the strong lent assistance to their weaker companions. They came to a stretch of woods, where the water was up to the shoulders of the tallest. Many were worn out but clung to the trees and floating logs until they were rescued by the canoes. Others as they gained the shore fell exhausted with their bodies partly in the water. Fires were built and broth was made from a half quarter of buffalo which was taken from some squaws who chanced to be passing in a canoe. Thus all were slightly refreshed and, cheered with warmth from the fires and the beauty of the day, they set out early in the afternoon with renewed courage. After crossing a deep, narrow lake in the canoes and marching a short distance, they reached a small hill of dry land covered with timber, known as Warrior's Island. Here their hearts were gladdened by a view of the fort and the town scarcely two miles distant. A number of horsemen were seen shooting ducks on the pools which lay in the hollows between them and the town. From one of these Frenchmen, who was taken prisoner, it was learned that their coming was in no way suspected. He informed them also that the

walls of the fort had been completed and that two hundred Indians had just arrived. What was Clark to do at this critical time; for he was aware that the number of his troops was not one-fourth of the combined force of the enemy and their allies. If the attack were to be made without warning a number of lives would probably be lost among the villagers and the Indians and this would serve to embitter the others. Knowing that some of the French were lukewarm in their allegiance to the British, Clark determined to announce his approach to the inhabitants, believing that a bold stroke at the time would encourage his friends and so confuse his opponents that they would manifest little hostility at his appearance. Accordingly he prepared a letter to the villagers, which was carried to them by the prisoner who had been kept from knowledge of the true numbers of the Americans. Clark declared that his army, then two miles from the town, was prepared to capture the fort without delay; that all friends of the American cause were to remain in their houses and the enemies, should there be any, repair to the fort, join the force of the "hair-buyer General and fight like men;" that any found under arms in the streets were to be treated as enemies. The people quickly gathered in the public square to hear this message. They were so surprised and appalled that none of them dared go to the fort to inform Hamilton. It was then about sunset and Clark having urged implicit obedience ordered the march to begin with colors flying and drums braced. By marching to and fro, a slight elevation obstructing the view so that only the flags could be seen from the

town, the impression was made that a force of one thousand men was approaching.[1] Darkness shut out their real numbers when, at eight o'clock, guided by their five prisoners, they reached the town in two divisions, one led by Clark and the second by Colonel Bowman. A few men were sent at once to fire on the fort. The surprise was so complete that Hamilton was not aware of the approach of the enemy, and believed the rifle shots to have been fired by drunken Indians, until one of his men was wounded by a shot fired through a port-hole.[2] Another party was sent to investigate the cause, but returned after the Americans were in possession of Vincennes.

With drums beating, the main division of Clark's force marched up the village street, the people greeting them joyfully. Some of the leading Frenchmen had secreted supplies of ammunition, and these were now freely presented to Clark whose stock was well-nigh exhausted.[3] The British Indians fled at the approach of the Americans. A Piankashaw, son of the chief of that tribe, tendered Clark the services of one hundred warriors but the offer was declined.

Fifty of the Americans were detailed as a guard while the others joined by a number of the Creoles stormed the fort. The firing was almost continuous through the night. The cannon and swivel were located eleven feet above the ground on the second floor of the blockhouses at each angle of the palisaded fort. Little damage was done by the cannon further

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 141.

[2] See Hamilton's *Report, post,* 186.

[3] Colonel Le Gras and Major Bosseron were mentioned. See Clark's *Memoir, post,* 281. See also Hamilton's *Report, post,* 186.

than the destruction of a few houses. Two hundred yards in front of the gate, the Americans threw up an intrenchment but small squads of men, under cover of the houses and hastily constructed breast-works, advanced to within thirty yards of the walls. So accurate was the aim of the backwoodsmen and so constant their firing through the port-holes, that the cannon were silenced, a number of the gunners having been killed or wounded.

At daylight a "very smart fire of small arms"[1] was begun on the American works and one man was slightly wounded. About nine o'clock, Clark sent a messenger to Hamilton demanding the surrender of the fort. While awaiting the reply, his men took breakfast which was their first regular meal for six days.

Hamilton answered that they were "not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects."[2] The conflict was again resumed. At the end of two hours the firing ceased as Lieutenant Helm approached the American lines. He was instructed to say that the British were prepared to surrender under honorable terms. "Immediate surrender," was Clark's reply and the acceptance of the proposal within thirty minutes, for it was with difficulty, he declared, that he restrained his men from storming the garrison. At the end of the time Lieutenant Helm returned bringing the proposal that there should be a three days' truce. This was likewise rejected by Clark who again insisted on the unconditional surrender of the garrison but stated his willingness to meet for a conference at the French church. At this time a band of Indians led by a

[1]Clark's *Journal*, *post*, 165. Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 161.
[2]Clark's *Journal*, *post*, 166. *Mason Letter*, *post*, 143.

Frenchman, returning from a successful expedition against the frontier, with two prisoners and a number of scalps, marched triumphantly into town. In place of the welcome usual at such times, they were met by an attacking party which killed two of them, took six prisoners[1] and wounded several that escaped. Clark seized this occasion to show the Indians that the British were powerless to lend them aid and ordered the prisoners tomahawked within sight of the garrison. Their leader proved to be the son of one of Clark's volunteer lieutenants and owing to the entreaties of his father and other officers his life was spared.

Hamilton, having agreed to a conference, proceeded to the little French church accompanied by Lieutenant Helm and Major Hay and was there met by Clark and Captain Bowman.

Governor Hamilton strove to secure a modification of the ultimatum but Clark was obdurate. Towards evening the terms of surrender were signed according to which Fort Sackville, together with all stores, was to be delivered up and the garrison become prisoners of war.[2] At ten o'clock on the following morning the garrison of seventy-nine men marched out of the fort and were received at the gate by two companies of troops drawn up under Captain Bowman and Captain McCarty. At the head of his other troops, Clark marched into the fort, hoisted the American flag and gave the national salute of thirteen guns.[3]

Clark was surprised to find that a fort so strong and

[1]Clark's *Journal*, *post*, 167, states that three were killed and four made prisoners.

[2]For full terms see Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 162.

[3]*Ibid.*

well equipped and with a garrison of well-trained soldiers had been given up so readily.[1] This achievement marks the climax of one of the most heroic and notable achievements in history. The boldness of the plan, the skill with which it was executed, and the perseverance in overcoming obstacles seemingly insurmountable excited the admiration of Hamilton himself.[2] Courage born of desperation was manifested by men and leaders alike for all were fully conscious that failure would mean the loss not alone of the Illinois country but also of Kentucky.[3]

The goods brought from Detroit by Hamilton, and those taken from British traders, were divided among Clark's followers, the officers receiving nothing except a few articles of clothing, the soldiers getting "almost Rich."[4] Besides the large quantities of military stores and Indian goods, the Americans were strengthened by coming into possession of a six-pound brass field piece, two iron four-pounders and two swivels.[5]

On February 26, Captain Helm, accompanied by fifty men the majority of them French militiamen,[6] ascended the Wabash in three armed boats with the object of intercepting a party of British sent by Hamilton to bring on the stores at Ouiatanon.[7] Besides making prisoners of forty men, seven boats heavily loaded with provisions and Indian goods valued at

[1]Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 289.

[2]See Hamilton's *Report*, *post*, 207.

[3]Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 267.

[4]In a letter of Joseph Bowman to Isaac Hite, June 14, 1779, he states that the goods captured amounted to twenty thousand pounds.

[5]*Ibid.*, *post*, 334.

[6]Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 162.

[7]One hundred and twenty miles up the Wabash.

fifty thousand dollars fell into his hands and the booty was divided among his followers.[1]

Four days after the capture of Vincennes, the Willing arrived. The crew were greatly disappointed that they had not been privileged to take part in the fighting. Aboard was a messenger from Williamsburg, who brought to Clark and his men the thanks of the legislature for their part in the capture of Kaskaskia and the promise of some suitable reward.[2]

Having almost as many prisoners as he had men, Clark sent Hamilton, seven of his principal officers and eighteen other prisoners to the Falls of the Ohio under guard of Captain Williams, Lieutenant Rogers and twenty-five men. From there they were to be taken to Williamsburg.[3] The French volunteers who had accompanied the British were paroled.

VIII. The Zenith of Clark's Power

It is probable that Clark, when he set out on the desperate undertaking to risk all in a single battle with Hamilton, contemplated, in the event of a victory, the capture of Detroit. By order of Governor Henry, the area of his activities had been extended beyond

[1]In a letter of July 7, 1779, from John Rogers to Jonathan Clark, he stated that this party from Detroit had heard a report of the capture of Vincennes, but doubting the truth of it, sent off two spies to investigate. The spies were captured by Helm. When Helm came to the British camp, the Creoles who were there saluted him and cried: "Vive le Congress."

[2]One hundred and fifty thousand acres of land in Ohio opposite Louisville were finally allotted to them.

[3]See Hamilton's *Report*, *post*, 195, for an account of their journey to Williamsburg and their treatment as prisoners. Governor Jefferson justified the attitude of the Americans towards Hamilton, see *post*, 347. No terms for the exchange of Hamilton were agreeable to the Virginia authorities. He was allowed to go to New York on parole in October, 1780 and his exchange was effected the following March. He was lieutenant-governor of Quebec in 1785.

that defined in his original instructions so as to include the "Enemy's Settlements above or across" as he might think proper.[1] He knew that with Detroit in his possession, the whole Northwest would be under his control. He was informed that the British garrison at that post, few in numbers, without adequate supplies and subject to still greater distresses with the cutting off of the Illinois country as a source, might be overcome with ease.[2] This desperate situation was expressed in a communication from Colonel Bolton to General Haldimand at Niagara as follows: "Capt. Lernoult acquaints me that Detroit is capable in peaceable times to supply the Garrison with Provisions, but at this time the inhabitants are so much employed in Conveys & probably will continue so that they have not been able to thrash last years corn, and the great number of cattle furnished for Governor Hamilton's expedition as well as for Detroit with what have been consumed by Indians, have reduced the numbers so much that a pair of oxen cannot be purchased for less than 1,000 Livres & then reckoned a cheap bargain. . . . . Flour is 60 Livres a hundred & every article very dear."[3] Besides, Clark had, with the same object in view, through his tact and liberal government, succeeded in winning the friendship of the Illinois French.

The success of the expedition against Detroit, "in the execution of which," as Clark later expressed it, "my very soul was wrapt," was regarded as a certainty with the capture of Vincennes. The booty then

[1] Patrick Henry to Clark, January 15, 1778, *post*, 38.

[2] Patrick Henry to the Virginia delegates in Congress, November 16, 1778, *post*, 72.

[3] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 427.

secured, together with that captured by Captain Helm, furnished an added incentive to regulars and volunteers alike in their demands for such an expedition.

Again, Clark showed excellent judgment in his treatment of the French volunteers who had accompanied the British troops. Instead of sending them to Virginia, as they had been led to expect, there to be held during the course of the war, they were discharged on taking the oath of neutrality.[1] A few of them joined Clark's forces. Those returning to Detroit were provided with boats, arms and provisions. The boats were to be sold upon arrival at their destination and the money therefrom was to be divided. This act, well calculated to promote Clark's interests among the French at Detroit, was successful.[2] "I after this," wrote Clark, "had Spies, disguised as traders, constant to and from Detroit I learnt they answered every purpose that I could have wished for, by prejudiceing their friends in favour of America."[3] He was informed that the French at Detroit celebrated for three days the news of his victory over Hamilton and that the merchants were providing many necessaries which were to be given the Americans upon their arrival. That the Americans would triumph was a wish openly expressed and children in the streets, with cups of water were accustomed to drink success to Clark.[4] Clark fully counted on the capture of Detroit. He assured the paroled prisoners that he would be there nearly as soon as they, and sent by them a copy of the alliance

[1]Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 291.
[2]Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 436.
[3]*Mason Letter*, *post*, 146.
[4]Helm to Clark, May 31, 1779, *post*, 324.

between France and the United States.[1] "I learn by your letter to Gov^r Hamilton," he wrote Captain Lernoult who was in charge at that post, "that you were very busy making new works, I am glad to hear it, as it saves the Ammericans some expences in building."[2]

General gloom pervaded the garrisons at Detroit and Michillimackinac when it was learned that Hamilton had been captured and that two subordinate expeditions had likewise failed. Langlade, who had advanced as far as "Milwakee" on his way to assist Hamilton in an attack on the Illinois posts, was forced to return to Mackinac when his Indian followers refused to proceed further.[3] Gautier, also under orders of Hamilton to join him early in the spring, advanced with two hundred Indians over the Fox-Wisconsin course down the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Rock River. Learning of Hamilton's capture, he made his way back to Green Bay.[4] In anticipation of an attacking party of Americans expected from Pittsburgh, the British ordered a new fort built at Detroit and carpenters were sent to repair the vessels.[5] Urgent request was made that large re-enforcements should be sent from Niagara

[1]Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 164.

[2]Clark to Lernoult, March 16, 1779, *post*, 306. The letter was sent by some of the inhabitants from Vincennes who went to Detroit accompanying the prisoners on parole. General Haldimand wrote Sir Henry Clinton, May 26, 1779, as follows: "I enclose your Excellency copies of Governor Hamilton's capitulation, and of a letter from Col. Clark, who took him to Captain Lernoult; I send the latter because I think it curious from the impertinence of its style." *Draper MSS.*, 58J37.

[3]*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 380. He found the Indians about Milwaukee loyal to the Americans. Most of the Indians of southern Wisconsin by July, 1779 favored the Americans.

[4]*Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI., 126.

[5]February 4, 1779. "We worked Every Day since it began but Christmass Day as no weather Ever hinders us let it be Ever so bad, Cap^n Lernoult and All the Officers work Constantly . . . . the merchants [Irish] and all the inhabitants in the sittlement work 3 Days out of Every nine The Merchants lend a hand Willingly the Canadians per force." Lyster to Morehead, *post*, 101.

for the completion of the fort and protection against Clark who was daily expected.[1] Presuming on the weakness of the garrison, the French refused to assist in the project. Spades, shovels and other tools necessary for carrying on the work were lacking. Provisions were scarce owing to the large quantities consumed on the expedition to Vincennes. The Indians tributary to Detroit were panic stricken and demanded that detachments of troops with cannon should be sent to them at once as they were not able to contend unaided with the enemy. "So situated," wrote General Haldimand, "it will require great judgment and temper to preserve the Indians in our interest after so glaring and recent a proof of our want of strength, or want of conduct. . . . . whenever they do quit us the valuable Fur Trade will immediately be lost to Great Britain."[2]

British commanding officers in the Northwest were disheartened. Even before the capture of Hamilton, the fears of the officials at Detroit were so much excited that they demanded his return. "The loss of Governor Hamilton is a most feeling one to me," said Captain Lernoult in a dispatch from Detroit; "I find the burthen heavy without assistance. It requires, I confess, superior abilities, and a better constitution. . . . . I beg leave to repeat to you the necessity of a reinforcement being sent, as the consequences may be fatal."[3] His position was made still more trying through the burning of the Angelica, a boat being sent from Niagara with supplies for his relief. Major de Peyster was convinced that Mackinac, defended as it was by an inadequate

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 58J9.

[2] General Haldimand to Lord George Germain. Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 446.

[3] R. L. Lernoult to Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton, March 26, 1779, *post*, 307.

garrison poorly provisioned, would be doomed the moment Detroit surrendered although a single man should not be sent against it.[1] Mystified by the report, purposely sent out by Clark, that he contemplated an advance on the post at Mackinac also, effort was made to render it defensible.[2]

Clark was fully aware of the effects of his victory. "This stroke," he said, "will nearly put an end to the Indian War, Had I but men enough to take the advantage of the present confusion of the Indian Nations, I could silence the whole in two months."[3] The excitement incident to the capture of Vincennes over, many of his men succumbed to the effects of the campaign. Sickness among them increased and recovery was retarded owing to the unusually stormy days at the beginning of March.[4]

Clark did not at the time doubt the ultimate success of his plans to take Detroit, for in addition to his own men and the French militia, he counted on from two to three hundred men from Kentucky. Besides, the messenger from Williamsburg who arrived at Vincennes three days after the capitulation of that post,

[1]De Peyster to Haldimand, May 13, 1779. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist Coll.*, IX., 380, 387.

[2]De Peyster to Haldimand, May 13, 1779. "The Canadians who want to return to this Post have leave, on taking the oaths not to serve against the United States. Clarke assures them that he will be here nearly as soon as themselves. . . . . I don't care how soon Mr. Clarke appears, provided he come by Lake Michigan, and the Indians prove stanch, and above all, that the Canadians do not follow the example of their brethren at the Illinois, who have joined the Rebels to a man." Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 436.

[3]Clark to Colonel Harrison, March 10, 1779, *post*, 305. He stated that three hundred men would have been an adequate number. Letter to the governor of Virginia, April 29, 1779, *post*, 172.

[4]Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 163. "March 1st The officers discharged on on Parole, nothing extraord'y 2nd 3rd & 4th Wet Weather. . . . . 6th A Very Rainy day nothing extraordinary. . . . . 8th 9th 10th 11th 12th 13th & 14th. Cloudy weather and Rain all the foregoing Week."

brought the good news that five hundred men were to be sent at once from Virginia.[1] To avail himself of these re-enforcements and collect the necessary supplies the forward movement was deferred until June.[2]

Meantime, he took up the problems of the territory already secured. The Indians first claimed his attention. No man better understood how to win favor of the savages. He awaited the coming of the chiefs although he had not invited them to treat with him. In attendance upon their councils, he gave due regard to Indian ceremonial, strengthened the chain of friendship by smoking the sacred pipe and exchanging belts and when treaties were renewed, provided tafia and provisions with which the Indians were to make merry at the frolic usual at such times.[3]

In dealing with the Indians who had refused the advances of the British, he "Extol'd them to the Skies

[1]Dispatch from Governor Henry. Letter to Colonel Harrison, *post*, 305.

[2]That Clark considered seriously an advance on Detroit about March 1 is indicated in his *Memoir*. He wrote: "a Councill was called on the subject I layed before the officers my plans for the Immediate Reduction of DeTroit and explained the almost certainty of suckcess and probability of keeping possession of it untill we could Receive suckers from the State. . . . . If we waited the arrival of the Troops Mention in the Packet the Enemy in the mean time might get strengthened and probably we might not be so capable of Carrying the [post] with the expected reinforcement as we should be with our present force in case we ware to make the attempt at this time and in case we shou[l]d be disapointed in the promest Reinforcement we might not be able to effect it at all their was various arguments made use of on this delicate point every person appeared anctious to Imbrace the present opertunity but prudence appeared to forbid the Execution but to wait for the reinforcement the argument that appeared to have the greatest weight was that with such a force we might march boldly through the Indian Nations that it would make a greator [impression] on them all well as the Inhabitants of DeTroit and have better effect than if we ware now to slip of and take the place with the small force which was certainly in our power."

[3]*Mason Letter*, *post*, 147.

for their Manly behaviour and fedility."[1] Very cleverly he disabused them of the thought which had been implanted by Hamilton that in the event of victory by the Virginians the lands of friends and foes alike would be taken. "I made a very long Speach to them in the Indian manner," said Clark, "told them that we were so far from having any design on their Lands, that I looked upon it that we were on their Land where the Fort stood that we claimed no Land in their Country; that the first Man that offered to take their Lands by Violence must strike the tomah[k] in my head; that it was only necessary that I should be in their Country during the War and keep a Fort in it to drive off the English, who had a design against all People; after that I might go to some place where I could get Land to support Me."[2]

In conference with the Chippewa and other Indians who had accompanied Hamilton and came to sue for mercy, Clark was the complete master, for he said: "Nothing destroys Your Interest among the Savages so soon as wavering sentiments or speeches that shew the least fear. I consequently had observed one steady

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 146. Chiefs and parties from the Piankashaw, Potawatomi and Miami tribes waited on Clark, March 15, to reassure him of their fidelity and to beg the protection of the Americans. (Bowman's *Journal, post,* 163.) In his *Memoir* he says: "I well knew from what principal all this Sprang from and as I had now DeTroit in my Eye it was my business to make a straight and clear Road for my self to walk without thinking much of their Interest or anything else but that of opening this Road in earnest by Flattery deception or any other means that occured I Told them that I was glad to see and was happy learn that most of the Nation on the Waubash and Ome Rivers had proved themselves to be men by strictly adhearing to the Treaties they had with the B Knife last fall except a few weak minds that had been Deluded by the English to come to war that I did not know exactly who they ware nor much cared."

[2] *Mason Letter, post,* 146. The Indians presented Clark with a body of land two and one-half leagues square (July 16, 1779). The preceding June 9, private land grants had been declared null and void by the Virginia House of Delegates. *Va. State Papers,* I., 320.

line of conduct among them; Mr. Hamilton, who was almost deified among them being captured by me, it was a sufficient confirmation to the Indians of everything I had formerly said to them and gave the greatest weight to the speeches I intended to send them; expecting that I should shortly be able to fulfill my threats with a Body of Troops sufficient to penetrate into any part of their Country: and by Reducing Detroit bring them to my feet."[1]

The messages sent the Indians directly tributary to Detroit were well calculated to neutralize any effort which might be made on the part of the English to stir them up for new expeditions. Whether they chose the peace-belt or the war-belt, they were told, was of little consequence for the Big Knives' greatest glory was in war and they were in search of enemies since the English were no longer able to contend against them. Those nations which did not lay down their arms at once were threatened with extermination.[2]

Preparatory to his return to Kaskaskia with the remaining prisoners, Clark carefully arranged for a satisfactory government at Vincennes by appointing the faithful Captain Helm to take control of all civil matters and to act as superintendent of Indian affairs. Moses Henry was made Indian agent. The garrison of forty "picked" men was left in command of Lieutenant Richard Brashers, assisted by Lieutenants Bailey and Chapline.[3] Letters were sent John Bowman, then

[1] *Mason Letter, post,* 147.

[2] *Ibid., post,* 149. Clark was thus able to secure the neutrality of between three and four thousand warriors. *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* III., 501.

[3] Bowman's *Journal, post,* 164; *Mason Letter, post,* 149; Clark's *Memoir, post* 302.

county-lieutenant in Kentucky, urging him to begin collecting men and provisions for the proposed march on Detroit.

No victorious army ever returned with spirits more elated than the eighty men who on March 20 accompanied Clark. Within a year the authority of Virginia over the region stretching from the Ohio to the Illinois and one hundred and forty miles up the Wabash had been established by conquest.[1]

The danger that the frontier settlements would be cut off by savages under the leadership of British agents was greatly lessened. These results had been accomplished against odds that would have completely overcome men not already inured to the harsh conditions incident to life on the frontier. The six boats pushed off down the Wabash amidst the rejoicing of the people who had assembled to wish them a "good and safe passage."[2] A few of those, no doubt, who lingered to watch the boats until they were lost to view fully comprehended the results which had been attained. Their thought was expressed by one of their number as follows: "Although a handful in comparison to other armies, they have done themselves and the cause they were fighting for, credit and honor, and deserve a place in History for future ages; that their posterity may know the difficulty their forefathers had gone through for their liberty and freedom. Particularly the back Settlers of Virginia may bless the day they sent out such a Commander and officers, men &c., &c., I say, to root out that nest of Vipers, that was every day ravaging on their women and children; which I

[1]Up the Wabash as far as Ouiatanon.

[2]April 29, 1779. Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 164.

hope will soon be at an end, as the leaders of these murderers are taken and sent to Congress."[1]

When the boats reached Kaskaskia "great joy" was manifested by the garrison then commanded by Captain Robert George, who had recently returned with sixty men from New Orleans.[2] The villagers, too, were not less gratified at the return of Clark, for, although they became at times restive under his stern discipline, he was the one American who had gained and continued to hold their love and confidence.

The problems and disappointments Clark was forced to meet during the succeeding three months were among the most trying of his whole career. Upon arrival, he found the people excited over the recent conduct of a party of Delaware warriors. Learning also of depredations committed at Vincennes by another party, Clark, by way of warning to the other tribes, ordered a ruthless war against the marauders. In the attacks on their villages which followed, no mercy was shown except for the women and children. The Indians soon sued for peace.

IX. Finances and Government

By July, 1779, Oliver Pollock who had contributed so much to the success of the war in the West had so far exhausted his credit that meeting a further order from Governor Henry for goods amounting to ten thousand dollars, he was forced to mortgage a part of his property. At that time, he had paid bills drawn

[1]August 15, 1779. Note to Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 611.

[2]These men were originally under the command of Captain James Willing. Oliver Pollock to Clark, August 18, 1778. *Draper MSS.*, 48J33.

on the state amounting to thirty-three thousand dollars. The flour and meal which had been promised him had not been forwarded. "Being already drained of every shilling I could raise for the use of your's and the rest of the United States;" he wrote, "I went first to the Governor of this place, and then to every merchant in it, but could not prevail upon any of them to supply said goods, giving for their reason the few goods they had here imported, would in all probability become double the value of what they were just now, particularly at this juncture as war between Spain & Great Britain was daily expected, and the little probability there was of geting paid from your Quarter in any reasonable time, by depending only on the Letter of Credit & Mr. Lindsay's Contract. In fine, finding it impracticable to obtain any by that means, and at same time being fearfull of the bad consequences that might attend your being disappointed in those goods, I have voluntarily by mortgaging part of my Property for the payment at the latter End of this year, purchased the greatest part of them from a Mr. Solomon; You have therefore Invoice & Bill of Loading amounting to 10,029 Dollars 1 Rial."[1]

Twenty-five thousand dollars in the bills drawn by Clark were under protest at New Orleans. Fully one-half of these represented the expense incident to the fitting out of the expedition against Vincennes. They were issued in favor of a number of the inhabitants of Illinois. These drafts had been received by the

[1]Pollock to Henry, July 17, 1779. *Draper MSS.*, 49J60.

French merchants and traders in preference to the continental money which had recently appeared in small quantities.[1]

While borrowing money on his own credit, Pollock, in order to encourage the shipment of arms, Indian goods, rum, sugar, etc. to the Illinois country and encourage cargoes in exchange made up of deer-skins, beaver, otter and flour, and at the same time keep up the credit of the continental currency, continued until July 1779, to pay "Boatmen and Traders silver dollars for Paper Currency Dollar for Dollar."[2]

Continental currency had been used but little in the West previous to the expedition against Vincennes. Confidence of the people in the government, together with the efforts of Pollock, sustained this money at par when it had so far depreciated in the East as to be worth only twelve cents on the dollar.[3] Traders from the East became aware of this situation and rushed to this region where goods might be procured with the certificates at their face value. They brought with them such large sums and distributed the money so liberally in trade that the inhabitants became alarmed and refused to receive it.

On returning to Kaskaskia, Clark was not surprised to learn that his credit at New Orleans was exhausted. "I am sorry to learn," he wrote Pollock, "you have

[1]Clark to Pollock, June 12, 1779, *post*, 330.

[2]Pollock borrowed eighty thousand dollars on his own credit during the war, which was devoted to the use of Virginia and the United States. (*Va. State Papers*, III., 29.) Pollock became possessed of eight thousand four hundred and seventy dollars in continental currency, which he was forced to keep, as it did not pass at New Orleans. Pollock to the President of Congress, September 18, 1782, *Papers of Cont. Cong.*, "Letters and Papers of Oliver Pollock," I., 50 *et seq.*

[3]*Orderly Book* of William Shannon, February 10, 1783. Va. State Archives.

not been supplyed with funds as Expected your protesting my late Bills has not surprised me. as I Expected it being surrounded by Enemies Mr. Hamilton & his Savages being obligated for my own safety to lay in Considerable Stores. I was oblidged to take every step I possibly could to procure them unwilling to use force."[1] He was confronted also with the problems growing out of a depreciated money, of which he says in writing Governor Henry, "There is one circumstance very distressing, that of our own moneys being discredited, to all intents and purposes, by the great number of traders who come here in my absence each outbidding the other, giving prices unknown in this country by five hundred percent., by which the people conceived it to be of no value, and both French and Spaniards refused to take a farthing of it."[2]

To the great joy of Clark, he was informed that his friend John Todd had been appointed by Governor Henry to take charge of civil affairs in the Illinois country. His undivided attention might thus be given to military matters.[3] December 9, 1778, a bill

[1]Clark to Pollock, June 12, 1779. "I believe In order to get Bills on you they Refused to receive a Coppers worth of Continental money so that I expect by this time they are sorry that they Attempted to deceive me." For protests concerning notes of exchange, see, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 98.

[2]Clark to Henry, April 29, 1779, see *post*, 173.

[3]*Mason Letter*, *post*, 150. Clark and Todd had been closely associated in Kentucky. John Todd did not, however, as has been asserted, accompany Clark on the Illinois expedition, nor was he present at the final capture of Vincennes. (See Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, 252.) In a letter from Todd, at Harrodsburg, to Clark, of the date March 24, 1779, he says: "I arrived here the 22nd Inst I left Col. Montgomery at Fort Chiswell very unwell three weeks ago in Expectation of setting off to the assistance of Illinois within 2 or 3 Weeks. His rout is to be, as proposed; of which you are acquainted. We are Informed by one Searsy, who was with Hamilton on taking Post Vincent, all the Particulars of its loss, of which I expect you also have had Information. If the Remainder of your Corps shall arrive in time I hope Mr. Hamilton will have cause to repent this step of his." Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 75.

passed the Virginia legislature establishing the county of Illinois which was to include the inhabitants of Virginia north of the Ohio River.[1] This type of government had been brought into general usage by Virginia in her westward expansion.[2] The act providing for the county of Illinois was to remain in force for a year and "thence to the end of the next session of the assembly, and no longer."[3] The establishment of some temporary form of government was thought to be expedient, for, as stated in the act: "from their remote situation, it may at this time be difficult, if not impracticable, to govern them by the present laws of this commonwealth, until proper information, by intercourse with their fellow citizens, on the east side of the Ohio, shall have familiarised them to the same." The chief executive officer was the county-lieutenant or commander in chief who was appointed by the governor and council. He was to appoint, at his discretion, deputy commandants, militia officers and commissaries. The civil officers with which the inhabitants were familiar whose duties were to administer the laws already in vogue were to be chosen by the citizens of the different districts. Officers with new duties were to be maintained by the state. Pardoning power was vested in the county-lieutenant in all criminal cases, murder and treason excepted. In these cases, he was empowered to stay execution until such time as the will of the governor or, in case of treason, of the assembly should be ascertained.[4] Provision was made

[1]For a history of this act see Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois*, 9 *et seq.* Consult also Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), lii *et seq.*

[2]Brown, *Kentucky*, in Filson Club, *Publications*, VI., 43.

[3]Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX., 552. Act of Establishment.

[4]*Ibid.*, 117, 552; V., 489, 491.

for the protection of the inhabitants in all of their religious, civil and property rights.

The instructions issued by Governor Henry and the council, December 12, 1778, to Todd and to Clark, who was to retain the command of all Virginia troops in the county of Illinois, showed a grasp of the situation. They were to co-operate in using their best efforts in cultivating and conciliating the affections of the French and Indians.[1] The rights of the inhabitants were to be secured against any infractions by the troops, and any person attempting to violate the property of the Indians, especially in their lands, was to be punished. All Indian raids on Kentucky were to be prevented. The friendship of the Spaniards was to be maintained. As head of the civil department, Todd was to have "Command of the Militia, who are not to be under the Command of the Military until ordered out by the Civil Authority and act in conjunction with them."[2] He was directed on "all occasions to inculcate on the people the value of liberty and the difference between the State of free Citizens of this Commonwealth and that Slavery to which Illinois was destined A free and equal representation may be expected by them in a little time together with all the improvements in Jurisprudence and police which the other parts of the State enjoy."

Todd reached Kaskaskia early in May.[3] His coming was hailed with pleasure by the inhabitants, who,

[1]For a copy of these instructions, see *post*, 78, 83.

[2]Henry to Todd, December 12, 1778, *post*, 85.

[3]The first satisfactory account of the inauguration and history of the courts in the county of Illinois was written by Mr. Alvord in the Introduction to the *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), where fuller details than are here given may be found.

having experienced some of the harshness incident to military control, were enthusiastic for a change, no matter what the new form of government might be. The county-lieutenant was well fitted to fill his office acceptably. Besides receiving a good general education, he had studied and practiced law for a time. Unable to resist the call of the frontier, he enlisted for service in Dunmore's War, and in 1775, then twenty-five years of age, went to Kentucky, where he was selected as one of the representatives to form a constitutional government for the settlement of Transylvania. In 1777, he was elected delegate to the Virginia House of Burgesses from the county of Kentucky.[1] The intimate friendship existing between Todd and Clark and their known ability and bravery promised a successful solution of the problems with which they were confronted.

May 12 was a notable day among the villagers of Kaskaskia for on that day Clark assembled them at the door of their church to hear the proclamation of the new government and participate in the election of judges. The address prepared by Clark, who acted as presiding officer of the meeting, was well suited to the occasion. "From your first declaration and attachment to the cause of the Americans," he said, "until the glorious capture of the Post Vincennes, I doubted your sincerity; but at that critical moment I received proofs of your fidelity. I was so touched by the zeal which you there displayed that my desire at present is to make you happy, and to prove to you what sincere affection I have for the welfare and advancement of this colony in general and of each one

[1] Clark's *Diary*, *post*, 21.

of you in particular. The young people of this country have returned from Post Vincennes covered with laurels. I hope they will always continue so. Although there were some who did not take any part in that glorious act, still I have no less esteem for them, hoping that they will take revenge, if occasion presents itself; for during my absence they have done their duty in guarding the fort with the greatest care."[1] He promised, as soon as it was within his power, that they should become partakers in the liberty enjoyed by Americans and that a regiment of regular troops was to be sent for their protection. They were assured that the new government was one of such "kindliness" that they would bless the day they had chosen to favor the American cause. In presenting Colonel Todd he referred to him as his good friend and the only person in the state whom he desired to have take charge at that post. He spoke of the great importance of their meeting for the purpose of selecting the most capable and enlightened persons to judge their differences and urged that only those most worthy of the offices should be chosen. The brief response of Todd was likewise full of promise for the success of the new government which was to serve as guardian of their rights as citizens of a free and independent state.[2] Elections of judges for the district courts at Cakokia and Vincennes took place shortly afterwards and resulted, as at Kaskaskia, in the selection of Frenchmen.[3] On May 21, the

[1]The translation is from Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 80. Mr. Alvord suggests, in *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), lviii, that the address was translated into French and read by Jean Girault, the official interpreter.

[2]Translated in full in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 83 *et seq.*

[3]The court at Kaskaskia consisted of nine members; Cahokia, seven; and Vincennes, nine.

commission for the court at Kaskaskia was issued by Todd. He had previously appointed a sheriff and state's attorney. The court named its own clerk.

One week earlier (May 14) military commissions were made out. A number of the men given officer's commissions had been elected judges and were thus expected to assume the duties of both offices.[1]

Within a few days, Todd was called on to hear a recital of the grievances of the French inhabitants which had been formulated by the Kaskaskia justices. He was informed that a number of the oxen, cows and other animals belonging to the petitioners had been taken and killed by the soldiers; that liquor was being sold to Indians and trade carried on with slaves without the consent of their masters, both of which were contrary to French custom.[2]

Licenses for carrying on trade were issued by Todd. Fearful lest there should be a repetition of the abuses under the Virginia land law, as practiced in Kentucky, and that adventurers and speculators would get possession of the rich bottom lands, he decreed that no new settlements should be made on the flat lands "unless in manner and form as heretofore made by the French inhabitants."[3]

[1]Five of the judges at Cahokia were also given military commissions. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, 260.

[2]Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 5, 65, 117. The document may be found in *ibid.*, 88 *et seq.*

[3]Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 301. A special tribunal was appointed in 1779, for the adjustment of disputes over land titles in Kentucky. Confusion was general because of the overlapping of grants. Some of these grants were based on the royal proclamation of 1763. A variety of state warrants also authorized locations, such as the grant of right of settlement to the person who should make an improvement or "raise a crop of corn." Brown, *Kentucky*, in Filson Club, *Publications*, VI., 42.

No problem proved more trying for Todd and Clark than the effects produced by depreciated currency. Complications were greater on account of counterfeit money. By the close of April, the price of provisions was three times what it had been two months previously and Clark was enabled to support his soldiers only by the assistance of a number of the merchants.[1] While in Kentucky, Todd learned that the issues of currency bearing the dates April 20, 1777 and April 11, 1778, had been ordered to be paid into the continental loan offices by the first of June, 1779 otherwise they would then become worthless. He hoped that time would be extended for the Illinois holders. Upon his arrival at Kaskaskia, Todd found that the paper money had depreciated so that it was worth only one-fifth of its face value in specie.[2] On June 11, therefore, with the desire of sustaining public credit, he addressed the court in the following letters: "The only method America has to support the present just War is by her Credit. That Credit at present is her Bills emitted from the different Treasuries by which she engages to pay the Bearer at a certain time Gold & Silver in Exchange. There is no friend to American Independance who has any Judgment but soon expects to see it equal to Gold & Silver. Some disaffected persons & designing Speculators discredit it through Enemity or Interest; the ignorant multitude have not Sagacity enough to examine into this matter, & merely from its uncommon Quantity & in proportion to it arises the Complaint of its

[1]Clark to Patrick Henry, April 29, 1779, *post*, 173.

[2]From five to six. *Journal Va. House of Burgesses*, May, 1783, p. 134. For a full discussion of the subject see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), xl, lxxi *et seq.* Also consult indexes to both *Cahokia Records* and *Kaskaskia Records*.

want of Credit."[1] Todd proposed to retire a portion of the bills through exchanging them for land certificates. Twenty-one thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Cahokia were set aside on which it was planned to borrow thirty-three thousand dollars in Virginia and United States treasury notes. The lender might demand, within two years, his proportion of the land or a sum in gold or silver equal to the original loan with five per cent annual interest. Land or money might be given at the option of the state. Large sums of money were exchanged for these certificates, but the project could not be carried farther.

X. Plans to Capture Detroit

But Detroit was uppermost in the minds of the two leaders, and preparations were rapidly made for the expedition which promised complete success.[2] In this they were following the orders explicitly given by Governor Henry. "The Inhabitants of Illinois," so read the instructions to Todd, "must not expect settled peace and safety while their and our Enemies have footing at Detroit and can interrupt or stop the Trade of the Mississippi. If the English have not the strength or courage to come to war against us themselves, their practice has been and will be to hire the Savages to commit murder and depredations. Illinois must expect to pay in these a large price for her Freedom, unless the English can be expelled from Detroit. The means of effecting this will not perhaps be found in

[1]Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 297.

[2]*Mason Letter, post*, 150. Joseph Bowman to Isaac Hite, June 14, 1779, *post*, 332.

your or Col Clarkes power. But the French inhabiting the neighbourhood of that place, it is presumed, may be brought to see it done with indifference or perhaps join in the enterprise with pleasure. This is but conjecture. When you are on the spot you and Col Clarke may discover its fallacy or reality."[1] The fortifications at that post were still unfinished and the garrison consisted of only one hundred men.[2]

Captain Linctot, a trader of great influence with the Indians, who had recently joined the Americans, was sent up the Illinois with a company of forty men to secure the neutrality of the Indians[3] and at the same time cover the design of the main expedition against Detroit.[4] He reported, on his return, that peace and quietness was general as far as "Wea."

Great enthusiasm was manifest on the part of officers, troops and the French militia. On no occasion does Clark appear to a better advantage than in the appeal which he made for the support of the young men, many of whom had accompanied him on the expedition against Vincennes, returning, as he said, "covered with laurels." He assured them that their deeds and faithful conduct were well known throughout America. Not only were the villagers ready to enlist, some of the old men volunteering their services, but like enthusiasm

[1]As head of the civil department, Todd was to have command of the militia, "who are not to be under the Command of the Military until ordered out by the Civil Authority and act in conjunction with them." Henry to Todd, December 12, 1778, *post*, 85. "But you are to push at any favorable Occurrences which Fortune may present to you. For our peace & Safety are not secure while the Enemy are so near as Detroit." Instructions to Clark, *post*, 80.

[2]Leonard Helm to Clark, May 9, 1779, *post*, 316.

[3]*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 389.

[4]*Mason Letter*, *post*, 150.

was general at Vincennes among the people and American officers and Clark was assured that not only the inhabitants at Ouiatanon and Miami but the garrisons also were ready to declare in his favor.[1]

The arrival of Colonel John Montgomery from Virginia with one hundred and fifty men, about one-third the number expected, was a keen disappointment to Clark. But he did not lose confidence, for he had been promised three hundred Kentuckians by Colonel John Bowman, their county-lieutenant.

On July 1, Clark, with a party of horsemen, reached Vincennes, the place of rendezvous. Here he was joined by the remainder of the Illinois troops, with the exception of a company of mounted men dispatched under Captain Linctot to reconnoiter and to obtain permission of the Wea and Miami for Clark to pass through their country on his way to Detroit.

Before leaving Kaskaskia, Clark learned that Colonel John Bowman had led the Kentucky forces against Chillicothe, a Shawnee town, and was fearful of the effect on his Detroit plans. This expedition consisted of two hundred and ninety-six men.[2] The Indians fortified themselves so strongly in a few log cabins that the whites were repulsed. The greater part of the town was burned and Bowman retreated with a large amount of plunder.[3] Influenced by Clark's victories,

[1]Bowman to Clark, June 3, 1779, *post*, 327.

[2]Bowman to Clark, June 13, 1779, *post*, 322. The rendezvous was at the mouth of Licking. It was then a two days' march to Chillicothe. Captain Patten stated that three hundred men accompanied Bowman. Captain Patten's narrative, *Draper MSS.*, 49J89.

[3]The captured property amounted to thirty-two thousand dollars. Bowman to Clark, June 13, 1779, *post*, 322.

Captain Patten, who was with Bowman, accounted for the retreat as follows: "We took a negro woman prisoner which gave information that Gurty & one Hundred Mingos was then at the Pickaway town & the Indians had

immigrants in large numbers entered Kentucky during the spring.[1] Some returned to the older settlements for their families and the others were scattered over such a large area that, to Bowman, it seemed impossible to secure the number of men he had promised Clark by the time appointed,[2] especially since the militia were so disheartened by the campaign against the Shawnee that only the most tried among them were ready to enter upon a new enterprise.

The arrival of only thirty Kentucky volunteers was a severe blow to Clark.[3] The capture of Detroit with his available force of about three hundred and fifty appeared at the time, out of the question. Besides, most of his men were barefoot.[4] Vincennes was able to supply scarcely enough provisions for its own inhabitants. All commerce with Detroit had ceased and supplies could be gotten by the way of the Mississippi only with great difficulty owing to the attachment of the southern Indians to the British. "Never was a person more mortified that I was at this time, to see so fair an opportunity to push a victory; Detroit lost

sent a runner there. Col. Bowman hearing the negroes account, ordered a retreat. We burned all their town except the Council house kild Blackfish in the Council house took all the Richest of their plunder and one Hundred and sixty three horses. . . . . Col. Bowman a very good Citizen but not acquainted with Indian warfare." Patten's Narrative, *Draper MSS.*, 49J89.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Bowman had been directed by Clark to join him at Vincennes, June 20. This letter evidently reached Harrodsburg during Bowman's absence, for in his letter to Clark, June 13, he says: "Would time have admitted I woould have Gethered the People to Gether and Sweared More Men to your Assistance but the time So Short has Ocasioned the Situation hear to be left as I have mentioned. Had your Instructions come four weaks Sooner I had Gethered 296 Men and Marched them to one of the Shawnee towns." Bowman had been assured also by William Linn, who was at the Falls of the Ohio, that he was ready to join Clark with one hundred men.

[3] Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 300.

[4] Orderly Book of the conductor general at Fort Patrick Henry, July 26, 1779 in Va. State Archives.

for want of a few men." In this way, Clark expressed his sense of defeat at being forced to give up the expedition against that post.

Although abandoned, the influence of the preparation for the expedition proved of great significance. Threatenings from Vincennes led the British officials at Detroit to give up their plans for the recapture of that post.[1] A summer campaign of regulars and Indians against Fort Pitt was likewise abandoned. The British at Detroit and Mackinac were engaged in considering defensive operations and re-enforcements were hurried to these posts.[2] Notwithstanding the large expenditures for rum and presents for the warriors and food for the old men, women and children, disaffection among the Indians became constantly more open.[3] French and Indians were frightened over the report that an alliance between the French, Spanish, Germans and Americans had been formed with the object of driving the English out of America.[4]

"The summer," as Clark expressed it, "was spent to advantage as we ware carefull to spread such reports as suited our Interest."[5] Before setting out for the Falls of the Ohio where he had determined to establish

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 49J41; 1H104; 58J37.

[2] Haldimand to Clinton, May 31, 1779.

[3] *Draper MSS.*, 58J39. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 411.

[4] Brehm to Haldimand, May 28, 1779. *Ibid.*, 411. "Fear acts stronger on them than all the arguments that can be made use of to convince them of the Enemy's ill designs against their Lands." (*Ibid.*, 417.) In a letter of De Peyster, at Mackinac, to Haldimand, June 1, 1779, he excused the increased expenditures as follows: "As the Indians are growing very importunate since they hear that the French are assisting the rebels—The Canadians I fear are a great disservice to Government but the Indians are perfect Free Masons when intrusted with a secret by a Canadian most of them being much connected by marriage." (*Ibid.*, 382.) Only the Menominee and Sioux remained true to the British. De Peyster to Haldimand, July 9, 1779. *Ibid.*, 390.

[5] Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 302.

his headquarters, he issued orders to Colonel Montgomery and other officers left in command of the Illinois country to begin collecting supplies for a campaign against Detroit the following spring.[1]

When he reached the falls, he found the work of settling on the mainland going forward rapidly.[2] Influenced by the reports of Clark's victories and the stories of returning travelers that rich land might be easily acquired, immigrants in large numbers entered Kentucky, some descending the Ohio, others coming by the wilderness road. Seventy men and several families reached the falls in one day during April. Several hundred were then reported to be ready to set out from Virginia.

Glowing accounts describing this region as the "richest under the sun" continued to induce increasing numbers of immigrants to enter Kentucky during the summer. The soil could not, it was said, be surpassed in richness; vast natural meadows furnished a range which seemed inexhaustible and great herds of buffalo, elk and deer were common.[3] So great was the impulse

[1]Colonel Montgomery was chief in command. Captain James Shelby was in charge at Vincennes, Captain Richard McCarty at Cahokia, and Captain John Williams at Kaskaskia, *post*, 300. See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), lxvi, for carrying out of these orders.

Clark to Jonathan Clark, January 16, 1780, *post*, 383. "My proposition would be to Make a bold push Reduce those Garisons and no peace with the Indians, only on our own terms, and never after suffer arms or amunition to go among them which would effectually bring them to our Feet."

[2]Clark ordered Captain William Linn, shortly after the capture of Kaskaskia, to return to Kentucky with the volunteers whose three months' enlistment had expired. He directed him to establish a permanent fort on the Kentucky shore directly above the falls to which the settlers were to remove. By December 25, the fort was completed and all of the community took part in the feast and dance given as a "house warming." Durrett, *Centenary of Louisville*, in Filson Club, *Publications*, VIII., 30.

[3]*Draper MSS.*, 23J164.

to secure lands in the West that people in certain parts of Virginia were reported to be "running mad for Kentucky."[1]

This interest was enhanced through an act of the Virginia legislature of May, 1779, by which on October 15 of that year land-office treasury warrants might be used in the purchase of vacant lands. From that day until the first of May following, when the first entries on these warrants were allowed, Kentucky was visited by large numbers of explorers who hoped to locate their warrants most advantageously. Upon the opening of the land office, the rush was so great that for several days the time of three men was devoted entirely to receiving and receipting for these warrants.[2]

By order of the county court, a regular government for the town which received the name of Louisville was established through the selection of seven trustees.[3] The plan submitted by Clark to the surveyors engaged in laying off the town would, if adopted, have

[1] *Draper MSS*, 1L71. October 23, 1779.

[2] Stipp, *Western Miscellany*, 52. The surveyor's office was opened at Wilson's Station about two miles from Harrodsburg. Warrants of earliest dates were given the preference.

[3] According to this order of April 7, 1779, trustees to be elected in each of the Kentucky towns were given authority "to lay off the town with regularity," and prescribe rules for buildings. The plan of the town and proceedings of the trustees were to be returned to the county court April 24 was the day set by the trustees of Louisville, for drawing the half acre lots to which each person was entitled. The drawing had been advertised in Harrodsburg, Boonesborough and St. Asaphs, and it is probable some of the citizens of these communities took part in the lottery. One hundred and sixteen assignments were made. Those thus securing village lots agreed to clear off the undergrowth and begin the cultivation of the soil by June 10. By December 25, a "good covered house" sixteen by forty feet was to be built on each lot. Durrett, *Centenary of Louisville*, 34.

June 5, 1780, by agreement of ninety-four men, a separate judiciary was established through the selection of six others who were empowered to elect magistrates, "to regulate the many Villanys and bring to justice all offenders." After taking the oath of office, they selected a clerk and sheriff and appointed militia officers. The trial of cases by jury was also provided for. *Draper MSS.*, 50J45.

made Louisville, we are told, "the most beautiful city on the continent."[1] It provided for a reservation of land along the river front as a public park. Connected with the court house lot which was to contain two whole squares was to be a park half a square in breadth extending the entire length of the town. He constructed a new house which was notable at the time for a large room built of hewed logs on the inside and which had a good plank floor.[2] Upon invitation, men and women journeyed from the other settlements to take part in the ball and other festivities which marked its completion.[3]

Lieutenant Bennett was sent from Mackinac (May 29) with a force of twenty soldiers, sixty traders and two hundred Indians for the purpose of intercepting Linctot or to "distress the Rebels" in any other way. Captain Langlade was directed to levy the Indians at La Fourche and Milwaukee and join Bennett at "Chicagou."[4] Indian scouts sent out by Bennett from St. Joseph's were frightened by reports obtained from

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 35J47. Letter of R. T. Durrett to Lyman C. Draper, April 19, 1883.

[2] Trabue Narrative in *Draper MSS.*, 57J23.

[3] "Some of us," Trabue writes, "went from Logan's Fort we went by Harrodsburg stayd all night in the morning Col. Harod & his Lady Col. Mc. Garry & several other jentlemen & ladys started about 20 men & about 6 Ladys when we had got about one mile from the Fort I Discovered Indians in the woods and running to get before us I told Mc. Garry of it, he halted the company and he went to examine the sign he came back said he saw the indians and said he was not able to fight them while we had these women and we retreted to the Fort a party of men went from the fort and found the Indians had gone away The next morning we set out again we had about 15 men & 3 ladies . . . . we got safe to the falls . . . . . He made a ball a number of Jentlemen & Ladies attended to it and when these Fort Ladys came to be dressed up they did not look like the same every thing looked anew. We enjoyed ourselves very much Col. Harrod & his lady opened the ball by Dancing the first gig we had plenty of rum Toddy to Drink we stayed their some few Days." *Ibid.*

[4] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 375.

other Indians and soon returned. Their fears quickly brought about a general panic. "We have not," wrote Bennett, "Twenty Indians in our Camp who are not prepairing for leaving us, I believe you will join with me when I say they are a set of treacherous Poltroons."[1] The return to Mackinac was begun shortly afterwards.[2]

In like manner a force of six hundred, chiefly Indians, led by Captain McKee was sent from Mackinac. Forgetting his boast that he would place a pair of handcuffs on every rebel officer left in the country, he retreated from St. Joseph's upon hearing the report that Clark was marching towards Detroit.[3]

Early in June, Captain Henry Bird collected some two hundred Indians at the Mingo town. The account brought in by runners of the attack which had been made by Colonel Bowman on the Shawnee towns produced a panic among his followers. Some of the savages deserted in order to protect their villages against the American advance which was momentarily expected. Still more of them were anxious to sue for peace.[4]

By August 1, all was confusion at Detroit, for the messages brought by couriers promised the coming of Clark with an army of two thousand well armed Americans and French Creoles.[5] "Every effort is making to strengthen and complete our new Fort,"

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 392 *et seq.* *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 394 *et seq.*

[2] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 397 *et seq.*

[3] *Draper MSS.*, 49J73. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 417.

[4] *Ibid.*, X., 336 *et seq.* Captain Bird to Captain Lernoult, June 9, 1779. Report said that the Americans were coming with a force of four thousand.

[5] Letter of Captain Parke, July 30, 1779. *Draper MSS.*, 58J46.

so wrote an officer who demanded that re-enforcements should be sent, "as we are not equal to oppose the passage of such numbers to this place. Our ditch and glacee will be in a very good state the end of this week. An abatte [abatis] is afterwards to be thrown round the barracks will be ready at the same time. I wish to God I could say the same of our well; it is now upwards of 60 feet below the level of the river and no appearance of water. . . . . Could we only rely on the inhabitants or had they either the inclination or the resolution to defend their town, there would be nothing to apprehend on that Head as we might then take the field."

XI. The Westward Movement

As settlements increased, confusion arose over conflict of titles to the land. Four commissioners were appointed by Virginia to adjudicate land claims and to grant settlement and pre-emption rights in the county of Kentucky.[1] Companies were organized through whose agency individuals and speculators were enabled to acquire

[1]Hening, *Statutes at Large*, x., 43, Sec. 8. The commissioners were William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour and Stephen Trigg. Their first meeting was at Harrodsburg, October 13, 1779. Each person who had prior to January 1, 1778, settled upon any waste and unappropriated lands on the western waters "to which no person hath any other legal title" was entitled to a settlement right of four hundred acres. The state was to receive two dollars and a quarter for each one hundred acres thus acquired. Besides, each person with a settlement right was entitled to acquire one thousand acres adjacent thereto, known as a pre-emption, upon the payment of forty dollars in specie for each one hundred acres. Thirty-two hundred claims were adjusted by the commissioners.

possession of large tracts.[1] The abuse of such a system was set forth in the following letter to Clark: "And when I was with you I thought my acquaintance Mr Randolph was likewise attached to the Interest of the Kentuckey settlements but I am sorry to inform you that I have reason to believe the contrary for on looking over the books in the Land office I found a Certain Mr Bealls had taken out warrants to the amount of one hundred and forty thousand Acres of Land at least, part of which was enterd assigned to Mr N. Randolph now is this consonant with the doctrine he held when I was with you, and is it consistant with the Interest of that Country to assist a man (and a speculator too) in locating such a body of Land (& I suppose to of the Richest sort) when he will never see the Country or if he did, the portion is to large—no man can hesitate a moment to pronounce that it is not the Interest of the back Country. The evil tendancy will so fully appear to you that I will quit the subject & say nothing more about it."[2]

Actual settlers plead for relief from similar encroachments in a petition to the Virginia assembly. "A constant war for four years," they declared, "has reduced many of us so low that we have scarce cattle enough amongst us to supply our small families and many of us that brought good stocks of both horses and

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 7L65. Letter of General Muhlenberg to Jonathan Clark, September 15, 1779. "I have just seen an advertisement in a Virginia paper of the 28th of August signed Isaac Hite, Abr. Bowman and J. Bowman, wherein they mention that they had entered into written articles with sundry persons relative to lands on Kentuckett and desire that all persons who have signed shall before the first day of October pay to Isaac Hite £40 besides fees for every 100 acres they have subscribed for otherwise they will not be bound by the articles. What think you of it? I have subscribed for 2000 acres but the time is too short. Shall I lose my chance or not? Have you any share or have you subscribed? or do you remember the conditions?"

[2] January 24, 1780. *Post*, 384.

cows now at this juncture have not left so much as one cow for the support of our families. We have thought it proper to present you with a just estimation of our losses in settling and defending this extensive country. In the late act of the Assembly in opening and establishing a land office many of the petitioners are not able to get as much as one hundred acres unless there is some redress. This must be the unhappy event that we must lie under the disagreeable necessity of going down the Mississippi to the Spanish protection or becoming tenants to private gentlemen who have men employed at this juncture in this country at one hundred pounds per thousand for running round the lands."[1]

By November, 1779, the inhabitants had so far lost their fears of Indian forays that they ventured to build cabins on their several tracts of land and take possession.[2] In a council with his officers at Louisville, November 16, Clark took up the discussion of the preparation necessary for an expedition against Detroit in the success of which, as he expressed it, "my very soul was wrapt."[3] The reduction of West Florida, also a favorite topic with Clark, was likewise considered.[4] It was agreed that at least one thousand troops would be necessary for the "long tedious fatiguing march through a hostile country" to Detroit. With no savages to encounter, with the inhabitants well affected towards Americans and with the certainty of

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 14S31. October 14, 1779.

[2] *Ibid.*, 4CC89.

[3] Clark to Jefferson, October 1, 1781. *Ibid.*, 16S73.

[4] English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 698 *et seq.* He had been assured by Captain Willing that two-thirds of the people at Natchez were ready to declare in his favor. *Post*, 67.

an early breaking out of war between Spain and Great Britain, five hundred men were thought to be adequate to take possession of West Florida.

By this time winter, long remembered as the "hard winter," had set in. For three months, snow covered the ground and the rivers were frozen to the bottom. Most of the cattle and thousands of buffalo, deer, turkeys and other animals perished.[1] Settlers were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of bread. "One johnny-cake was often divided into twelve equal parts twice each day." Corn rose from fifty dollars a bushel in November to two hundred dollars in March.[2] "If we was only now in Old Virginia," one exclaimed, "we could have something good to eat and drink but hear we have nothing to eat in this dreary wilderness and we dont know when we shall have."[3] The suffering of many families on their way to Kentucky who were forced to pass the winter on the Cumberland was even more extreme.[4]

But by February 20, winter had disappeared and the tide of immigration again set in with increasing

[1]*Draper MSS.*, 4CC25; 57J47. This condition was general throughout the country as indicated in a letter to Clark from George Meriwether, January 24, 1780, *post*, 383. "After much fatague of travel and bad weather I reached home two days before Chrismas & had the pleasure of finding my family and concerns well, tho the weather still continues colder than was ever known by the oldest man amongst us. I have Just returned throh it from Wmsburg, there I learnt that Hampton Road & the bay almost to the Capes is frozend up, many Vessels are sunk by the Ice & more expect the same fate, a number of people at different places have perished by the Cold & Ice, tho this calamity of our navigation being stopt secures us from a Visit from the English Fleet that we stood much in fear of."

[2]Continental money. *Draper MSS.*, 2S108, 124.

[3]*Ibid.*, 57J47.

[4]*Ibid.* "Many in the wilderness frost bit Some dead. Some eat of the dead cattle and horses when the winter broak the men would go to kill the buffaloes and bring them home to eat but they was so poore a number people would be taken sick and did actually Die for the want of food the most of the people had to go to the Falls of the Ohio for corn to plant."

activity. Three hundred large boats arrived at the falls during the spring months and a number of new settlements were begun.[1] The inhabitants moved out to their clearings and planted corn and vegetables which early gave promise of an unusual crop.[2] Apple trees were beginning to bear and peach trees were loaded with fruit. In the midst of these flattering prospects for an unusual year, the Shawnee Indians appeared in the Beargrass settlements.[3] Settlers who did not take refuge in stations were cut off in the usual way. The utmost precaution had to be used to prevent surprises and general gloom pervaded the settlements.

XII. The Year 1780.

For Clark, the year 1780 was the most significant of his career. At no time did he demonstrate in more varied and striking ways his ability as an organizer and leader of men under adverse conditions. Full power was granted him by Governor Jefferson either to engage in a campaign against Detroit, to lead an expedition against the Shawnee or to construct a fort at the mouth of the Ohio.[4] He declined to accede to

[1]It has been estimated that twenty thousand people entered Kentucky during the years 1779 and 1780. (*Draper MSS.*, 4CC25.) This is doubtless an over statement. Large numbers came with land warrants and after making their locations returned to Virginia. The leading settlements by the close of the year 1780 were Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, Logan's, Bryan's Camp, Mc. Afee's, Licking, Elkton, Froman's, Sullivan's, Floyd's, Spring, Hogeland's, Asturgis, Linn's, Cain, Boone's and Lexington. *Draper MSS.*, 49J89; 4CC89 *et seq.*

[2]Corn fell in price within a few days from one hundred and thirty to thirty-five dollars a bushel and soon there was no market for it. Clark to Fleming, April 4, 1780. *Ibid.*, 46J54.

[3]*Ibid.*, 4CC28. These six stations on Beargrass Creek had, at the time, six hundred men in their population.

[4]Jefferson to Clark, January 29, 1780, *post*, 386.

the requests of the Kentuckians for a retaliatory expedition against the Shawnee and declared to them if they were ready to furnish one thousand men and five months' provisions the capture of Detroit would be assured and that they would then have permanent peace. With the usual promises to pay, he engaged workmen to construct one hundred boats which were to be completed within two months. They were to be used to transport provisions on this expedition. But to large numbers of the frontiersmen their dangers were immediate and promise of relief in an indefinite future was not satisfying. They interpreted what seemed a disregard of their petitions as further evidence of indifference on the part of Virginia towards their rights. Throughout the summer the desire grew for complete separation from the control of Virginia. The dissatisfaction growing out of the methods by which lands were acquired became more intense. This spirit was expressed as follows: "We have distressing news from Kentucke which is entirely owing to a set of Nabobs in Virginia taking all the lands there by office warrants, & Pre-Emption Rights—Hundreds of families are ruined by it. In short it threatens a loss of that county—Should the English go there and offer them Protection from the Indians the greatest part will join—It is a truth that the people There publicly say it—Let the great men say they, who the Land belongs to come & defend it for we will not lift up a gun in Defense of it."[1] Others protested against being taxed while they were engaged in defending the country

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 46J59. Letter of Colonel George Morgan to Major Trent, July 24, 1780. Colonel Morgan asked that the members of Congress should be secretly informed of the facts.

and complained that it was difficult to get justice when they were so far away from the seat of government. A memorial setting forth these facts signed by six hundred and seventy-two inhabitants was presented to Congress and the request was made that Kentucky and Illinois should be made into a separate state or that their government should be under the control of Congress.[1] Little attention was paid to the request and Clark by suppressing this movement interfered with the success of his own project to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio.[2] Writing his brother, August 23, 1780, he said: "The partizans in these Cuntries are again Soliciting me to head them as their Governor General as all those from foreign States are for a new Government but my duty obliging me to Suppress all such proceedings I consequently shall loose the Interest of that party."[3]

Some months earlier Clark gave his reasons for a fort at the mouth of the Ohio.[4] It would become at once, he thought, the key to the trade of the West and in protecting this trade, he had been forced to station an armed boat so as to command the navigation of both rivers. It would become a post from which the Chickasaw and the English posts on the Mississippi could be controlled. Tories and deserters in large

[1]Date of the petition, May 15, 1780. The petition is printed by Brown, *Kentucky*, in the Filson Club, *Publications*, VI., 59; also in Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, II., 398.

[2]His acts were fully sanctioned by Governor Jefferson, who wrote March 21, 1780: "I approve much of your most active endeavors to apprehend the guilty & put them into a course of trial. . . . . You seem to expect that writings may be found about them which will convict them of treason."

[3]See *post*, 453.

[4]All were to receive pay as militia and were to rendezvous at the Falls of the Ohio by December 1.

numbers passing down the river might there be apprehended.[1] In 1777, Patrick Henry advocated building a fort at the same spot for the purpose of facilitating intercourse with the Spaniards at New Orleans.[2] Governor Galvez was in complete accord with this proposal, for freedom of trade on the Mississippi would in part make up for the loss of ocean commerce which had been greatly disturbed by British cruisers. At the time, however, the British held and had fortified Natchez and Manchac, and thus precluded the descent of American boats. In his secret instructions to Clark, Governor Henry again referred to the establishment of this post which he thought might be fortified by the cannon secured at Kaskaskia.[3] The establishment of some such stronghold was necessary. During the spring the British were regaining their control over the Indians and were again about to attempt the recapture of the Illinois country. As a check to such an expedition and at the same time to furnish a stronghold for the protection of the western country against the encroachments of the Spaniards, Clark and Todd agreed to concentrate the troops at a fort to be built at the mouth of the Ohio.[4] At the time the regular force available for defense of the several posts was not

[1]Clark to Jefferson, September 23, 1779, *post*, 364. The French, in 1702, desirous of keeping the English from the Mississippi, built a fort at the mouth of the Ohio. Three years later it was abandoned. (Dunn, *Indiana*, 39.) Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton planned to build a fort at the same place. See *ante*, lxx.

[2]Governor Henry to Governor Galvez, *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville Estante 87, Cajon 1, legajo 6.

[3]See *post*, 386.

[4]Clark to Todd, March, 1780. "I am not Clear but the Spaniards would fondly Suffer their Settlements in the Illinois to fall with ours for the sake of having the opertunity of Retaking Both I doubt they are too fond [of] Territory to think of Restoring it again." *Post*, 404.

over one hundred and fifty men.[1] Owing to a failure of the crops, the Illinois towns were no longer able to furnish supplies.

Besides, the French, whose stock of provisions was depleted, chafed under the exactions of military officials. "It gives me great uneasiness," said the commissary-general at Kaskaskia, "to find the inhabitants put so little faith in Government that they even refuse the few soldiers who are here the necessary supplies of life, but I beg of you with advise of the court to furnish them with provisions from day to day, otherwise you may reply on their taking it wheresoever they find it without the least respect to the owners and in my opinion will be justified in so doing."[2]

There was no hope of succor from Virginia.[3] In his letter directing the establishment of the post, Jefferson wrote as follows:[4] "The less you depend for supplies from this Quarter the less will you be disappointed by those impediments which distance and a precarious foreign Commerce throws in the way for these reasons it will be eligible to withdraw as many of your men as you can from the West side of the Ohio leaving only so many as may be necessary for keeping the Illinois Settlements in Spirits."[5] His reasons for establishing a post at the mouth of the Ohio were: That it would facilitate trade with the Illinois and be near enough to furnish aid to that territory; and that this

[1]Clark to Todd, *post*, 405.

[2]William Shannon to Cerré, judge of the court, May 28, 1780, Shannon, *Orderly Book*, in Va. State Archives.

[3]Jefferson to Clark, January 29, 1780, *post*, 364.

[4]"Take such care of the men under you as an economical house holder would of his own family doing everything within himself as far as he can and calling for as few supplies as possible."

[5]*Draper MSS.*, 29J8 *et seq.*

fort together with others to be established on the Ohio would furnish a chain of defense for the western frontier and at the same time protect the trade with New Orleans.

On April 14, Clark set out from Louisville for the purpose of building this fort which was finally located five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, at the "Iron Banks," and was named Fort Jefferson.[1] Settlers were attracted to this location through the promise of four hundred acres of land to each family at a price to be fixed by the general assembly.[2]

The troops were withdrawn from Vincennes and Fort Patrick Henry was garrisoned only by a company of French militia under Major Bosseron. Orders were sent Colonel Montgomery to retire most of the troops from the Illinois villages. But before the evacuation actually took place it was learned that an attack by the British was imminent. With the series of events thus introduced, Clark was forced to forego the expedition to Detroit.

XIII. The Struggle for the Mississippi

While the British authorities were partially aware of the attitude of Spain towards the colonists, they waited

[1]In a letter to Jefferson, December 12, 1802, Clark stated that he spent three weeks in exploration before finally fixing on the spot for the new post. Land on the south bank of the Ohio would doubtless have been selected had it not been subject to inundation. Clark proposed "banking them out as at New Orleans." But the arguments against such an undertaking were that it would prove expensive; that unusual floods might destroy the works; and the possibility that the enemy might by cutting the levee let in the water.

[2]This measure was recommended by Clark and adopted by Todd in order to secure men to assist in the building and in supplying food for the garrison. Clark to Todd, March, 1780; Todd to Jefferson, June 2, 1780, *post*, 422.

for some more overt act.[1] "Though I have no doubt this minute of the existence of a Spanish as well as a French war," Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton wrote on January 24, 1779, "yet I have, as yet, no accounts by which I may venture to act on the offensive against the subjects of Spain, which I ardently desire, as there would be so little difficulty of pushing them entirely out of the Mississippi."[2]

With Spain, the prize ultimately sought was not the trade of the Mississippi alone, so generously proffered by Governor Henry, but the possession of the entire valley. With this object in view, a treaty between France and Spain was agreed upon in April, 1779. The formal declaration of war against Great Britain quickly followed and in July of that year Governor Galvez was authorized to attack Natchez and other British posts on the east bank of the Mississippi.[3]

On June 17, the day following the declaration of war by Spain, Lord George Germain directed General Haldimand to order hostilities to begin immediately with an attack on New Orleans and other Spanish posts on the river.[4] General Campbell was ordered to proceed up the Mississippi to Natchez with an army

[1]General Carleton, as early as October, 1776, was advised by Rocheblave, of the correspondence between the colonists and the Spanish governor at New Orleans. Carleton urged Hamilton that care should be taken that nothing be pursued which may have a tendency to create a breach between the nations; that the Spanish side of the Mississippi must be respected upon all occasions. (*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 344.) Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, February 13, 1779, wrote Governor Galvez expressing a hope that the commerce in gunpowder with the rebels would be prohibited. (*Canadian Archives, 1882*, p. 25.) Captain Bloomer was stationed at Natchez engaged in intercepting supplies sent the American posts from New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 26.

[2]Hamilton to Haldimand, January 24, 1779.

[3]Gayarré, *Hist. of Louisiana*, III., 121.

[4]*Canadian Archives, 1885*, p. 276.

and fleet. He was there to be joined by a force from the north, which was to capture St. Louis *en route*.[1]

In spite of an adverse decision by his council, Governor Galvez determined, on his own authority, to attack at once the British posts.[2] He marshaled a force of fourteen hundred and thirty men, made up of regular troops, militia, and volunteers—among the last being Oliver Pollock and nine other Americans. Although poorly equipped for offensive operations, Galvez led his force against Fort Manchac and captured it on September 8. Baton Rouge, a strongly fortified post, was the next object of attack. By clever strategy the Spaniards gained an advantage which led to a capitulation September 21. Not only did they gain possession of this post with its five hundred defenders and thirteen pieces of heavy artillery but the terms of surrender also included Natchez one hundred and thirty miles up the river.[3] Galvez, returning to New Orleans, made active preparations for an expedition against Mobile. Because of his successes, no difficulties were encountered in securing a force of two thousand men, with which he set sail early in February, 1780. Mobile was surrendered without the necessity of an assault. During the progress of these events, General Campbell with his fifteen hundred regular troops remained at Pensacola, making little effort to carry out the orders of his government. Galvez made every preparation during the remainder of the year to go against this strongly fortified and well garrisoned post.

[1]Sinclair to Brehm, February 15, 1780, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI., 145, 147.

[2]Gayarré, *Hist. of Louisiana*, III., 122. The council recommended preparation for defense only.

[3]*Ibid.*, 127 *et seq.*

Under very adverse circumstances, he succeeded through a combined attack of naval and land forces in accomplishing his purpose on May 9, 1781.[1] With Pensacola, the province of West Florida also became a Spanish possession.

Meantime, the British authorities at Mackinac and Detroit lost no time in carrying out their orders. A war party of Indians was dispatched by Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair of Mackinac to enlist the services of Wabasha, the illustrious chief of the Sioux, who was attached to the British interests and could at the time muster two hundred warriors from his tribe.[2] Wabasha was to proceed with all dispatch as far down as Natchez, there to join General Campbell, having made as many intermediate attacks as possible.[3]

Sinclair entrusted the command of an expedition against the Spanish and Illinois country—the conquest of which would be an easy task as he believed—to a trader, Emanuel Hesse.[4] On February 15, 1780, Captain Hesse was ordered to assemble for that purpose, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, the Menominee, Sauk, Foxes and Winnebago. Accompanied by these Indians, and with a plentiful stock of provisions, Hesse descended the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, where he was joined by Matchikuis and his Ottawa

[1]Gayarré, *Hist. of Louisiana*, III., 135 *et seq.*

[2]The Sioux were selected for they were, as stated by Sinclair, "undebauched addicted to War, & Jealously attached to His Majesty's Interest." (*Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI., 147.) It is evident, according to Sinclair, then, that the surrender of Hamilton was having a telling effect on Indian constancy. He wrote, February 15, 1780: "Lieut Govr. Hamiltons disaster has nothing in it to make the Scioux and other nations far to the West-ward, even to recollect the circumstance, many of them never heard of it." *Ibid.*, 144.

[3]*Ibid.*, 146 *et seq.*

[4]*Ibid.*, 151.

braves.[1] To this chieftain, flattered with the title of general and the privilege of wearing the scarlet coat and epaulettes of the British, was given the chief command of the Indians.[2]

On May 2, the entire force, consisting of some nine hundred and fifty traders, servants and Indians, set out on their five hundred mile voyage for the attack on the Spanish and Illinois country.[3] While awaiting the Indian detachments at Prairie du Chien, an armed boat from St. Louis with thirteen men was taken. An expedition dispatched to the lead mines succeeded in capturing seventeen prisoners and large quantities of supplies and prevented the shipment of fifty tons of lead ore.[4] Various motives were adduced to stir up enthusiasm for the expedition. The northern Indians were incited through the opportunity thus offered to fall on their hereditary foes, the Illinois tribes.[5] Traders who should aid in securing the Spanish posts were to be given the exclusive right to the Missouri trade for the ensuing winter.[6]

Three other simultaneous movements were projected, all of them planned with the view of contributing to the success of the one under Captain Hesse. Captain

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, III., 232.

[2] Matchikuis, it was, who in 1763 surprised Mackinac. Under pretense of playing, he kicked a ball over the fort pickets, rushed in with his band, with arms concealed, and accomplished his purpose. *Ibid.*, 224.

[3] *Ibid.*, XI., 151. The number is based on the statement of Governor Sinclair that there were seven hundred and fifty. With the two hundred Sioux already mentioned, the entire force was probably about nine hundred and fifty. The Spaniards estimated three hundred regular troops and nine hundred savages. (*Ibid.*, XVIII., 416, 407.) The force has been estimated also to consist of fifteen hundred. Reported conversation between Benjamin Drake and William Clark. *Draper MSS.*, 34J35.

[4] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI., 151.

[5] Sinclair to Haldimand. *Ibid.*, 151; III., 150, 154, 157.

[6] *Ibid.*, XI., 152.

Langlade, with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians, was directed to proceed from "Chicago and make his attack by the Illinois river."[1] Another party was ordered to "watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi." The third and most formidable was that sent by Major de Peyster, governor at Detroit under Captain Henry Bird, to "amuse" Clark at the Falls of the Ohio.[2] This comprehensive plan for the conquest of the West was the only one for that purpose projected by the British authorities during the entire war which promised to succeed. With the Illinois country and the Falls of the Ohio in their possession, Forts Pitt and Cumberland were to be captured. These posts were to be garrisoned and thus the West would be entirely cut off from communication with the East. Large numbers of British rangers and Indians would thus be free to take part in the war on the coast.[3]

St. Louis, at the time, was a town of one hundred and twenty houses, chiefly of stone, and contained a population of about eight hundred the majority of whom were French.[4] It was the capital of Upper Louisiana and was in a flourishing condition due to the fact that it was a leading center for the fur trade. A number of villages on the Missouri and the Mississippi, such as Carondelet, St. Charles and St. Ferdinand, had been

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI., 151.

[2] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, X., 395.

[3] *Draper MSS.*, 1M1.

[4] The name by which St. Louis had been known among the inhabitants for years was "Pancore," abbreviated from "Pain Court," meaning "without bread." *Draper MSS.*, 8J55.

settled from this center. The Spanish garrison consisted of fifty men under the command of Captain de Leyba.[1]

The Americans at the beginning of the war were scarcely aware of the existence of such a village. They were ignorant of its location, as is manifest from the following incident. Colonel George Morgan, Indian agent at Pittsburg, in a letter of inquiry to Governor Henry early in the year 1777, says: "The County Lieutenant who is order'd to send 100 Men to meet Cap^{t} Lynn with the Powder, is at a loss to know how far to proceed or where S^{t} Louis on the Missisippi is—There being one place of that name 160 Miles above the mouth of Ohio—and no settlement or Fort less than 400 Miles below the Ohio The nearest is at the River Arkansa."[2] In the absence of the governor, John Page, the acting governor answered with splendid official agreeableness: "We are as much at a loss to know where St. Louis is, as you can be, but suppose it to be where you mention."[3]

St. Louis was really discovered to the Americans by George Rogers Clark.[4] It is not improbable, therefore, that Colonel Clark, who had intelligence early in 1780 of a projected attack on the Illinois country,[5] should

[1] *Missouri Hist. Coll.*, II., 45.

[2] Morgan, *Letter Book.*, I., April 1, 1777. Upon the return of Captain Gibson to Virginia orders were issued that assistance should be sent to Lieutenant Linn. Linn did not meet this company, however, and succeeded in the enterprise as before indicated. For the orders see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on Upper Ohio*, 226 *et seq.*

[3] April 15, 1777. *Ibid.*, 248.

[4] See *ante*, lxvii.

[5] Old inhabitants always spoke of "the Illinois" as including the settlements about St. Louis and those of Illinois, but it did not include Vincennes. *Draper MSS.*, 8J55.

have given timely warning to the Spanish commandant.[1] St. Louis was in no condition to offer defense when, at the close of March, it was learned from a trader that a large body of the enemy was descending the Mississippi for an attack.[2] Intrenchments were immediately thrown up, which, during the attack, were manned by a force consisting of twenty-nine regulars and two hundred and eighty-one villagers; orders were sent to the surrounding posts to send assistance;[3] a platform was erected at one end of the town upon which were placed five cannon; scouts were sent out; and cavalrymen were stationed to act as a picket guard.

"The enemy arrived," as indicated by the Spanish account,[4] "May twenty-sixth at one o'clock in the afternoon, and began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the aforesaid commander [Captain de Leyba] was, the defenders at least succeeded in keeping off a band of villains who if they had not opportunely been met by this bold opposition on our part would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and the lamentable cries of the women and children who had

[1]Pierre Prevost, a Kaskaskian, who was engaged in the Indian trade on the upper Mississippi, wrote Clark, February 20, 1780, of the efforts which were being made from Mackinac to stir up the Sauk, Fox and Sioux tribes to make an attack on the "People of the Illinois." (See, *post*, 394.) Governor de Leyba is said to have given no credit to the warning, politely declined all aid and affirmed that the Indians were peaceable.

[2]*Missouri Hist. Coll.*, II., 45.

[3]Lieutenant de Cartabona hastened from Ste. Genevieve with the local militia under Charles Valle and rendered signal service.

[4]*Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 407.

been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona; the dolorous echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy at last, seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers who with their slaves were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of war, but when the learned world shall know that this desperate band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims, and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocities upon some poor people who had no other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation from now on may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of the base instruments of cruelty the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented." So the Spanish account ends after reciting that the number of the killed and wounded was twenty-nine, and that twenty-four were made prisoners.[1]

In general, this narration of Spanish zeal and courage satisfies the facts relating to the first repulse. No

[1]Forty-six others were made prisoners on the Mississippi, according to the same account. According to a British report, seventy persons were killed, thirty-four taken prisoners and forty-three scalped. (See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI., 156.) Another report by Sinclair shows sixty-eight killed at St. Louis and eighteen made prisoners. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 559.

doubt, also, evidence existed for the declaration made by Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair, that the defeat was owing to the treachery of Calve, an interpreter, and Ducharme, a trader who commanded companies of Indians; to the want of secrecy whereby the Spaniards had received timely notice of the projected attack; and to the backwardness of the Canadians.[1] But in addition to these three there was another and it must be believed, more potent cause for the precipitate retreat which followed and the total defeat of the ultimate objects hoped for by the British officials. That was the opportune appearance of George Rogers Clark, who was supposed to be beyond striking distance at the Falls of the Ohio.[2] As indicated, Clark had been engaged since April 18, in constructing a fort at the Iron Banks. Citizens of Cahokia, through Charles Gratiot, hastened to inform him of their alarming situation and urged him to come at once to their relief. "We are on the eve of being attacked," they said, "by considerable parties of savages and cannot work at the cultivation of our grounds if we have not prompt succor. For this reason we take the liberty of addressing you, having confidence in the kindness and affection you have always manifested for us."[3] With a small body of troops, Clark set out May 13, receiving at the mouth of the Ohio other expresses from De Leyba and Colonel Montgomery, also urging his immediate presence. Twenty-four hours after his arrival at

[1] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XI., 154.

[2] It was known in Detroit by May 17, that Clark had gone to the mouth of the Ohio. Doubtless this was one reason for pushing forward Bird's expedition. *Canadian Archives, 1882*, p. 35.

[3] *Post*, 411.

Cahokia the attack was begun, a short time after that at St. Louis. After a short skirmish the British withdrew.

The statement has often been made and as frequently denied that Clark before the attack on Cahokia crossed the river to St. Louis and that it was his influence which caused the retreat of the British.[1] He claimed for himself and his men the honor of having saved St. Louis and the rest of Louisiana for the Spaniards.[2] It may well be believed that the knowledge that he was in the vicinity caused the Indians to withdraw.

The main body of the attacking force retreated rapidly in two divisions—one by the Mississippi, the other directly across the country to Mackinac.[3] Langlade and his force escaped in two vessels and in canoes, thus preventing an attack on them by a force of two hundred Illinois cavalry which arrived at "Chicago

[1]"When Gen. Clark arrived at Coho he was informed that the number of men at St. Louis collected at Kaskaskia and other places was between 300 and 400. He went over to St. Louis to review the troops as well as the works of defence. The Spanish commandant at St. Louis, on the arrival of Clark, offered him the command of both sides; but Clark declined taking the command until he could ascertain where the assault would be made. He continued only about two hours in St. Louis when he returned to Coho." (Stipp, *Western Miscellany*, 54 *et seq.*) This writer prepared his sketches from notes given by General Clark and other pioneers.

Colonel Montgomery, February 22, 1783, said that Clark would have given the Spaniards assistance had not the strong winds prevented the signals from being heard. *Cal. Va. State Papers*, III., 443.

Henry M. Brackenridge visited St. Louis in 1811 and had a good opportunity to learn of events which happened in 1780. He wrote: "In 1779, (1780) a combination of the Indian tribes prompted by the English, attempted a general invasion of the French villages on both sides of the river and accordingly descended in considerable force, but were checked by General Clark, who commanded the American troops on the other side. An attack was, however, made upon a small settlement commenced within a few miles of the town, and the inhabitants were nearly all butchered; others who happened to be out of St. Louis were killed or pursued within a short distance of the town. It is said that upwards of eighty persons fell victims to their fury." Brackenridge, *View of Louisiana*, 122.

[2]Clark to Genet, February 5, 1793. *Draper MSS.*, 55J1.

[3]Sinclair to Haldimand, July 8, *Missouri Hist. Coll.*, II., 48.

five days after his departure." Clark at once organized a force of some three hundred and fifty regulars, French volunteers from the Illinois posts and Spaniards of St. Louis, which he sent under Colonel Montgomery against the Sauk and Foxes.[1] Proceeding up the Mississippi and the Illinois in boats as far as Peoria, they marched to the Indian villages on Rock River. But the Indians had fled.[2] After burning the towns, Montgomery returned to his boats. The retreat of four hundred miles was accomplished after much suffering due to the almost total lack of provisions.[3]

During the winter and spring of 1780, Major de Peyster lavished vast treasure upon the assembled tribes in order to satisfy their ever-growing demands and prepare them to assist in carrying out another part of the comprehensive plan for the conquest of the West.[4] It was hoped to dislodge the Americans at the Falls of the Ohio; and thus, by cutting the communication between Fort Pitt and the West, force the surrender of the Illinois posts.[5] Besides, immigrants were pouring into Kentucky in such numbers as to excite the apprehensions of the British officials.[6] Major de Peyster wrote May 17, 1780: "The Delawares and

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 51J97.

[2] The failure of the expedition was attributed by the French to the "lack of management and bad conduct" of the Virginians. They were not in sympathy with the Americans at the time. "Memorial of Cahokians" in Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 541.

[3] *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, IX., 291.

[4] General Haldimand wrote of the "amazing" sum of eighty-four thousand and thirty-five pounds expended in the "over indulgence" of the Indians. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, X., 409, 636.

[5] *Ibid.*, IX., 634.

[6] *Ibid.*, X., 396, 409. Knowledge of this projected plan was brought to Kentucky by Major A. Chapline. He had been taken to Detroit by the Indians the preceding year. He made his escape and reached Harrodsburg in safety. Stipp, *Western Miscellany*, 57.

Shawnese are however daily bringing in Scalps & Prisoners . . . . those unhappy people being part of the one thousand families who to shun the oppression of Congress are on their way to possesss the country of Kentuck, where if they are allowed quietly to settle, they will soon become formidable both to the Indians & to the Posts."[1] So terrible was the havoc wrought by these scouting parties upon the defenseless families scattered through the woods of Kentucky that petitions from various communities were sent to Clark asking that he come to the rescue lest the whole country should become a "mere scene of carnage and Desolation." "If you could Assist us in that peticular," they said, and, "Honour our interprize with your Presence and Command you would have the Consolation of redeeming from Destruction a Scattered divided and Defenceless People who have no other Probable source of defence but through your means."[2]

Early in May, Captain Bird, accompanied by one hundred and fifty whites and one thousand Indians well armed, and with two pieces of light artillery, set out from Detroit.[3] His route was by way of the Maumee and the Miami rivers to the Ohio. His plan to attack the Americans at the falls was suddenly changed, due in all probablity to the fact that he learned that Colonel Slaughter had arrived from Virginia with

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls.*, x., 396. De Peyster was commended for his foresight by General Haldimand. (See *ibid.*, ix., 635.) Not less than three hundred family boats, with emigrants, reached the Falls of the Ohio during 1780. Butterfield, *Life of the Girtys*, 117.

[2] For petitions from Boonesborough and Bryan's Station, see *post*, 398 *et seq.*

[3] De Peyster to Sinclair, May 18, 1780. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, ix., 582.

re-enforcements,[1] and he knew, also, that the expedition against the Illinois had failed. Besides, he feared the return of Clark.[2] Proceeding up the Licking, Bird attacked Ruddle's and Martin's stations, two small stockaded posts. Resistance was hopeless against the British cannon.[3] With no control over his blood-thirsty savages, Captain Bird was unable to carry out the terms of the capitulation. Satisfied with his slight success, and laden with plunder, he set out for Detroit with about one hundred prisoners over the route by which he came.[4] Many of the women and children, unable to bear the strain of the march, were relieved from their sufferings by the tomahawk. The cannon and shells were left at one of the Miami towns and were shortly afterwards buried in[5] order that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

XIV. The Expedition Against the Shawnee

Clark, having received intelligence of the British designs under Captain Bird, showed that promptness and energy so characteristic of him at the time. On June 5, with a few men, he set out from Kaskaskia by boat for Fort Jefferson barely escaping capture on the

[1]Major Slaughter, with one hundred men, was ordered to the Falls of the Ohio. Jefferson to Clark, January 29, 1780, *post*, 387. *Draper MSS.*, 50J7.

[2]*State Dept. MSS.* Testimony by Knox and H. Marshall before the Board of Commissioners, December 7, 1787. Their information was obtained from Clark and they were themselves in Kentucky at the time of the attack.

[3]Bird's force of Indians was then reduced to eight hundred. *Draper MSS.*, 29J25.

[4]Memorandum book of Captain John Dunkin captured at Ruddle's Station. *Ibid.*, 29J25.

[5]*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, x., 418.

way.[1] Unmindful of the dangers, he struck off with two companions[2] through the wilderness for Harrodsburg. In order to deceive the lurking bands of savages, they disguised themselves as Indians. On approaching the Tennessee River, they were discovered by a party of Indians, and narrowly escaped capture. They crossed the Tennessee and the Kentucky rivers on rafts which they made by binding logs together with grapevines. Harrodsburg was reached a short time before the news that Ruddle's and Martin's stations were captured by the British.

Clark began at once the organization of a retaliatory expedition. With characteristic decision, he ordered the land office closed until he should return from the expedition, and proceeded to enlist volunteers from the crowd eagerly awaiting the opportunity to get an assignment of land. This order provoked general discontent on the part of speculators, but the call for volunteers was cheerfully met by the people in general, and one thousand men were soon under arms.[3] So eager were they to deal a blow to the Shawnee who had been their most persistent enemy that in some cases only the boys, old men and women were left to guard the stations.[4] The mouth of the Licking was appointed as the place of meeting and by August 1 all was in readiness. Clark had come up the Ohio with a small company of regulars from the falls. Colonel Harrod, with a force of two hundred men in canoes and hastily

[1]By Indians above the island just above the fort. He found that three men had been murdered near the fort and that two more were missing. *Draper MSS.*, 26J14.

[2]Major Josiah Harlan and Captain Herman Consola.

[3]Clark's account of the expedition, August 22, 1780, see *post*, 451.

[4]*Ibid.*

repaired boats, came over the same route. Their food on the way was partially provided through sending out hunting parties. One of these squads under Captain Hugh McGary, having crossed to the north shore with the hope of finding game more plentiful was surprised by Indians and a number of whites were killed. Colonel Benjamin Logan, who acted as second in command to Clark on the expedition, led his regiment, which was enlisted at Boonesborough and adjacent towns, across the country to the place of rendezvous. Besides the leaders mentioned, there were Boone, Levi Todd and William McAfee.

When the limited supplies were divided, each man received a pound and a half of meal, nine quarts of parched corn, and a small amount of buffalo meat. On the second of August, they crossed the river and leaving a company of forty men to guard the boats began the march towards Old Chillicothe. Four days were taken for the march of some seventy miles to this Indian town. Warned of the approach of Clark the Indians deserted the town making good their escape. After burning the town[1] and destroying the crops the army pushed on to Piqua a few miles distant on the Big Miami. This town was composed of well-built log cabins located along the river, each surrounded by a strip of corn. At the lower end of the town was a strong block-house. Several hundred Indian warriors, aided by Simon Girty and his brother had collected

[1]Clark's account says the town was burned by his order. See *post*, 452. Another account of the expedition says it was burned by the Indians. See *post*, 479.

for its defense.[1] Two divisions of the troops, under Colonel Logan, were sent to approach the town from above and prevent any escape in that direction. Clark himself at the head of the two other divisions forded the river and began a rapid movement towards the lower end of the town. A body of Indians hidden in some woods began the attack and the action quickly became general with a savage fierceness on both sides. The fighting was continuous over the broken plain of a mile and a half to the town. Driven from one wooded elevation, the savages escaped through the fields of corn to another until they finally took refuge under the protection of the fort and nearby cabins and waited for the assault. Within half an hour Clark renewed the attack, bringing into use for the first time the small cannon which had been brought on the back of a pack-horse. The rifle-shots from the Indians, owing to the distance, were of no effect, whereas their stonghold was shattered by the shot from the cannon. At sun-down, unable longer to resist the attack, the savages left their fort. In escaping, some of them came so close to Clark's lines that the fighting was renewed at close range. At this time, Joseph Rogers, a cousin of Clark's, who for two years had been a prisoner among the Indians, made his escape and running towards the Americans shouted to them not to shoot him for he was a white man.[2] He was mortally wounded, however,

[1]Wilson's account says fifteen hundred warriors. See *post*, 481. Clark stated that the Indians had been making preparations for ten days; that the day before his arrival there were three hundred Shawnee, Mingo, Wyandot and Delawares; and that several re-enforcements arrived during the day. See *post*, 452.

[2]Joseph Rogers had been a prisoner for two years. December 25, 1776, he was captured, when with John Gabriel Jones he attempted to bring the powder Clark had hidden while on his way to Kentucky. See Clark's *Diary*, *post*, 20.

and Clark reached his side but a short time before he died. Logan's wing had been delayed so much in crossing the stream that they came on the scene as the last of the savages retreated. The heaviest loss was on the side of the Indians and had Logan been present the defeat would have been a decisive one.[1] As it was, this campaign of a month, during which time Clark led his forces four hundred and eighty miles, had been so effective that the Kentucky settlements were free from serious molestation for the remainder of the year. No effort was made to pursue the scattered force of the enemy. Without provisions for his troops, Clark gave up his plan to march against the Delaware towns. After the destruction of Piqua, with its corn-fields, he returned to the mouth of the Licking and disbanded his army.[2] The return march was marked by the usual suffering incident to frontier campaigns. Their supply of solid food was exhausted and the short rations of green corn and vegetables alone saved them from starvation.

During Clark's absence, Fort Jefferson had been attacked by a force of Chickasaw and Choctaw led by Colbert, a Scotchman. The erection of the fort and village was but another cause for the hatred of the Indians for the whites who were continuously encroaching upon their hunting grounds.[3] Besides, the instructions of Governor Jefferson that the site for the fort should be purchased had for some cause been

[1]Clark states that his losses were fourteen killed and thirteen wounded and that the enemy lost triple that number. See *post*, 452. Wilson gives twenty killed and forty wounded among the Kentuckians. See *post*, 483.

[2]Clark stated that there were eight hundred acres of corn which had been cultivated largely by white labor. See *post*, 452.

[3]The village was named Clarksville. Trustees were elected and they petitioned for a separate county government. See *post*, 425.

disregarded.[1] The attack continued six days and nights, and during this time savage onslaughts were met with a courage born of desperation. Not more than one-half of the garrison of thirty men under Captain Robert George were fit for service on account of sickness. Their supplies of food, water and ammunition were almost exhausted when the Indians withdrew. Within a few hours, re-enforcements which had been sent from Kaskaskia in response to an appeal arrived.[2]

Sickness was prevalent among the inhabitants of the village and many had died; their crops were destroyed and their stock lost. A few only could be induced to remain at the settlement some going down the river and others to the Illinois country.[3]

XV. Renewal of Plans Against Detroit

At the close of the campaign, Clark was free once more to develop plans for the capture of Detroit. He was aware that the only assistance to be furnished him for the remainder of the year from Virginia would

[1]Jefferson to Major Martin, Indian agent, January 24, 1780. See *post*, 385. "But the ground at the Mouth of Ohio on the South side belonging to the Cherokees we would not meddle with it without their leave." Martin was authorized to secure goods from New Orleans amounting to three thousand pounds sterling with which to purchase the land.

[2]According to the report of Colonel Montgomery, September 22, 1780. See *post*, 456. See also Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 618 *et seq.*

[3]This is noteworthy, for it is said to mark the coming of the first considerable group of American settlers to Illinois. James Piggott was one of the trustees at Clarksville, but was not in command at the time of the siege, as has frequently been stated. It is said that because of the petition to Governor St. Clair, in 1790, signed by Piggott and four other residents of Piggott's Fort at Grand Ruisseau, Congress passed the act granting to every settler on the public land in Illinois four hundred acres and a militia grant of one hundred acres to every man enrolled in the militia of that year. Reynolds, *Life and Times*, 59. See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 190, n. 1, for an account of his earlier career.

be a single regiment under Colonel Crockett. But he was assured that an important expedition under his command was to be undertaken the ensuing year. The presence of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason and other Virginia leaders in the House of Delegates promised a more aggressive policy in the West. Governor Jefferson, with full appreciation of the significance of the capture of Detroit, had appealed to Washington to furnish powder for the expedition the burden of which was otherwise to be borne by Virginia.[1] Jefferson was aware that prompt action was necessary for there was unmistakable evidence that a British expedition would be sent against Kentucky in the spring. Clark proceeded to Richmond to consult over the means possible for checking this formidable invasion.

By December 25, full instructions were drawn up under which Clark was to advance with two thousand men into the hostile territory at the earliest practicable moment after the opening of navigation. The ultimate object of the expedition was to be the reduction of Detroit and the acquisition of Lake Erie.[2] Such a movement was intended to place the British on the defensive. If no check were given their advance in this way, it was feared that militia would ultimately have to be withdrawn from the South to be sent against them.

The effects which were expected to follow the reduction of Detroit were stated by Jefferson in the following: "If that Post be reduced we shall be quiet in future

[1]Jefferson to Clark, December 25, 1780. See *post*, 485. At the time there was a powerful British army in the South which had but recently overcome General Gates.

[2]*Jefferson's Letter Book*, December 25, 1780, 1781, p. 10 *et seq.*

on our frontier, and thereby immense Treasure of blood and money be saved, we shall be at leisure to know [*sic*] our whole force to the rescue of our Eastern country from subjugation, we shall divert through our own country a brand of commerce which the European States have thought worthy of the most important struggles and sacrifices and in the event of peace on terms which have been contemplated by some powers we shall form to the American Union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the Empire of Liberty an extensive and fertile country, thereby converting dangerous enemies into valuable friends."

Frontier militia, "well armed with arms suitable to western service," together with a battalion under Colonel Crockett, were ordered sent to Fort Pitt by March 1.[1] They were to be commanded by Clark. By March 15, the Kentucky militia were to rendezvous at the Falls of the Ohio, and ammunition and provisions for the entire force were to be collected at the same place by that time.[2]

The promise for success was greater when it was known that Washington was ready to answer the appeal for assistance. "I have ever been of opinion," he wrote Jefferson, "that the reduction of the post of Detroit would be the only certain means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier, and I have constantly kept my eye upon that object I

[1]Orders were issued to the county-lieutenants of Monongalia and Ohio counties to furnish one-fourth of their militia. Hampshire was to furnish 255 men; Berkeley, 275; Frederic, 285; and Greenbrier militia was to act as escort for three hundred pack-horses to be sent forward with powder and lead.

[2]The counties of Fayette, Lincoln and Jefferson, together, were to furnish five hundred militia.

shall think it a most happy circumstance, should your State, with the aid of Continental stores which you require, be able to accomplish it."[1]

In keeping with this promise, he ordered Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt to give the enterprise every possible assistance by furnishing, upon Clark's order, the supplies asked for and a detachment of continental troops, including a company of artillery, as large as could be spared.[2]

In order that any question of rank might not interfere with complete exercise of power by Clark, Jefferson urged that a continental commission should be bestowed on him by Washington. This was not possible under the established rule which forbade the granting of such a commission to officers in state regiments. On January 22, however, Clark was made brigadier-general "of the forces to be embodied on an expedition westward of the Ohio."[3] This act completed an effective military organization in the West. The preceding November, on account of the rapid growth of the population in the county of Kentucky, the legislature of Virginia divided it into the three counties of Fayette,

[1]Washington, *Writings* (Sparks ed.), VII., 341.

[2]Washington to Brodhead, December 29, 1780. "I do not think," Washington wrote, "the charge of the enterprise could have been committed to better hands than Colonel Clark's. I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman; but, independently of the proofs he has given of his activity and address, the unbounded confidence, which I am told the western people repose in him, is a matter of most importance." *Ibid.*, 345.

[3]*Draper MSS.*, 51J18. The commission was granted under authority of Jefferson with the advice of the council of state evidently on account of some misgivings on the part of Clark relative to his relations to continental officers of the same rank as his own.

Clark to Jefferson, January 18, 1781, *post*, 495. The wording of the commission was due to the fact that according to the laws of the state a general officer might be appointed only for a *special* purpose.

Jefferson, and Lincoln.[1] John Todd, Jr., was appointed county-lieutenant and colonel of militia for Fayette County, having Boone for his lieutenant-colonel. John Floyd occupied the same position in Jefferson county, and Benjamin Logan in Lincoln. Clark, as superior officer, was to supervise the work of these three.

For some time Clark had been engaged, under the direction of Baron Steuben, in carrying on a defensive movement against Benedict Arnold. The day following the receipt of Washington's approval for the western expedition, Jefferson directed Clark to secure his release in order that he might set out for the frontier.[2] But Clark was not well on his way to Fort Pitt before Jefferson was made aware of difficulties which must be overcome if the enterprise were to succeed.

The issue of orders for the drafting of the militia of Berkeley County to go immediately to the Falls of the Ohio served to demonstrate that extreme measures would be necessary to induce men to enlist. "We beg leave to represent to your Excellency," so the recruiting officers wrote, "that we have seventy men on duty from this County, now in the Southern army, which with the 68, we are to raise for the army and the 275 now ordered into service will make near one-half of the militia of this County fit for duty—From these circumstances and the immense distance from here to the falls of the Ohio, being by the way of Fort Pitt, little less than a thousand miles, we are sorry to inform your

[1]In general, Fayette County extended east from the Kentucky River, comprising the northeastern portion of the present state. Jefferson extended from the Kentucky River south to Green River, and the remaining territory was called Lincoln.

[2]Jefferson to Clark. See *post*, 491. January 22, Clark started for Fort Pitt.

Excellency that we have the greatest reason to believe that those whose Turn it now is from this County will suffer any punishment rather than obey our orders for their march. So general an Opposition to orders of Government from such a number we think of too much consequence at this crisis, for us to proceed without informing your Excellency of the difficulties with which the execution of those orders will be attended."[1] The drafting in Frederick County served to show similar aversion to the undertaking. By the report of the county-lieutenant not more than twenty guns were available for the two hundred and eighty men to be equipped.[2] Officers of Greenbrier County, in answer to entreaties from the inhabitants who were fearful of the dangers to which they would be exposed upon the withdrawal of so large a force, requested that their quota for the continental army should not be demanded until the return of the militia about to leave for the West.[3] Attempts to collect provisions and men in Hampshire County resulted in the actual mutiny of some seventy men. With a lax military law, and fearful lest the attempt at enforcement of his orders would lead to open disobedience, Jefferson adopted the suggestion of the county officials and issued a call for volunteers.[4]

[1]See *post*, 501.

[2]Colonel John Smith to Jefferson. *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 502.

[3]*Draper MSS.*, 51J33. March 21, 1781. Within two months, Cornwallis was retreating, pursued by Greene who was aided by Campbell, with two thousand militia from the back counties of Virginia, and by Sumpter with the militia of the Carolinas.

[4]*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 40. Governor Harrison, as late as May 30, 1785, asked for a remedy for this defect, in citing the case of sixteen men who were ordered to defend a jail and stores. Ten of them refused to obey the order. *Letter Book of Benjamin Harrison, 1783–1786*, p. 143.

Besides, the men constituting the regiment of regular troops under Colonel Crockett, then marching to Fort Pitt, were suffering for want of suitable clothing and were without shoes.[1] In this extremity, Clark did not lose confidence, and declared, "I begin to fear the want of men, but the Idea of a disappointment is so disagreeable to me that if the Authority and Influence that I have with every Exertion that can be made will Carry my point I shall certainly do it without your orders for the Enterprise is Countermand[d] or a failour in the supplies I am to Receive which I hope will not be the case."[2] The prospect of assistance from the remaining counties was still promising. By February 13, Baron Steuben upon request of Jefferson had ordered Colonel John Gibson with his regiment consisting of two hundred regulars to be added to Clark's command.[3]

The artillery company ordered to accompany Clark from Fort Pitt was lacking in the quota of officers and

[1]*Cal. Va. State Papers*, I., 572. Crockett to Jefferson, March 14, 1781. At this time the distress of the regular army in Virginia was likewise extreme as is shown in the following letter: "I found upon my return hither [Chesterfield], that all the troops that marched from hence upon the arrival of the enemy, had by order of Baron Steuben come back to this Station, from their utter inability to keep the field, from want of almost every species of Cloathing. Many . . . . are dependent upon others for a part of a blanket to shelter them at night from the cold. The want of shirts and shoes is another distressing circumstance. . . . . They [the men] are not able to do anything in the field and near 60 of them too naked to do anything in quarters, and every idea of training them for actual service has long since been laid aside. . . . . Another great misfortune is the manner of issuing cloathing. A good pair of Stockings is given to a naked soldier to-day; he has no shoes and wears them out by the next week, and in a fortnight afterwards when his stockings are gone he gets his shoes . . . . or perhaps he gets a fashionable hat but has no shirt or if he has he is without breeches. By this means the Country runs into debt and the soldier is always uncomfortable and utterly devoid of that military pride of appearance. . . . . There never will be a possibility of preventing desertions, till men find it more comfortable to be soldiers, than has generally been the case of the Virginia line." Colonel William Davies to Jefferson, *ibid.*, 462.

[2]Clark to Jefferson, *post*, 505.

[3]Jefferson to Clark, *post*, 508. Gibson was to be second in command.

men necessary for that service and the equipment in cannon, shells, shot and other stores was inadequate.[1] Accumulation of supplies for the expedition was so much delayed that the time of setting out from Fort Pitt was extended to June. After three weeks' deliberation, Congress agreed to grant the request of the Board of War for supplies. Three weeks longer were necessary for their collection owing to the lack of both men and money.[2] The kegs in which powder was being forwarded from Philadelphia were so poor that a delay of two weeks was necessary at one point in order to make new ones.[3]

During this period of waiting Clark learned of the abuses incident to the conduct of public affairs in the West. Instances were cited in which goods belonging to the state were used in carrying on private trade with the Indians. Laborers in public employment were accused of performing only one-tenth as much work as those who were engaged on tasks of their own.[4] Reports of the subordination of public interests to private gain were not, however, confined to any one section. It was a period when sheriffs in Virginia were accused of misappropriating large sums of county money with which to invest in land office warrants.[5] A proclamation was issued by the council of Pennsylvania against *forestalling*, by which individuals gained control of flour and other necessities on the market and thus enhanced the prices.[6] State assemblies were

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 51J31.
[2] *Ibid.*, 51J46.
[3] *Ibid.*, 51J33.
[4] Colonel Slaughter to Thomas Jefferson, January 14, 1781, *post*, 493.
[5] Report concerning sheriffs (November 17, 1779) by a special committee of the House of Delegates.
[6] State regulation of prices followed. Craig, *The Olden Time*, II., 322.

called on by Congress to put a stop to "criminal commerce" with the British and it was recommended that the furnishing of provisions and military supplies to the enemy should be treated as a capital offense.[1] Two years earlier, Washington declared that, "want of virtue . . . . is infinitely more to be dreaded than the whole force of Great Britain, assisted as they are by Hessian, Indian, and Negro allies. . . . . To make and extort money in every shape that can be devised, and at the same time to decry its value, seems to have become a mere business and an epidemical disease, calling for the interposition of every good man and body of men."[2] In fact these lapses in public morals are not wholly surprising when the commanding officer at Fort Pitt makes the following proposal to the governor of Pennsylvania: "Should our State determine to extend its settlements over the Alleghany river I should be happy to have an early hint of it because it will be in my power to serve several of my friends."[3] But the reply of President Reed came as a well calculated rebuke to all such suggestions of graft. "At present," he wrote, "my Station will prevent my engaging in pursuits of that nature lest it might give offense and give Reason to a censorious world to suppose I had made an improper use of my publick Character."[4]

[1] *Executive Papers* of December, 1780, in Va. State Archives.

[2] Washington, *Writings* (Sparks ed.), VI., 91.

[3] Colonel Brodhead to President Reed, February 28, 1780. He proposed to form a company of proprietors, of which Governor Reed should be one, to purchase land. *Pa. Archives*, VIII., 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, 150. Colonel Brodhead was forced to resign his command on account of numerous accusations against him while in command. The leading charge was speculation with public funds. Butterfield, *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 62, note.

Clark's confidence in some of his former associates was misplaced and he poured out his resentment as follows: "its supprising to me that Majr Slaughter as an officer of the State would suffer those persons to persevear in their Villany was he as he hints truly sensible of ye principal that actuated them you know my sentiments Respecting Sevrl persons in our Imploy. those he accuses are genly men of fair Characters. I have long Since determined to Conduct myself with a particular Regour towards every person under me. . . . . But to Reflect on the steps I have been obliged to make use of to prosecute a war for these several years there is an indignity in it that often Hurt me."[1]

Early in May Clark suffered his greatest disappointment upon learning that Colonel Brodhead had refused to allow the regiment under Colonel John Gibson to accompany him. The surprise and disappointment was the greater for Brodhead had already given assurance of his complete co-operation.[2] By the middle of March, Brodhead regarded his own condition as desperate. He feared an attack from Detroit and Niagara, and in that event he believed that large numbers of the inhabitants would aid the enemy.[3] Besides, he was confident that the revolt of the Delawares that

[1]Clark to Jefferson, March, 1781, see *post*, 516. The particular charges made by Colonel Slaughter against Shannon and others were examined by four commissioners and found not to be true. Slaughter to Jefferson, January 14, 1781, see *post*, 493. Evidence against John Dodge and his associates for dishonest practices seems to have been established. Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), xcviii.

[2]Brodhead to Clark. See *post*, 509. "You may rely on every supply I am authorized to afford to facilitate your expedition."

[3]Colonel Brodhead to the president of Congress, May 30, 1781 (*Draper MSS.* 16S120). Brodhead to Clark, March 19, 1781, *post*, 514. "An Indian Man has just brought in a letter which was sent by some of the inhabitants to the Enemy at Detroit with information that about one hundred of them were ready to join them so soon as they could be informed that they should be received by the Commanding officer there."

were not under Moravian influence was about to lead to a general Indian war[1] and three hundred men were sent against them.

That volunteers joined this expedition in order to avoid accompanying Clark cannot be definitely asserted but it is certain his enlistments were materially affected thereby. Colonel Brodhead now sought some argument which would excuse his policy of opposition to Clark. He was desirous of winning laurels for himself and a number of times had appealed to Washington for permission to organize an expedition against Detroit and Natchez and for assistance in carrying it forward.[2] Brodhead was convinced that he was well within his instructions in refusing to grant Clark's request for a regiment. His orders read: "You will likewise direct the officers with the company of artillery to be ready to move, when Colonel Clark shall call for them; and, as it is my wish to give the enterprise every aid, which our small force can afford, you will be pleased to form such a detachment as you can safely spare from your own and Gibson's regiments, and put it under the command of Colonel Clarke also. I should suppose, the detachment cannot be made more than a command for a captain or major at most. . . . . Your good sense will, I am convinced, make you view this matter in its true light."[3]

[1]Brodhead to Clark, *post*, 510. "I have wrote the County Lieutenants to meet at my quarters on the 15th instant to consult on means to protect our Settlements and annoy the Enemy."

[2]*Draper MSS.*, 7H122. Washington to Brodhead, January 4, 1780. Washington stated that from the estimate he made of the garrison at Detroit, the men in garrison at Fort Pitt together with the militia would not be adequate to make the attempt, and that the same was true of Natchez.

[3]Washington to Brodhead. Washington, *Writings* (Sparks ed.), VII., 343.

Clark's position was likewise tenable, for he had interpreted Jefferson's dispatch to mean that by the consent of Baron Steuben and Washington, he was to be accompanied by Colonel Gibson's regiment and Heath's company.[1]

Both men appealed to Washington. "From your Excellencies letters to Colº Broadhead," Clark wrote, "I conceived him to be at liberty to furnish what men he pleasd. . . . . If you should aprove of the troops in this department Joining our forces tho they are few the acquisition may be attended with great & good consequences as two Hundred only might turn the Scale in our favour." The next day he appealed again for assistance, saying, "For in part it has been the Influence of our posts in the Illinoise and Ouabash that have savd the frontiers and in a great measure baffled the designs of the Enemy at Detroit If they get possession of them they then Command three times the number of Valuable warriors they do at present and be fully Enabled to carry any point they aim at Except we should have a formidable force to oppose them."[2]

Clark assumed that his request would be granted. Regular officers and soldiers were desirous of going on the expedition which was supposed to be aimed against the Indians.[3] While awaiting Washington's reply, boats were completed and provisions collected. Not-

[1]Clark to Washington, May 20, 1781, *post*, 551. Gibson agreed with Clark in this interpretation.

[2]See *post*, 553.

[3]*Draper MSS.*, 51J57. See *post*, 550. President Reed wrote Clark, May 15, 1781: "But from common report we learn, that an expedition under your command is destined against Detroit. We are very sensible of its importance to this State, as well as Virginia, and there is no Gentleman in whose abilities and good conduct we have more Confidence, on such an occasion. After this it seems unnecessary to add, that it will give us great Satisfaction if the inhabitants of this State chearfully concur in it."

withstanding the desire of President Reed of Pennsylvania to render all the assistance within his power, volunteers were secured only after the use of extreme measures, due chiefly to the dispute over the boundary.[1] A general draft was finally resorted to.[2] Enforcement of the order in Monongalia County brought on a riot.[3]

Among other problems demanding Clark's attention besides the suppression of this mob,[4] was the difficulty of securing supplies with a currency which steadily depreciated in value.[5] Findings of the general court martial were reviewed by him in which such questions were considered as the legality of drafting, punishment of horse-thieves and embezzlement of public property.[6]

Clark's problems were still more complicated because of a dispatch from Washington by which he was informed that Colonel John Connolly was about to join forces with Sir John Johnson and come by the way of Lake Ontario against Fort Pitt and other western posts.[7]

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 51J49, 56.

[2] *Ibid.*, 30J91.

[3] *Ibid.*, 51J58.

[4] See *post*, 568. "We the subscribers being Accessary to a Riot in Supressing a draught in this county on the 12th Inst Being Sensible of our Error and as a security of our future good conduct do hereby Engage to Serve Ten months in the continental Service in case we should be guilty of the like misdeminor."

[5] Colonel Gibson to Clark. See *post*, 561. "I am sorry to have to inform you that a set of Rascals have Begun to depreciate the Virg[a] money now in Circulation, and some of them have even gone so far as to refuse taking it, in particular Smith the Brewer has refused to take it in payment for Beer, I am much afraid it will reach the Country and of Course retard your proceedings."

[6] James Thomson convicted of horse theft and desertion was forced to run the gauntlet through the brigade. *Post*, 577.

[7] Connolly, recently exchanged, had proceeded from New York to Quebec. Washington, *Writings* (Sparks ed.), VII., 25. "I doubt Sir," Clark wrote Jefferson relative to Connolly's expedition, "we shall as utial be obligd to play a desperate gaim this campaign, If we had the 2,000 men first proposd such Intelligence would give me pleasure." See *post*, 559.

In the midst of these preparations, social life at Fort Pitt was not lacking. "We have heard," wrote Colonel Gibson, "that the Gentlemen and Ladies of Stewarts Crossing's intend paying us a visit tomorrow, in Consequence of which a grand Bower is erected in the Orchard, a Barbacue is preparing for tomorrow and a Ball in the Evening at Col Gibson's Room."[1] The celebration of the "Aniversary of our Glorious Independance" also received due attention.[2]

While the necessary supplies had been collected by the first of June at a cost approaching two million dollars the weeks wore on with Clark still hoping to secure the requisite number of volunteers.[3] His appeals to Washington, that Colonel Gibson's regiment might be permitted to accompany him, failed.[4] Drafts were of slight avail, and finally, early in August, despairing of accomplishing his designs in the face of deep-seated opposition on the part of the officials of the western counties of Pennsylvania, he set out for Louisville,

[1]Gibson to Clark, *post*, 570.

[2]*Draper MSS.*, 51J65.

[3]*Cal. Va. State Papers*, II., 140. Clark in a letter to Jefferson (August 4, 1781, *post*, 578), says he had given Colonel Harrison £126,581 to enable him to collect stores. £300,000 had already been forwarded to Colonel Harrison. Jefferson to Clark, April 20, 1781. *Jefferson's Letter Book, 1781.*

[4]Washington to the Board of War, June 8, 1781, *post*, 562. "As it seemed the public wish, that the expedition of Col[l] Clarke against Detroit should be supported, I gave orders to Col[l] Brodhead to deliver him a certain quantity of Artillery and Stores and to detach Captain Craig with his company or Artillery, as there were neither officers nor men of the Virginia Militia acquainted with that kind of service."

"I recommended also a small detachment of Continental Troops from the 8th Pennsylvania and 9th Virginia Regiments but it was at the discretion of the Commandant and in case they could be safely spared. I mentioned that I did not imagine the command could not exceed that of a Major and perhaps not of a Captain. If therefore Col[l] Brodhead saw that the post could not be defended if such a detachment of Infantry was made, he was justifyable by the spirit of my order in not sending it."

with four hundred men.[1] This number was little more than adequate to guard the boats which contained supplies for fully two thousand men. Clark hoped his force would be re-enforced in Kentucky and that he might still accomplish his object or at least make some demonstration against the disaffected Indians.[2] Before setting out, he was forced to draw on his supplies in order to relieve the distressed condition of the garrison at Fort Pitt.[3] Plans were outlined whereby Colonel Gibson was to lead an attack against the Wyandot, September 4, and Clark was to march at the same time from the mouth of the Miami upon the Shawnee villages.

Clark's preparations had served as a defense for the frontiers. Efforts were redoubled to put Detroit in condition to withstand an attack.[4] Demands for presents made by the Indians in council at that post increased "amazingly."[5] By the end of May, the

[1] *Cal. Va. State Papers*, II., 345. In a letter to Colonel Davies, W. Croghan declared that the reason Clark was able to get so few men at Fort Pitt was "owing to the dispute that subsists here between the Virginians & Pennsylvanians respecting the true bounds of the Latter. And the General being a Virginian was opposed by the most noted men here of the Pennsylvania Party. The people here bleam Virginia very much for making them & their lands (which beyond a shadow of a doubt is far out of the true bounds of pensylvania) over to pennsylvania."

Draper MSS., 16S54 *et seq.* The force accompanying Clark was composed of Colonel Crockett's regiment of Virginia state troops and Captain Craig's company of artillery, together with volunteers and militia. Clark was represented by some of the leading men opposed to him as a flour merchant, and again as a trader and land jobber for the state of Virginia. (*Draper MSS.*, 52J18.) James Marshall, county-lieutenant of Washington County and County-Lieutenants Cook and Davis, were named by Clark as his main opponents. (Clark to President Reed, August 4, 1781, *post*, 579.) Marshall advised the people to pay no attention to the drafts ordered for Clark and offered protection to those who refused. He had told Clark that while he could do nothing for the expedition as an official that as a private person he would give every assistance within his power. *Pa. Archives*, IX., 318.

[2] See *post*, 578.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See *post*, 582.

[5] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, X., 465.

fears of the British and their allies were increased by the report that Clark was descending the Ohio with one thousand men and that this number would be increased by a like number from Kentucky.[1] Their confidence was restored through a dispatch from General Haldimand contradicting this rumor and assuring them that Detroit and the Indian country were in no danger. They were ordered to act at once in order to prevent the farther strengthening of the frontier settlements.[2] Such an order meant war on combatant and non-combatant alike.

XVI. FAILURE

While a force of one hundred rangers under Captain Andrew Thompson and three hundred Indians under Captain McKee were advancing to the Ohio to waylay Clark, Captain Joseph Brant at the head of one hundred whites and Indians surprised a body of one hundred and seven Pennsylvania volunteers under Colonel Archibald Lochry which was descending the Ohio to join Clark.

This company of picked men from Westmoreland County reached Fort Wheeling a few hours after Clark's departure. On August 16, eight men were sent forward with a letter to Clark. Five of them were captured and from the letter Brant learned that Lochry was coming down the river. His plan of attack was completely successful. The Americans having reached a point ten miles below the mouth of the Big Miami,

[1] Simon Girty to Major de Peyster. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, x., 478. This rumor was started on account of the expedition against the Delawares by Colonel Brodhead.

[2] Haldimand to De Peyster. *Ibid.*, 490.

landed to cook food and to cut grass for their horses. They were attacked by the Indians. Attempting to escape across the river they were surprised by another party, one-third of their number were killed and the remainder made prisoners.[1] A number of the prisoners, including Colonel Lochry, were afterwards murdered. After marching with their prisoners a few miles up the Miami, the victors met the forces led by Thompson and McKee. The Indians were satisfied with what had been accomplished and believed that their villages would now be safe. With great difficulty they were persuaded that security from invasion lay only in attacking Clark. On September 9, they were within twenty-five miles of the falls. Scouts there came in with two prisoners from whom it was learned that Clark could not with his small force undertake an expedition. But the Indians were not disposed to attack him and numerous small bands deserted, some returning to their villages while others scoured the country, burning cabins and stealing horses. The rangers were without food and insisted on retreating towards Detroit.[2]

All the posts anxiously awaited Clark's return. The new fort at the falls[3] had been completed as he had directed. For months, however, the garrison had suffered through a lack of clothing and food. Early the previous winter Captain Slaughter declared: "My men have no shirts, hats, blankets or Breeches, not having drawn Cloath for that purpose, shoes, Stockings,

[1] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, x., 530. An account of this expedition is given in Indiana Hist. Soc., *Pamphlets*, No. 4 (1888). See also Anderson's *Journal* in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 725.

[2] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, x., 516.

[3] Fort Nelson, so named in honor of the governor of Virginia.

moccasons, so that they are totally unfit for duty."[1] For three years these troops had received no pay; they were without adequate food, and none was obtainable without money, since the credit of the government was gone. Numbers of the best men were deserting daily. Supplies were no longer obtainable in the Illinois country on credit or for continental currency. Without suitable goods which might be used in exchange for provisions, the distress of the troops at Fort Jefferson became constantly more acute. Their melancholy condition in October, 1780, was described by Lieutenant Leonard Helm as follows: "Sitting by Capt. George's fire with a piece of Light wood and two Ribs of an old Bufaloe which is all the meat we have seen this many days, I congratulate your success against the Shawanahs but this never doubt when that brave Col. Clarke Commands we will know the loss of him at the Illinois . . . . . Excuse Hast as the Lightwood just out and mouth watering for want of the two ribs."[2] Settlers, at the post, harrassed by bands of Indians and the consequent loss of crops and stock shared in these distresses. Desertions among the soldiers and inhabitants become more frequent, some becoming traders and others going down the river, and finally, in June, 1781, the fort was evacuated.[3]

Conditions elsewhere in Kentucky were little, if any, better. Preparations for the promised expedition against Detroit had been made by frontier officials under adverse conditions, for the credit of Virginia

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 50J79.

[2] See *post*, 466. Addressed to Colonel George Slaughter. Captain Robert George was then in command at Fort Jefferson.

[3] See *post*, 585.

was exhausted, as illustrated by the following typical communication to Clark: "I prepared the Canoes ordered by Governm[t] and am liable for the Price of most of them, having on the faith of the Governors Letter promised to pay for them long since, & he promised to send me money by the first opportunity to defray the Expense which is about £40000. I have received no money on that Account nor have I any of my own to advance I should therefore be glad you cou'd contrive to have it sent out if possible People have been so long amused with promises of paying off Expenses long incurred that the credit of the State is very little better here than in Illinois."[1]

Large quantities of beef which had been collected were unfit for use.[2] During the winter and spring a succession of Indian raids well nigh devastated Fayette and Jefferson counties.[3] Ammunition and provisions were scarce and the settlers sought the protection of the forts or fled panic-stricken to the stronger settlements. "There is scarce one fort in the county but once a month seems upon the eve of breaking for want of men to defend it," John Todd wrote in April. "Such residents," he continued, "as had most property and Horses to remove their effects, have retreated to Lincoln. One half of the remainder are unable to remove. We have no tax Commissioners in the County & almost nothing to tax."[4]

[1]See *post*, 584.

[2]Colonel Floyd to Clark, April 26, 1781. Out of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of beef all but sixteen thousand pounds spoiled.

[3]See *post*, 540.

[4]Todd to Jefferson, April 15, 1781. John Todd was, at the time, county-lieutenant in Fayette County and was stationed at Lexington. *Cal. Va. State Papers*, II., 44.

John Floyd declared that Jefferson County had lost forty-seven inhabitants by Indian attacks within three months, whole families having been sacrificed regardless of age or sex; that their food consisted mainly of wild meat which could be gotten only with great labor and danger, and that the county was not wholly desolate was due to the confidence of the people in Clark's vigilance, enterprise and military virtue and to their inability to escape.[1]

Dissatisfaction with American rule on the part of the inhabitants prevailed. Avarice, prodigality and petty strife among the officers were continuous.[2] The situation at Vincennes was similar. Oliver Pollock, as already noted, had been unable to meet the bills drawn on the treasury of Virginia. Colonel Le Gras stated the situation as follows: "I beg you if you can to send me in place of this same bill of exchange one of the same amount as those which are sent you from the treasury of Virginia for 1752 dollars in order to procure me some means of ministering to my pressing wants."[3]

Continental money had been accepted by them in good faith following the assurance by American officers that it was equal in value to silver. Refusing to accept it in payment for provisions, they were commanded by public order to receive it or become subject to punishment.

[1]See *post*, 530. Letter of John Floyd to Thomas Jefferson, April 16, 1781. Floyd was county-lieutenant of Jefferson County. On April 24, Floyd again wrote Jefferson as follows: "Indigent Widows and Orphans make up a great part of the Inhabitants of this County who are bereaved of their Husbands and Fathers by Savages and lef among strangers without the common necessaries of life." *Post*, 541.

[2]See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.* II.), cxxviii *et seq.*

[3]See *post*, 435, 469. Le Gras to Clark, August 1 and December 1, 1780.

During February a detachment of regular troops had been sent to Vincennes from Fort Jefferson and their exactions were intolerable to the French. In a memorial to the governor of Virginia, they recited all their grievances since the time Clark left them. "They have perpetrated others," they relate, "of a more serious character by killing our cattle in the fields and our hogs in our yards, taking our flour from the mills, and the corn in our garners, with arms in their hands threatening all who should resist them, and the destruction of the fort we built at our own cost. . . . . If it be thus you treat your friends, pray what have you in reserve for your enemies?"[1] Exhausted through repetition of these abuses, the French settlers finally retaliated. Captain Bailey, in charge of the garrison, declared: "I must inform you once more that I cannot keep Garrison any longer without some speedy relief from you my Men have been 15 days upon half allowance, there is plenty of provisions here but no credit, I cannot press being the weakest party some of the Gentlemen would help us but their Credit is as bad as ours therefore if you have not provisions send whiskey which will answer as good an end."[2]

What was to be done by Clark in this crisis. His own force had been greatly depleted by desertions and the time of enlistment for the majority of the regular troops at Louisville was about to expire. The loss of Colonel Archibald Lochry and his men was a cruel blow to Clark. Kentucky settlers were waiting

[1]See *post*, 430 *et seq.* See Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 189 *et seq.*, for petition of the Kaskaskians.

[2]Letter to Colonel Slaughter, August 6, 1781, *post*, 581.

impatiently to learn what was to be done for their protection against the assaults of the Indians, for the tribes north of the Ohio were in general revolt against Americans, and rumors of expeditions to be sent against them from Detroit were continuous.[1] By order of the assembly the expedition directed against Detroit was again postponed.[2]

The three county-lieutenants, together with three other field officers, constituted a council called by Clark. At their meeting in Louisville, September 7, placing the situation squarely before them he appealed for their co-operation in carrying on a general expedition and stated the influence of the western department on the Revolution. "But I know and always knew," he wrote, "that this Departm^{t} was of more real Service to the united States, than half of all their Frontier Posts, and have proved of great importance by engaging the attention of the Enemy that otherwise would have spread Slaughter & Devastation through out the more Interior Frontier, deprived them of giving any assistance to our Eastern Armies, and more than probable, the Allegany would have been our Boundary at this time." He called attention to the evacuation of Fort Jefferson, the probability of similar action at Vincennes and the consequent loss of influence over several thousand warriors. Of the two routes which seemed open for an expedition, that by the Miami against the Shawnee and Delaware or up the Wabash, Clark preferred the latter. This would bring them at once against the greatest bodies

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 15CC35. A small tribe of the Kaskaskia were still firm in their allegiance.

[2] *Cal. Va. State Papers*, II., 156, 177. June 21, 1781.

of Indians, but he was prepared to risk all in a single stroke since their condition as well as his own appeared desperate. He saw in this expedition, if successful, the possibility of carrying his operations against Detroit. "I wait as a Spectator," he said, "to see what a Country is determined to do for itself when reduced to a State of Desperation; I am ready to lead you on to any Action that has the most distant prospect of Advantage, however daring it may appear to be. . . . . Some stroke of this sort might probably save your Country Another Season From some late Occurrences I am apprehensive this will be the last piece of Service that I shall have in my power to do for you, in the Military line and Could wish it to be as Compleat as possible My situation being desperate; similar conduct would be agreeable."[1]

While expressing confidence in Clark in that they were prepared to promise five hundred men, two-thirds the entire military strength of the three counties and secure necessary provisions for any expedition he might undertake, the council advised against any offensive operations, or at most favored half-heartedly a small expedition up the Miami.

In keeping with the recommendation of the assembly, they advised the construction of forts at intervals along the Ohio, and especially one at the mouth of the Kentucky, which should be well garrisoned. They objected to maintaining the chief fort at the falls, since by so doing their strength would be needlessly divided, and opposed Clark's statement that it was a post of first importance. "To say that the Falls is the 'Key

[1]See *post*, 598.

to this country,'" John Todd, who was one of the council, declared, "seems to me unintelligible. It is a strong rapid which may in an age of commerce be a considerable obstruction to the navigation, but as we have no Trade we neither need nor have any keys to Trade."[1] They assumed that the fort which they advocated would be constructed and garrisoned by regular soldiers. But when it was ascertained that these burdens were to be borne by themselves they refused to acquiesce, giving as their reasons, the necessity of securing their crops; the want of money and intrenching tools; and constant fear of attacks by the Indians which necessitated the militia remaining at home.[2]

In a council of the officers of the department held the next day, it was agreed that an expedition which would consist of only seven hundred men, the number of regulars and militia available, was impracticable. While insisting that the garrison at the falls should be maintained, they likewise recommended that a fort should be built at the mouth of the Kentucky and urged the assembling of a strong force for the reduction of Detroit the next spring.

British officials were now giving greater attention to border affairs. Savage favor was maintained through the expenditure of larger sums for presents.[3] A continuous succession of attacks by small parties kept the frontier inhabitants from Illinois to New York in

[1] *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 562.

[2] *Draper MSS.*, 51J93.

[3] "I cannot help expressing my surprize not only at the astonishing amount of those Bills, so soon following the last, but at so great expence being incurred at all." General Haldimand to Major de Peyster, October 6, 1781. *Mich Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, X., 524.

perpetual terror.[1] Even while Clark was in council with his officers, Brant and McKee were, as already related, marching towards Louisville with their victorious savages. Refusing to attack Clark, two hundred Mingo and Huron were with great difficulty kept together and led southward in order to "attack some of the Kentucky forts or infest the roads."[2] Besides the constant fear from the Shawnee and other tribes north of the Ohio, reports were general that an attack on Kentucky by the Cherokee and Creeks was soon to be expected.

The spirit of general despondency was portrayed by Colonel Floyd in the following letter: "The frontier of this County along the Ohio River is 277 miles by computation and the Inhabitants greatly dispersed & cooped up in small forts without any ammunition. . . . . The most distressed widows & Orphans perhaps in the world make up a great part of our Inhabitants."[3]

Numerous appeals were made to the Virginia authorities for assistance. A thousand men, in addition to the available militia, would be able, they were informed, not only to secure Kentucky, but at the same time offer protection to the other back settlements. Without such assistance and the consequent sacrifice of Kentucky, six thousand Indian warriors

[1]"It would be endless and difficult to enumerate to Your Lordship the Parties that are continually Employed upon the back Settlements." General Haldimand in a report to Lord George Germain, October 23, 1781. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, x., 530.

[2]*Ibid.*, 517.

[3]Letter to Governor Nelson, Oct. 6, 1781. *Clark MSS.*, in Va. State Archives. He reported that eighty-four of the inhabitants had been killed within six months. The number of militia for Jefferson County was then three hundred. Ninety-seven persons were killed in the region of the falls, from February 6 to the end of the year 1781. *Draper MSS.*, 16CC36.

would be free to lay waste the whole frontier from Pennsylvania to South Carolina.

Clark still advocated an expedition up the Wabash against the Indian nations among whom the English power was most strongly intrenched. He saw in such a movement, if successful, the capture of Detroit, control of the savages and preservation of the Kentucky settlements, retention of power over "the Illinois both Spanish and American" and ultimate influence on the terms of peace. It is probable he had in his possession at the time the message from Colonel Arthur Campbell written nearly a month before in which he stated that peace would probably be declared within a few months. "I wish," he wrote, "we could carry our arms to the banks of Lake Erie, before a cessation would take place. . . . . altho' every true American must acknowledge, the advantages that would accrue, could Canada be added to the Union."[1]

The situation was to Clark full of discouragement when he declared: "But I would not wish to trouble your Excellency with my remarks. I have lost the object that was one of the principal inducements to my fatigues & transactions for several years past—my chain appears to have run out. I find myself enclosed with few troops, in a trifling fort, and shortly expect to bear the insults of those who have for several years been in continual dread of me."[2]

[1]See *post*, 595.

[2]See *post*, 608. October 1, 1781. Thomas Nelson was then governor of Virginia.

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GEORGE ROGERS CLARK PAPERS

1771-1781

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CHAPTER I

CLARK AND THE WEST BEFORE THE REVOLUTION
APRIL 14, 1771—JUNE 20, 1776

CLARK LOCATES AND SURVEYS LANDS ON THE OHIO—HE TAKES PART IN DUNMORE'S WAR—EVIDENCE REGARDING THE SPEECH OF LOGAN—CLARK APPOINTED SURVEYOR FOR THE OHIO COMPANY—COLONEL RICHARD HENDERSON'S CLAIM IN KENTUCKY—CLARK RETURNS TO VIRGINIA WITH A PETITION FROM THE WESTERN SETTLERS TO THE CONVENTION—RESULT OF HIS ENTREATIES.

CLARK TO JONATHAN CLARK, April 14, 1771.

[Draper MSS., 1L6.—A. L. S.]

EAGLs NEST—Aprl 14th 1771.

DEAR BROTHER

This is to let you know that I am well and hope this will find you so I intend to go home next Saturday and hope that you will be here as I shant have another opertunity until June If I should not Come Send me word as soon as posible how the Lawsuit went.

I am ever your faithfull Brother &c

G. R. CLARK[1]

[*Addressed:*] To Mr Jonathan Clark Spotsylvania

JOHN B. ROY TO JONATHAN CLARK, November 22, 1772.

[Draper MSS., 1L8.—A. L. S.]

WINCHESTER, 22 Novr. 1772.

Dr SIR

Mr Foster being acomeing to your Court gives me an opportunity of informing you of your Father, Mr Sutton, Mr Dejarnett & myself being got this far on our Return after a long & Tiresome Journey, thro the Hilleyest Countrey that I ever saw, your Brother Geo & James Higgins we left keeping house about

[1]For the early life and preparation of Clark, see Introduction, *ante*, lii.

130 miles below Pittsburg on a Bottom of fine land on the Ohio,[1] which would be Valuable were it not for it being so Surrounded with mountains surpassing any thing you ever saw, have great favr to ask of you to gett & bring about a Quart or two of Blue Grass seed with you for me at Xmas at which time your Father Expects to see you & also desires youl bring him about a Gallon of Timothy seed Please Call as you come by on Dr Sir

Yr most sincere obdt Sert

Jno B: Roy

Excuse Writeing in a Hurry

[*Addressed:*] Mr Jonathan Clark. p favr Mr Foster

Clark to Jonathan Clark, January 9, 1773.

[Draper MSS., 1L9.—A. L. S.]

Ohio River Grave Creek Township

January 9th 1773.

Dear Brother

I embrace ye opertunity by Mr Jarrot to let you know that I am in good health hoping that this find you in the same as to health I am setled on my land with great plenty of provisions, and drive on pretty well as to clearing hoping by the spring to get a full Crop I know nothing more worth acquainting you with but that this Cuntry Setels very fast (and Corn is in some parts a 7/6 Pr Bushel but I have got great plenty) the people is a setling as low as ye Siotho River 366 Below Fort Pitt[2] land Rais almost as Dear here as below I had an offer of a very considerrable sum for my place I get a good deal of cash by surveying on this River pray write to me by ye first opertunity after the receipt of this nothing more but your affecticnate Brother

G. R. Clark

[*Addressed:*] To Mr Jonathan Clark in Woodstock Dunmore County Virginia D. Clk

[1] June 9, 1772, Clark, with a few other men, set out from Fort Pitt on an exploring expedition down the Ohio. They reached the mouth of the Kanawha, June 18. From that time until July 22, when they returned to Fort Pitt, they were engaged in exploring the lands on the Ohio and some of its tributaries above the Kanawha.

[2] Distance computed by Captain Thomas Hutchins. It is possible Clark made a trip during the preceding summer to this point, for he was reported to have gone with another young man three hundred miles below Fort Pitt.

CLARK TO JONATHAN CLARK, December 18, 1774.

[Draper MSS., 1L14.—A. L. S.]

Decem^{r} 18th 1774.

DEAR BROTHER

I learn by Cap^{n} Marshal that you intend being hear to-morrow or next Day. I am sorry that I cannot wait to see you as I am not well and want to get down for fear of geting ill before I Reach home[1] I would have Calld to see you but was so unwell that I was afraid of making any stay. by y^{e} way I would write more but I expect to see you so soon that I need not be perticular in writing this. From your loving Brother

G. R. CLARK

[*Addressed:*] To M^{r} Jonathan Clark:

CLARK TO SAMUEL BROWN, June 17, 1798.[2]

[Collection of Reuben T. Durrett.]

June 17, '98

DEAR SIR

Your letter of last month honored by Mr. Thurston, was handed me by that gentleman. The matter contained in it and in the inclosed papers was new to me. I felt hurt that Mr. Jefferson should be attacked with so much virulence on account of an error of which I know he was not the author. Except a few mistakes in names of persons, places, etc., the story of Logan, as related by Mr. Jefferson, is substantially true. I was of the first and last of the active officers who bore the weight of

[1] Clark was then returning after his service as a volunteer captain in Dunmore's War. See Introduction, *ante*, liii.

[2] Whether this is the original letter could not be ascertained. The evidence seems to favor the statement that it is a copy. Colonel Durrett, in answer to my letter of inquiry, wrote as follows: "I have had doubts myself about the letter which I have being the original written by Clark for reasons similar to those which you state in your letter of inquiry to me. I received this letter from a brother of Leonard Bliss, who was killed by Godfrey Pope in 1842, with some other matters, printed and manuscript, which he had received from his brother's estate after his death. I knew that Leonard Bliss had valuable papers which referred to General Clark and therefore was glad to purchase from his brother a copy of the *Louisville News Letter* and this manuscript letter of General Clark and some other papers which apparently came straight and were genuine."

that war; and on perusing some old papers of that date, I find some memoirs. But independent of them, I have a perfect recollection of every transaction relating to Logan's story.[1] The

[1] Logan, whose Indian name was Tah-gah-jute, was a noted Mingo chief. His father was French but, when a boy, was captured by the Indians and became an influential chief of the Cayuga. Logan's mother was of this tribe. Logan took no part in the French and Indian War. For a number of years he lived in western Pennsylvania and, about 1772, moved to a Mingo village located on Tetlow Creek. Among the pioneers, he was noted for his sobriety, honesty and friendship for white men. In later life he drank to excess and is said to have become ferocious towards everyone. He met his death, in 1780, at the hand of one of his relatives.

The incidents related in the letter by Clark, probably led to the immediate outbreak of Dunmore's War. In his *Notes on Virginia*, written in 1781 (p. 67), Thomas Jefferson attributed the murder of Logan's family to Michael Cresap. This was the view commonly held by those persons who were supposed to know the circumstances. (See *Notes on Virginia*. Appendix IV.) It was generally believed also that Logan gave the substance of the famous speech, quoted by Mr. Jefferson, when he was invited to the conference after the battle of Point Pleasant, by a special messenger sent by Lord Dunmore. The speech is as follows: "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained quiet in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen as they passed, said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man, Col. Cresap, the last Spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Luther Martin, a son-in-law of Cresap, in a published letter, 1797, pronounced the speech not genuine and the statement made about Captain Cresap without foundation. A controversy followed, and Jefferson made a careful investigation of the facts. This was the origin of Clark's letter. It is probable that the letter, or a copy, was in Jefferson's possession, and it is difficult to understand why he did not incorporate it along with others in the new edition of his *Notes on Virginia*, 1800 (Appendix). Samuel Brown, of Lexington, Kentucky, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, September 4, 1798, wrote as follows: "I have deferred replying to your friendly letter hitherto from an expectation of collecting from different sources a variety of statements and facts relative to the murder of Logan's family. . . . . I am happy in having it in my power to transmit to you an interesting letter from your friend, General Clark, which, indeed, appears to me to render further investigation quite unnecessary. The only point for which you contend, viz., that Logan is really the author of the speech ascribed to him in your *Notes on Virginia*, is now established beyond the possibility of contradiction. The incidents in Gen. Clark's narration follow each other in a manner so simple and so natural as to afford every liberal and candid inquirer the highest internal evidence of their reality." (*Draper MSS.*, 16S83 *et seq.*)

The account given by Clark in which he asserts that Greathouse and not Cresap was the author of the barbarous act which gave rise to Logan's speech,

conduct of Cresap I am perfectly acquainted with.[1] He was not the author of that murder, but a family by the name of Greathouse through some transaction that happened under the command of Capt. Cresap a few days previous to the murder of Logan's family gave him sufficient ground to suppose that it was Cresap that had done the injury. To enable you fully to understand the subject of your inquiries, I shall relate the incidents that gave rise to Logan's suspicion and will enable Mr. Jefferson to do justice to himself and the Cresap family by being made fully acquainted with facts.

This country was explored in 1773. A resolution was formed to make a settlement the spring following, and the mouth of the Little Kenaway [*sic*] was appointed the place of general rendezvous in order to descend the river from thence in a body. Early in the spring the Indians had done some mischief. Reports from their towns were alarming which deterred many. About eighty or ninety men only set out at the appointed rendezvous where we lay some days. A small party of hunters that lay about ten miles below us, were fired upon by the Indians, whom the hunters beat back and returned to camp.[2] This and many other circumstances led us to believe that the Indians were determined on war. The whole party was enrolled and determined to execute their project of forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary

is now accepted as trustworthy. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*, 9 *et seq.* For Luther Martin's letter and a complete account of the evidence, see Craig, *The Olden Time*, II., 51 *et seq.*

[1] Michael Cresap was the son of Thomas Cresap who came to the colonies from Yorkshire, England, on account of oppression under James II. Thomas Cresap became an Indian trader and surveyor in Maryland, and acquired land on the upper Potomac. He was a leading man in the Ohio Company, and a friend of Washington. Michael Cresap was born in 1742, and early became an Indian trader. At the outbreak of Dunmore's War, he was commissioned captain and served until the end of the campaign. In July of the following year, having raised a company of one hundred and thirty riflemen in Maryland, he led them eight hundred miles and joined Washington at Cambridge. He died in New York City, October, 1775. For a good account of the Cresap family, see Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc., *Publications*, X., 146 *et seq.* An appreciative sketch of Colonel Thomas Cresap is found in Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 202 *et seq.*

[2] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*, 115. The Indians made an attack on thirteen people who were planning to locate on the Ohio. Three Indians were killed by the whites and this is said to have led to the determination of the Shawnee to rob the Pennsylvanians and kill the Virginians wherever they were found. The account gives an excellent description of the widespread interest in western lands and methods of securing them.

store that could be thought of. An Indian town called Horse-head Bottom on the Sciota and near its mouth, lay nearly in our way. The determination was to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command was the question. There were but few among us that had experience in Indian warfare and they were such as we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Capt. Cresap being on the river about fifteen miles above us with some hands settling a plantation; and that he had concluded to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed there his people. We also knew that he had been experienced in a former war. He was proposed; and it was unanimously agreed to send for him to command the party. Messengers were despatched and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution by some of his hunters that had fallen in with ours, and had set out to come to us. We now thought our army, as we called it, complete, and the destruction of the Indians sure. A council was called and to our astonishment, our intended commander-in-chief was the person that dissauded us from the enterprise. He said, that appearances were very suspicious, but there was no certainty of a war. That if we made the attempt proposed, he had no doubt of our success but a war would at any rate be the result, and that we should be blamed for it, and perhaps justly. But if we were determined to proceed, he would lay aside all considerations, send to his camp for his people and share our fortunes. He was then asked what he would advise. His answer was that we should return to Wheeling, as a convenient post, to hear what was going forward. That a few weeks would determine. As it was early in the spring, if we found the Indians were not disposed for war, we should have full time to return and make our establishment in Kentucky. This was adopted, and in two hours the whole were under way. As we ascended the river we met Kill-buck, an Indian chief with a small party. We had a long conference with him, but received but little satisfaction as to the disposition of the Indians. It was observed that Cresap did not come to this conference, but kept on the opposite side of the river. He said he was afraid to trust himself with the Indians. That Kill-buck had frequently attempted to way-lay his father to kill him—that if he crossed the river, perhaps, his fortitude might fail him

and he might put Kill-buck to death. On our arrival at Whecling (the country being pretty well settled thereabouts) the whole of the inhabitants appeared to be alarmed. They flocked to our camp from every direction and all we could say would not keep them from under our wings. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts, until further information, if they would return to their plantations, but nothing would avail. By this time we had got to be a formidable party. All the hunters, men without families, etc., in that quarter had joined our party. Our arrival at Wheeling was soon known at Pittsburg. The whole of that country, at that time, being under the jurisdiction of Virginia, Dr. Connolly had been appointed by Dunmore, Capt. Commandant of the district which was called Waugusta [*West Augusta*].

He, learning of us sent a message addressed to the party letting us know that a war was to be apprehended and requesting that we would keep our position for a few days, as messages had been sent to the Indians, and a few days would determine the doubt. The answer he got was that we had no inclination to quit our quarters for sometime. That during our stay we should be careful that the enemy should not harass the neighborhood that we lay in. But before this answer could reach Pittsburg, he sent a second express, addressed to Capt. Cresap, as the most influential man among us, informing him that the message had returned from the Indians that war was inevitable, and begging him to use his influence with the party to get them to cover the country by scouts until the inhabitants could fortify themselves. The reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. A new post was planted, a council was called and the letter read by Cresap. All the Indian traders being summoned on so important an occasion, action was had and war declared in the most solemn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into camp. The next day some canoes of Indians were discovered on the river keeping the advantage of the island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased fifteen milés down the river and driven ashore. A battle ensued, a few were wounded on both sides, one Indian only taken prisoner. On examining their canoes, we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp, a resolution was adopted to march the

next day and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio about thirty miles above us. We did march about five miles and then halted to take some refreshment. Here the impropriety of executing the projected enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions as they were hunting, and their party was composed of men, women and children with all their stuff with them. This we knew as I myself and others present had been in the camp about four weeks past on our descending the river from Pittsburg. In short, every person seemed to detest the resolution we had set out with. We returned in the evening, decamped and took the road to Redstone. It was two days after this that Logan's family were killed and from the manner in which it was done, it was viewed as a horrid murder. From Logan hearing of Cresap being at the head of the party on the river, it is no wonder that he supposed he had a hand in the destruction of his family. Since the reception of your letter, I have procured the "Notes on Virginia." They are now before me. The act was more barbarous than related by Mr. Jefferson. Those Indians used to visit and return visits with the neighboring whites on the opposite side of the river. They were on a visit to a family by the name of Greathouse at the time they were murdered by them and their associates. The war now raged in all its savage fury, until the fall, when a treaty of peace was held at Camp Charlotte, within four miles of Chillicothe, the Indian capital on the Ohio. Logan did not appear. I was acquainted with him and wished to know the reason. The answer was "that he was like a mad dog, his bristles were up and were not quite fallen, but the good talk now going forward might allay them." Logan's speech to Dunmore now came forward, as related by Mr. Jefferson. It was thought to be clever although the army knew it to be wrong as to Cresap. But it only produced a laugh in camp. I saw it displeased Capt. Cresap and told him "that he must be a very great man, that the Indians palmed everything that happened on his shoulders." He smiled and said that he had an inclination to tomahawk Greathouse for the murder. What I have here related is fact I was intimate with Cresap. Logan I was better acquainted with, at that time, than any other Indian in the Western country.

I was perfectly acquainted with the conduct of both parties. Logan was author of the speech, as altered by Mr. Jefferson, and Cresap's conduct was as I have related it.

I am yours, etc,
G. R. CLARK.

CLARK TO JONATHAN CLARK, April 1, 1775.

[Draper MSS., 1L16.—A. L. S.]

STEWARDS CROSSINGS, Apr^l^ 1^st^ 1775.

DEAR BROTHER

I take this opertunity to acquaint you that I found all things according to my expectation on my arivall hear this leave me quite well hoping that it will find you in y^e^ same state of health. I have ingaged as a Deputy Surveyor under Cap^n^ Hancock Lee for to lay out Lands on y^e^ Kentuck for y^e^ Ohio Company[1] at y^e^ rate of 80 L p^r^ year and y^e^ privilegde of Taking what Lands I want. I hope that you will spare no Money nor pains to get that patent for me as soon as possible as it will be of y^e^ greatest importance to me I hope that you will write to our Friends and let know that I am well and Intention This for you

Affectionate Brother
GEORGE R. CLARK.

Pray Sir get y^e^ patent for my Land before June if you posibly Can as delays is dangerus As before

G. R. C.

[*Addressed:*] To M^r^ Jonathan Clark D. C. Dunmore County.

CLARK TO JONATHAN CLARK, July 6, 1775.

[Draper MSS., 1L20.—A. L. S.]

LEES TOWN KENTUCKE July 6^th^ 1775

DEAR BROTHER

I Embrace this opertunity by Cap^n^ E Taylor to send you this small epistle. I am in a flow of spirits at this time but it has

[1] This was the Ohio Company, formed in 1748, which succeeded in obtaining a grant of land west of the mountains. It was prevented from carrying out its plans by the outbreak of the French and Indian War and the dilatory measures of the British ministry.

not been the Case long, for I have had nothing but a series of Misfortunes this four Month past too tedious to mention. but I hope to get the Better of them yet—a richer and more Beautifull Cuntry than this I believe has never been seen in America yet—Co[l] Henderson is hear and Claims all y[e] Cuntry below Kentucke[1] If his Claim should be good, land may be got Reasonable Enough and as good as any in the World, my Father talk[d] of seeing this Land in august I shall not advise him whether to come or not but I am Convinced that if he once sees y[e] Cuntry he never will rest untill he gets in it to live I am Ingrosing all y[e] Land I possibly Can expecting him. We have laid out a Town seventy Miles up y[e] Kentucke whare I intend to live and I dont doubt but their will be fifty familyes living in it by Christmas I hope that you will write to me by the first oppertunity leting me know how you all are and what news as I expect you will have frequent oppertunities This from your affectionate Brother

G. R. CLARK

P S My Compliments to M[r] and M[rs] Cambell let Johney see this as wrote to himself as before

G R C

[*Addressed:*] To Mr. Jonathan Clark, D. C. Dunmore County, Virginia p[r] fav[r] of Cap[t] E. Taylor.

[1] Richard Henderson was born in Virginia but, as a boy of ten years, removed with his parents to Granville County in western North Carolina. His father was a sheriff; and Richard, when he reached the proper age, was made under-sheriff. His education was meager, but having procured some law books after a few months of study he was permitted to practice. He quickly rose to favor and was known as a man of influence and wealth. In 1768, he was appointed a judge in the North Carolina Superior Court. Trouble arose on account of the regulators, his court-room was invaded by the mob and his house and other property were destroyed. He was ambitious to found a proprietary colony west of the Alleghenies and organized a company consisting of men from North Carolina, known as the Transylvania Company. At the treaty of Sycamore Shoals (Watauga) early in 1775, Henderson secured the control of lands between the Ohio, Kentucky and Cumberland rivers, and a settlement was made at Boonesborough. By December 1 of that year five hundred and sixty thousand acres of land were entered. The Transylvania Company exercised control over this land until the close of 1778. The Virginia assembly declared the Cherokee purchase void, but to reimburse Henderson and Company granted them the title to some two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio and Green rivers. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX., 571. For the terms of the Treaty of Watauga, see Ranck, *Boonesborough*, in Filson Club, *Publications*, XVI., 151 *et seq.*

CLARK TO JONATHAN CLARK, February 26, 1776.

[Draper MSS., 1L23.—A. L. S.]

WINCHESTER, Feby 26th 1776.

Dr Brth

If you have ye time to spare I should be Glad that youd Come hear tomorrow, as I have some thing peticular to know of you. I left my Fathers last Saturday all was over. he is Determined to ye Kentucke but hearing of some disturbances their with ye Indians he sent me up hear to know ye truth which is ye Reason of my being hear. I have not time to write perticulars as Majr Helvinstone by whome I send this is Just agoing of

I am yours &C

GEORGE R. CLARK

P S If you cant come your self I should be glad that you would send Johnney I shall stay hear Three or four Days as before.

G R C

[*Addressed:*] To Capn Jonathan Clark Woodstock Pr favr of Majr Helvinstone.

PETITION FROM THE INHABITANTS OF KENTUCKY, June 15, 1776.

[Draper MSS., 14S2.]

To the Honorable the Convention of Virginia.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of Kentucke (or Louisa) River, on the western parts of Fincastle County.

Humbly sheweth, that many of your petitioners became adventurers in this part of the Colony in the year 1774, in order to provide a subsistence for themselves and their posterity, but were soon obliged by our savage enemy to abandon their enterprize.[1]

[1] James Harrod, one of the petitioners, in June, 1774, with a company of thirty-five men built the first log cabin in the present Kentucky on the site of Harrodsburg, at first called Harrod's Town. Warned of the unusual dangers from the Indians incident to the outbreak of Dunmore's War, they abandoned the enterprise. The majority of them joined the army and were at the battle of Point Pleasant. The following March, Harrod, with a party of fifty, reoccupied the ground which he had abandoned and laid the foundation for the first permanent settlement in Kentucky. Colonel Harrod was noted as an expert hunter and Indian fighter. His commanding presence, great energy, and resolution and familiarity with frontier conditions fitted him for leadership. See Butler, *Hist. of Kentucky*, 26.

And in the year following, after the country had been discovered and explored, many more became adventurers, some of whom claimed lands by virtue of warrants, granted by Lord Dunmore, agreeable to the Royal Proclamation in the year 1763, and others by pre-occupancy, agreeably to the entry laws of Virginia. And in the meantime a company of men from North Carolina purchased, or pretended to purchase, from the Cherokee Indians, all that tract of land from the southern most waters of Cumberland River to the banks of Louisa or Kentucke river, including also the lands on which inhabitants live in Powell's Valley. By virtue of which purchase they stile themselves the true and absolute proprietors of the *New Independent Province* (as they call *Transylvania*) they are endeavoring to erect, and in consequence of their usurped authority, officers both civil and military are appointed, writs of election issued, Assemblies convened, a land office opened, conveyances made, lands sold at an exhorbitant price, and a system of policy introduced which does not at all harmonize with that lately adopted by the United Colonies; but on the contrary, for aught yet appears, this fertile country will afford a safe asylum to those whose principles are inimical to American Freedom. But your petitioners have the greatest reason to question the validity of those men's purchase, being well informed that the Cherokees never extended their claims north of Cumberland River, nor would warrant any lands on the other side. Besides, it is now well known, that the Indians of the Six Nations claimed & ceded those very lands to the Crown of Great Britain at a treaty held at Fort Stanwix in November, 1768.

We, therefore, are not willing to obey those, or the authority they have assumed, or indeed, to acknowledge any power or prerogative which is not derived from the Convention of Virginia, whose subjects we desire to be considered. Virginia, we conceive, can claim this country with the greatest justice and propriety; it is within the limits of their charter; they fought and bled for it, and had it not been for the memorable battle at the Great Kanaway, those vast regions had yet continued inaccessible. Nor can we conceive how it is practicable for those men who stile themselves absolute proprietors to settle this country at so great a distance from all the Colonies, and in the neighborhood of some enemy

Indians. But should our infant settlement become the object of your deliberations, and be taken under your protection and direction, unto whom we justly conceive that we belong, every obstacle would be removed, population increase, and of consequence a barrier to the interior parts of Virginia from the Indians. A new source of wealth would then be opened, as trade and navigation under the auspices of Virginia would flourish in this western world. And therefore, willing to acquit our conscience, and not entail slavery upon our posterity by submitting to the pretentions and impositions of the pretended Proprietors, we the inhabitants of the north and the south sides of Kentucke river. having assembled together after preparatory notice on the eighth day of June, 1776, and continued to poll till the 15th of the said instant, in order to elect two gentlemen to serve for us in Convention, and by a majority have chosen Captain John Gabriel Jones and Captain George Rogers Clark, and hope your Honorable the Convention will receive them as our delegates from this the western parts of Fincastle county. And as we sincerely concur in the measures established by the Continental Congress & Colony of Virginia; and willing to the utmost of our abilities to support the present laudable cause by raising our quota of men, and bear a proportionable share of the expense that will necessarily accrue in the support of our common liberty.

And that good order may be observed, we proceeded to elect a Committee consisting of twenty-one members, as is already done in West Augusta, and which precedent we rely upon to justify our proceedings to the world; for without law or authority, vice here could take its full scope, having no laws to restrain, or power to control.

Upon the whole, we cheerfully submit to the authority and jurisdiction of this House, not doubting but you will take us under your protection, and give us such directions by our representatives as you, in your great wisdom, may think best. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, &c.

Signed by order of the inhabitants,

ABRAHAM HITE JR., Clerk.

HARRODSBURG, June ye 15th, 1776.

TO THE HONORABLE THE CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA.

The humble petition of the committee of West Fincastle, of the Colony of Virginia, being on the north and south sides of the River Kentucke (or Louisa). Present, John Gabriel Jones, Esq[r] Chairman, John Bowman, John Cowen, William Bennet, Joseph Bowman, John Crittenden, Isaac Hite, George Rogers Clark, Silas Harlan, Hugh McGary, Andrew McConnell, James Harrod, William McConnell, and John Maxwell, gent[n].

The inhabitants of this frontier part of Virginia, who are equally desirous of contributing to the utmost of their power to the support of the present laudable cause of American Freedom, and willing to convince and to prove to the world, that tho' they live so remote from the seat of Government, that they feel in the most sensible manner for their suffering brethren, and that they most ardently desire to be looked upon as a part of this Colony, notwithstanding the base proceedings of a detestable, wicked and corrupt Ministry, to prevent any more counties to be laid off, without the inhabitants would be so pusillanimous as to give up their right of appointing proper persons to represent them (in Assembly) or in Convention: And as we further conceive, that as the Proclamation of his Majesty for not settling on the western parts of this Colony, is not founded upon law, it cannot have any force, and if we submit to that Proclamation, and continue not to lay off new counties on the frontiers that they may send representatives to the Convention, it is leaving an opening to the wicked and diabolical designs of the Ministry, as then this immense and fertile country would afford an assylum to those whose principles are inimical to American Liberty. And if new counties are not laid off, as Fincastle County now reaches and already settled upwards of three hundred miles from East to west, it is impossible that two delegates can be sufficient to represent such a respectable body of people, or that such a number of inhabitants should be bound to obey without being heard; and as those very people would most cheerfully co-operate in every measure tending to the public peace and American Freedom, they have delegated two gentlemen, who were chosen by the free voice of the people, and which election was held for eight days at Harrodsburg (on the western waters of Fincastle or Kentucke) after the preparatory notice of five weeks

given to the inhabitants; and on the poll being closed, Captn John Gabriel Jones and Captain George Rogers Clark having the majority, were chosen; and not doubting the acceptance of them as our representatives by the Honorable the Convention, to serve in that capacity, as we conceive the precedent established in West Augusta will justify our proceedings. And we cannot but observe how impolitic it would be to suffer such a respectable body of prime riflemen to remain even in a state of neutrality, when at this time a certain set of men from North Carolina, stiling themselves Proprietors, & claiming an absolute right to these very lands, taking upon themselves the Legislative authority, commissioning officers both civil and military, having also opened a Land Office, Surveyors General & deputies appointed and act, conveyances made, and land sold at an exhorbitant price, with many other unconstitutional practices, tending to disturb the minds of those who are well-disposed to the wholesome Government of Virginia, and creating factions and divisions amongst ourselves, as we have not hitherto been represented in Convention. And as at this time of general danger, we cannot take too much precaution to prevent the inroads of the savages, & prevent the effusion of innocent blood, we, the Committee, after receiving a message from the chiefs of the Delawares who are now settled near the mouth of the Waubash, informing us that a treaty was to be held at O'Post[1] by the English and Kickapoo Indians, and that they would attend to know the purport of the same, and if their brothers, the Long Knives would send a man they could rely on, they would, on their return, inform him of the same, as they were apprehensive the Kickapoos would strike their brothers, the Long Knives. Therefore, we thought it most prudent, and shall send immediately a certain James Harrod and Garret Pendergrass to converse with them on the same. And as it is the request of the inhabitants that we should point out a number of men capable and most acquainted with the laws of this Colony to act as civil Magistrates, a list of the same we have enclosed; and for other matters relative to this country, we conceive that Captain Jones and Captain Clark, our delegates, will

[1] O'Post, commonly written Opost, was the "poste du Ouabache" of the French. For the first time, in 1752, it was called Post Vincennes. The settlement was begun about 1727 by a French officer named Vincennes. Dunn, *Indiana, passim.*

be able to inform the Honorable the Convention, not doubting but they will listen to our just petitions, and take us under their jurisdiction.

And your petitioners as in duty bound, &c.

Signed by order of the Committee

JNº GAB JONES, Chairman.

HARRODSBURG June 20th 1776. ABRAHAM HITE, Junr Clerk.

JOHN CLARK TO JONATHAN CLARK, August 12, 1776.

[Draper MSS., 1L31.—A. L. S.]

WOODSTOCK, DUNMORE COUNTY,
Augt 12th 1776.

KIND BROTHER

Yours of the second of July last, which adds greately to my satisfaction to hear that you are well, and all your men, hopeing that these lines will find you all in the same, as to health, Honour and success in War, and a speedy and Happy Reconcileation to us Americans. I am afraid that we have some Disafective men, in this County seeking their own private Interest, before the publick good, and those very men that was chose to act for the people of this County, the Magazane is by order of the Committee broake up, and each man propotionable part Delivered to them, which which [*sic*] is now selling at most Extortionate prices, Twenty, Sixteen & Fifteen Shillings per pound. I have your part with me, which I purpose keepeing till I have Orders from you what to do with it. Each mans part was seven pounds, and a Quarter of Powder and two Lbs of Led, the Gentlemen that you payed the thirty shillings for, has got his part and I understand has sold almost the whole, at sixteen Shillings per pound. I did not know whether he had Repayed you the money or I should have strived to have prevented his selling. though[t] best to say nothing about it as I was not possitive. Should you have an oppertunity of writing as I hope you will, Let me know whether he Repayed your money and if not, what I shall do in Regart to his selling such powder, &c. as it is general thought among the generality of the people, that he Intends to Repay me the Thirty Shillings,

after the sale of the s[d] powder, as he asserted before the Committee, that he had payed thirty Shillings toward the purchaseing of said powder. and also told his Creditors, that he would settle with them, after the sale of his powder: there is a few of our Gentlemen Committeemen that purposes Letting their powder & lay by them, till the County is supplied with powder & by the Hon[l] Convention, but these are only a few that opposed the Division, I Left my Fathers this Day week and Left them all Verry well and Likewise all friends in them parts; Brother George is Down at Caroline, on his way to Williamsburg, but by Reason of the Conventions adjurning, themselves, he is oblidge to pospone his Journey till their next setting. I have great Reason to believe that you may expect him at your Station before he returns home, they were not then the least Dread or apprehention of the Shawnees and other Indians, near the Cantuck Breaking out. But sence he Left the Cantuck by Cap[t] Joseph Bowman and other from them Back Countries we have certain intellegence that the Nations are Joined, and are Killing, sculping, and Driveing our people from their plantations, in a surprising manner. My Brother wants me to go to the Cantuck with him. says that if I was to go. I might with his Interest, get the Clerks place of that Country, which will be Sallery Sufficient to make me a Compleat Fortune, but as I could not know till the next Court, whether I take this office any longer than this year, as I intend to agree with Maj[r] Marshall, whether I shall take it longer or not, but not upon the Conditions that I have this year, without I swear in as D. C. which I expect will not be the Case (as I wrote you before) I understood M[r] John Marshall was comeing up to take it. if so I intend after a while to go and settle upon the Cantuck. but am at present in my Room (in perfect health which I had the Happiness to enjoy sence I wrote you my Last) where I intend to strive to Instruct myself to the utmost of my abilities in every particular that may be of service. I wrote to you by your serjant M[r] Harding in regard to your Corn, wheet &c. but for fear it may miscarry I think it not Imprudant also to write to you in this and Let you know that I have never receaved your Corn nor Wheat. the Wheat, the man Denies that Wm. Flill & Grafton had any at his house, and the Corn I sent for and Could not get, but I believe he had

sold it all, I also wrote you in s[d] Letters that I had sent you three pair of Stocking, two p[r] of Shoes, two Quier of paper, Silk for a Jacket, Drill for a p[r] of Breeches, and Sagathy for Jacket or Breeches, with silk Buttons &c. and I also had a Box of Wafers provided but Lieu[t] Hite, not being a man of his word, was neglected. and if he should be admitted into your Ridgement, I would beg you to avoid him for he has not shown that Friendly act, for you, as he pretended, as to the particulars of M[r] Hite Conduct while up recruting, is very scandelous to my knowledge, which is too tidious for me to relate, and as you may Expect M[r] Isaac Hite & some other Gentlemen down soon to see the redgment and by him you will have Lieu[t] Hites proceedings, or perhaps before. one thing my friends told me he said. had not I have known the man Carecter, would have gave me greate uneasiness, which was, that you get Drunk every Day and neglect your Business. My Respects to Colonal Muhlenberg let him know that his Family is well, his wife has his share of the powder, and Intends keeking [*sic*] it till orders from him what to do with it, and also my Respects to the Gentlemen my acquaintances, letting them know that their Family and Friends is all well

so shall Conclude with remaining

Y[r] ever Loveing and Affe[t] Brother

JOHN CLARK

NB Excuse bad writing for oppertunities is so very sudden that I am obleedge to write very Fast or not at all I saw M[r] Gwathmeys at my Fathers and he and his Family was well not one of your Deserters taken up as yet and I believe never will.

POWDER GRANTED FOR THE DEFENSE OF KENTUCKY.[1]

[*Journal of the Executive Council*, August 23, 1776, p. 95.]

Mr. George Rogers Clarke having represented to this Board the defenseless state of the Inhabitants of Kentucki, and having on their behalf requested that a quantity of ammunition, may be supplied them Resolved that five hundred pounds of Gunpowder be forthwith sent to Pittsburg, and delivered to the Commanding officer at that Station, to be safely kept and delivered to

[1]Printed also in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 75.

Mr. Clarke for the use of the Inhabitants of Kentucki. And it is ordered that five hundred pounds of Gunpowder be delivered the said Mr. Clarke by the Keeper of the publick Magazine.

Petition by John Gabriel Jones and George Rogers Clark, October, 1776.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

To the Honourable the Speaker & Gentlemen of the House of Delegates

The petition of John Gabriel Jones and George Rodgers Clark on behalf of the Inhabitants of the County of Kentuck humbly sheweth that the last Service that lies in their power prior to the return of your Petitioners to their Constituents which will be tomorrow, is to acquaint this Honourable House of their Defenceless State, and imploreing their immediate Protection by sending such Forces as they think necessary. And they cannot but Observe how much it is to the Interest of Virginia to prevent the Inhabitants from abandoning that settlement and how necessary and advantageous it will be to the publick in Case of an Indian War, an event much to be Feared, with the Kiccapoos, Picts, and other Nations of Indians lying West of the River Ohio, as their Situation is so contigious to those Nations that the Seat of War may be carried thither, and thus Secure the Frontiers Effectually at once, Add to this that in this Service they can save the Public at least one-half of what an Army must Cost to be levyed any where else on the Frontier Counties, or any part of America. Perfectly satisfyed they have done all that laid in their Power, and happy would they be could they have done more for their Constiuents, therefore Submitting their Case to this Honourable House no ways doubting but they in their great Wisdom and goodness will immediately send Aid to their Relief. and your Petitioners &c.
Friday Octr 1776

CHAPTER II

PRELIMINARIES TO THE REVOLUTION IN THE WEST
DECEMBER 25, 1776—JANUARY 2, 1778

CLARK'S DIARY, DECEMBER 25, 1776 TO MARCH 30, 1778 — OPENING OF HOSTILITIES IN KENTUCKY—EFFORTS AT DEFENSE—CLARK'S RETURN TO VIRGINIA TO ASK ASSISTANCE — HIS SUCCESS — DESCRIPTION OF KASKASKIA — INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN CLARK — PROMISE OF LAND TO MEN WILLING TO ENLIST.

CLARK'S "DIARY," DECEMBER 25, 1776 TO MARCH 30, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 48J12.]

Memorandum for Geo R Clark from Dec^{r} 25th 1776.

HARRODSBURGH, Dec^{r} 25, 1776.
GEORGE R. CLARK

DECEMBER 1776

25 Ten Men going to the Ohio for Powder met on the Waters of Licking Creek by Ind^{s} & defeated J^{no} G. Jones Joseph Rogers W^{m} Graden & Josiah Dixon were killed.[2]

29 a large party of Indians attacked M^{c}Clellans Fort, and wounded J^{no} McClellan Cha^{s} White Rob^{t} Todd & Edw^{d} Worthington the 2 first mortally

30 Cha^{s} White died of his Wound.

JANUARY 1777

6 Jn^{o} M^{c}Clellan died of his Wound

30 moved to Harrodsburgh from M^{c}Clellans Fort

[1] Printed also in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 579 *et seq.*

[2] For events preceding this date and a more complete account of the expedition sent for powder, see Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 208. While composing the *Memoir* it is evident that Clark followed the daily progress of events indicated in the *Diary*. Only in a very few unimportant particulars is there a slight variation in the *Memoir* from the statement of fact found in the *Diary*. For a further account of the *Memoir* see *post*, 619.

February

Nothing Remarkable done

March

5 Militia of the County embodied.

6 Thomas Shores & W^{m} Ray killed at the Shawnese Spring

7 The Indians attempted to cut off from the Fort a small party of our Men a Skirmish ensued we had 4 Men wounded and some Cattle killed we killed and scalped one Ind^{n} and wounded several

8 Brought in Corn from the diff^{t} Cribs until the 18th day

9 Express sent to the Sett^{t}

10 Ebenezer Corn & C^{o} arv^{d} from Capt Linn on the Messissippi[1]

18 A small party of Indians killed & scalped Hugh Wilson about 1-2 Mile from the Fort near Night & escaped

19 Archibald M^{c}Neal died of his Wounds rec^{d} 7th Inst.

28 A large party of Ind^{s} attacked the Straglers about the Fort killed and scalped Garret Pendergrest killed or took prisoner Peter Flin.

March 7th Indians killed one man at Boonsborough & wounded one

April

8 Stoner arrived with News from the Sett^{t}

16 Doran Brown & C^{o} arr^{d} from Cumberland River

19 Jn^{o} Todd[2] and Rich^{d} Calloway elected Burgesses Jas. Berry married to Widow Wilson.

20 Ben. Linn & Sam^{l} Moore sent express to the Illenois[3]

24th 40 or 50 Indians attacked Boonsborough killed and scalped Dan^{l} Goodman wounded Capt. Boone Capt. Todd M^{r}

[1] Captain George Gibson and Lieutenant William Linn left Pittsburgh for New Orleans, July 19, 1776, in order to secure a supply of gunpowder. The expedition was successful. See Introduction, lxvi.

[2] For John Todd, Jr., see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), Introduction; also *ante*, xcix *et seq.*

[3] For the expedition, see Introduction, lvii. For the results, see letter of Clark to Governor Henry, *post*, 30.

Hite & M Stoner Indians 'tis thought sustained much damage
29 Indians attacked the Fort killed Ensign M^{r}Connell

MAY

6 Indians discovered placing themselves near the Fort a few shot exch^{d} no harm done
12 Jn^{o} Cowan & Squire Boone arriv^{d} from the Sett^{t}
18 M^{r}Garry & Haggin sent expresses to fort Pitt
23 Jn^{o} Todd & C^{o} set off for the Settlement
23 A large party of Indians attacked Boonsborough Forts kept a warm Fire until 11 Oclock at Night began it the next Morning & kept a Warm Fire until Midnight attempting several Times to burn the Fort 3 of our men were wounded not mortally The Enemy suffered considerably
26 A party went out to hunt Indians one wounded Squire Boone & escaped
30 Indians attacked Logans Fort[1] killed & scalped W^{m} Hudson wounded Burr Harrison & Jn^{o} Kennedy

JUNE

5 Harrod & Elliott went to meet Col. Bowman[2] & C^{o}
Glen & Laird arr^{d} from Cumb^{d} Dan^{l} Lyons who parted with them on Green River we suppose was killed going into Logans Fort
Jn^{o} Peters & Elisha Bathy we expect were killed coming home from Cumb^{d}
13 Burr Harrison died of his Wounds rec^{d} the 30th of May
22 Ben. Linn & Sam^{l} Moore arr^{d} from Illenois
Barney Stagner sen^{r} killed & beheaded ½ Mile from the Fort a few Guns fired at Boons[borough]

[1] This fortified station was established as early as May, 1775, by Colonel Benjamin Logan.

[2] Three of the Bowman family were Kentucky pioneers, who came originally from Frederick County, Virginia. Colonel John Bowman received his commission from Patrick Henry as colonel of Kentucky County. In 1779, he led an army from Kentucky against the Shawnee Indians. (See Introduction, cviii; also *post*, 331.) Isaac Bowman entered the army as ensign in his brother Joseph's battalion. He became a lieutenant in the Illinois Regiment and was present at the capture of Kaskaskia. In November, 1779, he was made prisoner by the Indians and was held in captivity for three years. After his release he did not re-enter the service.

JULY

9 Lieut Linn married. great Merriment
11 Harrod returned
29 Express retd from Pittsburg

AUGUST

1 Col Bowman arrd at Boonsborough
5 Surrounded 10 or 12 Inds near the Fort killed 3 and wounded others The plunder took was sold for upwards of £70
11 Jno Higgins died of a lingering Disorder
25 Ambrose Grayson killed near Logans Fort & wounded 2 others Inds Escapd
26 Col Bowman and Co arrived at Logans Fort

SEPTEMBER

2 Col. Bowman & Co arrd at this place. Court held &c
8 27 Men set off for ye Sett^{t}
9 Indians discovd a shot exchd nothing done
11 37 Men went to Jos Bowman for Corn while shelling they were fired on a Skirmish ensued Inds drew off leaving 2 dead on the spot & much Blood
Eli Gerrard was killed on the Spot & 6 others Wounded
12 Dan^{l} Bryan died of his Wounds rec yesterday
17 Express sent to the Sett^{t}
Mrs Saunders died
23d Express resive from Boons and say that on the 13th Captn Smith arive their with 48 Men 150 more on the March for this also with an Act that General Washington had defeated How Joyfull News if true.
26 brought in a load of Corn Frost in the Morning
29th Bough a horse price £12 Swaped with J Shelp Boot £10
Dr to 18 lb of Powder 22 Lead
Note of Abm Chaplin[1] against Pogue 3..6..0
30th Intended to start for Settlemt. Horses lost

[1] Abraham Chapline settled near Wheeling. He was among the prisoners after the defeat of Colonel David Rogers, October, 1779, and was taken by the Indians to the headwaters of the Big Miami. During the spring of 1780, he made his escape. After Kentucky was made a state, he represented Mercer County in the legislature.

OCTOBER WEDNESDAY 1st

Start for the Setment 22 Men got to Logans 20 Miles

2 Captn Montgomery Arive at Logans with 38 Men and say that Capt Watkins would be in in a day or two

3 Started on our journey Capn Pawlin & Company likewise 76 in all beside Woman & Children & took 4 Beefs from Whitleys of Gasses Camped at Pettits—16 Miles

4 Rain in the Morning Campd on Skags Creik 18 Mls

5 Early start spies Kild a Buffaloe Camped ½ Mile from the Hazle patch 8 miles Cross Rockcastle R—— 20 M all safe

6 Early start. Camped on Lawrell River Marched 14 Miles Killd a Beef

7 waited for Scags the Hunter he not coming to us kild a few Dear

8 Scags Came to us went back for his skins

9 lost our Beefs Started March 3 M crost Laurel R. Camped on ye Bank

10 Early Start Camped on Richland Creek 17 miles whare we met Captn Charles Gwatkin on his March to Boons with 50 Men 2 families scarce of provn

11 March'd to Cumberland ford 18 Ms Kild two Buffaloes Indians about us

12 Crossed the R & C Mountain Incamp in powels Valley 4 Ms from the Gap in the whole 19 Miles

13 late start got to Martins 18 Ms

14 left Captn Pawlin March 15 M.

15 Crossed Powels R Marchd 20 M Camped on ye South Side of Powel Mt.

16 got to the Rhye Cove 9 Miles.

17 to Blackamores 6 Miles

18 parted with ye Company lodgd mores Fort 20 Miles

19 Lodged at Capt Kinkeads 22 Ms

20 Crosed Clinch Mt Met Mr Maulding heard from my friends lodgd at Colo Cambells 24 Miles

21 Lodged at Jasper Kindsers got my Horse shod on the way 6/ a pair Breakfast and feed 1/3 22 Miles

22 Clowdy Morning no rain lodged at Sawyears Expences 1/3 28 Miles

23 falling in Company with Cap^{tn} Cambell an agreable Companion we traveled 33 M^{s} Lodged at Cooks poor fair Exp^{s} 6/6

24 Sold my Gun to M^{r} Love 15£ swaped Horse with J Love gave £7..10 Boot Lodged at M^{r} Neelies 25 Ms.

25 Received a Letter from Cap^{t} Bowman informing me that he had an order of Council to Carry Salt pans to Kentucky[1] & other prov^{n} Lodged at Botetour 25 M^{s} 412 Miles from Harrodsburgh

26 Rain staid at Lockharts tavern

27 Rain Expences £1..4..0

28 Rain Start after Breakfast Rain slowly all day Lodged at Bartleys Expences 4/ 25 M^{s}

29 parted with my Companion Cap^{n} Camble Lodged at J. M^{c}Clungs 5/ 28 M^{s}

[1] *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1777–1778*, p. 109.

Tuesday, October 14th, 1777.

It being represented to the Board that large Quantities of Salt may be made from the water of the Salt Springs in the County of Kentucky, and Colonel Bowman having recommended it to the Governor to order a Fort to be erected on Ohio, adjoining some of the said Springs, where he mentions in his Letter a sufficient Quantity of salt might be made to defray the Expense of maintaining a garrison for such Fort, by bartering that much wanted article with the Inhabitants on Monongahela River.

Resolved that the Board do approve of Colonel Bowmans proposal, and they do advise the Lieutenant Governor to order Colonel Bowman to erect a Stockade Fort at such place as may answer the desirable purpose of affording protection to Persons employed in carrying on a work of such general utility, and to carry the plan into immediate Execution. They do also advise the Lieutenant Governor to direct that a waggon Load of pans, or large Kettles be cast by Mr. Zane and forwarded to Fortpitt, from thence to be sent down to Kentucky with all possible Dispatch.

Also to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer in favor of Joseph Bowman for one hundred pounds upon account to defray the Expences of transporting the said Pans to Kentucky—the said Bowman entered into the Bond which is filed.

The Clerk produced the Treasurers receipt for the money returned by Mr. Orlando Jones, which is ordered to be filed.

The Lieutenant Governor desired the attendance of the Board Tomorrow.

Adjourned till tomorrow 10 o'clock.

Signed—

DUDLEY DIGGES
JOHN BLAIR
NATH^{L} HARRISON
DAVID JAMESON

30 Crosed the Blue Ridge Loged at Blacks at y^e^ foot of M^t^ 5/ 33 M^s^

31 Bought a pair of shoes in Charlottsville 32/ lodged at thorps 7/ 35M^s^ 15 miles from Charlotte

SATURDAY NOV. 1

1 I got to My Fathers about 10 Oclock at night all well 2/ 55 Miles in the whole 620 ms from Harrodsburgh

2 3/ Staid at my Fathers

3 Started for Williamsburgh lodged at M^r^ Gwathmeys[1] 40 ms.

4 Lodged at Warrens 11/6 29M

5 got to Williamsburgh loded at Andersons[2] had a Confirmat^n^ of Burgoins Sur^d^ 4/24 ms.

6 Bought a ticket in the state lottery £3 Number 10..693 first Class

7 went to the Auditors laid before them the Kentuck Ac^ts^ they refused to settle them without the consent of the Councill

8 got orders from the C C for the auditors to settle them

9 Sunday went to church

10 Pased the accounts with the Auditors except my own which they refuse to allow without the consent of the Councill

11

18 Setled with the Auditors drew the Money of the treasurer £726. Bought a piece of Cloth for a Jackote Price £4..15 Buttons & Morehair 3/

19 left Williamsburgh after Breakfast Expencies £9..18 lodged a[t] Warrens

20 got to M^r^ Guythmeys Exp. 13/

21 Staid at D^o^

22 Came to my Fathers

[1] Owen Gwathmey was the husband of Ann Clark, the eldest sister of George Rogers Clark.

[2] Probably at the home of Colonel Richard Anderson, who later became the husband of Clark's sister, Elizabeth. Colonel Anderson enlisted at the opening of the war as a captain. He took part in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown, and was promoted to the office of major. His regiment was sent south, and after the siege of Charleston, he was made lieutenant-colonel. At the close of the war he took up his residence at Louisville, having been appointed chief surveyor of the lands granted by Virginia to soldiers of the Continental Line.

DECEMBER MONDAY 1st

6 Started from my Fathers to Williamburgh Lodge at Mr Gwathmeys expinces 3/

7 Tarried at Do

8 Lodged at Cartwrights

9 Snowed and raind all day

10 Got to Williamsburgh bought 2 shirts and a Book £5

Proposed an Expedition against F. C[1] to the Governor and councill which they afterwards agreed to I continue here until the 2

2 day of Jany 78 Receivd ordors to Carry out the Expedin agains F. C oppoint W. B smith Majr he is to Raise 200 Men and meet me at Kentuck last of March

3 advance to Majr smith 150 £ for sd purpose

Received 1.200 £ Publick Money for the use of sd Expedition taken in partnership by his Excellency P. Henry in taking a Body of Land

4 Started from Wmburgh expinces £21.10.11 lodged at Kingw C house

5 lodged at Mr Guythmeys Exps 13/

6 Got to my Fathers

9 paid Mr Rogers 18 Dollars for powder & Lead of Joseph Rogers

Friday 16 left my Father Lodged at Fredericksburg Expencees 20/4

17 lodged at Kenners 18/0

18 found my old Friend L Helms[2] at Mr Floyds 20 went to his Brothers oppointed him to raise a company and paid him his Wages for past service

21 lodged at Ashbeys Expences 6/

22 Lodged at Col Thrustons

23 Lodged at Isack Bowmans apointed J Bowman Captn Isack Lieut to raise a company for my Ridgement spent the day at Stoverstown lodged at Mr Hites in Company with Col Mc-donald and the Doctor expences 7/6

24 lodged at Col Hites

[1] French Country.

[2] For Lieutenant Helm, see Introduction, lxv, lxxii; and *post*, 585.

25 Dined in Winchester &c 8/6 lodged at Co[l] M[c]Donalds

26 Dined in Win. Shoeing my Horse and other Expencies 30/ lodgd Brinkers

27 Lodged at Rises Expences 10/

28 Lodged at Runnaldsens 10/

29[th] Lodged at Tittles agread with John Lindsey to Raise men for Kentucky 4/

30 lodged at Parker's sent 6/10 authority to Joseph Wilkerson to Raise a Company

31 lodg[d] at Linches 12/

Feb[y] 1[st] lodged at Redstone Fort

2 Lodg[d] at Capt[n] W Harrods oppoint him to raise a company

3 Loded at M[r] Mores oppointed Sam[l] More Lieu[t] under Cap[n] Harrod also Benj[n] Linn to raise a Company

4 Sent Cap[tn] W[m] Harrod 4 Dollars

7 Hired a horse of H Tomson

10 Got to fort Pitt Expences 30/

12 Authrised J Bayley to enlist men for my detachment Promis from Gen[l] Hand to furnish me with

17 left fort Pitt expences 6..0..0

18 oppointed Jn[o] Maxfield Com[y]

March 5th opointed A. Chaplin to raise a Com[py]

gave a tract of Land for a gun oppointed Cap[tn] W Hughton to Raise a Company Expencies at pittsberg untill the 23[d] M[ch] £7..0..0

D[o] Returning to Redston £2..0..0

to Blanket £5..10.0

to 6 y[ds] Linnen 30 Dollars

to 3½ y[ds] D[o] 10 Dollars

oppointed a rendisvous of Cap[tn] Harrods Company at John Swans the 30

29[th] Receiv[d] a Letter from Maj[r] Smith informing me that he had four Companies Rais for Kentucky on Holston

30[th] Attended the rendesvous sent a company to Whelin for Boats Expencies £4

COUNCIL OF WAR AND COURTS MARTIAL, APRIL 26–JULY 10, 1777.

[Draper MSS., 18J56.—A. D. S.]

At a Court Martial held at Harrodsburg April 26 1777 Upon Complaint made against James OFin for quitting his arms & not duly attending his post when placed as a Centinal. Ordered that he be fined the sum of 5s to be levied according to Law.

G R CLARK

Upon Complaint made against Samuel Hunter for sleeping on his post Ordered that he be fined the sum [*MS. torn*] shillings [*MS. torn*] according to Law.

G R CLARK

At a Council of War held at Harrodsburg, April 29. [1777]

The President produced a Letter signed by Capt. Benjamin Logan desiring that the small Forces might be speedily collected from the three Stations that we might give the Enemy a repulse & recover [*MS. torn*] the Plunder and desired the opinion of the Council concerning it which was as follows (to wit)

That as we suppose the Enemys Number in the Country was very great & a Battle would be extremely hazardous & Probably endanger the Loss of the Country upon which his Letter was rejected

At a Court Martial held at Harrodsburg July the 5th Prest Majr Clark Lieut Linn Lieut Helm & Ensn Todd

Upon a Compt made against Thomas Denton John Isaacs and James O'Fin for not attending the Guard Ordered that they be fined each of them the sum of 5s

G R CLARK

At a Court Martial held at Harrodsburg July 10th 1777 [*MS. torn*] prest as above. Upon Compt. made against Li. [*MS. torn*] he be fined the sum of 20s.

G R CLARK

At a Court Martial of all the Officers of the County Prest Geo R Clark Danl Boone Jas Harrod Jno Todd

Ordered that any person called into service by the Invasion Law

as is the case with all now in this County in case the leave the Service be looked upon as deserters the Commanding officer is desired to advertise all such throughout the Colony as deserters in the most publick manner

G R CLARK Pres[d]

At a Council held at Harrodsburgh ordered that serjeant Grier [leave] the Country as soon as possible

CLARK TO [PATRICK HENRY?],[1] 1777.

[Draper MSS., 48J13.—Copy.]

SIR—

According to promise I haste to give you a description of the town of Kuskuskies, and my plan for taking of it. It is situated 30 leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, on a river of its own name, five miles from its mouth and two miles east of the Mississippi. On the west side of the Mississippi 3 miles from Kuskuskies is the village of Mozier [*Misere* = *Ste. Genevieve*] belonging to the Spaniards. The town of Kuskuskies contains about one hundred families of French and English and carry on an extensive trade with the Indians; and they have a considerable number of negroes that bear arms and are chiefly employed in managing their farms that lay around the town, and send a considerable quantity of flour and other commodities to New Orleans, [which they barter every year and get the return in goods up the Mississippi],[2] The houses are framed and very good, with a small but elegant stone fort situated [but a little distance from] the centre of the town. The Mississippi is undermining a part of Fort Chartress; the garrison was removed to this place, which greatly added to its wealth; but on the commencement of the present war, the troops [were] called off to re-inforce Detroit,

[1] In a note preceding this letter, Dr. Draper says: "Copy of an old and much decayed letter of Genl. G. R. Clark, written plainly in the summer or fall of 1777, and very likely addressed to Gov. Patrick Henry. It is transcribed as full as could be done—as the original has been wet, and is much worn and faded." Draper has supplied context in brackets.

Clark communicated his views to Governor Henry relative to an expedition on December 10. See *Diary* and *Memoir*. It is probable, therefore, that the contents of this letter formed the foundation for their discussion. The letter has been published by Turner in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VIII., 491 *et seq.*

[2] Draper marks this as "erased."

which is about three hundred miles from it—leaving the fort and all its stores in care of one Roseblack [*sic*] as comd[t] of the place, with instructions to influence as many Indians as possible to invade the Colonies; and to supply Detroit with provisions, a considerable quantity of which goes by the way of the Waubash R., and have but a short land carriage to the waters of ye [Miami]

In June last I sent two young men there: They [Rocheblave and the French] seemed to be under no apprehension of danger from the [Americans][1] The fort, which stands a small distance below the town is built of stockading about ten feet high, with blockhouses at each corner, with several pieces of cannon mounted—[10,000 lbs][2] powder, ball and all other necessary stores without [any] guard or a single soldier. Roseblock who acted as Governor, by large presents engaged the Waubash Indians to invade the frontiers of Kentucky; was daily treating with other Nations, giving large presents and offering them great rewards for scalps. The principal inhabitants are entirely against the American cause, and look on us as notorious rebels that ought to be subdued at any rate; but I dont doubt but after being acquainted with the cause they would become good friends to it. The remote situation of this town on the back of several of the Western Nations; their being well supplied with goods on the Mississippi, enables them [to carry][2] to furnish the different Nations [with goods],[2] and by presents will keep up a strict friendship with the Indians; and undoubtedly will keep all the Nations that lay under their influence at war with us during the present contest, without they are induced to submission; [that being situated above the mouth of the Ohio][2] they will be able to interrupt any communication that we should want to hold up and down the Mississippi, without a strong guard; having plenty of swivels they might, and I dont doubt but would keep armed boats for the purpose of taking our property. On the contrary, if it was in our possession it would distress the garrison at Detroit for provisions, it would fling the command of the two great rivers into our hands, which would

[1] For a discussion of the previous relations between the merchants of the Illinois villages and the settlers in Kentucky, consult Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), xvi.

[2] Draper marks this as "erased."

enable us to get supplies of goods from the Spaniards, and to carry on a trade with the Indians [*line obliterated*] them might perhaps with such small presents keep them our friends.

I have always thought the town of Kuskuskies to be a place worthy of our attention, and have been at some pains to make myself acquainted with its force, situation and strength. I cant suppose that they could at any [time] raise more than six [or seven] hundred armed men, the chief of them [are French the British at Detroit being at so great a] distance, so that they [*blank in MS.*] more than [*blank in MS.*]

An expedition against [Kaskaskias would be advantageous] seeing one would be attended with so little expence. The men might be easily raised [*blank in MS.*] with little inconvenience Boats and canoes with about forty days provisions would [answer] them: they might in a few days run down the river with certainty [to the] Waubash, when they would only have about five to march to the town with very little danger of being discovered until almost within sight, where they might go in the night; if they got wind [of us they might] make no resistance: if [they did] and were able to beat us in the field, they could by no means defend themselves for if they flew to the fort, they would loose possession of the town, where their provisions lay, and would sooner surrender than to try to beat us out of it with the cannon from the post, as [they] would be sensible that should [we fire] it before we left it, which would reduce them to the certainty of leaving the country or starving with their families, as they could get nothing to eat.

Was I to undertake an expedition of this sort, and had authority from Government to raise my own men, and fit myself out without [much delay] I should make no doubt of being in [full possession of the country] by April next.

I am sensible that the case stands thus—that [we must] either take the town of Kuskuskies, or in less than a twelve month send an army against the Indians on Wabash, which will cost ten times as much, and not be of half the service.

ORDER OF COUNCIL, January 2, 1778.[1]

[Henry, *Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Patrick Henry*, I., 584.]

Friday, Jany 2, 1778.

Present, His Excellency, John Page, Dudley Digges, John Blair, Nathaniel Harrison and David Jameson, Esquires.

The Governor informed the Council that he had had some conversation with several Gentlemen who were well acquainted with the Western Frontiers of Virginia, & the situation of the post at Kaskasky held by the British King's Forces, where there are many pieces of cannon, & military stores to a considerable amount; & that he was informed the place was at present held by a very weak garrison, which induced him to believe that an expedition against it might be carried on with success, but that he wished the advice of the Council on the occasion.

Whereupon they advised his Excellency to set on foot the expedition against Kaskasky with as little delay & as much secrecy as possible, & for the purpose to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer for twelve hundred pounds payable to Col. George Rogers Clark, who is willing to undertake the service, he giving bond & security faithfully to account for the same. And the Council further advised the Governor to draw up proper instructions for Colonel Clark. His Excellency having prepared the instructions accordingly, the same were read, [and] approved of . . . . .

[1] This action of the privy council was approved by the general assembly which authorized the governor with the advice of the privy council to organize an expedition, "to march against and attack any of our said enemies, ... and give the necessary orders for the expedition." Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX., 375.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO CLARK.[1]

[Draper MSS., 18J147.—Facsimile of A. L. S.]

VIRGINIA, SS.

IN COUNCIL W^MS^BURG Jan^y 2^d 1778

LIEUT COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

You are to proceed with all convenient Speed to raise Seven Companies of Soldiers to consist of fifty men each officered in the usual manner & armed most properly for the Enterprize & with this Force attack the British post at Kaskasky.

It is conjectured that there are many pieces of Cannon & military Stores to considerable Amount at that place, the taking & preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate therefore as to succeed in your Expectation, you will take every possible Measure to secure the Artillery & Stores & whatever may advantage the State.

For the Transportation of the Troops, provisions &c down the Ohio, you are to apply to the Commanding officer at Fort Pitt for Boats, &, during the whole Transaction you are to take especial Care to keep the true Destination of your Force secret. Its Success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to Capt^n Smith to secure the two men from Kaskasky. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

It is earnestly desired that you show Humanity to such British Subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white Inhabitants at that post & the neighbourhood will give undoubted Evidence of their attachment to this State (for it is certain they live within its Limits) by taking the Test prescribed by Law & by every other way & means in their power, Let them be treated as fellow Citizens & their persons & property duly secured. Assistance & protection against all Enemies whatever shall be afforded them & the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable Demands, they must feel the miseries of War, under the direction of that Humanity that has hitherly

[1] The original is in the possession of the Indiana Historical Society. It has been printed frequently: in facsimile in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 96; Butler, *Hist. of Kentucky*; Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 191; and elsewhere.

distinguished Americans, & which it is expected you will ever consider as the Rule of your Conduct & from which you are in no Instance to depart.

The Corps you are to command are to receive the pay & allowance of Militia & to act under the Laws & Regulations of this State now in Force as Militia. The Inhabitants at this Post will be informed by you that in case they accede to the offers of becoming Citizens of this Commonwealth a proper Garrison will be maintained among them & every Attention bestowed to render their Commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the Dominions of both France & Spain.

It is in Contemplation to establish a post near the Mouth of Ohio.[1] Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskasky will be easily brought thither or otherwise secured as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand[2] for powder & Lead necessary for this Expedition. If he can't Supply it the person who has that which Cap[t] Lynn bro[t] from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my Orders & that may be deliver'd you. Wishing you Success.

I am Sir your hble Serv[t]

P. HENRY

[*Endorsed:*] This document was given to Dr. N. Field of Jeffersonville, Indiana, by M[rs] Mary Leviston, daughter of Maj. Henry Hurst, one of the old Pioneers of Indiana. It was lithographed by order of the Indiana State Historical Society of which Maj. Hurst was a member.

[1] For a discussion on the proposal to establish a post at the mouth of the Ohio, see Henry, *Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Patrick Henry*, I., 587. See also Introduction, *ante*, cxxi.

[2] Edward Hand was born in Ireland, December 31, 1744. He studied medicine, and in 1767, as surgeon's mate in the Eighteenth Royal Irish Infantry, accompanied that command to America. They were sent at once to Fort Pitt. In 1774, he resigned his office and settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the first battalion of Pennsylvania riflemen, and was with Washington before Boston, and in the campaign about New York. See Introduction, *ante*, xlii *et seq.*, for an account of his later career. See also *Journals Cont. Cong.* (new ed.), VII., 247, 256, 270; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on Upper Ohio, passim.*

PUBLIC INSTRUCTIONS TO CLARK, January 2, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 48J14.—A. L. S.]

Lieutenant Col° GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

You are to proceed without Loss of Time to inlist Seven Companies of Men officered in the usual Manner to act as Militia under your Orders They are to proceed to Kentucky & there to obey such orders & Directions as you shall give them for three Months after their arrival at that place, but to receive pay &c. in case they remain on Duty a longer Time.

You are empowered to raise these Men in any County in the Commonwealth and the County Lieutenants respectively are requested to give you all possible assistance in that Business.

Given under my Hand at W^m^sburg
January 2^d^ 1778

P. HENRY

PATRICK HENRY TO EDWARD HAND, January 2, 1778.

[Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on Upper Ohio*, 196 *et seq.*]

WILLIAMSBURGH, Jan. 2^d^ 1778.

SIR—

I was favored with your two last letters which shall have my attention.

I have to request that you will please to furnish Major G. R. Clark with boats sufficient for conveying seven companys of militia on an expedition of great consequence. Besides the immediate advantages arising from the success of it, the consequential benefits will be many. A good understanding with [New] Orleans is a desirable object. And I must entreat you, Sir, to give Major Clark every assistance which he may want. The boats I hope will not long be wanted; & the use of them, & every other thing furnished by you will be amply compensated by the Major's success, which I beg leave to assure you I am most

[1] The purpose of these instructions was stated by Clark as follows: "And as my Real Instruction was keep conseald and only an Instrument from the Governour wrote designedly for deseption was made publick wharin I was to Raise men for the defence of Kentucky." See *Memoir, post*, 220. This has been printed in Butler, *Hist. of Kentucky;* English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 94.

anxiously concerned for. I refer you to that gentleman for an explanation of the errand on which he goes. It is needless to inform you how necessary it is that the whole affair should be kept impenetrably secret. I have the honor to be, Sir, Y^{r} obedient hble. Serv^{t}

P. HENRY.

P. S. I should have consulted you on the expedition, but time would not permit. I direct the Major to get his powder & lead from your quarter. Please to let him have what is necessary.

P. H.

[*Addressed:*] Gen^{l} Hand, Pittsburgh Fav^{d} by Maj^{r} Clark.

WYTHE, MASON AND JEFFERSON TO CLARK, January 3, 1778.

[English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 102.—Facsimile.][1]

WILLIAMSBURG Janry 3^{d} 1778.

SIR,

As some Indian Tribes to the westward of the Missisippi have lately without any provocation massacred many of the Inhabitants of the Frontiers of this Commonwealth in the most cruel & barbarous Manner & it is intended to revenge the Injury & punish the Aggressors by carrying the War into their own Country. We congratulate You upon Your Appointment to conduct so important an Enterprize in which we most heartily wish you Success and we have no Doubt but some further Reward in Lands in the Country will be given to the Volunteers who shall engage in this Service in addition to the usual pay if they are so fortunate to Succeed, We think it just & reasonable that each Volunteer entering as a common Soldier in this Expedition, should be allowed three hundred Acres of Land & the Officers in the usual proportion, out of the Lands which may be conquered in the Country now in the possession of the said Indians, so as not to interfere with the Claims of any friendly Indians, or of any people willing to become

[1] This copy is reprinted from English, *Conquest of the Northwest* by permission of the publishers of that work, Messrs. Bobbs, Merrill & Co., Indianapolis. The original letter was the property of Mr. English. One hundred and forty-nine thousand acres of land in southern Indiana were, in keeping with the promise of this letter, granted to Clark and his officers.

Subjects of this Commonwealth; and for this we think You may safely confide in the Justice & Generosity of the Virginia Assembly.

We are Sir Y^r^ most Hble Serv^ts^

G. WYTHE.
G MASON
TH JEFFERSON

TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK Esq

PATRICK HENRY TO CLARK, January 15, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J17.—L. S.]

W^ms^BURGH Jan. 15^th^ 1778

SIR

Col^o^ David Rogers is to go to New Orleans on the Business of Trade I mention'd to you, & I have opened the secret Nature of your Expedition to him as it was necessary for his safety.[1] I wish I had known of his being acquainted with all the places you are going to. He is intimately acquainted in all that Country having been often times through every place there & can give you valuable Intelligence & Advice. I wish you to avail yourself of his Counsel & proceed as you find the Interest of your Country directs when you get to the place you are going to. What I have in View is that your Operations should not be confin'd to the Fort & the Settlement at the place mention'd in your secret Instructions, but that you proceed to the Enemy's Settlements above or across, as you may find it proper.

Col^o^ Rogers will be in Danger as he comes up the River Homewards unless he can fall in with your party & return with them.

[1] Colonel David Rogers, accompanied by twenty-eight men, was sent to New Orleans with special dispatches to the Spanish governor. He was ordered to bring to Fort Pitt goods which it was expected would be assigned to Virginia by Governor Galvez. Two boat-loads of goods were secured. At the Falls of the Ohio, Colonel Rogers received a re-enforcement of men sent by Clark. Upon reaching a point a little above the mouth of the Licking they were attacked, October 4, 1779, by a large force of Indians. Thirteen men only, of the seventy in the company, escaped. (See *Memoir*, *post*, 302. For a complete account, see Butler, *Hist. of Kentucky*, 102 *et seq.*) Colonel Rogers was born in Ireland. He came as a youth to America and settled at Oldtown, Md., where he became a merchant. In 1775, he founded a settlement on the Ohio, five miles above Wheeling. He was a member of the Virginia legislature in 1776, was re-elected the following year, and was appointed county-lieutenant of Ohio County in 1777.

If you should return before he does, leave a Company of 50 men under a good Officer somewhere down Ohio or wherever the Col° shall direct to escort him Home with his Cargo. This is a Matter of Consequence & I hope will not fail as the Danger otherwise about the lower parts of Ohio will be great I am

Sir Y^r^ mo. hble Servant

P. HENRY

[*Addressed:*] Col° George Rogers Clark fav^d^ by Col° Rogers
[*Endorsed:*] Gov^r^ Henry Jan^y^ 15^th^ 1778

PATRICK HENRY TO CLARK, January 24, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J18.—A. L. S.]

W^ms^BURGH Jany 24^th^ 1778

SIR

Being just now informed that you had given a Commission, with recruiting Instructions to some Person as low down as the County of Amelia, to enlist men for the Service which you are appointed to command, I am under a necessity of expressing my Concern at your Conduct, well knowing that men inhabiting that part of the Country are by no means proper to be employed in the Expedition which you are to direct; indeed you must certainly remember that you inform'd Me, that you expected to get Men enough to compleat the seven Companies partly in Kentuck & partly within the Carolina Line, and that if you shou'd fail in your Expectation, any Deficiency cou'd easily be made up in the frontier Counties in the neighbourhood of Fort Pitt; the South Branch & the Frontiers: I must therefore desire You to pursue your first Intentions, for by inlisting any men in the lower Counties, You will not only procure improper Persons, but you may also throw those Counties into great Confusion respecting the Act of Assembly passed this Session for recruiting the Continental Army. The men you enlist will not be exempted from the Draught. I am

Sir Y^r^ hble Serv^t^

P. HENRY

COL° G. R. CLARK

[*Addressed:*] To George Rogers Clark Esq^r^ supposed to be at Fort Pitt.

CHAPTER III

THE CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA AND CAPITULATION OF VINCENNES

MARCH 7, 1778—JULY 20, 1778

RECRUITING FOR THE EXPEDITION—ATTITUDE OF THE FRENCH LEADERS—CLARK'S PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF VINCENNES—MESSENGERS SENT TO VINCENNES—CLARK'S RELATION TO OLIVER POLLOCK.

WILLIAM BAILEY SMITH TO CLARK, March 7, 1778.

[DRAPER MSS., 48J19.—A. L. S.]

HOLSTON RIVER 7th March 1778

DEAR COLO.

It has never bin in my power to inform you of my proceedings Since I left Williamsburg till now this day I fitted of A Company of forty four men to kentuckey under the Command of Cap^{t} Thomas Dillard all of which are well fix^{d}. Young harty fellows—three Companies moore I Expect to be ready to March from this the Twentieth of this Instant provisions in this Quarter is Very Scarce and I Expect to sink more than three hundred pounds in fitting them off Corne from Seven and sixpenc to too doller p^{r} bushel and bacon Seven pound ten a hundred—and scarce to be had—you may Depend on my being as industerous as in my power lies—a few days ago there Came an Express from kentuckey here and informed me of Cap^{t} Daniel Boone with Twenty Eight men being taken prisonners from the Salt licks on licking Creek without Sheding one drop of blood. This is all the news I have to Inform you of part of which I am sorry for

The barerre of this to you is a Soldier in Dillards Company. I hope Sir you will provide him a Gun as he is without.

I have nothing more to inform you of at this Time in hopes you will Excuse me for not Complying with your orders sooner as it was not in my power before I am Dear Sir

Yours for Ever god bless you

W^{M} BAILEY SMITH

TO COL^{O} GEORG R. CLARK

CLARK TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARROD, March 15, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 18J69.—A. L. S.]

March 15th 1778

DR CAPTN

As the time is drawing nigh that we should start for Kentucky I think it best that we should as soon as possible get our provition Boats at Whelin up the Monongehaly in order to take in our Flour I have Instructed the different Recruiting officers to send some of their men to whelin for that purpose and hope that you will get as many of your Company to go as you can. Mr Richd Brashear takes charge of the party. I propose that those that go on this Comd Shall be subject to no other duty untill they get to Kentucky

My Dr Sr you know the necessity of bringing two or three Boats up. I hope that you will get as many as you can to go I intended to have come by your house from Court but our common interest called me another way

I am Sir your Hbl Servt

GEO. R. CLARK

N B I shall go amediately to Pittsburgh & shant Return under Eight Days. G R C

[*Addressed:*] To Capt Wm Harrod. Ten Mile. Pr Mr Brashears

EDWARD HAND TO DAVID SHEPHERD, March 22, 1778.

[Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on Upper Ohio*, 227.]

FORT PITT, 22d March, 1778.

SIR—

Please to deliver three of the Continental boats at Wheeling to the party of [whom] Col. Clark shall send to receive them, and order provision and ammunition sufficient to bring them to this place. I have ordered Lt. Berry to come up at the same time; besides the stores before called for, send by him all the powder except 200 lbs. to the left at Fort Henry. I am, sir, yr. hble. servt

EDWD HAND.

COL. DAVID SHEPHERD.

WILLIAM BAILEY SMITH TO CLARK, March 29, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J20.—A. L. S.]

HOLSTON RIVER 29th March 1778

DEAR COL°

I wrote you from this quarter to Fort Pitt, informing you I should be out at Kentuckey by the 20 [?] day of April but Sir I am under the necessaty of informing you it is out of my power to meet you according to the Time I appointed You must no Sir I have faild in gethering my troops According to Expectation I had all the Suckcess in the world before the draught Came on, and the Arival of Squire Boone in this quarter which informd the Inhabitant of Daniel Boone with 27 Men being taken prisonners from the Salt Springs on licking creek These infurnal reports has turnd back too [*blank in MS.*] Companies of Men that was on ther March through the Mountains and I must of cours wate here till I Recruite others. The county Lieuts. in this quarter gives me but small incouridgment[1] tho I dont in the least dispair that I shall make my Companies Compleat after wating here some time. I have officers now in the differant states that are yousing there utmost indeavour in that business and you may rely on my doing every thing for you in my power in this business. I have but one Company Yet marched which are Stationd at Boonsborough, Commanded by Col. John Donalson from pittsylvanie and Col. Dillard as first Lieutenant thirty Moore are now on there march, and the rest I am deturmd to have gethered before I leave this if possable. I have nothing Moore to say on this scoore, &c. but if you have not retired to Dranings Lick I would give it as my opinion you had better make the place of Randavous at the big bone lick where I am informd there will be a garrison arected, as soon as Col° Bowman Can get out, which will be as Convenient to me as if we meet at Dranings lick. be it as it will Sir, I hope you will send letters to Boonsborough as Soone as you arive as I may know where to march to on my arival in that quarter, Col° Bowman I Expect will send and Express to as soone as he gits out

I am Dear Col°

Yours for Ever god bless you

WM BAILEY SMITH

[1] See Clark's letter to Mason, *post*, 117; *Memoir*, *post*, 223.

CLARK TO EDWARD HAND, March 30, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 18J71.—A. L. S.]

MUDDY CK, March 30th 1778

DR GENERAL:

I am much obliged to you for sending my Letters to me. as for your opening them, it is a matter of no importance. The hostilities committed in this part of the Country stopt the party that I had ordered to Wheling for the Boats, as their presence was amediately nessessary in the neighberhood. I have fited of a party to-Day which I hope will answer the purpose intended. The Indians have made three different attacks on Dunkard Creek, which is entirely evacuated. I am, Sir your hble Servt

G. R. CLARK

GENL EDWD HAND. Pittsburg Pr Express

CLARK TO WILLIAM HARROD, April 12, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 18J72.—A. L. S.]

Ap 12th 1778

DR CAPTN

I have this Day heard of our Boats coming up the River they left Wheling last tuesday. I also hear that the companis that I expected a Cross the Mountains is now on their march out so that I hope that we shall shortly be able to imbark for Kentucky as this is the Day that your Company was to imbody, I thought it necessary to get this inteligence to you as quick as possible as the men might not be uneasy. I should be glad that you would gather the remainder of your Company (that is not on Comd to Wheling) and keep them imbodied and ready to March at the shortest warning as we shall start as soon as possible, as you are on the frontier your company will be a guard to ye Inhabitants while you stay, (what goods belonging to you & Company that is to go down may be got ready to be put on board) Lieut J. Swan I expect will furnish Rations for the Company while they lay their, which I shall pay him for, one of my Brothers came up the other day with some Accts from the Governor to me, desireing me to be expeditious as possible as he is apprehensive that the Inds will shortly make a brake on the Frontiers and our being

on our station he expects will draw their attention towards us untill the army can be got ready to march into the Indian Cun^{y} I have sent you part of the late Laws of Virginia in which you will see part of the Invation Act and the authority of an Officer on duty.

I am S^{r} your Hbl Serv^{t}

G R CLARK

[*Addressed:*] on publick service To Cap^{tn} W^{m} Harrod Ten-mile Creek

CLARK TO EDWARD HAND, April 17, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 3NN202.—Copy by Draper.]

REDSTONE, April 17th 1778.

SIR

As I found by express from Maj^{r} Smith that my recruiters on Holston River had been more successful than I expected in raising four companies & receiving intelligence of two companies more now on their march from Winchester, I shall not attempt to recruit any more men in this department, as I believe I shall have my full quota; but shall prepare to set out on the intended expedition as soon as possible. I shall order what recruits I have west of the Monongehaly to repair to Wheeling immediately, where they may probably be of service, & shall stay here myself until y^{e} arrival of the troops I expect across the M^{tn} I should be glad to know by an answer to this letter whether I am to receive my provision at this place or at Pittsburgh. If at Redstone, I hope, Sir, that you will send an order for the receipt of it. I suppose it would at any rate be of service to take the boats that I have here, loaded to Pittsburgh. I should be glad to receive the powder &c. at this post. The provision boats that you were to send down, I expect may be ready at any time if you send them under my convoy, I shall take pleasure in doing that or any other piece of service that lays in my power. Be pleased to send me a few lines by the bearer Mr. Linn who will wait on you with this letter.

I am, Sir, your hbl^{e} Serv^{t},

G. R. CLARK

TO GEN^{L} HAND, Fort Pitt.

EDWARD HAND TO CLARK, April 22, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J21.—A. L. S.]

FORT PITT 22d April 1778

DR SIR

I have been this day favoured by the rect of your Letter of the 17th and Inclose you an Order for a Quantity of Pork to be deliv'd you by Mr John Evans, cant say whether the Quantity will exceed or fall Short of your Compt but will regulate that on your Arival Here, the Provisicn is in Great danger where it now is therefore wish it away. but have no other means of doing it at present but thro' you—which will I hope appologize for the Trouble Given you every other article you want will be furnished here

I am Dr Sir

Your Obedt Hble Servt

EDWD HAND

COL: G. R. CLARK

[*Addressed:*] On public Service

To Col: Geo: R. Clark Redstone Pr Mr Lim

JOHN CAMPBELL TO CLARK, June 8, 1778.

[Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on Upper Ohio*, 298 *et seq.*]

PITTSBURGH, June 8th 1778.

GENTLEMEN—

As the Opportunitys from the Seat of War and Congress into your Country is so very seldom & the late Accounts from Europe are so interesting I can not refrain from cummunicating them to you tho I am necessitated to be concise the bounds of a letter not admiting of any thing more.

The 26th of May last we Celebrated the Joyfull News here with the Discharge of Thirteen Pieces of Canon and a Tripple discharge of Musquetry.

On or about Christmas Eve last Two Treatys were concluded between the Plenipotentiary of the United States of America & The French King whereby the French King cedes all North America & the Bermudas Islands to the United States of America and

declares their Independence will Trade with them and protect their Trade. The Americans are under no restrictions whatever except they shall not return to their Dependence On Great Brittain these matters are made known to the British Court by the French Ambassador the Consequence is that Brittain has recalled her Ambassador from France and Ordered him Home. Therefore we daylay expect to hear of War being Declared between the two powers and consequently we must assist France. Lord North has moved for Conciliatory Methods with America and two Acts of Parliment are passed, one suspending several Acts of Parliment or rather explaining the right of Taxation in America & the other Appointing Commissioners to Treat with the Americans both of which according to the way they are now understood by us will be rejected with the Comtempt they deserve.

General How is said to be on the Wing from Philadelphia and I hope to have the pleasure of informing you soon that there is not a British Soldier except Prisoners on any part of the Continent of America. M^{r} Wells is just waiting he can inform you of some of the particulars of these glad Tidings to whom I must refer you & am Your Hum^{l} Serv^{t}

JOHN CAMPBELL.

[*Addressed:*] Col. George Rogers Clark In His Absence to the Inhabitans of Kentucky.

EDWARD ABBOTT TO SIR GUY CARLETON, June 8, 1778.[1]

[C. A., Ser. B., Vol. 122, p. 50.—Copy.]

DETROIT June the 8th 1778.

SIR,

I have enclosed your Excellency the declaration of Mons^{r} Monbeun[2] which yesterday came to my hands from St. Vincenne: Your Excellency will plainly perceive the employing Indians on

[1] Printed also in *Mich. Hist. Coll.*, IX., 488; English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 223. There have been printed in this volume only a few of the letters of the British officers in the West. For others, consult Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I.; *Mich. Hist. Coll.*, IX. and XIX.; *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII.

[2] Jacques Timothé de Monbreun, later acting county-lieutenant of the county of Illinois. Consult indexes of Alvord's *Cahokia Records* and *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II. and V.).

the Rebel frontiers has been of great hurt to the cause, for many hundreds would have put themselves under His Majesty's protection was there a possibility; that not being the case, these poor unhappy people are forced to take up arms against their Sovereign, or be pillaged & left to starve; cruel alternative. This is too shocking a subject to dwell upon; Your Excellency's known humanity will certainly put a stop if possible to such proceedings, as it is not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack, but the poor inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, & who are inhumanly butchered sparing neither women or children.

It may be said it is necessary to employ Indians to prevent their serving our enemies, I will be bold to say their keeping a neutrality will be equally (if not more) serviceable to us, as their going to war, for the reason I have already gave. & surely the presents they receive will prevent their acting against us.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient Humble servant

EDW^{D} ABBOTT.

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GUY CARLETON
Quebec.

[*Endorsed:*] Gen Abbot of June the 8th
rec^{d} July 7th
Enclosing a declaration of Mons^{r} Monbreun

GABRIEL CERRÉ TO CLARK, July 11, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 48J24.—A. L. S.]

MONSIEUR

Jai été extremement mortifié de ne mêtre pas trouvé en mon domicile lors de votre arrivée aux Caskakias Jaurais eu

[*Translation.*]

Sir,

I was extremely chagrined that I was not at home at the time of your arrival at Kaskaskia. I would have had the honor of

[1] Printed also by Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 48; and by Turner in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VIII., 498.

L'honneur de vous donner des preuves de mon Entière Soumission a mes Superieurs mais mon Etat etant dêtre marchand et par consequent obligé de voyager dans les differens postes de ces pays pour faire Subsister ma famille, ma mauvaise Etoile ou pour mieux dire lhabitude annuelle ou je Suis de commencer mes voyages dans ce temps ont causé mon malheur et Suivant le bruit public mes Ennemies Jaloux des peines que je me donne pour me procurer une heureuse mediocrité ont profité de mon absence pour me noircir et me metre mal dans lesprit des personnes dont je nai pas L'honneur dêtre connu bien persuadé que ma Conduitte passée et celle a venir vous etant connue une fois vous me rendrez la justice qui est due a tout bon Sujet Soumis Je Crains que dans le premier instant les faux raports de mes Ennemies ne portent quel qua teinte a ma fortune Seul objet de leur haine, dailleurs ayant entre les mains les affaires de defunt Mr. Viviat colloquées avec plusieures personnes des Caskakias et qui demandent ma presence, Jose vous Suplier Monsieur de vouloir bien maccorder un Sauve conduit pour me transporter en mon domicile afin quen vertu de

[*Translation.*]

giving you proofs of my entire submission to my superiors: but since my profession is that of a merchant and I am, consequently, obliged to travel to the different posts of this country to make a living for my family, my unlucky star, or to speak more correctly, the annual habit I have of commencing my journeys at that time, caused my misfortune. According to public rumor my enemies, jealous of the efforts I make to obtain a comfortable mediocrity, have profited by my absence, to blacken me and destroy me in the opinion of persons to whom I have not the honor of being known. I am well persuaded that, when my past and future conduct are once known to you, you will render me the justice that is due to every good and submissive subject.

I fear that in the first moment the false reports of my enemies may cause injury to my fortune, the only object of their hatred, besides having in my hands the affairs of the deceased M. Viviat to arrange with several persons of Kaskaskia and who require my presence. I venture to solicit you, sir, to have the goodness to grant me a passport to return home in order that I may be able to

celui je puisse me laver des accusations que lon vous a fait contre moy et vâquer aux affaires que mappellent au dit lieu Cest la grace quespere de vous le Sujet le plus Soumis qui a Lhonneur dêtre avec le plus profond respect

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

CERRÉ

A STE GENEVIEVE le 11e Juillet 1778
MONSIEUR GE CLARK

[*Endorsed:*] Letters Inclosed in one Cover To Colo Clark July 11th 1778. [*In Clark's handwriting:*] Justificative of his conduct in the most Submissive terms & requesting a Passport.

[*Translation.*]

clear myself of the accusations that have been made to you against me, and attend to the affairs that call me there. It is the favor that the most submissive subject hopes from you; and he has the honor of being with the most profound respect, sir, your very humble and

very obedient servant

CERRÉ

ST. GENEVIEVE 11th July 1778.
MONSIEUR GE CLARK

CLARK TO THE INHABITANTS OF VINCENNES, July [13?], 1778.[1]

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.844, f. 317.]

George Rogers Clark
Collonel Commandant des Troupes de la Virginia a la Chúte de la Belle Riviere et aux Illinois &c &c

Addresse
à
Messrs Les Habitants du Poste Vinçennes[2]

Les Habitants des differents Postes Brittaniques depuis le Detroit Jusqu'a ce Poste içi, ayant par leurs commerce et leurs Situation beaucoup d'Influence sur les differentes Nations Sauvages, ont été Consideré comme des Personnes propre à Supporter les Tirannie qui ont été Pratiquée par le Ministere Brittanique, depuis le Commencement de la Presente Contestation.

Le Secretaire d'Etat pour L'Amerique à ordonne au gouverneur Hamilton au Detroit de Meller tous les Jeunes Gens avec les differentes Nations de Sauvages commissioner des Officers pour les conduire leurs fournir toutes choses necessaire, et faire toute

[*Translation.*]

George Rogers Clark, Colonel Commandant of the troops of Virginia at the Falls of the Ohio and at the Illinois, etc., Address to the inhabitants of the Post of Vincennes.

The inhabitants of the different British posts from Detroit to this post, having on account of their commerce and position great influence over the various savage nations, have been considered as persons fitted to support the tyrannies which have been practiced by the British ministry from the commencement of the present contest.

The Secretary of State for America has ordered Governor Hamilton at Detroit to intermingle all the young men with the different nations of savages, to commission officers to conduct them, to furnish them all necessary supplies, and to do everything

[1] Printed in translation by C. W. Alvord, in Ill. State Hist. Soc., *Transactions, 1907*, p. 271.

[2] Father Gibault and Dr. Laffont according to Clark's *Memoir* set out for Vincennes, July 14. For a discussion of the mission, see Alvord, "Father Gibault and the Submission of Post Vincennes," in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIV., 544.

çe qui dependra de luy pour les Exciter, à assasiner les Habitants des frontieres des Etats unis de L'amerique les quels Ordres ont été mis en Execution a un Conseil tenû avec les differentes Nations Sauvages au Detroit le 17e au 24e Jour du mois de Juin 1777. Les Meutres et assassinations des femmes et Enfants et les Degats et Ravages, qui ont été comise crie vengence a haute voix.

Les Etats unis *ayant* appresent gagné la Desus sur sur leurs Ennemis Brittanique et leurs Plenipotentiaires *ayant* actuellement faite et Conclus des Traités de Commerce et Alliance avec le Royaume de la France et autres Nations Puissante de L'Urope—

son Excellence le Gouverneur de la Virginie m' a Ordonné de reduire les Diferentes Postes a l'ocident des Miamis, avec une Partie des Troupes sous mon commandement, pour empecher que l'on ne repende davantage de Sang Innocent, — Suivant les quelles Ordres J'ay pris possession de ce fort et Munitions de çe Pais—Et Jay fait Publiee une Proclamation Offrant assistance et Protection a tous les Habitants, contre tous leurs Ennemies, et

[*Translation.*]

which depends on him to excite them to assassinate the inhabitants of the frontiers of the United States of America; which orders have been put into execution at a council held with the different savage nations at Detroit the 17th to the 24th day of the month of June, 1777. The murders and assassinations of women and children and the depredations and ravages, which have been committed, cry for vengeance with a loud voice.

Since the United States has now gained the advantage over their British enemies, and their plenipotentiaries have now made and concluded treaties of commerce and alliance with the kingdom of France and other powerful nations of Europe, His Excellency the Governor of Virginia has ordered me to reduce the different posts to the west of the Miami with a company of troops under my command, in order to prevent longer responsibility for innocent blood. According to these orders I have taken possession of this fort and the munitions of this country; and I have caused to be published a proclamation offering assistance and protection to all the inhabitants against all their enemies and promising to

les Traiter comme les citoyen de la Republique de la Virginie (dans les Limites de la quelle ils sont) et leurs garder leurs Personnes et Effets s'il est Necessaire—a la sureté de quoy la foy du Gouvernement est gagé, Pourvu qu' ils Donnent des Preuves certaine de leurs Attache aux Etats, en Pretant le Serment de fidelité en Pareille cas requis, comme prescrit par la Loix, et partous les autres moyens qui leurs sera Possible, auxquelles Offres ils ont volontairement acçedés,—J'ay été bien Charmé de Trouver par une Lettre Ecrite par le Govr Abbot a Mr Rocheblave, que vous estes en general attaché à la cause de L'amerique.

En consequence de quoy Je vous Invite tous, d'accepter des Offres cy desus, et de Jouir des touts leurs Privileges,—Sy vous accedé à çette Offre, vous Procederés à la Nomination dun commandant par choix ou Elexion, le quel Levera un Compagnie, et Prendra Possession du Fort et de toutes les Munitions du Roy au Nom des Etats Unis de L'amerique, pour la Republique de la Virginie, et continuer à le defendre Jusqu' a d'autres Ordres.

[*Translation.*]

treat them as the citizens of the Republic of Virginia (in the limits of which they are) and to protect their persons and property, if it is necessary, for the surety of which the faith of the government is pledged; provided the people give certain proofs of their attachment to the states by taking the oath of fidelity in such cases required, as prescribed by the law, and by all other means which shall be possible for them, to which offers they have voluntarily acceded. I have been charmed to learn from a letter written by Governor Abbott to M. Rocheblave that you are in general attached to the cause of America.

In consequence of which I invite you all to accept offers hereafter mentioned, and to enjoy all their privileges. If you accede to this offer, you will proceed to the nomination of a commandant by choice or election, who shall raise a company and take possession of the fort and of all the munitions of the king in the name of the United States of America for the Republic of Virginia and continue to defend the same until further orders.

La Personne ainsy Nommé aura Rang de Capitaine, et aura sa Comission aussy tôt quil Sera Possible et Tirrera les Rasions et Paye Pour luy et sa Compagnie, depuis le Temp quils Prendrons le fort &ca en Possession, et s'il est necessaire l'on fera dès fortifications qui seront payée aussy par l'Etat.

J'ay L'honneur d'Etre avec beaucoup de consideration—

Messieurs—votre Tres Hble et tres Obt Servr

G R Clark

[*Endorsed:*] Requete [*sic*] des Habitants du Poste Vincennes au Colonel Clark de la Virginie, recue a Quebec 4me Decr. 1780.

[*Translation.*]

The person thus nominated shall have the rank of captain and shall have the commission as soon as possible, and he shall draw for rations and pay for himself and his company from the time they shall take the fort, etc., into their possession. If it is necessary, fortifications shall be made, which will be also paid for by the state.

I have the honor of being with much consideration, sirs, your very humble and obedient servant,

G. R. Clark.

Clark to Jean B. Laffont, July 14, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 18J80.—L. S.]

Fort Clark çe 14e Juillet, 1778.

Monsieur

Ayant assé de bonheur pour Trouver deux homme Comme Mr Gibault et vous pour Porter et Presenter a Messieurs les Habitants du Poste Vinçennes mon Addresse, Je ne Doubte

[*Translation.*]

Fort Clark 14 July 1778

Sir,

Having the good fortune to find two men like Mr. Gibault and yourself to carry and to present my address to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes I do not doubt that they will become good

[1] Printed by Alvord in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, xiv., 549.

point qu'il deviendrons bon Citoyens et Amis des Etats. Il vous plaira de les desabuser autant que faire çe Poura, et en cas qu'ils accepte les Propositions á eux faite, vous les assuréres que l'on aura pròpre attention á rendre leurs Commerce Benefiçieux et avantageux, mais en cas que ses gens la, ne veulent Acceder a des Offres sy raisonable que çelles que Je leur fais, Ils peuvent s'attendre á sentir les Miseres d'une Geure sous la Direction de L'humanité qui a Jusqu'a Present distinguée les Ameriquains, s'ils deviennent Citoyens, vous leurs ferés Elire un Commandant d'entre eux, lever une Compagnie, Prendre Possession du Fort et des Munitions du Roy, et defendre les Habitants, Jusqu'a çe que l'on puise y envoyer une plus grande force (Mon Addresse Servira de Commision) les Habitants fournirons les Vivres pour la Garnison qui seront Payé, les Habitants et Negoçians Traiterons aves les Sauvages comme de Coutume, mais il faut que leurs Influence tende a la Paix, comme par leurs Influence ils Pourons sauvé bien du Sang Innocent des deux Cotés, vous agires en Concert avec Mr. Le Curé, qui J'espere preparera les Habitant à vous accorder vos demandes.

[*Translation.*]

citizens and friends of the states. Please disabuse them as much as it is possible to do, and in case they accept the propositions made to them, you will assure them that proper attention will be paid to rendering their commerce beneficial and advantageous; but in case those people will not accede to offers so reasonable as those which I make them, they may expect to feel the miseries of a war under the direction of the humanity which has so far distinguished the Americans. If they become citizens you will cause them to elect a commander from among themselves, raise a company, take possession of the fort and the munitions of the King, and defend the inhabitants till a greater force can be sent there. (My address will serve as a commission.) The inhabitants will furnish victuals for the garrison which will be paid for. The inhabitants and merchants will trade with the savages as customarily, but it is necessary that their influence tend toward peace, as by their influence they will be able to save much innocent blood on both sides. You will act in concert with the priest, who I hope will prepare the inhabitants to grant you your demands.

S'il est necessaire de donner des Parroles au Sauvages vous aurés la Bonté de fournir ce qui sera necessaire pourvoû que ce n'excede point la Somme de deux Cent piastres,

Je suis avec Consideration

Votre Tres Hble & Tres Obt Servr

G R CLARK

MONSIEUR

[*Addressed:*] Monsieur Monsieur Jean B^te^ Laffont Ngt aux Kaskaskias

[*Translation.*]

If it is necessary to grant presents to the savages, you will have the kindness to furnish what shall be necessary provided that it shall not exceed the sum of 200 *piastres*.

I am Sir, respectfully your very humble and very obedient servant

G. R. CLARK.

CLARK TO OLIVER POLLOCK, July 18, 1778.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

KASKASKIA July 18 1778

DEAR SIR

I was ordered by the Executive Power of the Commonwealth of Virginia, to Attack the British Illinois and in case I succeeded to continue with a strong Garrison, I have succeeded agreeable to my wishes. & am Necessiated to draw Bills on the State and have reason to believe they will be accepted by you the answering of which will be acknowledged, by his Excel^y^ the Governor of Virginia. I happy to find the Inhabitants of this Country Unanimous in their Sentiments in favor of the American Cause. as for news Inquire of Mons^r^ Crusatt who promises to forward this Letter to you.[1]

I am Dear Sir Your Humble Servant

(Signed) G R CLARK &c &c

M^r^ POLLOCK New Orleans

[1] For an account of Oliver Pollock's assistance to Clark, see Introduction, lxvi, xcvi. Francisco Crusat was commandant of St. Louis. Consult index to Houck, *Hist. of Missouri*.

Oath of Inhabitants of Vincennes, July 20, 1778.

[K. MSS.—D. S.]

Vous faitte Serment Sur Les ste Evengille du dieux toute puisent de renoncé a toute fidélité a gorge troy Roy de La grande Bretaigne Et Ses succeseurs Et d'aitre fidelle et vraie Seujaits de La Republique de Le Virginie comme un Etat Libre Et Independent et que Jamais Je Ne feray ni ne ferais faire auqunne Shousse ou matiere qui puisse prejudisiable a La Liberté ou Javertiray a quelqueuns des Juge de pay dudit Etat de toute trayzons ou conspirations qui viendras a ma connoissance contre La dit Etat ou quelquatre des Etat Unis de Lamerique En foy de qoy nous avons Signné au poste Vincenne Le 20ne Juilet 1778.

VIVE LE CONGRESS

[*Translation.*][1]

You make oath on the Holy Evangel of Almighty God to renounce all fidelity to George the Third, King of Britain, and to his successors, and to be faithful and true subjects of the Republic of Virginia as a free and independent state; and I swear that I will not do or cause anything or matter to be done which can be prejudicial to the liberty or independence of the said people, as prescribed by Congress, and that I will inform some one of the judges of the country of the said state of all treasons and conspiracies which shall come to my knowledge against the said state or some other of the United States of America: In faith of which we have signed. At Post Vincennes, July 20, 1778. Long live the Congress.

Baullou	F Delisle
Jean Bapte+Cadin	Alecsis+Laplente
Piere+Kerais	michel+Brouilest
fr. Bosseron	Jacques Lacroix
Huberdeau	Endres+Languedoc
Chine	Jean Baptiste michiet
N. Perrot	Jauseph+tougat

[1] Translation by Alvord in Ill. State Hist. Soc., *Transactions, 1907*, p. 272. Mr. Alvord has compared the proof of this list with the original and has made several corrections in the names as printed in the *Transactions*.

Endres + St DeLise
Embroise + Dumais
Jens + Bertons pere
Jeans + Bertons fils
Rouel + Bertiomme
Jane Babtiste + Durboy
Charle + Lamoureuse
Jauseph + Duroche
Louis Crepoux
Baptiste + Harpins
Louis + Boyce
Louis + canpeau
Baptiste + Sentira
Entoice + Boyrin
Jauseph + Lafleur
Simon + michon
Louis + cappelet
Entoine + Bisonet
antoine + dugal
jean marie + boivez
Louie + Lavallé
Guillaume + daperon
Louie + haudet
rené + gauder
Piere + Rengé
Michel + Canpeaux
Jean bte + Lafréniere
Jan bte + vosdrés
jean Babtiste + charpentier
Jean bte + carons
piere Perons fis
alexis + Lavicharduirre
J. M. Legras
Le Grand. juge
fransoy + Rassinne
Joseph + Ducharme
charle + Villeneuve
charle + Bannaux
guillaume + Pages
pier Coder
Piere + cornoyee
jean Baptiste St. aubin
Phillibert Dit orleans
Entoine + dannis
Ca Morin
jauseph + duebee
Entoine + Catis
Endre + ortie
Charle + guilbreaux
fransoy + morins
Jauseph + st Louie
Piere + Parend
thimoté demonbreun
nicolias + Bailliargon
piere ambelleton
frinsoy + Languedoc
frinsoy + Bazinest
Piere + lajour
Piere + cartier
Jacque + dénis
andre + Roy
nicolas + chapard
andré monplesir
frinsoy + baroy
Jean bte + choreny
francois + La Violette
amable + Gaigne
joph Bocouno Joson
Jauseph + Parend
jacque + Lamotte
Morin
Louie + Brouilet
Piere + Laforest
piere grimar
amable + deLille

[*Four names completely torn out*]

Jan babtiste + hodlet
FranCois Ci Cote
Jean + Lamarin
abram + gaigne
Piere + denis
Hor[?] + canpeaux
charle + gielle
francois + malet
Jauseph + Lateuse
amable + graquipis
francois + gianet
frensoy + truville
piere + Blanchard
charle + delille
Joseph + Reirux
jauseph + descoteaux
Babtiste + des Lorier
Janbte + st onge
tousint + goden
Loui + goden
gabriel + Casteaux
alexis + Belanger
Pierre Gamelin
Olivier Jautier
Baron St. Charatous
Basile labat
Miles Henry
frinsoy + Pakins
frinsoy + st. antoine
frinsoy + menie
frinsoy + des Lorier
Pierre + paipins
Babtiste + clement
germene + Clemens
Jauseph Clement
Francois turpans
Piere daignaux
jean bt toutge
piere st antoyne
rene lodere
Baptiste + Charetier
charle + Languedoc
honorés + Dannie
Jacque + Latrimouille
abelle +
Marie
Entoine + zoyaux
frensoy + st Piere
Juilien + Canpeaux
frensoy + valiquel
Jauseph + Lhorand
Entoine + Bordeleaux
michel + nos
Jean + Lagarde
Joseph + ammelins
Louie + Biord
piere verne
Jan Louie + denoyons
michel + Charetier
Louie + mallet
Jaque + cardinal fis
Jauseph + charetier
P. Barron
rene + Legaur
Jean bte + Berguins
franssoy + Bertiomme
Babtiste + vaudris
alecSis + La deroule
francoise goderri
Babtiste + Duboy
andre + aleo
antoine + gogiets
dominique + Bergand

andre+Peltier
amable+Perons
Louie+deslorie
Antoine+de Bucherville
Charlle+dominique
Jauseph+Baziné
alexSis gaignolest
Louie+l'arond
jaque+Endrés
frensoy+Peltier
Jaques Biron
Jn bte+Chabot
Chalbaunause
fransoy+Boucher
baneau [*MS. torn*]
Entoine malest
nicolas+cardinal
fransoy+fouris

II. Perrault to Clark, July 23, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J27.—A. L. S.][1]

Monsieur,

Je prends la liberté de vous écrire au sujet d'un billet que J'ai consenti à l'ordre de M^r^ De Rocheblave le 16. X^bre^ dernier de la somme de huit cent seize livres diz Sols en pelleterie à compte duquel mon cher pere a payé sur un mandat que led^t^ Sr. a tiré en faveur de Mr. Pratte le 13. may 1778. la somme de sept cents livres en pelleterie comme vous pourez le voir par les pieces que J'ai remise au Sr. Thomas Brady

En outre il y a encore adeduire la quantité de soixante cinq livres en pelleterie convennu avec Mr. de Rocheblave pour le ossailler qui se sont trouvée dans le lard que je lui ai acheté.

[*Translation.*]

Sir,

I take the liberty of writing you on the subject of a note that I gave to the order of M. de Rocheblave, December 16 last, for the sum of eight hundred and sixteen *livres* ten *sols* in peltry on which my dear father has paid on an order which the said gentleman has drawn in favor of Mr. Pratte, May 13, 1778, the sum of seven hundred *livres* in peltry as you may see by the documents that I remit to Mr. Thomas Brady.

Besides there is still a deduction amounting to sixty-five *livres* in peltry agreed upon with M. de Rocheblave for the bones which were in the pork that I bought of him.

[1] This letter, in translation, was published by F. J. Turner in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VIII., 502.

J'ose esperer, Monsieur, de votré equité que vous voudrez bien endosser ces objets sur ledt. billet et chargez quelqu'un de vos ordres pour recevoir le montant de cinquante et une livre dix sols qui restent due.

J'ai l'honneur dêtre avec respect, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble & tres obt Serviteur

H. PERRAULT

a St Louis le 23. Juillet 1778.

À Mr LE COLONEL CLARK Commandant aux Cas

[*Addressed:*] Monsieur Monsieur le Colonel Clark Commandant aux Caskakias.

[*Endorsed:*] Letter to Colo Clark July 23 1778. [*In Clark's handwriting:*] Notifying his havg given his note to Mr. Rocheblave for 816. livres 10 Sols in Peltery—discharged in part by his father on an order of Sr Rocheblave & requesting Govr Clark to take notice of it &c

[*Translation.*]

I dare hope, sir, that by reason of your equity you will certainly endorse these sums on the aforesaid note, and give some one your orders to receive the remaining fifty-one *livres* ten *sols*. I have the honor of being with respect, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant

H. PERRAULT.

At St. Louis the 23 July 1778.

To COLONEL CLARK, Commandant at Kaskaskia.

[*Addressed:*] Colonel Clark, Commandant at Kaskaskia.

JOSEPH CESIRRE TO CLARK, July 23, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J25.—A. L. S.][1]

MONSIEUR

Jes Resud Lonneurre de la votre Et vous suit infinemez obligé de la Bonte que vous nous Marquez Et Jes Pairre que vous ne seré Jamais Dans le Cas de vous Repantire De vos nouvaux Suges Soiyez Persuadé que Je mettere tous Ce qui será a mon pouvoire Pour tenire Lunion dans Lestas Je vous Pris Sy vous me faitte Lonneure de MesCrirre Daurenavan De mes Crire En francois vud que Je nes persone qui soid Capable de Minterprette Je nes poind De nouvelle a vous Marquere qui Meritte votre attantion Mr lhomme Porteur De la presante vous dira Ce qui se pase Je vous pris de me Croire avec tous Le respec posible

Votres humbe Obeisand Serviteur

CESIRRE[2]

AU KASHAUX ce 23 Juliette 1778

[*Addressed:*] Monsieur Monsieur George Rogers Clark commandant En chef Des Illinois pour Les Etats unie De la Merique au Kaskaskies

[*Translation.*]

SIR,

I received the letter you did me the honor to write and am infinitely obliged for the favor that you accord us and I hope that you will never be in a situation to repent concerning your new subjects. Be persuaded that I shall do all that is in my power to maintain union in the state. I beg you if you do me the honor of writing me in the future to write to me in French since I have no one who is capable of interpreting for me. I have nothing new to inform you of that is worthy of your attention. The gentleman who carries this to you will tell you what is occurring. I beg you to believe me with all possible respect,

Your humble and obedient servant

CESIRRE

AT CAHOKIA, July 23, 1778.

[*Addressed:*] Mr. George Rogers Clark, Commander in Chief of the Illinois for the United States of America at Kaskaskia.

[1] Published with translation by Frederick J. Turner, *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VIII., 500. This copy is taken from the original in the *Draper MSS.*

[2] Joseph Cesirre, was at this time captain of militia and one of the most prominent citizens of Cahokia. Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), lvi., 625, n. 12.

CLARK TO CERTAIN TRADERS, July 24, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J26.—L. S.][1]

KASKASKIAS 24^{me} Julliet 1778

MESSIEURS

Je recu ce matin vos Lettres des plaintes; de chaqu'un et je suis fachez de trouvez qu'il y a des difficulties occassionez par de vue d'interests dans La commerce, par des individu parmi Les Savages si nuisiblé a La Paix et tranqu[ilité] de notre paiez J'espere Messieurs qui vus prendrai en consideration, que ce le devoir de chaqu'un de nous de suprimer Les insults des savages des une aux autres qu' enfin Le desir de gagné n'occasion pas une Division parmi nous. Comme des gens Libre nous avons Droit de faire une commerce Legitime sans etre sujet aux insults d'un frere citoyen, Mais ni par sur les possessions ou bien d'autres [sans leur] consentment J'ai appris que Le voiture de Mons [*MS. torn*] etait sur Le Mississippi Apré traitté, Si [*MS. torn*] comme une faut enver Monsieur M^{r}Carty il est oblige [de] repondre pour sa conduite.

[*Translation.*]

KASKASKIAS, July 24, 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

I received this morning your letters complaining of one another; and I am sorry to find that there are difficulties occasioned by the commercial interests of different persons among the savages so hurtful to the peace and tranquility of our country. I hope, sirs, that you will take it into consideration, that it is the duty of each one of us to suppress the insults of one's savages toward others so that the desire for profit may not occasion a division among us. As free people we have the right to carry on a legitimate traffic without being subject to the insults of a fellow citizen, but not equal rights over the possessions or goods of others [without their] consent. I have learned that the boat of Mons[ieur] [*MS. torn*] was on the Mississippi after having traded. If [*MS. torn*] as a trespass against Monsieur McCarty he is obliged to answer for his conduct. Monsieur McCarty will return the

[1] This letter was published by F. J. Turner in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VIII., 501. The translation is the editor's.

Monsieur M^cCarty rendrai Les Butins de Monsieur Gagné, Mais pour s'aranger L'affaire ou Les dispute a L'amiable, Cap^t Cécirre nommerai une persone pour agis avec Lui—en nomme de La republique et chaq'un des disputants, prendront deux personnes pour terminer Leurs disputes par arbitration une coppié de Leur decissions me serai envoyé pour etre approuvé et si je Lapprouve sa sera final Je suis

Mess^rs Votres humble Serviteur

Signé G. R. CLARK

Je Certifie La traduction cy dessus Juste et veritable selon L'intention de celle ecrite en Englais par M^r G. R. Clark Comm^t des illinois &ca &ca &ca

HANSEN

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a letter from Gen. Clark respecting the property taken & recommending mediatory measures to y^e traders

[*Translation.*]

booty of Monsieur Gagné, but in order to settle the affair or the dispute amicably, Cap^t Cesirre will name one person to act with him in the name of the republic, and each of the disputants will select two persons to terminate their disputes by arbitration. A copy of their decisions will be sent me for approval and if I approve it that will be final.

I am, sirs, your humble servant,

(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

I certify the translation of the above to be just and correct according to the intention of that written in English by Mr. G. R. Clark Commandant of the Illinois etc. etc. etc.

HANSEN

CHAPTER IV

THE CAPTURE OF VINCENNES BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON, AND CLARK'S PLANS, AUGUST 6, 1778—FEBRUARY 24, 1779

CLARK'S ASSISTANCE FROM NEW ORLEANS—THE SITUATION IN KENTUCKY—GOVERNOR HENRY'S REPORT ON CLARK'S SUCCESSES—RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO CLARK BY THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES—FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS TO CLARK—JOHN TODD APPOINTED COUNTY-LIEUTENANT OF THE CONQUERED TERRITORY—INSTRUCTIONS TO JOHN TODD—CLARK PLANS TO RECAPTURE VINCENNES — THE COMMAND UNDER LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

CLARK TO OLIVER POLLOCK, August 6, 1778.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

KAKASKIAS August 6th 1778

SIR

I sent you a Letter sometime ago, by Mr Crusatt wherein I mentioned my necessity for drawing Bills on you for answering my present Demands, as I had not Money with me Mr Beausoleil was with me the other day and informed me he was employ'd by you to bring up a large Assortment of Goods to Pancore,[1] and believes that they are for the States, and as I am in want of Goods for the Winter he advised me to furnish myself out of these Goods, but I shall defer it untill I know your sentiments, the Goods that I have been Necessiated to purchase have been at a most Extravagant Price and a great loss to the Soldiery: by Mr Fagott you will receive this Letter he has no Instructions from his Owner to bring me any quantity of Goods that I should require to this place in his Boat. I hope that you will send me an Assortment of Five thousand Dollars worth of Goods most Suitable for Soldiers and Indians as my situation obliges me to give them small presents. I will make you Immediate remittances in Bills. I am in great

[1] St. Louis. See Introduction, cxxix.

want of Ammunition for this and other Garrisons in the Illinois Country I have three Kaskaskias Koho. & Post Vincent I should be glad that you would send me four thousand Pounds of Powder Either by Mr. Faggott or some Person as I dont doubt but oppertunities will offer Mr Faggotts receipt and this letter shall be your sufficient security. No news worth relating but what you have heard by the Gentlemen already arrived Except Post Vincent Acceeding to us a particular account Mr Fagott will give you which Gentleman I beg leave to accommend to you as a Young Man worthy of notice I am

Your Humble Servt
(Signed) G R CLARKE

OLIVER POLLOCK Esqr New Orleans.

CLARK TO THE CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO, August 22, 1778.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.757, f. 49.]

By George Rogers Clark Esquire Collonel and Commandant of the Eastern Illinois and its Dependancies &ca &c &ca

Whereas Chourarchon Chief of the Puans and his Nation Living at the Rock River have entered into Alliance and Freindship with the United States of America and Promised to be true and faithful Subjects to the same.

In Consequence whereof I have given him this writing as a remembrance that he and his said Nation are to treat all the Subjects of the said States of America with Friendship and receive all those they may meet with, as their Brothers, Given Under my hand and Seal at Fort Bowman in the Illinois this 22nd Augt 1778.[1]

G R CLARKE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonel Clerke's Certificate to a chief of the Puan Dated at fort Bowman Illinois Country 22d August 1778 Rec'd in Lt. Gov. Sinclair's Letter of the 29th May.

[1] The following memorandum was made on the back: "The within mentioned Chief and his Band are gone to strike against the Rebels & trade upon this commission."

"Mockiquamish took the King's medal from the Breast of one of his Band who refused to go and sent it in to this Post addressed to me, with two prisoners of his nations which he received from Scious as a mark of Friendship & future alliance."

JAMES WILLING TO CLARK, August 22, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J35.—A. L. S.]

[NEW ORLEANS 22 August 1778.][1]

SIR

This will be handed you by Lieu[t] Robert George & Lieu[t] Richard Harrison to whom I have given the Command of a Party of Continental Troops to pass thro' the Spanish Country unto the Kaskaskias where I understand you have the Honor to Command, and there join you untill further Orders from Congress or Gen[l] Hand, unless they receive Instructions &c to proceed with the States Goods which are now lodged at the Spanish Posts for the use of the Army; Our Agent no doubt has wrote you fully by this Opp[y] and I take the liberty of inclosing you some News Papers, I shall give you the necessary News by Monsieur LeChance and am.[2]

Sir Your very hble Serv[t]
JA[S] WILLING Cap[t] in the States Service

Co[L] ROGER CLARK

[*Addressed:*] To Colonel John [*sic*] Roger Clark Commanding the Continental Forces At Kaskasias

CLARK'S PROCLAMATION TO THE FOX INDIANS, August 28, 1778.[3]

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 88.]

By George Rogers Clark Esq[r] Collonel in the Virginia Troops and Commandant of the Eastern Illinois and Its Dependancies &a &a

Whereas Kinaytounak Chief of the Renard Nation of Indians has Entered into alliance and Freindship with the United States of America and Promised to be a True and faithfull Subject thereto—

In Consideration of which I do give him this as a Remembrance that he and his Nation are to treat all the subjects of the said States with Freindship and receive them at all times as their

[1] The date is not on the original manuscript, but on a copy.

[2] For the activity of Willing, see Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III., 109, 113, 114.

[3] Printed in Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 338.

Brothers Given Under my hand and Seal at Fort Bowman in Kahos this 28th day of Augt 1778.

G R CLARK.

[*Endorsed:*] Commission given by the Rebels to the Chief of the Foxes, sent by Gautier to Major De Peyster, Received with his letter of the 13th of May.

JAMES WILLING TO CLARK, September 1, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J36.—A. L. S.]

NEW ORLEANS 1st September 1778

SIR

Since writing the above I received yours of the 24th July and now beg leave to congratulate you upon your success in the Illinois and am happy to find that you have taken caution by the News you received of the Revolt of the Natchez People, this was an unlucky circumstance to me and to the States, altho' it has given me an Oppy of knowing my Friends from my Enemies. I have to acquaint you that a least 2/3 of the Inhabitants are yet Friends to our Cause and will when ever our Troops arrive receive them but on this I hope they'll not confide as I may be deceived therefore advise whoever the General or Officer commands to be well guarded against them. I am pleased to hear of the Indians coming in to make peace, beware of them they are a Treacherous People and when you least expect will fall on you. I am well acquainted with the Kaskaskia Gentry they are damn'd Rogues as well as their ancient Leader RocheBlave God send him a sight of Williamsburgh, Govr Henry won't be displeased to see one of these *Hair Buyers* I was very near taking the great Henry Stuart he unluckily made his Escape in his Shirt and flue for Mercy across a Rivulet into the Spanish Fort and there claimed Protection which happy for him was granted.

Annex'd you have Copy of a Letter I wrote by Lieut Robert George who I sent off to you with my Party consisting of about 60 Men and they will either stay with you or proceed immediately according as they may receive Instructions from Genl Hand or Congress with the State Goods. News their none but St Augustine

is taken and a French Warr inevitable. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you shortly either at the Illinois or at Natchez.

With respect to the cloathing of your Men &c this Winter there is Goods at the Illinois but how far your Commission or Instructions will Indemnify you to dispose of them I am unacquainted all that I know about them is that they were to go to the Main Army I am

Sir with respect Your most humble Servant

JAS WILLING Captn

P. S. Please to forward the Inclosed letter pr first Safe Conveyance to Brig. G. Hand at Fort Pitt or wherever he may be & youll oblige yrs

JW

COLONEL R. CLARK Commandg at Kaskaskias in the Illinois Country

[*Addressed:*] On publick Service To Colonel Roger Clark Commanding at Kaskaskias Illinois

SIR

The Bearer of this will deliver you a Trunk of Merchandize markd I. C. which I beg youll take care of and forward the same to Brigd G. Hand by the first safe opportunity and youll oblige

Your friend &c

JAS WILLING Captn

CLARK TO GOVERNOR HENRY, September 16, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 14S62.]

KASKASKIA, EASTERN ILLINOIS, Sept. 16, 1778

DEAR SIR:

Lately arrived from New Orleans despatches from the Governor General to Mr Leabau,[1] Lieut. Governor, residing at St. Louis, which brought a packet for the Commercial Committee & Congress, with instructions to send it by express, except it could be given into the hands of an officer belonging to the States. A few days ago I received these letters from Mr Leabau, who requested

[1] Fernando de Leyba accompanied Governor Unzaga from Spain to New Orleans in 1769. As lieutenant-governor of Spanish Illinois, he came to St. Louis in 1778. See Introduction, cxxxi; Houck, *Hist. of Missouri*, Index.

that I would send them immediately as he says they are of importance and require expedition. Having a fit person, I have despatched him with orders to make no delay until he arrives at Williamsburg. This express answers my purpose very well as an opportunity of informing you what has passed in the country since my last letters to you by Capt. Montgomery, which I hope you have received.

Mr Leabau requested of me that I would by letter present his compliments to you. This gentleman interests himself much in favor of the States,—more so than I could have expected. He has offered me all the force that he could raise, in case of an attack by Indians from Detroit, as there is now no danger from any other quarter. Genl Hamilton of Detroit has of late been at great pains and expense to get a body of Indians to retake the Illinois, but above half the Indians that he had at his command have treated with me, and I believe the rest are very willing to be quiet, except those towards Fort Pitt. In short, his officers among them have bad success, as I often hear from them, having spies in the same towns. I think I shall keep his Excellency out of the possession of it this year. As for the next, you are the best judge.

I am, Sir, your humble servt,

G. R. CLARK

HIS EXCELLENCY PATRICK HENRY.

JOHN BOWMAN TO CLARK, October 14, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J42.—A. L. S.]

HARRODSBURG October 14th 1778.

DEAR SIR

This day I Receved yours by Wm Miers and with dificulty I shall furnish him with a Horse to Ride to the Settlement on.

The Indians have Pushed us hard this Summer, I shall onley Begin at the 7th of Sept when three Hundred and thirty Indians with 8 French Men Came to Boonesburg Rased a flag and Called for Capt Boone who had Lately Come from them, and offred Terms of Peace to the Boonesburgh People. Hearing that the Indians Gladly Treted with you at the Illinois, gave them Reason to think that the Indians were Sincear; two days being taken up

in this manner till the Became Quite fimeleyer [familiar] with one another; but finding the Boonesburg People would not turn out, and having Col° Calloway Majr Smith, Capt Boone Capt Buchanan, and their Subolterns Eight in Number, in the Lick where the had their Table, (you know the distance about 80 yards) the Indians Getting up, Blackfish made a long Speach, then gave the word go, Instantly a Signal Gun fired, the Indians fastned on the eight men to take them off, the white People began to dispute the Matter, tho unarmd, and Broke Loose from the Indians though there were two and three Indians to one White Man, In Runing the above Distance upwd of 200 Guns fired from Each Side and yet Every man Escaped But Squire Boone, who was Badley wounded though not Mortally and he got Safe to the fort. On this a hot Ingagement Insued for nine days and nights constant fire without any Intermission, No more damage was Done however But one killed. and two wounded The Indians then Dispersed to the Defrent [different] forts where they Still Remain in greate numbers and way Laying our Hunters. General McIntosh who commands the Armey Intended against Detroyt, I under stand Receved Instructions to Strike the Indians and not meddle with Detroit, For other nothern news I Refer you to the Gazettes I heare with Sind you. The Indians have Done More Damige in the Interier Settlements this summer than ever was Done in one season before—absolute neadesessity [necessity] obliges me to send Capt. Harrod for Salt, that we may be able to Lay up a sufficiant Quantity of Provision for the Next Summer. I hope you will send us one hundred Bushels for that Purpose, Send me an accompt of the same and I will send you the Money by Capt Muntgomery in the spring, Your Complyance in this matter will Inable us to keepe our ground; if not we shall be obligd, to brake up for the want of Provision, for Neadesessity will Brake through Stone walls. I was obliged to promis 6/ pr day to Every man that Returns with Capt harrod that I sent. I Beg this as a favour to let Every Man of them have the Value of forty Dolers in goods as May best sute them and I will Pay it with the above

I am Dear Sir your Humle Servt

JNO BOWMAN

N B Pray forward the News Papers to My Brother after your Loocking over them

JB

We have ben Reinforced from Washington County with Eighty Men but thir time is near out Before the Come this Lenth So the Return Imediately agane.

JOSEPH BOWMAN TO CLARK, October 30, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J43.—A. L. S.]

KAHOKIA[S] October 30[th] 1778

DEAR COL[O]

Inclosed you[I] Receive two Letters from Denow which I made free to open, In order to Compair them and another from the said person to a Certain Gentleman together, which treated upon one subject, but at a great Advearance. In your letters I find you are still Incouraged about Receiveing your Horses whearin it mentions of their only waiting upon one Nation of Indians, whome they had sent for other ways they wood have Returnd by this time with the Horses—in the other Gentlemans Letter they say that they have yet five Horses besides the six they have sent, and Desires that the will purchace six or seven Hogheads of Taffee more with the Greatist saifty; as the Expence they have already against State amounts to fifteen Hundred Livers.

I have sent you by Cap[tn] Winston a half moon of silver which I got out of the Continantle store, which seamd to have been Provided for officers, I have taken one for my self & some more yet Remaining, if they are wanting they can be had at any time, I Likewise got five for Indians but made Lite and not so compleat; their has been Some Indians of the sack Nation here, which I dispatcht a few days ago with them caime one cheif and another of the Iwaya Nation which had never been in, their complyance has not satisfyed me with a Regard to peace, as they confess[d] to me that their principal cheifs whear gone to Montreall to fight against the big Knife, I sent them off and gave A Kag of Rum and told them to go and hold a counsel with their Nation, and give them choice which side to Join, with Drinking their Health with the Rum

My Compliments to the Gent[n] Officers, Includeing M[r] Camron I am D[r] S[r] your most Obd friend & hble Sar

Jo[s] Bowman

[*Addressed:*] G. R. Clark Col[o] Commander in Cheif of the Islenois Country Kuskuskia pr Capt[n] Wintston.

[*Endorsed:*] Majr. Bowman Oct 30th 1778

Governor Henry to the Virginia Delegates in Congress, November 16, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 14S128.—Copy.]

W[ms]burg, Nov[r] 16th 1778.

Gentlemen:

The Executive power of this State having been impressed with a strong apprehension of incursions on their frontier settlements from the savages situated about the Illinois, and supposing the danger would be greatly obviated by an enterprise against the English posts and possessions in that country, which were well known to inspire the savages with their bloody purposes against us sent a detachment of militia, consisting of one hundred and seventy or eighty men, commanded by Col. George Rogers Clark on that service some time last spring. By despatches which I have just received from Col. Clark it appears that his success has equalled the most sanguine expectations.[2] He has not only reduced Fort Chartres and its dependencies, but has struck such a terror into the Indian tribes between that settlement & the Lakes that no less than five of them, viz: the Puans, Sacks, Renards, Powtowautanies, & Miamies, who had received the hatchet from the English emissaries, have submitted to our arms all their English presents, and bound themselves by treaties and promises to be peaceable in future.

The Great Blackbird, a Chippewa Chief, has also sent a belt of peace to Col. Clark, influenced, he supposes, by the dread of Detroit's being reduced by the American arms. This latter place

[1] Printed also in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 245 *et seq.*

[2] It has not been possible to locate the originals of these letters but it seems evident that Governor Henry followed the contents in this report to Congress.

according to Col. Clarks representation, is at present defended by so inconsiderable a garrison & so scanty furnished with provision for which they must be still more distressed by the loss of supplies from the Illinois, that it might be reduced by any number of men above five hundred. The Governor of that place Mr Hamilton, was exerting himself to engage the savages to assist him in retaking the places that had fallen into our hands; but the favorable impressions made on the Indians in general in that quarter, the influence of the French on them, and the reinforcement of their militia Col. Clark expected, flattered him that there was little danger to be apprehended.

Included in the dispatches is a letter from Captn Helm, who commands a party posted by Col. Clark at St. Vincents. According to this information, the Wabash and Upper Indians, consisting of the Piankeshaws, Tawaws, Peorias, Delawares, Pekakishaws, Masketans, and some of the Shawanese chiefs, had also given up all their tokens of attachment to our enemies, and pledged their fidelity to the United States. Capt. Helm adds, that he was on the point of setting out with the assistance of part of the inhabitants of St. Vincents and some of the principal Wabash chiefs with a view to retake a quantity of merchandize seized by the English from Detroit, belonging to the people at St. Vincents, & on its way to them. The Captain speaks with confidence of success in this enterprise, and extends his hopes even to the destruction of Detroit, if joined on his way by the expected number of Indians & volunteers.

My reason for troubling Congress with these particulars is, that they may avail themselves of the light they throw on the state of things in the Western country. If the party under Col. Clark can co-operate in any respect with the measures Congress are pursuing, or have in view, I shall with pleasure give him the necessary orders. In order to improve and secure the advantages gained by Col. Clark, I propose to support him with a re-inforcement of militia. But this will depend on the pleasure of the Assembly, to whose consideration the measure is submitted.

The French inhabitants have mainfested great zeal and attachment to our cause, and insist on garrisons remaining with them under Col. Clark. This I am induced to agree to, because the

safety of our own frontiers, as well as that of these people, demands a compliance with the request. Were it possible to secure the St. Lawrence, and prevent the English attempts up that river by seizing some post on it, peace with the Indians would seem to me to be secured.

With great regard, &c.

P. HENRY

HONBLE VA DELEGATES.

RESOLUTION OF VIRGINIA HOUSE OF DELEGATES, November 23, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 48J45.—D. S.]

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Monday the 23d Nov. 1778

Whereas authentic Information has been received that Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clarke, with a Body of Virginia Militia, has reduced the British Posts in the western part of this Commonwealth on the River Mississippi; and it's Branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this Commonwealth in particular

Resolved that the Thanks of this House are Justly due to the said Colonel Clarke and the brave Officers & Men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance, in so hazardous an enterprize and for the important services thereby rendered their Country

Test

E. RANDOLPH C. h. d.

[*Addressed:*] Colo George Rogers Clarke Mississippi. Col. Harrison Speaker H. D. Novr 24th 1780

[*Endorsed:*] From Benj. Harrison Speaker of House of Delgates enclosing resolus to Col. Geo. Clarke Dated Nov. 24th 1778[2]

[1] Printed also in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 248.

[2] The above resolutions and preamble appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of Dec. 15, 1778, copied evidently from a Williamsburg paper of Dec. 4th, preceding.—Lyman C. Draper.

BENJAMIN HARRISON TO CLARK, November 24, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J44.—A. L. S.]

W^MSBURG Nov^r 24^th 1778

SIR

I have it on command from the House of Delegates to forward to you the inclosed Resolutions. I do assure you Sir it gives me the highest satisfaction to be the instrument of conveying this public testimony of the just sense your Country entertains of the very important Services you have render'd it.

You'l please to take the proper method of communicating the Resolutions to the intrepid officers and Soldiers who have so nobly assisted you in the glorious enterprise

I have the Honor to be your most obedient and very Humble Servant

BENJ^N HARRISON Speaker H. D.

GOVERNOR HENRY TO CLARK, December 12, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J47.—A. L. S.]

W^MSBURGH Dec^r 12^th 1778

DEAR SIR.

I refer you to my public Letters for every thing I had to say on public Business. The Land Office is not opened as yet, so that nothing could be done for you towards securing the Land you wanted. But as soon as there is an Oppertunity I shall not forget you. In the mean Time I am very desirous to get two of the best Stallions that possibly be found at the Ilinois. I hear the Horses are fine. I beg it as a particular Favor of you to get two of the best that that place, the Spanish Settlements or the Indians can furnish. I would not have you to value the cost of the Horses, or the Expence of sending them in. pray get the finest according to the within mem^o of the true Blood, & get good Men to bring them to New Castle Town in Hanover, & give them handsome Wages to secure their taking Pains to bring them safe, & have particular Care of the Horses, for I am vastly anxious to get the finest Horses of the true Spanish Blood, that is in all your Country or the adjacent. Perhaps you cannot get fine ones imediately; I wish you in

that case to send any Distance to get the best & I will pay the Expence. be it what it will. The Spanish Comandant may perhaps assist you in getting them. please to apply to him, & if possible get me the Two Horses & send them as good oppertunity by good men shall happen. I wish you also to get for me upon receipt of this Eight of the best Mares you can purchase. I don't desire you to be particular in their Blood so much as that of the Horses. I want the Spanish Blood, & the Mares to be large as you can get, & not old. Don't loose a moment in agreeing for the Mares, for vast Numbers of people are about to go out after them from here, & will soon pick them all up & raise the price very high. I hear they are now cheap, & if they are risen, pray don't fail to buy them & send them to Col° W^m^ Christians, by some good men coming in. I shall send the money by Cap^t^ Montgomery, & you may give the People my Word they shall be paid when the Cap^t^ arrives.

I have no Doubt you can execute what I request without interfering with the public Business. I send herewith a Letter to the Spanish comandant which please deliver in person, & perhaps you can then ask about the Horses & get his Direction & assistance in procuring them. I know not how much Money to send, for I suppose Mares are risen in price, but purchase them & the Ballance if any I shall send as soon as I know how much it is. I should like very much to receive one of the Stallions Time enough to cover next Spring. I beg you to try to accomplish it. Perhaps you may send both by that Time, but if you can't do that, let them be sent by the most carefull people as soon as they are procured. I expect the Mares immediately, because they need not be picked with the Care to be used in finding out the finest Horses.

Again pray purchase the Mares immediately upon receipt of this, & don't wait a Moment for them, as you do for the Horses but buy the Mares imediately & send them by carefull people. I shall depend upon them.[1]

Heartily wishing you every [*word missing*]

I remain Dear Sir Y^r^ mo. hble Serv^t^

COL° CLARK P. HENRY

[*Addressed:*] Col° George Rogers Clark at Illinois by Express W^m^ Myers.

[1] For the reply to this letter, see *post*, 303.

PATRICK HENRY TO CLARK, December 12, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J48.—A. L. S.]

MEM° I would Have the Horses & Mares Governor Henry Orders from the Illinois & Countrys Adjacent as follows, Viz^ts— Of the best & most pure Spanish Breed, Blood Bays, About 5 or 6 yrs Old, & that Have Cover'd none, or, but few Mares, as large as possible, fine Delicate Heads, long Necks, Ears small & prick'd, & near at Ends, Deep Shoulders & Chest, large Arms, Well Legg'd, Upright pasterns, & as Clear of Long Hair as May be, in Moving to go near before, Bodys good, Loins Round & Very Wide, between diff^t Turnings of the Hair, Out Hock'd, & Haunches to be as straight as possible, & go Wide behind. It Stans on small Blazes, w^th Either Hind foot white, so much the better.

The OutLines above, will give some Feint Idea of a fine Horse, or Mare, But there is something so striking, & inexpressibly Beautiful, in a Fine Horse, that must Catch the Eye of every Beholder, This in a great Measure, is impossible to Describe, However, Would premise, that the parts w^ch Constitute Beauty, Constitute Strength, & the Beautiful Horse, is Always good. On certain Information, that there are Excellent Horses at Illinois, Cascaskey, Quappa's, & many others places in those Countrys, it is requested in the most Earnest Manner, that Col° Clarke send the Most Skilful person, Or, Persons, to Search those Countrys Diligently, for two as above, w^ch Having provided, to forward them, to NewCastle, Hanover County, in the State of Virginia. As the Governour's Well Satisfy'd Col° Clarke will incur no Unnecessary Expence, On this Material Occasion, so He would allow those concern'd besides the first cost of the Horses, £200 for Searching for, & producing them at New Castle as soon as possible, seeing They Will be Wanted, to Cover a Number of fine Mares, the Insuing Season.

(Could Col° Clarke send two Mares, by the same Convey^ce, it Would be Very Obliging; In case of xxxxxxxxxx But the principal attention will be paid to the Two Stall^s for whom, every Recompence in Reason will be made, for Using Expedition, & being

Well Chosen, but Surely the whole Six may be Sent. The profits on those that bring them, being Considerable, & sufficient to ingage their Utmost Care & Attention in Every Respect.)[1]

This memº will direct Colº Clarke as to the Stallions. The Mares are to be sent to Colº Christian & to be boᵗ quick as possible after receiving my Letter.

P. H.

WᴹˢBURG 14ᵗʰ Decʳ 1778.[2]

INSTRUCTIONS TO CLARK FROM THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL, December 12, 1778.[3]

[*Journal of the Council, 1777–1778*, p. 379 *et seq.*, Va. State Archives.]

To COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE Commander in Chief of the Virginia Troops in the County of Illinois.

You are to retain the Command of the Troops now at the several posts in the Country of Illinois and on the Wabash which fall within the Limits of the County now erected & called Illinois County which troops marchd out with & have been embodied by you.[4] You are also to take the Command of five other Companies raised under the Act of Assembly which I send herewith, & which if compleated as I hope they will Speedily, will have orders to join you without Loss of Time & are likewise to be under your command. With your whole force you are to protect the Inhabitants of the Country & as occasions may serve, annoy the Enemy.

It is thought that the Indian Nation may be overawed & inclined to peace with us by the Adoption of proper Measures with

[1] This paragraph is crossed out in the original.

[2] [Endorsed by Draper:] private Spanish Horses Dec. 1778.—To Col. George Rogers Clark of Kentucky—then in the Illinois country.

[3] The present copy was made directly from the journal. The instructions are evidently written by Governor Henry and approved by the council. The copy in the Draper MSS. contains the signature. Printed also in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 60; and in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, 253 *et seq.*

[4] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX., 552. "*Be it enacted by the General Assembly*, That all the citizens of this commonwealth who are already settled, or who shall hereafter settle, on the western side of the Ohio aforesaid, shall be included in a distinct county, which shall be called Ilinois county;" The act is quoted in full in Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 9. Dr. Arthur Boggess was the first to work out the history of the act, see Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, v., 9. See also Introduction to this volume, c *et seq.*

you. Or if that can not be effected, that such of them as send out Parties towards our Frontiers on this side of Ohio may be chastised by Detachments from your Quarter. For this purpose it will behove you to watch their Motions, & to consider, that one great Advantage expected from your Situation, is to prevent the Indians from warring on this side of Ohio.

In order more effectually to prevent this, you are to establish such posts in different parts of the Country as you judge best for your Troops to occupy.

I consider your further Successes as depending upon the good-will & friendship of the Frenchmen & Indians who inhabit your part of the Commonwealth. With their concurrence, great Things may be accomplished. But their Animosity, will spoil the fair prospect which your past Successes have opened. You will therefore spare no pains to conciliate the Affections of the French & Indians. Let them see & feel the Advantages of being fellow-citizens & free men. Guard most carefully against every Infringement of their property, particularly with Respect to Land, as our Enemies have alarmed them as to that Strict & even severe Discipline with your soldiers may be essential to preserve from Injury those whom they were sent to protect and conciliate.

This is a great & capital Matter, & I confide that you will never lose sight of it or suffer your Troops to injure any person without feeling the punishment due to the offence. The Honor and Interest of the State are deeply concerned in this & the attachment of the French & Indians depends upon a due observance of it.

John Todd Esquire being appointed County Lieutenant according to Law during pleasure, with ample powers chiefly confined to the Civil Department, will have Directions to act in concert with you wherever it can be done. On your part, you will omit no opportunity to give him the necessary Cooperation of the Troops where the Case necessarily requires it. Much will depend upon the mutual Assistances you may occasionally afford each other in your respective Departments. And I trust that a sincere Cordiality will subsist between you. The contrary will prove highly detrimental.

Some measures will be fallen on for carrying on a Trade to supply Goods for the Inhabitants of your County. You will

afford the Agents such aid or protection from Time to Time as affairs require and your Circumstances will permit.

I send you herewith some Copies of the Act of Government & Bill of Rights, together with the french Alliance. These will serve to show our new friends, the Ground upon which they are to stand & the Support to be expected from their Countrymen of France. Equal Liberty & Happiness are the objects, to a participation of which we invite them.

Upon a fair presumption that the people about Detroit have Similar Inclinations with those at Illinois & Wabash, I think it possible, that they may be brought to expell their British Masters & become fellow Citizens of a free State.

I recommend this to your Serious Consideration, and to consult with some confidential persons on the Subject. perhaps Mr. Gibault the Priest (to whom this Country owes many Thanks for his Zeal & Services) may promote this affair. But I refer it to you to select the proper persons to advise with & to act as occasion offers.

But you are to push at any favorable Occurrences which Fortune may present to you. For our peace & Safety are not secure while the Enemy are so near as Detroit.

I wish you to testify to all the Subjects of Spain upon every occasion, the high Regard, and sincere friendship of this Commonwealth towards them. And I hope it will soon be manifest that mutual Advantages will derive from the Neighbourhood of the Virginians and the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty.

I must observe to you, that your Situation is critical. For detached from the Body of your Country, placed among French Spaniards & Indian Nations strangers to our people, anxiously watching your actions & Behaviour, & ready to receive Impressions favourable, or not so, of our Commonwealth & its Government, which Impressions will be hard to remove & wil produce lasting good or ill Effects to your Country; These Considerations will make you cautious & Circumspect. I feel the Delicacy & Difficulty of your Situation, but I doubt not your virtue will accomplich the arduous Work With Honour to yourself and advantage

to the Commonwealth. The Advice & Assistance of good discreet men will be highly necessary. For at the Distance of your County, I can not be consulted. General Discretionary powers therefore are given you to act for the best in all Cases where these Instructions are silent, & the Law has made no provision.

I desire Your particular attention to Mrs. Rocheblare and her Children, and that you suffer them to want for nothing. Let Mr. Rocheblare's property which was taken be restored to his Lady so far as it can be done. You have the Sum of Sixty pounds sent for her use, in case you can't find her husbands Effects to restore.

Prudence requires that provisions be laid in to subsist the Troops you have & those to be expected to arrive with you. Colonel Bowman has contracted to deliver 35,000 lb Bear Bacon at Kentucky, but Bread must be had at Illinois. You will provide it if possible before the arrival of the Troops, or the necessity to buy it becomes general known, as perhaps Advantages may be taken by raising the price. Lay up also a good Stock of powder & Lead.

There is a Cargoe of Goods at a Spanish post near you belonging either to the Continent or this State. Rather than let your Troops be naked, you are to take a supply for them out of these Goods. But this is not to be done but in Case of absolute Necessity. Let an exact account be kept of what is used & let me receive it.

In your Negotiations or Treatys with the Indians, you will be assisted by Mr. Todd. Let the Treatys be confined to the Subject of Amity & peace with our people, and not to touch the Subjects of Lands. You may accept of any Services they offer, for Expelling the English from Detroit or elsewhere. In case you find presents to the savages necessary, make them sparingly as possible, letting them know our Stock of Goods is small at present, but by means of our Trade with the french & other Nations we expect plenty of Goods before it is long.

Lieutenant Colonel Montgomery will convey to you ten thousand pounds for payment of the Troops & for other Matters

requiring Money. In the Distribution of the Money you will be careful to keep exact accounts from time to time & take Security where it is proper.

Adjourned 'till Monday 10 o'Clock.

Signed THOMAS WALKER
NATH[L] HARRISON
JAMES MADISON
BOLLING STARK

INSTRUCTIONS TO JOHN MONTGOMERY FROM THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL, December 12, 1778.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

Decr. 12, 1778.

You are forthwith to put on Foot the recruiting of men to reinforce Col[o] Clarke at the Ilinois and to push it on with all possible expedition, As soon as the number of one hundred can be collected let them be sent on under the proper Officers & join Colonel Clarke. If you think that number too small to go in safety add to it til you Judge the number large enough to resist the attacks that may be expected from the Indians. You will cause the proper vessels for transporting the Troops down the Cherokee River to be built & ready before they are wanted Let no time be lost in doing that. Mr James Buchanan you must direct to lay in the provision necessary. You will get powder & flint from Col[o] Flemings and Lead from the Mines sufficient for the use of the parties on the march. Blank Commissions for the Officers of five Companies are delivered you to be fill'd up as the numbers of men they recruit shall intitle them as to date and Rank. If any Officer who is intrusted to recruit shall fail to inlist and produce his quota in a reasonable time Such as the exigance & pressing necessity to releive & secure the Ilinois Country do require in that case the Officer so failing is to give up the men he has inlisted together with his recruiting instructions to you, or to such other person as you may appoint to Succeed him, And if the person you appoint to Succeed him fails in due time to inlist and produce the quota for which he undertakes to recruit, you are to make a new appointment, til every quota is full or so near full as to be fit

to march. You are to take especial care to appoint men proper to be Officers and as this matter from the necessity of the Case is intrusted to you an improper appointment will reflect great dishonor upon you. As soon as the state of Affairs in the recruiting business will permit you are to go to the Ilinois Country and join Col° Clarke. I need not tell you how necessary the greatest possible dispatch is to the good of the service in which you are engaged Our party at Ilinois may be lost together with the present favorable disposition of the French & Indians there unless every moment is improved for their preservation & no future oppertunity if the present is lost can ever be expected so favorable to the interest of the Commonwealth. I therefore urge it on you to exert yourself to the utmost to lose not a moment to forward the great work you have in hand & to conquer every difficulty in your way arising from an inclement season, great distances, want of many necessaries, opposition from enemies & others I cant enumerate, but must confide in your virtue to guard against and surmount. Cap[t] Isaac Shelby it is desired may purchase the boats but if he cant do it you must get some other person

You receive 10000 £ Cash for Col: Clarke's Corps which you are to deliver him except 200 £ for Captain Shelby to build the boats & what other incidental expences happen necessarily on your way which are to come out of that Sum.

I am &c.
A. BLAIR C C.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY TO JOHN TODD, December 12, 1778.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

WMSBURG Decr 12th 1778

TO JOHN TODD ESQR

By virtue of the Act of General Assembly which establishes the County of Illinois, you are appointed County Lieutenant or

[1] Printed in Mason, *John Todd's Record-Book*, Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 289 *et seq.*; *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 312 *et seq.*; in extract, English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 249 *et seq.* For a full discussion of John Todd and his mission, see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), liii. *et seq.*

Commandant there. And for . . . . of your conduct I refer you to the law.

The grand objects which are disclosed to the view of your Countrymen will prove beneficial or otherwise according to the Virtue and Abilities of those who are called to direct the Affairs of that remote Country. The present crisis rendered so favourable by the good disposition of the French and Indians may be improved to great purposes: But if unhappily it should be lost, a return of the same attachments to us may never happen. Considering therefore that early prejudices are so hard to wear out you will take care to cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians.

Although great reliance is placed on your prudence in managing the people you are to reside among; yet considering you as unacquainted in some degree with their genius usuages and manners as well as the geography of the Country I recommend it to you to consult and advise with the most intelligent and upright persons who may fall in your way.

You are to give particular attention to Col Clarke and his corps to whom the State has great obligations. You are to co-operate with him in any military undertaking when necessary and to give the military every aid which the circumstances of the people will admit of. The Inhabitants of Illinois must not expect settled peace and safety while their and our Enemies have footing at Detroit and can interrupt or stop the Trade of the Mississippi. If the English have not the strength or courage to come to war against us themselves, their practice has been and will be to hire the Savages to commit murder and depredations. Illinois must expect to pay in these a large price for her Freedom, unless the English can be expelled from Detroit The means of effecting this will not perhaps be found in your or Col Clarkes power. But the French inhabiting the neighbourhood of that place, it is presumed may be brought to see it done with indifference or perhaps join in the enterprise with pleasure. This is but conjecture. When you are on the spot you and Col Clarke may discover its fallacy or reality. If the former appears, defence only is to be the object. If the latter or a good prospect of it, I hope the French-

men and Indians at your disposal will shew a Zeal for the affair equal to the benefits to be derived from established liberty and permanent peace.

One great good expected from holding the Illinois is to overawe the Indians from warring on our Settlers on this Side Ohio. A close attention to the disposition character and movements of the hostile Tribes is therefore necessary for you. The Forces and Militia at Illinois by being placed on the back of them may inflict timely chastisment on these Enemies whose Towns are an easy prey in the absence of their Warriors.

You percieve by these hints that something in the military line may be expected from you. So far as the occasion calls for the assistance of the people composing the Militia it will be necessary to co-operate with the Troops sent from hence. And I know of no better general direction to give than this, that you consider yourself as at the Head of the Civil department and as such having the Command of the Militia, who are not to be under the Command of the Military until ordered out by the Civil Authority and act in conjunction with them.

You are on all occasions to inculcate on the people the value of liberty and the difference between the State of free Citizens of this Commonwealth and that Slavery to which Illinois was destined A free and equal representation may be expected by them in a little time together with all the improvements in Jurisprudence and police which the other parts of the State enjoy.

It is necessary for the happiness increase and prosperity of that Country that the grievances which obstruct these blessings be known in order to their removal. Let it therefore be your care to obtain information on that subject that proper plans may be formed for the general Utility. Let it be your constant attention to see that the Inhabitants have Justice administred to them for any Injury received from the Troops. The omission of this may be fatal. Col Clarke has instructions on this head and will I doubt not exert himself to curb all licentious practices of the Soldiery, which if unrestrained will produce the most baneful effects.

You will also discountenance and punish every attempt to violate the property of the Indians, particularly in their lands.

Our Enemys have alarmed them much on that score. But I hope from your prudence and Justice that no ground of complaint will be administred on the subject.

You will embrace every opportunity to manifest the high regard and friendly sentiments of this Commonwealth towards all the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, for whose safety prosperity and advantage you will give every possible advantage You will make a tender of the Friendship and services of your people to the Spanish Commandant near Kaskaskias & cultivate the strictest connection with him and his people. I deliver you a letter which you will hand to him in person.

The detail of your duty in the civil department I need not give you. Its best direction will be found in your innate love of Justice and Zeal to be extensively useful to your fellowmen. A general direction to act according to the best of your Judgment in Cases when these instructions are silent and the laws have not otherwise directed is given to you from the necessity of the case; for your great distance from Government will not permit you to wait for orders in many cases of great importance.

In your negotiations with the Indians confine the stipulations as much as possible to the single object of obtaining peace from them Touch not the subject of lands or boundaries till particular orders are received. When necessity requires it presents may be made; but be as frugal in that matter as possible & let them know that Goods at present are scarce with us but we expect soon to trade freely with all the World and they shall not want goods when we can get them.

The matters given you in charge are singular in their nature & weighty in their consequences to the people immediately concerned and to the whole State. They require the fullest exertion of your abilities and unwearied diligence.

From matters of general concern you must turn occasionally to others of less consequence. Mr Rocheblave's Wife and Family must not suffer for want of that property of which they were bereft by our Troops. It is to be restored to them if possible. If this can not be done, the Public must support them.

I think it proper for you to send me an Express once in three months with a general Account of affairs with you and any particulars you wish to communicate.

It is in Contemplation to appoint an Agent to manage Trade on Public Account to supply Illinois and the Indians with Goods. If such an appointment takes place you will give it every possible aid. The people with you should not intermit their endeavours to procure supplies on the expectation of this, and you may act accordingly.

P. HENRY

PATRICK HENRY TO CLARK, December 15, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 48J49.—A. L. S.]

WMSBURGH Decr 15th 1778

SIR,

Myers your Express has been kept here a long Time. I laid your Letters before the Assembly who are well pleased with your conduct & have thanked you. The Messenger waited for the passing the Act I send herewith.

I thank you also for your Services to the Comonwealth[2] & hope you'll stil have Success. Mr Todd is appointed to the County Lieutenancy. A Comandant as described in the Act is a civil Officer, & considering he is to hold his office during pleasure, it has been judged incompatible with any military office. You would have had it, had there been found any propriety in annexing it to military Comand. Mr. Todd being a man of Merit, I have no Doubt he will be acceptable to you & all your Corps. Let me hear from you often as possible.

I beg you will present my Compliments to Mr Gibault & Doctr Lafong & thank them for me for their good Services to the State.

I send you a Copy of the French Alliance & some other papers, by seeing which the people will be pleased, & attached to our Cause.

[1] Printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 63.

[2] Patrick Henry uses m̃ to designate mm, as in old English.

I refer you to the Instructions I send herewith, & wishing you Safety & Success am

Sir Yr mo. hlbe Servant

P. HENRY

P. S. The President of Congress has this Moment assured me that the English apply'd to Spain to mediate a peace with France. The King of Spain highly resented the Terms offered by the English & put her whole Forces in Motion last Septr when every Day 'twas expected Hostilitys agts the English would be comenced. The Count D'Estaing the French Admiral has lately invited the French in Canada to take up Arms & join the Americans, & has in his Masters Name promised to support them. Let this be known every where in your Quarter,

I send you a Colos Commission & some Blanks.

yrs as above

P. HENRY

[*Addressed:*] To Colo Geo. R. Clark.

PATRICK HENRY TO CLARK, December 16, 1778.

[Draper MSS., 48J51.—A. L. S.]

WmsBURGH Decr 16th 1778

DEAR SIR,

Since writing my private Letter to you, I am informed that Congress have Design to put their Forces on our Frontiers, under my Directions. I am unacquainted with Indian Affairs at Present, not knowing what Nations do us most Mischief, their Numbers & situation, & what Nations have made peace. You must therefore send me an Express directly upon Receipt of this, letting me know the Situation of Affairs with you, & what Nations of Indians we have the most to fear from.

Send off the Express to me with this Intelligence quickly as possible. Buy a Stallion on my Account for him to ride in. He may ride the Stallion & lead a Mare which buy for me also, & let him leave them at Colo Christians, & get a fresh Horse there to ride to Wmsburgh. Chuse the best Stallion & Mare you can possibly get at so short warning for me, & let the Messenger take good Care of them. Perhaps it will be necessary to make one of

the Creatures bring some Grain on it to feed them both on the Way. I send forty-five pounds cash towards buying the Horse & Mare, by this Express, & shall send more Money by Col^{os} Todd & Montgomery.

Let y^{r} public Letter to me contain nothing but public Affairs.

I am Dear Col^{o} y^{r} very hble Servant

P. HENRY

The other Mares mentioned in my other Letter provide without Loss of Time, & send them as good oppertunitys offer

y^{rs}

P. H.

[*Addressed:*] private To Col^{o} George Rogers Clark at the Ilinois by W^{m} Myers Express £45 inclosed
[*Endorsed:*] Gov^{r} Henry Dec^{r} 16th 1778

LEONARD HELM TO CLARK, December 17, 1778.[1]

[C. A., Ser. B., Vol. 122, p. 250.—Copy.][2]

DR. SIR,

At this time theer is an army within three miles of this place. I heard of their comin several days beforehand sent spies to find the certainty the spies being taken prisoners I never got intelligence till they got within 3 miles of the town as I had calld the militia & had all assurance of their integrity I orderd at the fireing of a Cannon every man to apear, but I saw but few Capt. Burron [Bosseron] behaved much to his honour & Credit but I doubt the certaint of a certain gent Ecuse hast as the army is in sight. my Determination is to defend the Garrison though I have but 21 men but wht has lef me I referr you to the M^{r} Wms for the test. The army is in three hundred yd of village you must think how I feel not four men that I can really depend on but am determined to act brave think of my condition I know its out of my power

[1] Printed also in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, 1., 233.
[2] Captured letter.

to defend the town as not one of the militia will take arms thoug before sight of the army no braver men. their is a flag at a small distance I must conclud

Yr. humble servt
LEOD HELM.

Must stop.
TO COL. CLARK.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of Capt Helm's letter commanding for the Rebells at Post Vincennes—Enclosed in Lt. Govr Hamilton's Letter of the 18th Decr Marked Detroit No. 25.

RETURN OF THE VINCENNES MILITIA BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON, December 24, 1778.[1]

[C. A., Ser. B., Vol. 122, p. 234.—Copy.]

Return of the Militia of Poste Vincennes who were in pay of the Rebells, as also of those who bore Commissions & were enrol'ed without pay & who laid down their arms the 17th of Decr 1778.

	Commis'd Officers									
	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Indn Agent	Adjutant	Commissary	Interpreter	Sergeants	Rank & File
In pay of the Rebells	–	2	2	2	–	–	–	1	4	56
Enrold with officers who bore commissions	1	2	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	160
Without Commissions	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	—
Total	1	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	4	216

[1] Printed in Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 372.

Officers who were on pay:

J Baptiste Cardinet, Francois Bosseron } Capts

Timothe Monbrun, Michel Broulliette } Lieuts

J. B. Vanchese La jeunesse, Nicolas Perot } Ensigns.

Hypolite Baulon—Indian Interpreter.

HENRY HAMILTON
Lieut. Govr. & Superintendent.

[*Endorsed:*] Return of Militia at Post Vincennes 24 Decr 1778. Enclosed in Lieut Govr Hamilton's Letter of 18th Decemr marked Detroit No. 25.

PROCLAMATION BY CLARK, December 24, 1778.

[K. MSS., Court Record, f. 152.—Recorded December 26, 1778.][1]

George Rogers Clark Ecuyer Colonel Commandant la partie orientale des Illinois et ses dependences &c.

PROCLAMATION

Sur les plaintes qui nous ont été addressées par les differens habitans de cette rive, par leurs requêtes qui nous a été presentée le vingt deux du Current, tendante a ce qu'il nous plut remedier aux desordres, abus et Brigandages qui durent depuis Long-temps,

[*Translation.*]

George Rogers Clark Esquire, commanding the eastern part of Illinois and its dependences, etc.

PROCLAMATION

On account of the complaints, which have been addressed to us by several inhabitants of this bank through their petitions, presented to us the twenty-second of the current month, in which they beg us to remedy the disorders, abuses and brigandage of

[1] This letter and the translation are reprinted from Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 64 *et seq.*

causeé par le trop grande liberté dont jouisse les Eclaves rouges et noirs, qui les Empechent de Vanquer [?] aux differens ouvrages aux quels leurs maitres les Employent qui causent la perte totale de cette colonie, nous En consequence des susdittes plaintes et pour maintenir le bon ordre dans toute L Etendue de ce pais il nous a Plut ordonner et ordonnons ce qui suit sçavoir.

1. Deffendons et faisons trés Expresse inhibition a toute Personnes de quelque qualité quelles puissent être de vendre ou faire donner ou traitter aucune Liqueurs enyvrant sous quelque pretexte que se soit et En quelque petite où grande quantité que se puisse être, aux Esclaves rouges et noirs sous peine de vingt Piastres Demande pour la premier fois et du double s'il recide dont le Denonciateur en recevera la moitié.

2. Deffendons a toutes personnes de cette rive de pretter où Loüir Gratuitement a aucun Esclaves rouges où noirs leurs maison où Batiments même leurs cours pour y danser aprés le soleil couché où la nuit pour y festiner où y faire des assemblées nocturnes sous

[*Translation.*]

so long duration, that has been caused by the too great liberty enjoyed by the red and black slaves, a liberty that prevents them from accomplishing the different pieces of work in which their masters employ them, and is thus causing the total loss of this colony: in consequence of the aforesaid complaints and in order to maintain good order in the whole extent of this country, it has pleased us to ordain and we do ordain what follows: to wit,

1. We forbid and prohibit very expressly all persons of whatsoever quality they may be from selling to, causing to be given to, or trading with the red and black slaves any intoxicating liquors under any pretext whatsoever and in any quantity, little or big, under penalty of twenty *piastres* fine for the first offense and of double, if it is repeated; of which fine the accuser shall receive half.

2. We forbid all persons living on this bank to lend or rent gratuitously to any red or black slaves their house, buildings and courts, after sunset or for the night, for the purpose of dancing, feasting, or holding nocturnal assemblies therein, under penalty

peine de Quarante Piastres demande Pour la premiere fois et du double s'il recidive dont le denunciateur En recevera la moitié. cependant n'Entendons pas Empecher Que les dits Esclaves rouges où noirs prennent leur recreation Les dimanches où fêtes a danser moyennant que se soit le jour seulement et que les dits Esclaves soyent Pourvü d'un Parmi [*sic*] signé de leur maitre pour cet Effet pour lors toutes Personnes pourront leurs Louer où pretter leur maison Pour y danser dans le jours sans aucune gêne.

3. Deffendons pour prevenir les vols et lareins des Esclaves rouges où Noirs a tous Esclaves de sortir de la maison où cours de leurs maitre après la retraitte Battue a moins quils ne soyent pourvu d'un parmi signé de leur dit maitre qui ne leur sera accordé que dans le Cas de necessité qui ne pourra leur servir que pour une fois, ceux qui En sortiront sans être muni dudit parmis apprès la retraitte Battue seront fustigé au depens de leur maitre En place publique de trente neuf coups de fouët, Pareillement celui qui ira d'un village à l'autre sans être muni d'un parmis de

[*Translation.*]

of forty *piastres* fine for the first offence and of double, if it is repeated; of which fine the accuser shall receive half. We do not intend, however, to prevent the said red or black slaves from taking their recreation in dancing on Sundays and feast days; provided it is during the day time, and the said slaves are furnished with a permit signed by their masters to the effect that all persons can rent or lend them their houses for the purpose of dancing without restraint during the day.

3. In order to prevent thefts and robberies by red and black slaves, we forbid them to go out of the house or court of their masters after tattoo is beaten unless they are provided with a permit signed by their said master, and this shall be granted them only in case of necessity and can be used only once. Those who shall go out after tottoo is beaten, without being furnished with the said permit, shall in a public place be given thirty-nine strokes of the whip at the expense of their masters. Likewise he who shall go from one village to another without being furnished with a permit from his master shall suffer the same chastisement; and if it is

son maitre subira le meme chatiment et s'il recidive il sera doublement Puni et toujours au depends de son maitre.

4. Enfin deffendons a toutes personnes d'achepter où Echanger avec les dits Esclaves rouges où noirs aucunes denrées cochons ou bois ni autre que se puisse être sans que les dits Esclaves ne soyent munis d'un parmis de leurs maitre pour vendre où Echanger les dittes denrées et ce sous peines d'une amende arbitraire par les contreveneurs a notre presente proclamation.

5. Enjoignons a tous capitaines officiers de milices et autres Particuliers de tenir la main a L'Execution de la presente Proclamation et a tous Blancs d'arreter les Esclaves rouges où noirs qu'ils remontreront dans les ruës de chaque village de cette rive apres la retraitte Battue où huit heurs, Pareillement les Esclaves qui se trouveront dans des cabannes d'autres Esclaves que celles de son maitre après la ratraitte battue où huit heures du soir seront aussi arreté et fustigé de trente neuf coups de fouët En place publique et au depends de son maitre et celui qui arretera un ou Plusieurs Esclaves après la retraitte Battue où huit heures

[*Translation.*]

repeated, he shall be punished with twice the number of strokes, always at the expense of his master.

4. Finally we forbid all persons to buy from or exchange with, the said red or black slaves any goods, commodities, pigs, wood or other things whatsoever, unless the said slaves are furnished with a permit from their masters to sell or exchange the said commodities; and this under penalty of an arbitrary fine payable by the transgressors of this our present proclamation.

5. We enjoin all captains, officers of the militia and other individuals to enforce the execution of the present proclamation, and all white men to arrest the red or black slaves whom they shall meet in the streets of each village of this bank after tattoo is beaten or eight o'clock in the evening; and likewise the slaves who shall be found after the beating of tattoo or eight o'clock in the evening in the cabins of other slaves than those of their masters shall be also arrested and, in a public place, beaten with thirty-nine strokes of the whip at the expense of their masters; and he who shall arrest one or several slaves, after the beating

du soir soit dans la rue où dans une cabanne qui ne sera pas la demeure de l'Esclave, recevera que [*sic*] Piastre sur le charge du maitre au quel appartiendra L'esclave qui aura été arreté par chaque tête.

6. Sera notre presente proclamation affichée a la porte de chaque Eglise des village de cette rive pour que personnes n'en puisse ignorer.

Donné au fort Clark sous le sceau de nos armes et le seing de notre secretaire le 24me Xbre 1778.

Par Monseigneur signé G R CLARK
CARBONNEAUX, Greffier

Signé JEAN GIRAULT

[*Translation.*]

of tattoo or eight o'clock in the evening, either in the street or in a cabin which is not the dwelling place of the slave, shall receive [*que?*] *piastres* for each slave who shall be arrested, at the charge of the master to whom the slave shall belong.

6. Our present proclamation shall be posted on the door of each church of the villages of this bank so that no person can be ignorant thereof.

Given at Fort Clark under the seal of our coat of arms and the signature of our secretary, December 24, 1778.

by Monseigneur (signed) G. R. CLARK.
CARBONNEAUX, Clerk.

(Signed) JEAN GIRAULT.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS, December 29, 1778.[1]

[Draper MSS., 15S13.—Copy.]

As nothing more can be wished for in behalf of so remote an establishment as yours, than the enjoyment of a free trade, the secure possession of property, & the tranquility of private families, I must suppose that I address myself to a people who know

[1] This is endorsed probably by Dr. Draper: "An Address to the inhabitants of Illinois, by Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of Detroit and its dependencies, &c. &c., found among Mr. Hamilton's papers."

their interest, and who are sensible of the misfortunes to which they will be exposed by withdrawing themselves from the dominion of the King of England.

If I could by proper representations, impress them with a due sense of their error in facilitating the entrance of the rebels into their country, in neglecting their duty to their King, and committing an offense against God, I should in so doing feel a true satisfaction. I shall make it my glory to restore the happiness, and regain the confidence of a people who have been seduced from the right way, by evil examples and evil counsels, but who are still capable of discerning good from evil, and again becoming good subjects and good christians.

The storm which threatens them on all sides is gathering fast, and will soon burst without distinction on the rebels and those who shall support them. Let them, therefore, imitate the conduct of their relations and friends at the post of St. Vincents, who, having seen their error, have by voluntarily forsaking it, availed themselves of the protection of his Britanic Majesty, ever disposed to forget the faults of those who know to deserve his goodness, by returning to their duty.

In order to make the inhabitants of the Illinois sensible of their dangerous situation, it is necessary to unfold to them the means and preparations which will be made use of to expel the rebels, and reestablish that peace and tranquility which have been distributed [disturbed?] by those who feel no attachment but to their interest.

The Chickasaws, Cherokees, and the other Southern nations, inveterate enemies to the rebels, are ready to invade the Illinois on the first opening of the spring, they will be sustained by a regiment of the King's troops now on their way from Pensacola with their officers, the whole under the conduct of the Superintendent of the Southern Department.

The nations inhabiting the shores of the Lakes will all be devoted to whatever service I shall recommend to them.

Those of the Wabash who came down this fall have acted in concert with them, and have abandoned the flag of the rebels.

The Six Nations, the Shawanons, the Isonnontouans begirt the frontiers closely everywhere; the communication by the Falls of

the Ohio is intercepted, the rivers blocked up. This is the prospect which presents itself to the consideration of the inhabitants of the Illinois; and if they suffer themselves any longer to be so far blinded by the promises of the Americans (hitherto so badly fulfilled) as to range themselves under their standard, they must prepare to abide by the consequences.

The reinforcement of the troops which I expect this spring will enable me to support the good, and to punish bad subjects.

May honor, gratitude and religion, may conjugal love and parental tenderness operate in their minds, that I may espouse with warmth the interests of the inhabitants of the Illinois. This shall be the object of my cares; this is what I wish with fervor and sincerity.

(Signed) H. H. Lt. G.

Sent off by H. Baulon, 29th December, 1778 Translated by order of the Board,

(Signed) Charles Belline, clk of Foreign Correspondence

CLARK TO PATRICK HENRY, February 3, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

KASKASKIAS ILLINOIS Feby 3d 1779

Dr Sr

As it is now near twelve months Since I have had the least Inteligence from you I almost despair of any Relief sent to me, I have for many Months past had Reports of An army Marching Against DeTroit, but no Certainty. A Late Menuvr of The Famous Hair Buyer General, Henry Hamilton Esqr. Lieut. Governor of DeTroit, hath allarmed us much; on the 16th. of December last he, with a Body of Six Hundred Men Composed of Regulars French Voluntier and Indians Took possession of St. Vincent on the Waubach What few men that Composed the Garison not being able to make the least Defence, he is Influancing all the Indians he possibly Can to Join him: I learn that those that have Treated with me have as yet Refused his offers. I have for some time Expected an attact from him he has Blockd. up the Ohio R with a party French and Indians.

Yesterday I fortunately got every peace of Inteligence, that I could wish for, by a Spanish Genl.[1] that made his Escape from M[r] Hamilton. No Attact to be Made on the Garison at Kaskaskias until the Spring [*MS. torn*] passage is too difficult at present, [*MS. torn*] Sent to war against Different parts of [*MS. torn*] Especially Kentucky. Both presents and Speaches Sent to all the Nations South of the Ohio Amediately to meet at a great Council at the Mouth of the Tennesse R to lay the Best plans for Cuting of the Rebels at Illinois and Kentucky & the Grand Kite and his Nation living at Post St Vincent told Mr. Hamilton that he and his people was Big Knives and would not give their hands any more to the English for he would shortly see his Father that was at Kaskaskias Ninety Regulars in Garrison a few Voluntiers and about Fifty Tawaway Indians that is Shortly to go to war they are very Busy in Repairing the Fort which will Shortly be very Strong, One Brass Six-pounder two Iron four pounders and two Swivels Mounted in the Bastians plenty of Amunition and provitions and all kinds of warlike Stores, Making preparation for the Reduction of the Illenois & has no Suspition of a Visit from the americans this was Mr. Hamilton Circumstance when Mr. Vigo left him.

Being sensible that without a Reinforcement which at present I have hardly a right to Expect that I shall be obliged to give up this Cuntrey to Mr. Hamilton without a turn of Fortune in my favour, I am Resolved to take the advantage of his present Situation and Risque the whole on a Single Battle I shall Set out in a few Days with all the Force I can Raise of my own Troops and a few Militia that I can Depend on (whole to only one) Hundred (of which goes on) Board a Small G——[*MS. torn*] out some time ago Mounting two four pounders and four large Swivels one nine pounder on Board this Boat is to make her way good if possible and take her Station Tenn Leagues Below St. Vincens until further orders if I am Defeated She is to Join Col. Rogers on the Mississippi She has great Stores of Ammunition on Board Com[d] by Lieut. J[no] Rogers. I Shall March across by Land my self with the Rest of My Boys the principal persons that follow me on

[1] The gentleman was François Vigo.

this forlorn hope is Cap^{tn} Joseph Bowman John Williams Ed^{wd} Worthing[ton] Rich^{d} M Carty & Fran^{s} Charlovielle Lieu^{ts} Rich^{d} Brashears Ab^{m} Kellar Ab^{m} Chaplin Jn^{o} Jerault And Jn^{o} Bayley and several other Brave Subalterns,[1] You must be Sensible of the Feeling that I have for those Brave officers and Soldiers that are Determined to share my Fate let it be what it will I know the Case is Desperate but S^{r} we must Either Quit the Cuntrey or attact Mr. Hamilton no time is to be lost was I Shocr of a Reinforcement I should not attempt it who knows what fortune will do for us Great things have been affected by a few Men well Conducted perhaps we may be fortunate we have this Consolation that our Cause is Just and that our Cuntrey will be greatful and not Con [*MS. torn*] our Conduct in Case we fall through if so this [*MS. torn*] trey as well as Kentucky I believe is los [*MS. torn*]

I have wrote to Col. Rogers Desiring of him not to Enter the

[1] For Joseph Bowman, see *ante*, 22; Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), Index.

Captain John Williams was given charge, together with Lieutenant John Rogers, of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton and the other British prisoners sent to Virginia, see *Mason Letter*, *post*, 146. In 1780, he succeeded to the command at Cahokia. Captain Edward Worthington is mentioned among the first settlers on Corn Island. He was a surveyor in Kentucky as early as 1775, and was well known by Clark.

Captain Richard McCarty was a trader in the English service up to the time of the capture of Kaskaskia. He came from Canada and located at Cahokia. He was made commandant at this post in August, 1779, but soon came into conflict with the civil authorities. See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), Index.

François Chauvin *dit* Charleville was born at Kaskaskia, 1754. His father was Joseph Chauvin *dit* Charleville. Because of his activity in behalf of the Americans, François was made captain of a company from Kaskaskia. See Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, V.), 414, n. 2.

Lieutenant Richard Brashers was originally one of Captain William Harrod's company who probably came from Pennsylvania. He was given command of the garrison at Vincennes upon Clark's return to Kaskaskia. His assistants were Lieutenants Abraham Chapline and John Bailey. See Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 297.

Lieutenant Jean Girault came from London to New York where he was employed as clerk in an importing house. He was in the Illinois country in 1777. Girault was familiar with the English, French and Spanish languages and Clark made him his official interpreter and translator. May 30, 1779, he was made lieutenant. After two years, October, 1781, he was commissioned captain, and for a short time served as commissary to Clark. Meantime, he was appointed state's attorney by Todd and served in that capacity for two years. Receiving an honorable dismissal from the army in 1783, he went to Natchez and to New Orleans, where he became engaged in trade. *Draper MSS.*, 1M29, 1M185. For a more complete account of him consult indexes of Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, and *Kaskaskia Records*.

Ohio River Untill further Inteligence from Me I learn that by a noble Stroke of Policy that he has Got his Cargo above the British posts in Floriday if I have Success I shall Amediately Send Dispatches to him The Expresses that you have sent I Expect has fallen into the hands of Governor Hamilton

I have the Honour to be S^{r} Your Very Humble Serv^{t}

G. R. CLARK

CLARK TO JOHN ROGERS, February 3, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 3J103.—Transcript by J. T. Bliss.]

F^{T} C^{K}—KASKASKIAS, Feb'y 3d, 1779.

SIR.

You are to take charge of the row-galley called the Willing now lying in the Kaskaskias, with all her furnitures and crew, and immediately drop down into the Ohio river, and make what way you possibly can up s'd river and Waubash, and take your station ten leagues below the Post St. Vincents, and wait until further orders from me or some of your superior officers. I would request it of you to be continually on your guard. Much depends on your safety. Suffer no vessel to pass you except friends. I would recommend it to you to keep spies on the bank of the rivers as you go up them, for fear of surprise. It is conjectured by many that Lieut. Governor Hamilton will attempt to make his escape down the Mississippi. If you should meet him, never quit him as long as you have the least chance to take him. You must be sensible of the importance of the charge you have. Act prudently and with spirit. Run no risks in going up in order to speak to parties of Indians that you may see on the Ohio. If I should have success in the premeditated attack on Saint Vincent, you may expect a re-enforcement immediately.

I heartily wish you [*MS. torn*]

TO LIEUT. JOHN ROGERS, ESQ.

DAVID LYSTER TO GEORGE MOOREHEAD, February 4, 1779.[1]

[Draper MSS., 49J20.—A. L. S.]

DETROIT 4TH February 1779

Dr COMRADE GEORGE

I Received yr kind letter which gave me the greatest pleasure to hear you were well but sorrow to hear of yr want of water which was A misfortune not to be avoided we are all in good health but our Old freind who is as mad as Ever, Dr. George we have so much news and one account thro: out the whole Varying from another that it not worth sending to you, on the arrival of the first Vessell from Fort Erie after yr Departure orders come up to build a new fort which is now carrying on with the greatest Expedition the ground is at the head of the Kings Garden where the Block House stood under the Direction of Captn Bird, there is two of us always with him to see the Fascines laid and Picketed down, we worked Every Day since it began but Christmass Day as no weather Ever hinders us let it be Ever so bad, Capn Lernoult and all the Officers work Constantly we have got part of it fifteen feet high and all the Embrasures formed the Fort Consists of 4 Courtains and 4 Bastions each Bastion mounting 3 Guns, Every man that works is allowed One Pint of Rum Pr Day beside One Ration and half of the Different Species of Provision Except Bread Pr Day but no wages, the merchants and all the inhabitants in the sittlement work 3 Days out of Every nine, we had A Bombardier Douglas sent up here from Niagara to relieve Bombardr: Gavine but Gavine remS here till the spring as no Vessell sailed from here since.

Dr Geo, I have more news Mr Mercer is married to Miss Phillis Barthe Sister in law to Commadore Grant and if you were here you might renew yr former intrigue Yr Brother Dolwood was married to the widow Murray on the 24th of last Decembr The wedding was held at Mr Forsythes and A Jovial one it was we hear As there was none of us there but Thompson and wife, we are all Deceived but who would have thought it as for me freind John I beleive he has reason to be proud it is so, there was

[1] This letter and the two following were among those captured by Lieutenant Helm on his expedition up the Wabash. See Introduction, *ante*, lxxxv.

an Express arrived here the Other Day from Niagara by land we hear there are two thousand Rebels Destined for this place and now on their March, the Niagara Rangers and Indians have Burned and Destroyed all the settlements on the German flats and Cherry Valley, Simon Garty come in this Day about two O Clock but we have heard nothing of the news he brought as Yet, the Rebels are reported to be under the Command of A General Sullivan I have sent you by Mr Macombe One Check shirt 1 Pair of Shoes half a yard of Blue Stroudings with half a pound of thread the Strouding I sent to Compleat a pair of trowsers with the Yard you get as a gift I have sent you a Blanket Coat by Mr Phillip Dejean, the first articles are Directed for you, but the Blanket Coat is Directed for Lieut Devernot which you are to receive, the Stocking web and Brown Coat and Cord Du Roy I could have Disposed of to advantage this winter but would not as I had no Orders from you Dr Geo; any thing you want in my power to Send you let me know and it shall be forwarded to you by the first opportunity and I beg you let me hear from you as often as you have Opportunity and You will Oblige Yr Real freind and Loveing Comrade

DAVID LYSTER

P. S Dr GEORGE

as you left yr Garden Seeds and Lot of Ground in my Charge let me know by the first opportunity how you chuse I should act or whether Should have it Cultivated or not if you think that you are to return here this Ensuing Summer or next fall let me know and I shall act Accordingly

D LYSTER

[*Addressed:*] To Mr George Moorehead Royal Artillery on Expedition under the Command of Governor Hamilton.

ALEXANDER MACOMB TO JEHU HAY, February 4, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J21.—A. L. S.]

DETROIT 4 Feby 1779.

DEAR SIR

I have rec'd your letter of 24th Decr last and am very glad to learn your quiet situation, we had imagined you would have had

some opposition at S^{t} Vincenne. We had accepted all the bills hitherto presented whether drawn by Gov^{r} Hamilton or you, and shall continue so to do. According to your desires I have purchas'd a large quantity of Goods (all that arrived last fall of ours being disposed of.) which shall be forwarded as soon as the Navigation will permit. they will amount to upwards of twelve thousand pounds Nyk C^{y} at this place. you shall order them as you mention. among the Goods I shall send about three thousand pounds of tobacco for to compleat the Assortment. I have mention'd to Gov^{r} Hamilton that, as times seem [to] be Daily more and more precarious in this quarter, that it would not [be] imprudent to make a calculation of the Expences he may be likely to contract between this and next Septem^{r} or later, for which he should send us his Bills on the General, as payments late from that part would be of little service untill the spring following. the amount of those bills can be settled by the Sums the Gov^{r} shall draw on us for. This will be of great service to us should any unwished for revolution happen in this quarter, as it would secure to us what we will of course bill in advance for the different departments. I hope Gov^{r} Hamilton will not think me too forward for making this proposition.

You will never suppose that Mr Dejean would have been the bearer of Letters to S^{t} Vincenne, but there is no accounting for every turn in human affairs & he is actually, god willing, to deliver you this.

The volunteers cloathing goes by him, & a small trunk of Silver work & another of summer clothes for you in one of the bales. there is also a small red trunk for Cap^{t} Lamothe. Many letters from Montreal. there is some news which I have mentioned to the Gov^{r} to whom I take the liberty to refer you, as I am a bad hand at *newsmonging*, I hope his letter in that part will suffice for you both.

I have sent him some Kegs of tea & Sugar, Coffee, wine, brandy & spirits, which I suppose will be us'd in common as I prevented M^{rs} Hay send^{g} you any thing by this opportunity imagining that you live at the same table. This small supply will I hope suffice untill we can forward you a more ample one by water which you may hope for by first opportunity.

Would it not be right to send orders to have the horses & boats &ca taken for the Expedition, paid for according to the estimation made of them? it will be much cheaper to pay for them at that rate, than by the day, as the long time they are likely to be absent will make any charge of that kind come high. An express will soon leave this for Niagara, by which we shall send down the accoᵗˢ. I shall charge all your different pays as Major, Indian Agent, Engineer, as usual.

You desire me to charge the pay of Batteaumaster, Mʳ Carpenter &ᶜᵃ—but I am ignorant to whom I am to account to them for—inform me fully of all those matters that regard the public Accounts I draw out We have delivered a a good quantity of the Goods we owe the department and all the Rum of Which I keep an exact accoᵗ for your satisfaction.

I am Dʳ Sir Your friend & humble Serᵗ

A L W Macomb

Jehu Hay Esqᴿ.

Alexander Macomb to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, February 4, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J22.—A. L. S.]

Detroit 4 Feby 1779.

Dear Sir

I have rec'd your letter of the 24ᵗʰ Decʳ pr les Messieurs d'honneur. we are all heartily rejoiced at your successful entry into Fort Sackville & my better half is happy that you eat your Xmas dinner in peace at Sᵗ Vincenne, since you could not do us that pleasure at Detroit. You will be surpriz'd to see Mʳ Dejean deliver you this. he beg'd Captⁿ Lernoults permission to go to see you.[1] he wants your order in writing for some of his actions calld in Montreal, unwarrantable. and he wants I suppose to make some Settlement with Legras & I dare say some favors for

[1] Captain Richard Berringer Lernoult came to America in 1771 and went to Detroit two years later. He became commandant at that post upon the departure of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton for Vincennes. In November, 1779, he was relieved by Major A. S. de Peyster and returned to Quebec, where he served as adjutant-general to General Haldimand until the end of the war. See *Wis. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xviii., 396, n. 95.

himself. He conducts [*blank in MS.*] Horses which are loaded for you & some salt for the Miamis. I send you two Kegs Susan, 8 Gl each, two Eight gallon Kegs of Coffee Sugar & green tea, One 8 Gn Keg very excellent brandy, one 8 Gn Keg Spirits. & the number of Horses Mr Dejean may procure shall decide a further supply of liquor.

The Cloathing for the volunteers makes part of the Caravan,— 42 Suits consisting each of a coat a vest a pr trousers and Cap.— I have put into one of the bales Some summer cloaths for your self—that is—8 towels, 6 Stocks, 6 pr white silk hose, 3 pr Color'd do, two stripd coats vests trousers & one pr Breeches, & Scarlet frock, 3 White vests & breeches, 6 Shirts, 8 Handkerchiefs, & 1 pr Shoes.

Mr Hay in his letter has desir'd me to send an Assortment of Goods early in the Spring to the Miamis for your Service. our own goods were all disposed off, (I mean those arrivd last fall) when I rec'd his orders, but that you may not want any service in our power for your success, I immediately purchasd large quantities which shall be forwarded you as soon as the navigation will permit, and at same time a sufficiency of Liquors & other Stores for your self.

As times grow daily more precarious with regard to our quarter, I think it will be necessary that you make some computation of the expences you may be likely to contract untill next fall, including those goods, which will amount to ten or twelve thousand pounds Newyk Cy at least, and send us your bills on His Exy for the same payable at Sixty days sight or in Septr next and the amount of those bills will be settled by what you shall draw on us. this is a precaution I hope you will find necessary for public accounts, for should you send us any bills on The General late in the Season, at your distance from the place of payment, they would be useless to us untill the spring following. I have taken the liberty to propose you this, satisfied of your wishes for our welfare.—and you see that such a step will certainly serve to promote it in many matters.

Mr David white, Garret Teller, a Mr Blackley & a nephew of Capt Cornwals, arrivd from Niagara the 1st instant.—by them we have letters from Montreal of the 11th Nov. mentioning the

intention of the rebels to send a force of 3000 *men against this place* next spring.[1]—they have this from a M^r^ Watts who left Boston last Oct 9^th^, and from a South Carolina paper. General Haldimand mentions this to Cap^t^ Lernoult. & I have it from Cap^n^ M^c^Dougall my father & a M^r^ Ellice.

All the fishing posts & those of trade on the Labrador intirely destroyd by a rebel p[r]ivateer. Gen^l^ Clinton has imbarked his troops at N York, their destination suppos'd against the French fleet at Boston, but given out for the West Indies.—nothing material done last campaign. A riot at Boston between the Mob & the french, in which two french Lieutenants & several others were killd & wounded on both sides.—"Bigoted presbiterians & ceremonious papists will never agree" Several vessels from Newyork & Halifax—in them *Col^o^ Guy Johnson.* Major Rogers arrivd at Quebec, and set out immediately for England suppos'd not to have been well received by the General.

Major Carleton gone on an expedition over Lake Champlain with 400 Regulars & 100 Savages to endeavor to destroy some Magazines deposited by the rebels on the road between Ticonderoga & Benington to facilitate an expedition into Canada—he left Ile aux Noix about the 1^st^ Nov^r^.

The House, I mean the Council house, is finished.—it has serv'd yet only to shuffle in on monday evenings & is I assure a very excellent house for haranguing as well as for dancing. Our Fort, of four half bastions, the base of the walls 24 feet over, is not likely to be finished untill about April, 'twill be a very solid piece of earth;—it is erected back of the town on the highest ground partly in & part outside of the Garden, & near about the middle walk.

Simon Girty is just this moment arrived.—he authenticates the raports of the rebels being on their way hither.—the army, which consists of 2500 men, is commanded by a M^r^ MacIntosh, the main body is about 30 miles in this side Fortpit & the van at Tuscarawa, commanded by a M^r^ Gibson, at each place they have a picqueted fort. it is said they intend beginning their march in about a month hence. Tucker has been à la decouverte, this long time,—not yet return'd.—Girty says that 7 or 800 Savages intend to make

[1] See Introduction, *ante*, 1, n. 1.

an attack on Gibson's party.—he is come for amunition & has some belts, the purport of which is to be disclosd in a council, & which I suppose Captn Lernoult will make known to you.[1]

Capt Butler, Joseph Brant & their Rangers and Savages have made cruel havack on the mohawk river—the fine settlement of Cherry Valley is intirely destroy'd; men women & children all promiscuously butcher'd by the Savages, nor could Capt Butler or the other officers keep any restraint on them. I enclose you a letter from Mr. Pollard to a young lad here, nam'd Geo. Forsith, nephew to Capt Geo. Phyn, which will give you a good deal of news & of Butler's affair in particular. Mr Baby has just receivd your letter of 1 Jany—I have seen my part of it—I had car'd for you in most of these Articles before its arrival as pr first Sheet. I cannot well send your hat by horse carriage.—paper & Wax you shall have, and when the communication opens by water, I shall send you an abundant Stock of many Essentials. I admire your opinion of St Vincenne it is a happy mixture, if such mixture can be so, of vice levity Sloth & ignorance. Mr Gibault's spiritual Example would greatly incourage such habits.—from morality to the Naval Department—if Como° Grant & some others found that I made the One so distant from the other, he would scold me.—but nevertheless.—the Wiandot is not yet launch'd;—she is ready almost for baptism, but winters On the Stocks for convenience & safety. The Ottawa with only the Keel bow & Stern part, as you left Her.—The Carpententers all at work on the old vessels whose shatterd sides require repair. We are paymasters for that department—5 pr Cent profit—& we must give of necessity Nine months Credit.

It may be new to you to be informd of the marriage of Miss Phillis Barthe with Mr Morcer shortly after the death of Mr Showard. Her eldest brother is splic'd to Miss Beaubien.

Upon supposition that Mr Hay & you make use of but one table, I have prevented Mrs Hay from sending any liquor &ca to her husband, of which I have acquainted him. The horses are all purchased and chargd to Indian Department, so that you will dispose of them to any service you find necessary.—Two Kegs of Lisbon—not very excellent.

[1] See Introduction, *ante*, li.

Never was there such disagreable weather for the season.—incessant rains.—every place meer mud & impossible to do a thousand necessary labours requisite for the good of Individuals & the public;—particularly for hauling the timber necessary for the New fort.—Every body digs.—Merchants at pleasure:—Canadians by Corvées of three days—Our merchant diggers turn the turf with great Slights but they are mostly Irishmen & a Stranger to see us would swear that they inherited it.

We all wish you health, success and every happiness you merit.

believe me Dr Sir Your friend

ALEX MACOMB

R. B. LERNOULT TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON, February 9, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J26.—Contemporary copy.]

Copy of Letter from Captn Lernoult Commander of Detroit to Lieut. Governor Hamilton at Post St Vincennes 9th Feby 1779

DEAR SIR

Dejean being very Desirous of Paying you a visit I Permit him, he will deliver the Pacquet, I detained him some days on the arrival of Simon Girtie with Mesages from the Six Nations &ca. The Copy of the Speaches I send with a belt from the Southern Nations to be comunicated to the Indians on the Wabash.

Your Despatches I sent to Niagara the day after I Received them (Jany 27th) I congratulate you on your Success, having little or no hopes of any reinforcement being sent here, I have errected a Strong work on the Hill Sufficient to Secure the Stores &ca belonging to the Crown and to enable me with a few Troops and fewer good subjects here to defend them, it is no longer a doubt of the enemies design on this Settlement—my little knowledge in Indian Matters Prompts me to wish you on the Spot as it will require all our attention to keep them in the Interest of the Crown, I have sent them a large supply of amunition, Cloathing &ca, Captn Bird is very desirous of Serving as a Volunteer with them, I have given him Ten Volonteers from my detachment and he sets off for St Dusky with Simon Girty in one of the Small Vessels and a farther Supply of ammunition &ca. I learn by Girty

that the Numbers coming do not exceed 2500 men that they Advanced to Tuscarawas, Built a Picketted Fort, but provisions falling Short, the main Body went back to beaver Creek leaving 250 in the Fort. They have also built a Strong fort at Beaver Creek, G:McIntosh Commands the whole & has Six Peices of Cannon, none above Six Pounders, a Colonel Gibson Commands the 250 at Tuscarawas—that the wiandots are much displeased at you and me & have declared if we do not perform our Promisses in assisting them with Men and all their wants They will no longer listen to us, you will see by the Speaches to The Nations here, how little dependance they have on their lending a hand. I cannot help observing their Indiference upon the Occasion, Baby is my Chief Councellor in these Matters, Tucker with five Chipowas on a Scout Droulliard the only Interpreter. Girty says white Eyes is dead, that the Six Nations, Delewares Shanees and Wiandots, to the Number of 700 are assembled at the little Village of S^{t} Dusky that they Intend marching off the 14th to Attack the Virginians at Tuscarawas, if they Cannot decoy them out they will drive off and destroy their Cattle and If the main Army Advances they will Attack them in the Night, that he heard General McIntosh porposed advancing abo^{t} the Latter end of March, that about 70 Moravian Indians were in the Virginian Interest and were lying near Beaver Creek; that two of them were Constantly detained as hostages, for the rest Girtie thinks they will Join the Other Indians when occasion offers. I must refer you to Dejean for many things Passd here since you left us. the Steady McGregor has his share of Troubles with the Inhabitants—Pirraugues making as fast as Possible—few in the Settlement, none of the Horses sent back from Miamis, Réaume a very usefull man cutting Timber in The Woods all Winter for Battries and Bomb Proof in the New Work, The Merchants lend a hand Willingly the Canadians p^{r} force—an expres from Niagara extracts of News Inclosed, Several Letters to y^{r} Address,—all well—Join in best wishes,—

yours very Sincerely
Signd R B LERNOULT

Copy

Garrison at Vincennes, February 24, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J11.—A. D. S.]

List of the Garrison of Fort Sackville under the Command of Lieut: Governor Hamilton the 24th February 1779

Officers

Militia Major
Jehu Hay

William Lamothe Captn Volunteers
Jacob Schieffelin Lt. Do
Charles Reaume Captn I. Departt
Chabert Lieut. Do
J. B. Gaffée, Commisy Provisions
J. McBeth, Surgeon
L. F. Bellefeuille French Interpretr
Nicolas Laselle Store Keeper

Royal Artillery: George Moorhead Corporal; John Adamson Mattross

Kings Regiment

James parkinson, John Chapman } Serjeants
Abel Leazenby Corporal
William Sadler Private
Alexr Prescott Do
James Harrison Do
Ruden Veasey Do
James Duckworth Do
William Perry Do
Richard McDade Do
John Horn Do
Charles Morgan Do
William drendwater Do
Robert Bryant Do
Benjamin Pickering Do
Patrick Maher Do
John Sutherland Private
Owen Gallagher Do
Thomas Leany Do
Isaac Booth Do
James Macmullen Do
John Joynes Do
George Spittle Do
John Wall Do
William Malloy Do
John Grimshaw Do
Richard Baker Do
Charles Mason Do
Samuel Watkins Do
Bilser Debins Do
Christr McCraw Do
John Fraser Do
Thomas Keppel Do

Captain Lamothes Volunteers

Joseph Baron Serjeant
Francois Magnian Do
John McKivors Do
Alexr Bigras
Francois Mince dit lenfant
Pierre Longueville
Jacques Gagnier
J. B. Dubord
J. B. Rapin
J. Robert
J. B. Ouimette
J. B. Beaudouin
Joseph Laronde
Louis Viaux
John McMichel
Pierre Dolphin

Corporals

Pierre St Andre
Louis Demoushelle
J. B. Daunois
William Scott
Francois Arquoite
William Taylor
Samuel Caffée
J. B. Valade
Nicolas Venette
Thomas Connally
John Bribonne
J. B. St Pierre
Edward Shelly
Patrick McKindlar
Jean Daine
J. B. Leroux

Militia Volunteers

Paul Gamelin

Carpenters

Amus Ainsley
Jacob Bogarts
Andrew Young

JEHU HAY Major Militia

PRISONERS WHO TOOK THE OATH, March 9, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J12.—A. D.]

A List of Prisoners names taken at Fort Pt Henry under the command of Lieut Governor Hammelton who hath toock the oath of Nutrality This 9th day of March, 1779.

John Chapman Sargt
George Morehead Corpl
James Duckworth Corpl
Wm Drinckwater
Owen Golcher
Samuel wadkins
Andrew Young

Jacob Bogard
Wm Sadler
Wm Scot sworn
Richard Baker
Richard Mcdead
John Addamson
Alexander Presscot

not sworn

James McMullen
Bill Saddavis
Isaac Booth
John Jiants
John Mcmichael
Edward Shee
John Dain

Mr Chabert
Mr Gaffes
Mr Laselle
Mr Lafoy
Mr Reaume
Mr Adhemard
Mr Santcrainte

Prisoners of War, March 9, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J12.—A. D. S.]

List of the Prisoners of War

Governor Hamilton
Major Hay
Captain LaMothe
Lieutt Schieffelin
Mr Dejean
Mr Bellefeuille
Doctor Macbeath
Mr Maisonville
Serjeant Parkinson
Corpl Leazenby
Bryant
Spittal
Fraser

Sutherland
Keppel
Wall
Macgra
Brebin
Taylor
Mackinlie
Vesey
Ainsley
Pickering
Horne
Perry
Givine

Receiv'd of Capt. Williams The within mentioned prisoners in number 26 March the 31st 1779

Wim Herrod [*sic*] Capt

Clark to Lieutenant John Rogers, March 9, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J30.—A. L. S.]

Fort Patrick Henry 9th March 1779

Sir

you are to Accompany Captn Williams to the Falls of Ohio and accompany the Prisoners from thence to Williamsburg, they will be guarded and Conducted by the Kentucky Millitia, you are to

be carefull that they want no necessarys if Possible to Procure them you will draw Bills on the Treasury for the Expences of your Journey and Render a Just account thereof to his Excellency the Governor

I am Sir your Hb Servt
G R CLARK

To LIEUT JNO ROGERS.

CHAPTER V

THE LETTER TO MASON

DESCRIBES THE PREPARATION FOR THE WESTERN EXPEDITION—DIFFICULTIES ENCQUNTERED—THE MARCH TO KASKASKIA—CAPTURE OF THE ILLINOIS POSTS—CLARK'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PEOPLE AND THE INDIAN TRIBES—FRIENDLY ATTITUDE OF CAPTAIN DE LEYBA, SPANISH COMMANDANT AT ST. LOUIS—FATHER GIBAULT AND DR. LAFFONT AT VINCENNES—HAMILTON'S EXPEDITION—CLARK PLANS TO RECAPTURE VINCENNES—HIS NOTABLE SUCCESS—CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH GARRISON.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK TO GEORGE MASON, November 19, 1779.[1]

[Judge Pirtle's MSS.—L. S.]

LOUISVILLE, FALLS OF OHIO Nov^{r} 19 1779.

MY D^{R} SIR

continue to favour me with your valuable Lessons; Continue your Repremands as though I was your Son: when suspicious. think not that promotion or confer'd Honour will occation any

[1] One of Clark's companions, with more education than Clark himself possessed, probably acted as his amanuensis in writing this letter, and may have assisted in its composition. The signature, however, is in Clark's own hand. The location of the letter was unknown for a number of years. While composing his *Memoir*, Clark strove, without success, to ascertain who possessed it. His correspondence, at that time, was published in the *Frankfort Commonwealth* towards the close of the year 1826. This called attention to the *Mason Letter*. Lyman C. Draper, with this clue, took up the search for the missing document, and wrote to Colonel George Mason, who was living at Hollin Hall, the family home. Colonel Mason replied, February 8, 1827: "The narrative, to which you refer, written by Col. George Rogers Clark & sent to my Grand-Father is in my possession. It is not only a highly interesting, but very valuable document; and I have long since destined it for the safe keeping of some Public Institution. I cannot therefore, consign it to the hands of any Individual, much less those of an entire Stranger, as you are to me Sir—for individual purposes. It will soon be presented to the Historical Society of Kentucky; and it will then be at their discretion to give you, or any other Gentleman, access to it." In a postscript dated February 10, he stated that the manuscript had that day been sent to its destination. (*Draper MSS.*, 59J120. See also *ibid.*, 2J8.) When the Kentucky Historical Society was dissolved, the narrative came into possession of the Honorable Henry Pirtle, the president of the society. It was published, in

unnecessary pride in me; You have infus'd too many of your Valuable precepts in me to be guilty of the like, or to shew any indifference to those that ought to be dear to me; it is with pleasure that I obey in transmiting to you a short sketch of my enterprise and proceeding in the Illinois as near as I can Recollect or gather from memorandums.

After disingageing myself from Kentucky, I set out for Williamsburg in Aug^{t} 1777 in order to settle my Act^{s} I had just Reasons known to few but myself that occationed me to resolve not to have any farther Command whatever, without I should find a very great call for Troops and my Country in danger in such case I was determined to loose my Life rather we should submit—On my arrival at Town I found to appearance a friend in many Gentlemen of note that offered [th]eir Interest to me in case I should offer at any Post—Many was surpris'd that I would not selicit for some Birth. I must confess that I think myself often to blame for not makeing use of Intrest for my promotion but to merit it first is such a fixed principal with me that I never could, and I hope never shall ask for a Post of Honour, as I think the Publick ought to be the best Judge whether a Person deserves it or not, if he did he would certainly be Rewarded according to the Virtue they had. But finding that we were in a larming situation, the Indians desperate on one side, the Britains on the other I immediately Resolved to encourage an Expedition to the Illinois. But to make it publick was a certain loss of it. I propos'd the plan to a few Gentlemen, they communicated it to the Governour it was immediately determined on, to be put in Execution as soon as a Bill could be passed to enable the Governour to order it. it accordingly pass'd though but a few in the House knew the real intent of it. After giving the Council all the intiligence I possibly could, I resolv'd to pursue my other Plans, But being desired by the Governour to stay some time in Town, I wated with impatience; he I suppose believeing that I wanted the Command, and was

1869, with an introduction by Mr. Pirtle, as *The Illinois Campaign* (Ohio Valley Historical Series, No. 3), and was reprinted with some modifications by English in his *Conquest of the Northwest* (I., 411 *et seq*) and partially so by Beckwith, *Illinois Historical Collections* (I., *passim*). The original letter is now in the possession of Judge James S. Pirtle of Louisville. This copy has been carefully collated and annotated by Dr. Solon J. Buck.

determined to give it to me; But it was far from my Inclination at that time. I was Summoned to attend the Council-Board; the instructions an[d] necessary papers was ready for puting in the name of the Person to Command: I believe they expected me to selicit for it, but I resolved not to do,[1] for reasons I hinted you before. However I excepted[2] it after being told the Command of this little Army was designed for me—I then got every request granted and fully impowered to raise as many Men as I could not exceeding a Certain Number.[3] After being engaged, I was then as Determined to prosecute it with Vigour, as I was before indifferent about the Command; I had since the beginning of the War taken pains to make myself acquainted with the true situation of the British posts on the Fronteers; and since find that I was not mistaken in my judgment—I was ordered to Attact the Illinois in case of Success to carry my Arms to any Quarter I pleased I was certain that with five hundred Men I could take the Illinois, and by my treating the Inhabitants as fellow Citizens, and shew them that I ment to protect rather than treat them as a Conquered People. Engageing the Indians to our Interest &c. It might probably have so great an effect on their Countrymen at Detroyet, (they already disliked their Master,) that it would be an easy prey for me—I should have mentioned my design to his Excellency but was convinced, or afraid that it might lessen his esteem for me, as it was a general oppinion that it would take several thousand to approach that Place. I was happy with the thoughts of fair prospect of undeceiveing the Publick respecting their formidable Enemies on our Fronteers; I left Williamsburg January the 18th, made as quick dispatch as possible to the fronteers, and by the end of the month had Recruiting Parties disposed[4] from Pitsburg to Carolina, had my little Army Recruited in half the time I expected—Elivated with the thoughts of the great service we should do our Country in some measure; puting an end to the Indian War on our fronteers, it may appear to you to be a mear presumption in me, but I was

[1] Originally: "to do so," but the word "so" is stricken out.

[2] Originally written "expected," but changed to read "excepted." This correction and the others noted below appear to have been made by the amanuensis.

[3] Henry to Clark, *ante*, 36.

[4] Originally: "dispatched," but changed to "disposed."

always too jealous of myself to be far wrong in plans,[1] that I had so long studied, and since find that I could have executed it with the greatest ease if it had not been [for the] following Conduct of many leading Men in the fronteers, that had liked to have put an end to the enterprise, not knowing my Distination, and through a spirit of obstinacy they combined and did every thing in their power to stop the Men that had Enlisted, and set the whole Fronteers in an uproar, even condescended[2] to harbor and protect those that Deserted; I found my case desperate, the longer I remained the worse it was—I plainly saw that my Principal Design was baffled—I was resolved to push to Kentucky with what men I could gather in West Augusta; being Joined by Cap^{ts} Bowman and Helms who had each raised a Comp^{y} for the Expedition, but two thirds of them was stopt by the undesign'd Enemies to the Country that I before mentioned: In the whole I had about one hundred & fifty Men Collected and set Sail for the Falls—I had previous to this received Letters from Cap^{t} Smith on Holdston enforming me that he intended to meet me at that place with near two hundred Men, which encouraged me much as I was in hopes of being enabled by that reinforcem^{t} at least to attact the Illinois with a probability of Success &c.

I set out from RedStone the 12th of may leaving the Country in great confusion, much distressed by the Indians—General Hand, pleased with my intentions furnished me with every necessary I wanted and the [*blank*] of may I arrived at the Canoweay [Kanawha] to the Joy of the Garrison as they were very weak, & had the day before been attacted by a large Body of Indians. Being Joined by Cap^{t} Oharrads[3] Comp^{y} on his way to the Osark; after spending a day or two, We set out and had a very pleasant Voyage to the falls of Ohio having sent Expresses to the Stations on Kentucky from the mouth of the River, for Cap^{t} Smith to join me immediately as I made no doubt but that he was wateing for me; But you may easily guess at my mortification

[1] Originally: "in my plans," but the word "my" is stricken out.

[2] Originally: "continued," but changed to "condescended."

[3] Captain James O'Hara was an Irishman who was a trader near Fort Pitt before the outbreak of the Revolution. He then enlisted in the Ninth Virginia regiment and was made quarter-master. During the Whiskey Rebellion and under Anthony Wayne he served in the same capacity.

on being informed that he had not arrived; that all his Men had been stopt by the incessant labours of the populace, except part of a Compy that had arrived under Command of one Capt Delland Some on their March being threatened to be put in Prison if they did not return; this information made me as Desperate as I was before Determined.

Reflecting on the Information that I had of some of my greatest opponents censureing the Governour for his Conduct, as they thought, ordering me for the Protection of Kentucky only; that and some other secret impulses Occationed me in spite of all Council to Risque the Expedition to convince them of their error until that moment, secret to the Principal Officers I had—I was sensible of the impression it would have on many, to be taken near a thousand [miles] from the Body of their Country to attact a People five times their number, and merciless Tribes of Indians their Allies and determined Enemies to us.

I knew that my case was desperate, but the more I reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased with the Enterprise; Joined by a few of the Kentuckyans, under Colo Montgomery to stop the desertion I knew would ensue on Troops knowing their Destination I had encamped on a small Island in the middle of the Falls, kept strict Guards on the Boats, but Lieutenant Hutchings of Dillards Compy contrived to make his escape with his party after being refused leave to return, luckely a few of his Men was taken the next day by a party sent after them; on this Island I first began to discipline my little Army knowing that to be the most essential point towards success. most of them determined to follow me, the rest seeing no probability of making their escape I soon got that subbordination as I could wish for; about twenty families that had followed me much against my Inclination I found now to be of service to me in guarding a Block house that I had erected on the Island to secure my Provisions; I got every thing in Readiness on the 26th of June, set off from the Falls, double Man'd our Oars and proceeded day and Night until we run into the mouth of the Tenesse River the fourth day landed on an Island to prepare Ourselves for a March by Land, a few hours after we took a Boat of Hunters but eight days from Kaskaskias; before I would suffer them to answer any Person a question after their taking the oath of

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John Sanders.

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JOHN SANDERS

From a crayon portrait in the collection of Colonel R. T. Durrett of Louisville, Kentucky

allegiance I examined them particularly. they[1] were Englishmen, & appear'd to be in our Interest, their intiligence was not favourable, they asked leave to go on the Expedition, I granted it, and ordered them what to relate particularly on pain of Suffering, they observed my instructions which put the whole in the greatest spirits; Sure by what they heard of success, in the evening of the same day I run my Boats into a small Creek about one mile above the old Fort Missack, Reposed ourselves for the night, and in the morning, took a Rout to the Northwest and had a very fatiegueing Journey for about fifty miles, until we came into those level Plains that is frequent throughout this extensive Country. As I knew my Success depended on secrecy, I was much affraid of being discovered in these Meadows as we might be seen in many places for several[2] miles; nothing extraordinary happened durcing our Route Excepting my guide loosing himself and not being able, as we judged by his confusion of giving a Just account of himself; It put the whole Troops in the greatest Confusion. I never in my life felt such a flow of Rage—to be wandering in a Country where every Nation of Indians could raise three, or four times our Number, and a certain loss of our enterprise by the Enemie's getting timely notice. I could not bear the thoughts of returning; in short every idea of the sort served to put me in that passion that I did not master for some time; but in a Short time after our circumstance had a better appearance for I was in a moment determined to put the guide to Death if he did not find his way that Evening; I told him his doom, the poor fellow scared almost out of his wits, begged that I would stay awhile where I was and suffer him to go and make some discovery of a Road that could not be far from us, which I would not suffer for fear of not seeing him again, but ordered him to lead on the party, that his fate depended on his success; after some little pause he begged that I would not be hard with him, that he could find the Path that Evening; He accordingly took his course and in two hours got within his knowledge; On the Evening of the 4th of July we got within three miles of the Town Kaskaskias, having a River of the same name to cross to the Town; After making ourselves ready for anything that might

[1] Originally: "if they were," but the word "if" is stricken out.
[2] Originally: "many," but changed to "several."

happen, we marched after night to a Farm that was on the same side of the River about a mile above the Town, took the family Prisoners, & found plenty of Boats to Cross in; and in two hours Transported ourselves to the other Shore with the Greatest silence.[1]

I learned that they had some suspician of being attacted and had made some preparations, keeping out Spies, but they making no discoveries, had got off their Guard. I immediately divided my little Army into two Divisions ordered one to surround the Town, with the other I broke into the Fort, secured the Governour M[r] Rochblave in 15 minutes had every Street Secured, sent Runners through the Town ordering the People on the pane of Death to keep close to their Houses, which they observ'd and before day-light had the whole disarmed; nothing could excell the Confusion these People seemed to be in, being taught to expect nothing but Savage treatment from the Americans, Giving all for lost their Lives were all they could dare beg for, which they did with the greatest fervancy; they were willing to be Slaves to save their Families I told them it did not suit me to give an answer at that time, they repared to their houses trembling as if they were led to Execution; my principal would not suffer me to distress such a number of[2] People, except, through policy it was necessary; A little reflection convinced me that it was my Intrest to Attach them to me, according to my first Plan; for the Town of Cohos & S[t] Vincents and the numerous Tribes of Indians attached to the French was yet to influence, for I was too weak to treat them any other way; I sent for all the Principal Men of the Town who came in as if to a Tribunal that was to determine their fate forever Cursing their fortune that they were not apprised of us time to have defended themselves: I told them that I was sorry to find that they had been taught to harbbour so base an opinion of the Americans and their Cause: Explain'd the nature of the dispute to them in as clear a light as I was capable of, it was certain that they were a Conquered People and by the fate of War was at my mercy and that our Principal was to make those we Reduced free

[1] For the theory of possible assistance given Clark by Americans at Kaskaskia, consult Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), xvi *et seq.*

[2] Originally: "of polite people," but the word "polite" is stricken out.

instead of enslaving them as they immagined, that if I could have surety of their Zeal and attachment to the American Cause, they should immediately enjoy all the priviledges of our Government and their property secured to them that it was only to stop farther effusion of Innocent Blood by the Savages under the influence of their Governour, that made them an object of our attention &c.[1] no sooner had they heard this than Joy sparkled in their Eyes and [they] fell into Transports of Joy that really surprised me; as soon as they were a little moderated they told me that they had always been kept in the dark as to the dispute between America & Britain that they had never heard any thing before but what was prejuditial and tended to insence them against the Americans, that they were now convinced that it was a Cause they ought to Espouse; that they should be happy of an oppertunity to convince me of their Zeal, and think themselves the happyest People in the World if they were united with the Americans and beg'd that I would receive what said[2] their real sentiments (expected policy)[3] in order to be more Certain of their sincerety, I told them that an Oath of fedelity was required from the Citizens and to give them time to reflect on it, I should not Administer it for a few days in the meantime any of them that chose, was at liberty to leave the Country with their families; except two or three particular Persons. that they might repair to their families conduct themselves as usial without any dread. The Priest that had lately come from Canada had made himself a little acquainted with our dispute; Contrary to the principal of his Brother in Canada) was rather prejudiced in favour of us. He asked if I would give him liberty to perform his duty in his Church I told him that I had nothing to do with Churches more than to defend them from Insult. That by the laws of the state his Religion had as great Previledges as any other: This seem'd to compleat their happiness. They returned to their families, and in a few Minutes the scean of mourning and distress was turned to an excess of Joy, nothing else

[1] Originally: "&c. and no sooner," but the word "and" is stricken out.

[2] Originally: "what said what they said as," but the words "what they said as" are stricken out.

[3] These two words are inserted between the lines of the manuscript. For the attitude of some of the leaders, see *ante*, 48.

seen nor heard—Addorning the Streets with flowers & Pavilians of different colours, compleating their happiness by singing &c. In meantime I prepar'd a Detachment on Horseback, under Cap^{t} Bowman to make a Descent on Cohos, about sixty miles up the Country; the Inhabitants told me that one of their Townsmen was enough to put me in possession of that place, by carrying the good news that the People would rejoice. however I did not altogether chuse to trust them, dispatched the Captain, Attended by a considerable number of the Inhabitants who got into the middle of the Town before they were discovered; the French Gentlemen Calling aloud to the People to submit to their happier fate, which they did with very little hesitation: A number of Indians being in Town, on hearing of the Big knives, immediately made their Escape; In a few days the Inhabittants of the Country took the Oath Subscribed by Law; and every Person appeared to be happy; Our friends the Spanyards, doing every thing in their power to convince me of their friendship. a Correspondence immediately commenced between the Governour and myself.—Post S^{t} Vincent, a Town about the Size of Williamsburg was the next Object in my view; As the whole was appris'd of me, I was by no means able to march against it (their Governour a few months before going to Detroyet)[1] I was resolved if possible to win their affection which I thought myself in a fair way of doing more fully to know the sentiments of the Inhabittants about there; And to execute my Plans I pretended that I was about to send an Express to the falls of Ohio for a Body of Troops to Join me at a certain place in order to attact it; it soon had the desired effect Advocates immediately appear'd among the people in their behalf. M^{r} Jeboth, the Priest, to fully convince me of his Attachment offered to undertake to win that Town for me if I would permit him and let a few of them go; they made no doubt of gaining their friends at S^{t} Vincents to my Interest; the Priest told me he would go himself, and gave me to understand, that although he had nothing to do with temporal business, that he would give them such hints in the Spiritual way that would be very conducive to the business; In a few days the Priest, Doct^{r} Lefont, the Principal, with a few others set out, and a Proclamation I sent, for that purpose, and other instructions in case

[1] See *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 488.

of success—In a few weeks they returned with intiligence agreable to my wishes. I now found myself in possession of the whole, in a Country where I found I could do more real service than I expected; which occationed my situation to be more disagreeable as I wanted Men.

The greatest part of my Men was for returning, as they were no longer Ingaged surrounded by numerous Nations of Savages, whose minds had been long poisoned by the English. It was with difficulty that I could Support that Dignity that was necessary to give my orders that force that was necessary,[1] but by great preasents and promises I got about one hundred of my Detachment Enlisted for eight months, and to colour my staying with so few Troops I made a faint of returning to the Falls, as though I had sufficient confidence in the People, hoping that the Inhabitants would remonstrate against my leaving them, which they did in the warmest terms proving the necessity of the Troops at that place that they were affraid if I returned the English would again possess the Country. Then seemingly by their request I agreed to stay with two Companies of Troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alleg'd that so many was necessary; but if more was wanted I could get them at any time from the Falls; where they were made to believe was a Considerable Garrison. As soon as possible sent off those that could not be got to stay, with M^{r} Rochblanch, and Letters to his Excellency letting him know my situation and the necessity of Troops in the Country Many of the French fond of the service, the different Companies soon got Compleat. I stationed Cap^{t} Bowman at Cohos, Cap^{t} Helms com^{d} at S^{t} Vincents Superintendant &c—Domestick affairs being partly well settled the Indian Department came next the object of my attention and of the greatest importance, my sudden appearance in their Country put them under the greatest consternation, they was generally at War against us, but the French and Spainyards appearing so fond of us confused them, they counciled with the French Traders to know what was best to be done, and of course was advised to come and selicit for peace, and did not doubt but we might be good Friends; it may appear otherwise to You, but

[1] Originally: "necessary among so polite a people," but the words "among so polite a people" are stricken out.

[I] always thought we took the wrong method of treating with Indians, and strove as soon as possible to make myself acquainted with the French and Spanish mode which must be prefferable to ours, otherwise they could not possibly have such great influence among them; when thoroughly acquainted with it exactly Coinsided with my own idea, and Resolved to follow that same Rule as near as Circumstances would permit, the Kaskaskias, Peoreanas & Mechegames immediately treated for peace; I sent letters and speaches by Cap^{t} Helms to the Chief of the Kickebues & Peankeshaws residing at Post S^{t} Vincents desireing them to lay down their Tomahawk, and if they did not chuse it to behave like Men and fight for the English as they had done; but they would see their great father as they called him given to the Dogs to eat (gave Harsh language to supply the want of Men; well knowing that it was a mistaken notion in many that soft speeches was best for Indians) But if they thought of giving their hands to the Big knives to give their Hearts also, and that I did not doubt but after being acquainted, that they would find that the Big knives of better Principals than what the bad Birds the English had taught them to believe. They received the Speeches from the Cap^{t} with another of his own, and after some Consultation they resolved to take the Big Knives by the hand and came to a conclusion of Peace—And said the Americans must be Warriers and no deceivers, or they would never have spoke as they did; that they liked such People; and that the English was Liers and they would listen to them no longer; that by what they had heard of the Big knives, the Indians had as great a right to fight the English as they had, that they was convinced that it was the truth—What they alluded to was, part of the Speech that I had sent to them, explaining to them the nature of the War, in the following manner. That a great many years ago, our forefathers lived in England, but the King oppressed them in such a manner that they were obliged to Cross the great Waters to get out of his way; But he not being satisfied to loose so many Subjects sent Governours and Soldiers among them to make them obey his Laws, but told his Governours to treat them well and take but little from them until they grew populus, that then they would be able to pay a great deal; By the good treatment we got, we grew to be a great

People and flourished fast—The King then wrote to his Gouvernour & Officers that we had got Rich and numerous enough, that it was time to make us pay tribute, that he did not care how much they took, so as they left us enough to eat, and that he had sent them a great many Soldiers to make the Americans pay if they refused, that when they had made the Americans do as they pleased, they would then make the Indians pay likewise; But for fear the Indians should find it out by the Big Knives that the English intended to make them also pay, & Should get mad with the English for their treatment to their neighbours the Big Knives, that they, his Governours should make us Quarrel &c—We bore their Taxes for many Years, at last they were so hard that if we killed a Deer they would take the Skin away and leave us only the Meat, and made us buy Blankets with Corn to fead their Soldiers with. By such usage we got Poor and was obliged to go naked; And at last we complained—The King got mad and made his Soldiers Kill some of our People and Burn some of our Villages. The Old Men then held a great Council and made the Tomahawk very sharp and put it into the hand of the young Men, told them to be strong & Strike the English as long as they could find one on this Island. They immediately struck and Killed a great many of the English. The French King hearing of it sent to the Americans and told them to be strong and fight the English like Men, that if they wanted help or Tomahawks he would furnish them &c. &c.

This Speech had a greater effect than I could have immagined, and did more service than a Regiment of Men cou'd have done.

It was with astonishment that viewed the Amazeing number of Savages that soon flocked into the Town of Cohos to treat for peace, and to hear what the Big Knives had to say many of them 500 miles distant Chipoways, Ottoways, Petawatomies, Missesogies[1] Puans, Sacks, Foxes, Sayges, Tauways, Mawmies and a number of other Nations all living east of the Messicippa,[2] and many of them then at War against us. I must confess that I was under some apprehention among such a number of Devils, and it proved

[1] Originally: "Missesogies and a number of Puans," but the words "and a number of" are stricken out.

[2] Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Missisauga, Winnebago, Sauk, Fox, Osage, Iowa, Miami.

to be just for the second or third night, a party of puans & others endeavored to force by the Guards into my Lodgings to Bear me off; but was happily Detected and made Prisoners by the elacrity of the Sergeat; The Town took the alarm and was immediately under Arms which convinced the Savages that the French were in our Interest. I was determined to follow the Principal that I had set out upon, let the consequence be what it would. I immediately ordered the Chiefs to be put into Irons by the French Militia. They insisted that it was only to see whether the French would take part with the Americans or not, that they had no ill Design. this treatment of some of the greatest Chiefs among them, occationed great confusion among the rest of the Savages. The Prisoners, with great submission celicited to speak to me, but was refused. They then made all the interest they possibly could amongst the other Indians (who was much at a loss what to do as there was Strong Guards through every Quarter of the Town) to get to speak to me; but I told the whole that I believed they were a set of Villians, that they had Joined the Inglish and they were welcome to continue in the Cause they had espoused; that I was a Man and a Warrier: that I did not care who was my Friends or Foes; and had no more to say to them: Such conduct Alarmed the whole Town: but I was sensible that it would gain us no more Enemies than we had already, and if they after selicited for terms, that it would be more sincere, and probably a lasting good effect on the Indian Nations, distrust was visible in the Countenance of almost every Person during the latter part of the day. To shew the Indians that I disregarded them, I remained in my Lodging in the Town about one hundred Yards from the Fort seemingly without a guard, but kept about fifty Men conceiled in a Parlour adjoining, and the Garrison under Arms; there was great Counciling among the Savages dureing the Night; But to make them have the greater idea of my Indifferency abcut them; I assembled a Number of Gentlemen & Ladies, and danced nearly the whole Night—In the morning I summoned the different Nations to a grand Council, and the Chief under Guard released, and invited to Council that I might speak to them in presence of the whole. After the Common Cerimonies over, I produced a Bloody Belt of wampom and spoke to them in the

following manner I told the Chief that was Guilty, that I was Sencible their Nation was engaged in favour of the English, and if they thought it right, I did not blame them for it, and exhorted them to behave like Men, and support the Cause they had undertaken; that I was Sensible that the English was weak and wanted help; that I scorned to take any advantage of them by Persuading their friends to desert them; that there was no People but Americans, but would put them to death for their late behaviour; That it convinced me of their being my Enemies. But it was beneath the Character of Americans to take such revenge that they were at their Liberty to do as they pleas'd But to behave like Men, and not do any mischief until three days after they left the Town that I should have them escorted safe out of the Village, and after that expiration of time, if they did not choose to return and fight me, they might find Americans enough by going farther, That if they did not want their own Women and Children massecred, they must leave off killing ours and only fight Men under Arms, which was commendable; that there was the War Belt, We should soon see which of us would make it the most Bloody &c—Then told them that it was customary among all Brave Men to treat their Enemies well when assembled as we were; that I should give them Provisions & Rum while they staid, but by their behavior I could not conceive that they deserved that appellation, and I did not care how soon they left me after that day. I observed that their Countenances and attitude favoured my real design; the whole looked like a parcel of Criminals. The other Nations rose and made many submissive Speeches excusing themselves for their conduct in a very pretty manner and something noble in their sentiments (their talk I enclose) they alledged that they were persuaded to War by the English, and made to harbour a wrong oppinion of the Americans, but they now believed them to be Men and Warriers, and could wish to take them by the hand as Brothers; that they did not speak from their lips only, but that I should hereafter find that they spoke from their Hearts, and that they hoped I would pitty their blindness and their Women and Children; and also selicited for their Friends that had been Guilty of the late crime I told them that I had instructions from the Great Man of the Big Knives not to ask Peace from any People but to offer Peace

and War, and let them take their Choice, Except a few of the worst Nation to whom I was to grant no Piece, for as the English could fight us no longer he was affraid our Young Warriers would get rusty without they could get somebody to fight &c—I presented them with a Peace & War Belt and told them to take their choice; excepting those who had been Imprisoned. they with a great deal of seeming Joy took the Belt of Peace. I told them I would refer [*sic*] Smokeing the Peace Pipe until I heard that they had called in all their Warriers, and then we would conclude the Treaty with all the Ceremony necessary for so important Occasion —they immediately selicited for some Persons to go with them to be witness of their Conduct, and hoped that I would favour their Guilty Friends, which I refused; and was pleased to see them set trembling, as Persons frightened at the apprehension of the worst fate. Their speaker then rose and made a most lamentable speach; such as I could have wished for: Begging Mercy for their Women and Children: for the French Gentlemen whom they put the greatest confidence in had given them lessons that favour'd my Purpose: I recommended it to them to go to their father the English, as he had told them that he was Strong perhaps he might help them as he had promised; that they could blame no Person but themselves when their Nation should be given with the English to the Dogs to eat—When they had tried their Elloquence to no purpose, they pitched on two Young Men for to be put to Death as an attonement for the rest hoping that would passify me; It would have surprised You to have seen how submissively those two Young Men presented themselves for Death, advancing into the middle of the floor, setting down by each other and covering their heads with their Blankets to receive the Tomahawk (Peace was what I wanted with them if I got it on my own terms) but this stroke prejudiced me in their favour, and for a few moments was so adjutated that I dont doubt but that I should without reflection killed the first Man that would have offered to have hurt them: My wishes respecting this Treaty was now compleat; And I since find no room to blame myself for any omission in what follow'd in[1] the Treaty: which time has already proved the good effects of it throughout the Illinois Country Our Influence now began to

[1] Originally: "until," but changed to "in."

spread among the Nations even to the Border of the Lakes. I sent Agents into every Quarter) [*sic*] I continued for about five weeks in the Town of Cohos; in which time I had setled a peace with ten or twelve different Nations.

Being much fatiegued I returned to Kaskaskias leaving Major Bowman to act in which he did himself much Honour—An intamacy had commenced between Don Leybrau Lieu[t] Governour of Western Illinois and myself he omited nothing in his Power to prove his Attachment to the Americans with such openness as left no room for a doubt; as I was never before in Comp[y] of any Spanish gen[t] I was much surprised in my expectations; for instead of finding that reserve thought peculiar to that Nation, I here saw not the least symptoms of it, freedom almost to excess gave the greatest Pleasure; at my return to Kaskaskias I found every thing as well as I could have expected. Having so far fixed matters as to have a moments Leasure: which was taken up with deeper Reflections than I ever before was Acquainted with. My situation and weekness convinced me that more depended on my own Behaviour and Conduct, than all the Troops that I had far removed from the Body of my Country: Situated among French, Spanyards and Numerous Bands of Savages on every Quarter: Watching my Actions, ready to receive impressions favourable or not so of us; which might be hard to remove, and wou'd perhaps produce lasting good, or ill effects. It was now that I saw my work was only began. maturely examineing every circumstance of my past Actions fixing such Resolutions, that in case of misfortune or loss of Interest, it should be for want of Judgment only. Strict subordination among the Troops was my first object, and soon effected it. It being a matter of the greatest consequence to Persons in our situation. Our Troops being all Raw and undissiplined. You must be sensible of the pleasure I felt when harangueing them on Perade. Telling them my Resolutions, and the necessity of strict duty for our own preservation &c—For them to return me Answer, that it was their Zeal for their Country that induced them to engage in the Service, that they were sencible of their situation and Danger; that nothing could conduce more to their safety and happiness, than good order, which they would try to adhere to and hoped that no favour would be shewn those that would neglect

it. In a short time perhaps no Garrisson could boast of better order, or a more Valuable set of Men. By this time the English party at Detroit, finding their influence among the Savages abateing, sent out messengers through the different Nations as far as they dare venture, Redoubled their Presents and insinuations to little purpose; as I had a Number of Persons well acquainted with the Indians, Spread through the whole that had treated with me, and Spies continually in and about Detroit for a considerable time.

One of the British Agents residing at Oueaugh, [Ouiatanon] about eighty Leagues above S^{t} Vincents hurt our growing Interest much, the Indians in that Quarter being inclin'd to desert the British Interest, but in some measure kept from their good intention by that Person—I Resolved if possible to take him off, and sent a Detachment of Men from Kaskaskias under Command of Lieu^{t} Bailey to join Cap^{t} Helms at S^{t} Vincents and if possible surprise him; The Cap^{t} with about one hundred Men in number, part french Militia and Indians, set out by water. The Agent hearing of it collected a few Savages from the neighbourhood that he could trust in order to give Battle (the Indians in general Neutrals) but a few days before the Captains arrival M^{r} Celeron thought proper to make his Escape, leaving his friendly Indians in the Fort, who being Assembled in a Grand Council to determine what was best to be done, neglecting to shut the Gate or keep Sentinels (not supposeing the Enemies to be so near) in the hith of their deliberation Cap^{t} Helms and Bailey [and] his Small Party entered the Fort and ordered them to surrender before they were appris'd About forty in number being made Prisoners, The Cap^{t} made a Valuable Treaty; Gave them their Liberty; this stroke compleated our Interest on the Wabache S^{t} Vincents being a Post of great Importance, and not being able to spare many Men to Garrisson it I took uncommon pains intirely to Attach them to our Interest as well as the Inhabitants of the Illinois Knowing no other kind of Government than what might be expected from the lust of Power, Pride and Avarice of the Officers Commanding in that Country Whose will was a Law to the whole and certain destruction to disobey the most trifleing Command. Nothing could have been more to my Advantage, as I could temper the Government as I pleased, and every new

privilidge appeared to them as fresh Laurels to the American Cause I by degrees laid aside every unnecessary Restriction they laboured under. As I was convinced that it was the mercinary views of their former Governours that Established them, paying no regard to the happiness of the People, and those Customs Strictly observed that was most conducive to good order; I made it a Point to guard the happiness and Tranquility of the inhabitants supposing that their happy change reaching the ears of their Brothers and Countrymen on the Lakes and about Detroit, would be paving my way to that Place; and a good Effect on the Indians. I soon found it had the desired Effect; for the greatest part of the French Gen[t] and Traders among the Indians declared for us many Letters of Congratulation, sent from Detroit to the Gen[t] of the Illinois which gave me much Pleasure.

I let slip no oppertunity, in Cultivating our growing Interest in every Quarter where there was the least appearance of a future advantage; and had as great Success as I had any right to expect. Great tranquility appeared in every countenance, being apprehensive that the British Party at Detroit finding it hard to regain their lost Interest among the Savages would probably make a Descent on the Illinois if they found themselves cap[ac]itated,[1] for fear of their finding out our Numbers (parties of Men coming & going from Kentucky and other places Recruits &c—) I suffered no Parrade except the guards for a considerable time, and took every other precaution to keep every Person ignorant of our numbers which was generally thought to be nearly double what we really had. I found that my Ideas, respecting the movement of the English just, having certain Accounts by our Spies that Governour Hammilton[2] was on his march from Detroit with a Considerable Party, taking his Rout up the Meamies River. In a few days receiveing certain intiligence that General M[c]Intosh had left Pitsburg for Detroit with a Considerable Army. Knowing the weakness of the Fortiycation of that Post at that time their numbers &c—I made no doubt of its being shortly in our Possession. And

[1] The letters indicated by the brackets are so blotted as to be illegible. The word has previously been read "capitulated," but that reading is clearly impossible.

[2] For Hamilton's account of the expedition, see *post*, 177 *et seq.*

that Governour Hambleton, Sensible that there was no Probability of his defending the Fort, had marched with his whole force to encourage the Indians to Harrass the General on his March; as the only Probable Plan to stop him. little thinking that He had returned, and M^r^ Hambleton had the same design on me, that I supposed he had at General M^c^Intosch. It being near Christmas we feasted ourselves with the hopes of immediately hearing from Detroit, and began to think that we had been neglected in an express not being sent with the Important news of its being ours. But a circomstance soon hapened that convinced us that our hopes was vain A Young Man at the Town of Cohos holding a Correspondance and sending Intilligence to Governour Hambletons Party was Detected & punished accordingly: By which we Learned the return of General M^c^Intosch, and Gover^r^ Hambletons Intentions on the Illinois, But not so fully expressed in the latter as to reduce it to a certainty; but supposing that in case of its being true they would make their first Descent on Kaskaskias It being the strongest Garrison and head Quarters I kept Spies on all the Roads to no Purpose; M^r^ Hammilton having the Advantage of Descending the Oubach with eight hundred Men French, Indians and Regulars; took possession of Post S^t^ Vincents on the 17^th^ day of Decem^r^ he had Parties on the Road that took some of our Spies— hard weather immediately seting in I was at a loss to know what to do, many supposed that he had Quit his design and came no farther than Ome. But no Intiligence from S^t^ Vincents. I was Still under some doubt of his being there, except the Com^d^ had kept back the Express on account of the High waters. In this situation we remain'd for many Days. I intended to evacuate the Garrisson of Cohos in case of a Siege; But was anctious to have a Conferrence with the Principal Inhabitants that I knew to be Zealous in our Interest, to fix on certain Plans for their Conduct when in possession of the English, if it should be the case; And set out on the [*blank*] day of Janu^y^ 1779 for that Town with an Intention of staying but a few days.

M^r^ Hammilton in meantime had sent a party of 40 Savages headed by white Men from S^t^ Vincent in order if possible to take me Prisoner, and gave such Instructions for my treatment as did him no dishonour. This Party lay conceal'd keeping a small

Party near the Road to see who Passed; they lay by a Small Branch about three miles from Kaskaskias, there being Snow on the Ground, I had a Guard of about six or seven Men and a few Gen^{t} in Chairs, one of them Swampt within one hundred Yards of the Place where these fellows lay hid, where we had to delay upwards of an hour I believe nothing here saved me, but the Instruction they had, not to Kill me or the fear of being over Powered, not having an oppertunity to Alarm the main Body (which lay half a mile off) without being discovered themselves. We arrived safe at the Town of Lapraryderush[1] about twelve miles above Kaskaskias The Gentlemen & Ladies immediately assembled at a Ball for our Entertainment; we spent the fore part of the night very agreably; but about 12 Oclock there was a very sudden change by an Express Arriveing enforming us that Governour Hammilton was within three miles of Kaskaskias with eight hundred Men, and was determined to Attact the Fort that night; which was expected would be before the Express got to me, for it seems that those fellows were discovered by a hunter and after missing their aim on me, discovered themselves to a Party of Negroes and told them a story as suited their Purpose. I never saw greater confusion among a small Assembly than was at that time, every Person having their eyes on me as if my word was to determine their good or Evil fate. It required but a moments hesitation in me to form my Resolution, Communicated them to two of my Officers that accomp^{yd} me, which they Approved of. I ordered our Horses Sadled in order if possible to get into the Fort before the Attact could be made. Those of the Company that had recovered their Surprise so far as to enable them to speak, begged of me not to attempt to Return, that the Town was certainly in possession of the Enemy and the Fort warmly Attacted. Some proposed Conveying me to the Spanish Shore; some one thing and some another. I thanked them for the Care they had of my Person, and told them it was the fate of War. that a good Soldier never ought to be affraid of his Life where was a Probability of his doing service by ventureing of it which was my Case. That I hoped they would not let the news Spoil our Divirsion sooner than was necessary, that

[1] Prairie du Rocher.

we would divirt ourselves until our horses was ready, forced them to dance and endeavoured to appear as unconcerned as if no such thing was in Adjutation. This Conduct inspired the Young Men in such a manner that many of them was getting their Horses to Share fate with me. But chusing to loose no time as soon as I could write a few lines on the back of my Letter to Captain Bowman at Cohos, I set out for Kaskaskias; each Man [took] a Blanket, that in case the Fort was attacted We were to wrap ourselves in them fall in with the Enemies fire at the Fort until we had an oppertunity of getting so near as to give the proper signals knowing that we should be let in. But on our Arrival we found every thing as calm as we could expect. The weather being bad, it was then thought the Attact would not commence until it cleared up But no Person seem'd to doubt of the Enemies being at hand, and from many circumstances I could not but Suppose it was the case, and that they deferd the Attact for some time in order to give us time to Retreat; which I supposed they wou'd rather chuse by their proceedings; But I was determined that they should be disappointed if that was their wishes. There was no time lost during the Night puting every thing in as good order as Possible. The Priest of all Men the most affraid of M[r] Hammilton, he was in the greatest consternation, determined[1] to Act agreeable to my Instruction. I found by his Consternation that he was sure that the Fort would be taken, Except Reinforced by the Garrisson at Cohos which I did not chuse to let him know would be the case although I knew him to be a Zealous Friend. I pretended that I wanted him to go to the Spanish side with Publick Papers and Money. the Proposition pleas'd him well, he immediately started & getting into an Island the Ice passing so thick down the Messicippi, that he was obliged to Encamp three days in the most obscure part of the Island with only a Servant to attend him I spent many serious reflections during the night. The Inhabitants had always appeard to be attached to us: but I was convinced that I should in the morning have a Sufficient trial of their fadility: (several of their Young Men had turned into the Fort in order to defend it) but Sensible at the same time that in case they took Arms to

[1] Originally: "and was determined," but the words "and was" are stricken out.

defend the Town that the whole would probably be lost, as I should be obliged to give the Enemy Battle in the Commons. I would have chose to have had those without families to Reinforce the Garrisson, and the rest to have lain Neuter.

I resolved to burn part of the Town that was near the Fort and Guard it, as I knew the greatest service we possibly could do, was to Sell the Fort as Dear as possible; there being no probability of escaping after Attact, or expectation of Reinforcements, as we were too far detached from the Body of our Country. The only probable chance of safety was Cap^{t} Bowmans joining me which I expected the next evening down the Messicippi, to defend ourselves until M^{r} Hamiltons Indians got tired and returned in four or five Weeks which I expected the greatest Part would do if they had not that Success that they expected. I had no occasion to consult the Garrison in any Resolution I should fix upon as I knew that they was all as Spirited as I could wish them to be, and took pains to make them as desperate as possible. If You rightly Consider our Situation & Circumstance, You must conceive it to be desperate; in the morning the first thing I did was to assemble all the Inhabitants in order to know their Resolutions; as they had been the night Counciling with each other they expected some orders Issued which I did not chuse to do; at the Assembly I asked them what they thought of doing, whether they would endeavour to defend The Town or not; if they did I would Quit the Fort leaving a Small Guard, and head them with the Troops; and if the Enemy lay until the weather Broke, we might probably in the meantime discover their Camp and get some advantage of them. They appear'd to be in great confusion, and all my fear was, that they would agree to defend themselves, and if the Enemy was as numerous as was expected the whole would be lost. But I need not to have been uneasy about that, for they had too maturely studied their own Interest to think of fighting, which they certainly would have done if I had only as many Troops as would have given any probability of suckcess. they displai'd their situation in such a manner as was really moving and with great truth. But denied to Act either on one side or the other; And begged that I would believe them to be in the American Interest: But my whole force joined with them would make but a poor figure against so con-

siderable a party and gave hints that they could wish us to take Spanish Protection as they could not conceive we could keep possession a Single day as the Enemy would immediately set the adjacent Houses on fire which would fire the Fort (not knowing that I intended to Burn them myself as soon as the wind shifted.) I very seldom found but I could govern my temper at pleasure: But this declaration of theirs and some other Circumstances put me in a most violent Rage, and as soon as I could curb my Passion gave a Lecture suitable for a set of Traitors, (although I could not conceive the whole of them to be such). I ordered them out of the Garrisson, and told them that I no longer thought they deserved favor from me, that I consequently must conceive them to be my secret Enemies and should treat them as such; They endeavoured to soothe me into pitty, but to have listned to them would have destroyed my intention. I determined to make myself appear to them as desperate as Possible that it might have a Greater effect on the Enemy (they asked me to issue an order for all the Provision in the Town to be brought into the Fort immediately, by which I was convinced that it was their desire that I should be able to stand the Siege as long as possible, and only wanted an excuse to the Person they expected every moment to be their Master for making the supplies) I told them that I would have all the Provisions and then Burn the Town to the Enemies hand: that they might send the Provision if they chose it, and sent them out of the Fort: and immediately had fire set to some out Houses; Never was a set of People in more distress; Their Town set on fire by those that they wished to be in friendship with; at the same time Surrounded by the Savages, as they expected: from whom they had but little else but destruction to expect; The Houses being covered with Snow, the fire had no effect only on those it was set to; the Inhabitants looking on without daring to say a word: I told them that I intended to set fire to all those that had much Provision for fear of the Enemie's getting it: They were not in so great a Leathergy, but they took the hint and before night they brought in six months Provisions of all sorts; by which they were in hopes to come on better Terms: but a fresh Circumstance Alarmed them; one of the Inhabitants Riding into the Field met a Man that told him he saw a party of

the Enemy going on the Island to take the Priest, he returning to Town met the Priest's Brother in Law and told him what he had hear'd, and begged of him not to tell me of it the Poor fellow half scared to death about his Brother, made all haste and told me. I took his Evidence; sent for the Citizen who could not deny it. I immediately ordered him hanged: The Town took the Alarm hasted about the walls of the Fort, if possible to save their Friend. The Poor fellow given up to the Soldiers who dragged him to the place of Execution, each striving to be foremost in the Execution as if they thirsted after Blood: some was for Tomahawking him, some for hanging & Others for Burning: they got to Quarreling about it; which at last saved his life; the Inhabitants having time to supplicate in his favour; but nothing would have saved his life but the appearance of his Wife and seven small Children, which sight was too moving not to have granted them the life of their Parent on terms that put it out of his power to do any damage to me—The weather clearing away Cap^{t} Bowman Arrived the following day with his own and a comp^{y} of Volunteers from Cohos; we now began to make a tolerable appearance and seemd to defie the Enemy: and sent out Spies on every Quarter to make discovery of them hoping we might get some Advantage of them, chusing for many important Reasons to attact them two to one in the field rather than suffer them [to] take possession of the Town, which by the form and manner of Picquiting the Yards and Gardens was very Strong I was convinced that the Inhabitants now wished they had behaved in another manner I took the advantage of the favourable oppertunity to Attach them intirely in my Interest, and instead of Treating them more sevear as they expected on my being Reinforced, I altered my Conduct towards them and treated them with the greatest kindness, granting them every request my Influence among them, in a few hours was greater than ever; they condemning themselves and thought that I had treated them as they deserved; and I believe, had M^{r} Hammilton appear'd we should have defeated him with a good deal of ease not so numerous but the Men being much better. Our Spies returning, and found the great Army that gave the alarm consisted only of about forty Whites and Indians making their Retreat as fast as possible to S^{t} Vincents; sent for no other

purpose as we found after but to take me. We were now Sensible that S^{t} Vincents was in possession of the English; and consequently we might shortly expect an Attact though no danger at present, and had some time to make preparation for what we were certain of—I had reason to expect a Reinforcement on the presumption that Government ordered one on the Receipt of my first Letter; still encouraged each other and hoped for the best: But suffered more uneasiness than when I was certain of an immediate Attact, as I had more time to reflect: the Result of which was that the Illinois in a few months would be in the possession of the English except the Garrison which I knew would not be disposed to surrender without the greatest distress I sent off the Horsemen to S^{t} Vincents to take a Prisoner by which we might get intiligence, but found it impracticable, on account of the high waters; but in the hight of our anxiety on the evening of the 29th of Janu^{y} 1779 M^{r} Vague [Vigo] a Spanish Merch^{t} Arrived from S^{t} Vincents, and was there the time of its being taken, and gave me every Intiligence that I could wish to have. Governour Hamiltons Party consisted of about eight hundred when he took possession of that Post on the 17th day of december past: finding the Season too far spent for his intention against Kaskaskias had sent nearly the whole of his Indians out in different Parties to War: But to embody as soon as the weather would Permit and compleat his design: He had also sent messengers to the southern Indians, five hundred of whom he expected to join him. only eighty Troops in Garrisson (our Situation still appeard desperate, it was at this moment I would have bound myself seven years a Slave to have had five hundred Troops) I saw the only probability of our maintainin^{g} the Country was to take the advantage of his present weakness, perhaps we might be fortunate: I considered the Inclemency of the season, the badness of the Roads &c—as an advantage to us, as they would be more off their Guard on all Quarters. I collected the Officers, told them the probability I thought there was of turning the scale in our favour: I found it the sentiment of every one of them and eager for it. Our Plans immediately concluded on; and sent An Express to Cohos for the Return of Cap^{t} M^{c}Carty & his Volunteers, and set about the necessary preparations in order to Transport my Artillery Stores &c.

I had a Large Boat prepared and Rigged mounting two four pounders six [*illegible*] large swevels Manned with a fine Compy Commandd by Lieut. Rogers:[1] She set out in the evening of the 4th of Jany with orders to force her way if possible within ten Leagues of St Vincents and lay until further Orders. This Vessel when Compleat was much admired by the Inhabitants as no such thing had been seen in the Country before. I had great Expectations from her I conducted myself[2] as though I was sure of taking Mr Hamilton, instructed my Officers to observe the same Rule. In a day or two the Country seemed to believe it, many anctious to retrieve their Characters turned out, the Ladies began also to be spirited and interest themselves in the Expedition, which had great Effect on the Young men By the 4th day of Janu[y][3] I got every thing Compleat and on the 5th I marched being joined by two Volunteer Compys of the Principal Young Men of the Illinois Commandd by Capt McCarty & Francis Charlaville. Those of the Troops was Captns Bowman & William Worthingtons of the light Horse. we were Conducted out of the Town by the Inhabitants: and Mr Jeboth the Priest, who after a very suitable Discourse to the purpose, gave us all Absolution And we set out on a Forlorn hope indeed; for our whole Party with the Boats Crew consisetd of only a little upwards of two hundred. I cannot account for it but I still had inward assurance of success; and never could when weighing every Circumstance doubt it: But I had some secret check. We had now a Rout before us of two hundred and Forty[4] miles in length, through, I suppose one of the most beautiful Country in the world; but at this time in many parts flowing

[1] Lieutenant John Rogers was the second son of George Rogers and was a cousin of George Rogers Clark. For two years he took part in the Revolution in Lower Virginia and in 1778, joined the expedition against Kaskaskia serving as lieutenant in Captain Helm's company. He was also with Helm at the capture of Vincennes, August, 1778. He was given charge, together with Captain Montgomery, of Hamilton and the other prisoners who were sent to Virginia. While there, he was commissioned captain of cavalry, by Governor Jefferson, and served in that capacity in the Illinois country until the close of the war. See *post*, 302.

[2] Originally: "conducted myself before I march'd," but the words "before I march'd" are stricken out.

[3] This should be February 5. See Bowman's *Journal*, *post*, 156; also Clark's *Memoir*, *post*, 269.

[4] Originally written "fifty," changed to "forty."

with water and exceading bad marching. my greatest care was to divert the Men as much as possible in order to keep up their spirits; the first obstruction of any consequence that I met with was on the 13th Arriveing at the two little Wabachces although three miles asunder they now make but one, the flowed water between them being at Least three feet deep, and in many places four: Being near five miles to the opposite Hills, the shallowest place, except about one hundred Yards was three feet.[1] This would have been enough to have stop'ed any set of men that was not in the same temper that we was But in three days we contrived to cross, by building a large Canoe, ferried across the two Channels, the rest of the way we waded; Building scaffolds at each to lodge our Baggage on until the Horses Crossed to take them; it Rained nearly a third of our March; but we never halted for it; In the evening of the 17th we got to the low Lands of the River Umbara which we found deep in water, it being nine miles to St Vincents which stood on the East side of the Wabache and every foot of the way covered with deep water, we Marched down[2] the little River in order to gain the Banks of the main[3] which we did in about three Leagues, made a small Canoe and sent an Express to meet the Boat and hurry it up from the spot we now lay on was about ten miles to Town, and every foot of the way put together that was not three feet and upwards under water would not have made the length of two miles and a half and not a mouthful of Provision; To have waited for our Boat, if possible to avoid it, would have been Impolitic If I was sensible that You wou'd let no Person see this relation I would give You a detail of our suffering for four days in crossing those waters, and the manner it was done; as I am sure that You wou'd Credit it. but it is too incredible for any Person to believe except those that are as well acquainted with me as You are, or had experienced something similar to it I hope You will excuse me until I have the pleasure of seeing You personally. But to our inexpressible Joy in the evening of the 23d we got safe on Terra firma within half a League of the Fort, covered by a small Grove of

[1] Originally: "three feet deep," but the word "deep" is stricken out.

[2] Originally: "down in between," but the words "in between" are stricken out.

[3] Originally: "main river," but the word "river" is stricken out.

Trees had a full view of the wished for spot (I should have crossed at a greater distance from the Town but the White River comeing in jest below us we were affraid of getting too near it) we had Already taken some Prisoners that was coming from the Town: Laying in this Grove some time to dry our Clothes by the Sun we took another Prisoner known to be a friend by which we got all the Intiligence we wished for: but would not suffer him to see our Troops except a few.

A thousand Ideas flashed in my Head at this moment I found that Gov^{r} Hamilton was able to defend himself for a considerable time, but knew that he was not able to turn out of the Fort; that if the Seige Continued long a Superior number might come against us, as I knew there was a Party of English not far above in the River: that if they found out our Numbers might raise the disaffected Savages and harass us. I resolved to appear as Darring as possible, that the Enemy might conceive by our behaviour that we were very numerous and probably discourage them. I immediately wrote to the Inhabitants in general. Informing them where I was and what I determined to do desireing the Friends to the States to keep close in their Houses those in the British Interest to repair to the fort and fight for their King: otherways there should be no mercy shewn them &c—&c—Sending the Compliments of several Officers that was known to be Expected to reinforce me, to several Gentlemen of the Town: I dispatched the Prisoner off with this letter waiting until near sunset, giving him time to get near the Town before we marched. As it was an open Plain from the Wood that covered us; I march'd time enough to be seen from the Town before dark but taking advantage of the Land, disposed the lines in such a manner that nothing but the Pavilions could be seen, having as many of them as would be sufficient for a thousand Men, which was observed by the Inhabitants, who had Just Receiv'd my letter counted the different Colours and Judged our number accordingly But I was careful to give them no opportunity of seeing our Troops before dark, which it would be before we could Arrive: The Houses obstructed the Forts observing us and were not Allarmed as I expected by many of the Inhabitants: I detached Lieu^{t} Bayley and party to Attact the Fort at a certain Signal, and took possession of the strongest Posts of the Town

with the main Body. The Garrisson had so little suspicion of what was to happen that they did not believe the Fireing was from an Enemy, until a Man was wounded through the Ports (which hapned the third or fourth shot) Expecting it to be some drunkⁿ Indians—The Fireing commenced on both sides. very warm; a second Division Joined the first A considerable number of British Indians made their escape out of Town: The Kickepous and Peankeshaws to the amount of about one hundred that was in Town immediately Armed themselves in our favour and Marched to attact the Fort. I thanked the Chief for his intended service, told him the Ill consequence of our People being mingled in the dark; that they might lay in their Quarters until light. he Approved of it and sent off his Troops appeared to be much elivated himself and staid with me giving all the Information he could. (I knew him to be a friend) The Artillery from the Fort played briskly but did no execution. The Garrisson was intirely surrounded within eighty and a hundred Yards behind Houses Palings and Ditches &c—&c.—Never was a heavier fireing kept up on both sides for eighteen Hours with so little damage done. In a few hours I found my Prize sure, Certain of taking every Man that I could have wished for, being the whole of those that incited the Indians to War: all my past sufferings vanished: never was a Man more happy. It wanted no encouragement from any Officer to inflame our Troops with a Martial Spirit. The Knowledge of the Person they attacted and the thoughts of their massecred friends was Sufficient. I Knew that I could not afford to loose Men, and took the greatest care of them that I possibly could: at the same time encouraged them to be daring, but prudent. every place near the fort that could cover them was crowded, and a very heavy firing during the Night. having flung up a considerable Intrenchment before the gate where I intended to plant my Artillery when Arrived. I had learnt that one Masonville had arived that evening with two prisoners taken on the Ohio discovering some sign of us, supposed to be spies from Kentucky, immediately on his arival Capᵗ Lemote was sent out to intercept them; being out on our Arival could not get in the Fort; in attempting several of his men was made Prisoners, himself and party hovering round the Town; I was convinced that they wou'd make off to

the Indians at daybrake if they cou'd not join their friends; finding all endeavours fruitless to take him I withdrew the Troops a little before from the Garrisson in order to give him an oppertunity to get in which he did (much to his Credit and my satisfaction: as I would rather it should Receive that Reinforcement, than they should be at Large among the Savages. The firing again commenced, A number of the Inhabitants Joining the Troops & Behaved exceeding well in General; knowing of the Prisoners lately taken and by the discription I had of them I was sure of their being the Express from Williamsburg (but was mistaken) to save the papers and Letters; about Eight o'clock in the morning I ordered the fireing to cease and sent a flag into the Garrisson with a hard Bill Recommended M^{r} Hamilton to surrender his Garrisson & severe threats if he should destroy any Letters &c. He return'd an Ans^{w} to this purpose; that the Garrisson was not disposed to be awed into any thing unbecomeing British Soldiers: the Attact was Renewed with greater Vigour than ever and continued for about two hours; I was determined to listen to no Terms whatever until I was in Possession of the Fort; and only ment to keep them in Acttion with part of my Troops, while I was making necessary preparations with the other (neglected calling on any of the Inhabitants for Assistants although they wished for it) A flag appeard from the Fort with a Proposition from M^{r} Hamilton for three days Cessation—A desire of a Conference with me immediately, that if I should make any difficulty of comeing into the Fort, he would meet me at the Gate: I at first had no notion of listening to any thing he had to say as I could only consider himself & Officers as Murderers, And intended to treat them as such: but after Some deliberation I sent M^{r} Hamilton my Compliments, and beged leave to inform him that I should agree to no other terms than his surrendering himself and Garrisson Prisoners at discretion; but if he was desirous of a Conference with me I would meet him at the Church. We accordingly met, he Offered to surrender but we could not agree upon terms. He received such treatment on this Conference as a Man of his known Barbarity deserv'd. I would not come upon terms with him, recommend^{d} to him to defend himself with spirit and Bravery, that it was the

only thing that would induce me to treat him and his Garrisson with Lenity in case I stormed it which he might expect. He asked me what more I could Require than the offers he had already made I told him (which was really the truth) that I wanted a sufficient excuse to put all the Indians & partisans to death, as the greatest part of those Villians was then with him: all his propositions was refus'd: he asked me if nothing would do but fighting. I knew of nothing else: he then begged me to stay until he should return to the Garrisson and consult his Officers: being indiferent about him and wanted a few moments for my Troops to refresh themselves I told him that the firing should not commence until such an hour, that during that time he was at Liberty to pass with safety. Some time before a Party of Warriers sent by M^{r} Hamilton against Kentucky, had taken two Prisoners, was discoverd by the Kickebues who gave information of them. A Party was immediately Detached to meet them which hapned in the Commons: they conceived our Troops to be a Party sent by M^{r} Hamilton to conduct them in; an hon^{r} commonly paid them. I was highly pleased to see each Party hooping, hollowing and Striking each others Breasts as they approached in the open fields each seemed to try to out do the other in the greatest signs of Joy: the Poor Devils never discovered their mistake until it was too late for many of them to escape; Six of them was made Prisoners, two of them Scalped and the rest so wounded as we afterwards learnt, but one Lived. I had now a fair oppertunity of making an impression on the Indians that I could have wished for; that of convincing them that Governour Hamilton could not give them that protection that he had made them to believe he could. in some measure to insence the Indians against him for not Exerting himself to save their Friends: Ordered the Prisoners to be Tomahawked in the face of the Garrisson: It had the effect that I expected: insted of making their friends inviterate against us, they upbraided the English Parties in not trying to save their friends and gave them to understand that they believed them to be liers and no Warriers—A remarkable Circumstance hapned that I think worthy our notice: An old French Gen^{t} of the name of S^{t} Croix Lieu^{t} of Cap^{t} M^{c}Carty's Volunteers from Cohos had but one Son who headed these Indians and was made Prisoner.

The Question was put whether the White Man Should be saved. I ordered them to put him to Death, through Indignation which did not extend to the Savages. for fear he would make his escape, his father drew his Sword and stood by him in order to Run him through in case he should stir; being painted could not know him. The Wretch on seeing the Executioners Tomahawk raised to give the fatal Stroke, raised his eyes as if making his last Addresses to heaven; Cried out O Save me. The father knew his Son's voice you may easily guess of the adgetation and behaviour of these two Persons comeing to the knowledg of each other at so critical a moment. I had so little mercy for such Murderers, and so valuable an oppertunity for an Example; knowing there would be the greatest selicitations made to save him, that I immediately absconded myself: but by the warmest Selicitations from his father who had behaved so exceedingly well in our Service; and some of the Officers, I granted his Life on certain conditions

M^{r} Hamilton and myself again met: he produced certain Articles which was refused; but towards the close of the Evening I sent him the following Articles—

1st That Lieu^{t} Governour Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col^{o} Clark, Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the Stores &c—

2^{d} The Garrisson are to deliver themselves up Prisoners of War and March out with their Arms and Acoutriments &c &c—

3rd The Garrison to [be] Delivered up tomorrow at ten Oclock—

4th Three days time be allowed the Garrison to settle their Accompts with the Traders and Inhabitants of this Place—

5^{thly} The Officers of the Garrisson to be allowed their necessary Baggage &c—&c—

Which was agreed to and fulfilled the next day knowing that Governour Hamilton had sent a Party of Men up the Ouabach to Ome for Stores that he had left there which must be on the return; I waited about twelve hours for the Arival of the Galley to Intercept them; but fearing their getting Intiligence, dispatchd Cap^{t} Helms with a Party in Armed Boats who Supprised and made Prisoners of forty, among which was Dejeane, Grand Judge of Detroit with a large Packet from Detroit, and seven Boats load of Provisions, Indian Goods &c—Never was a Person more mortified than I was at this time to see so fair an oppertunity to push a

Victory; Detroit lost for want of a few Men; knowing that they would immediately make greater Preparations expecting me—The Galley had taken upon her passage the Express from Williamsburg with letters from his Excellency—Having at once all the intiligence I could wish for from both sides. I was better able to fix my future Plans of operation against Du Troit. By his Excellencies Letter I might expect to have a Compleat Batallian in a few months, the Militia of the Illinois I knew would turn out, did not doubt of getting two or three hundred Men from Kentucky Consequently put the matter out of doubt.

I contented myself on that Presumption having almost as many Prisoners as I had Men—Seeing the necessity of geting rid of many of the Prisoners, not being able to guard them; not doubting but my good treatment of the Volunteers Inhabitants of Detroit would Promote my Interest there I discharged the greatest Part of them that had been with Indian Parties, on their taking the Oath of Neutrality. They went off huzzaing for the Congress and declared though they could not fight against the Americans they would for them. (As I after this had Spies constant to and from Detroit I learnt they answered every purpose that I could have wished for, by prejudiceing their friends in favour of America. So certain was the Inhabitants of that Post, of my Marching immediately against it, that they made Provision for me in defiance of the Garrison Many of them has paid dear for it since.

I dispatched off Cap^{t} Williams and Comp^{y} with Governour Hamilton, his principal Officers and a few Soldiers to the Falls of Ohio, to be sent to Williamsburg, and in a few days sent my letters to the Govour^{r} Having matters a little setled, the Indian Department became the next Object. I knew that M^{r} Hamilton had endeavoured to make them believe that we intinded at last to take all their Lands from them and that in case of Success we should shew no greater Mercy for those that did not Join him than those that did. I indeavoured to make myself acquainted [with] the Arguments he used: And calling together the Neighbouring Nations, Peankeshaws, Kickepoes, & others that would not listen to him Indeavoured to undeceive them; I made a very long Speach to them in the Indian manner, Extol'd them to the Skies for their Manly behaviour and fedility;

told them that we were so far from having any design on their Lands, that I looked upon it that we were on their Land where the Fort stood, that we claimed no Land in their Country; that the first Man that offered to take their Lands by Violence must strike the tomh[k] in my head; that it was only necessary that I should be in their Country during the War and keep a Fort in it to drive off the English, who had a design against all People; after that I might go to some place where I could get Land to support Me: The Treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties; they were much pleased at what they hear'd and begged me to favour them the next day with my Comp[y] at a Council of theirs I accordingly Attended: greatest part of the time spent in Ceremony; They at last told me they had been meditating on what I had said the day before: that all the Nations would be rejoiced to have me always in their Country as their great Father and Protector: And as I had said I would claim no Land in their Country, they were determin'd that they would not loose me on that Account: and Resolved to give me a piece, but larger than they had given to all the French at that Village, and laying down what they would wish me to do &c—I was well pleased at their offer as I had then an oppertunity to deny the exceptance, & farther convince them that we did not want their Land; they appear'd dejected at my Refusial; I waved the discourse upon other Subjects: Recommended a frolick to them that night as the Sky was clearer than ever; gave them a qunt[y] of Taffy[1] and Provisions to make merry on and left them. In a few days some Chipoways and others who had been with M[r] Hamilton, came in and begged me to excuse their blindness and take them into favour; after the warmest Silicitations for Mercy, I told them that the Big Knives was merciful which Proved them to be Warriers; that I should send Belts and a Speech to all the Nations: that they after hearing of it might do as they pleased but must blame themselves for future misfortunes and dispatched them. Nothing destroys Your Interest among the Savages so soon as wavering sentiments or speeches that shew the least fear. I consequently had observed one steady line of conduct among them: M[r] Hamil-

[1] Tafia was a cheap rum which was in general use throughout the West.

ton, who was almost Deified among them being captured by me, it was a sufficient confirmation to the Indians of every thing I had formerly said to them and gave the greatest weight to the Speeches I intended to send them: expecting that I should shortly be able to fulfill my threats with a Body of Troops sufficient to penetrate into any part of their Country: and by Reducing Detroit bring them to my feet—I sent the following Speech to the different Tribes near the Lakes that was at war with us. to wit—

To the Warriers of the different Nations—

Men and Warriers; it is a long time since the Big Knives sent Belts of peace among You Siliciting of you not to listen to the bad talks and deceit of the English as it would at some future day tend to the Destruction of your Nations. You would not listen, but Joined the English against the Big Knives and spilt much Blood of Women & Children. The Big Knives then resolved to shew no mercy to any People that hereafter would refuse the Belt of Peace which should be offered, at the same time One of War; You remember last summer a great many People took me by the hand, but a few kept back their Hearts. I also sent Belts of Peace and War among the Nations to take their choice. some took the Peace Belt; others still listned to their great father (as they call him) at Detroit, and Joined him to come to War against me. The Big Knives are Warriers and look on the English as old Women and all those that Join him, and are ashamed when they fight them because they are no Men.

I now send two Belts to all the Nations, one for Peace and the other for War. The one that is for War has your great English fathers Scalp tied to it, and made red with his Blood; all you that call yourselves his Children, make your Hatchets sharp & come out and Revenge his Blood on the Big knives fight like Men that the Big Knives may not be ashamed when they fight you; that the old Women may not tell us that we only fought Squaws. If any of you is for taking the Belt of Peace send the Bloody Belt back to me that I may know who to take by the hand as Brothers, for you may be Assured that no peace for the future will be granted to those that do not lay down their Arms immediately. Its as you will I dont care whether you are for Peace or War; as I Glory in

War and want Enemies to fight us, as the English cant fight us any longer, and are become like Young Children begging the Big Knives for Mercy and a little Bread to eat; this is the last Speech you may ever expect from the Big knives, the next thing will be the Tomahawk. And You may expect in four Moons to see Your Women & Children given to the Dogs to eat, while those Nations that have kept their words with me will Flourish and grow like the Willow Trees on the River Banks under the care and nourishment of their father the Big Knives.

In a few weeks great Numbers came into S^{t} Vincents and treated for Peace being laughed at by those that had strictly adhear'd to their former Treaty with me. After fixeing every Department so as to promise future advantage sending Letters to County Lieu^{t} of Kentucky siliciting him to make some preparitory strokes towards Joining me when calld on with all the force he could Raise, leaving a sufficient Garrison on the 20th of march I set out for Kaskaskias by Water with a Guard of eighty Men, spending much time in making some observation at different places; consequently Arrived too late to have hindred a War that commenced between the few Delawares residing in this part of the World and the Inhabitants; a few of them that had joined the British Party knowing what had hapned went to Kaskaskias, as was supposed to compromise matters; but getting drunk with some loose young fellows gave some thereats [*sic*] on each side; one of the Indians snaping a Gun at a Womans Breast two of them was immediately Killed the rest pursu'd by the Townsmen some distance down the River one Killed and some others wounded. The War was carried on Pretty equal on both sides for several Months: but they at last thought proper to Silicit a peace. During my absence Cap^{t} Robert George Command^{g} the Comp^{y} formerly Cap^{t} Willings; had Arrived from Orleans taking charge of the Garrison which was a considerable Reinforcement to our little Party. Every thing having the Appearance of Tranquility, I resolv'd to spend a few weeks in Divertions which I had not done since my Arrival in the Illinois, but found it impossible when I had any matter of importance in view, the Reduction of Detroit was always uppermost in my mind, not from a motive of Applause; but from the desire I had of Establishing a Profound Peace on the

Fronteers; being so well acquainted with its situation, Strength and Influence; that in case I was not disappointed in Number of Troops I expected I even Accounted Detroit my own, Receiving letters from Col° Bowman at Kentucky informing me that I might expect him to Reinforce me with three hund^d men when ever I should call on him; If it lay in his power at the same time receiveing Intiligence from Col° Montgomery I now thought my Success reduced to a certainty. immediately set about making provision for the Expedition to be ready against the Arrival of the Troops to give the Enemy as little time as Possible to compleat the new fortifications I Knew they were then about I sent an Express to Col° Bowman desireing him to Join me on the 20th. of June at S^t Vincents with all the force he Possibly could raise agreeable to his Letters to me; sent out Cap^t Lanctot among the different Nations of Indians to receive their Congratulation on our late Success receive the submission of those that Resolved to Desert the English &c as well as to get fresh Intiligence from Detroit. The Civil Departm^t In the Illinois had heretofore rob'd me of too much of my time that ought to be spent in Military reflections I was now likely to be Relieved by Col° Jn° Todd appointed by Government for that Purpose; I was anctious for his Arrival & happy in his appointment as the greatest intimacy and friendship subsisted between us; and on the [*blank*] of may had the Pleasure of seeing him safely Landed at Kaskaskias to the Joy of every Person: I now saw myself happily rid of a piece of trouble that I had no delight in—in a few days, Col° Montgomery arrived to my Mortification, found that he had not half the Men that I expected; immediately receiveing a letter from Col° Bowman with fresh Assurances of a considerable Reinforcement. The Officers in Gen^l being anctious for the Expedition, Resolved to rendevoux according to appointment; and if not deceived by the Kentuckyans I should still be able to compleat my design, as I only wanted men sufficient to make me appear Respectable in Passing through the Savages by which means I could on the March Command those friendly at my ease, and defy my Enemies. Three hundred Men being at this time sufficient to Reduce the Garrisson of Detroit, as the new Works was not Compleat, nor could be accord^g to Plan before my Arrival. The Gentlemen of Detroit not

being Idle (having sufficient reason to be convinced, that they were in no danger from the Dep^{t} of Pitsburg always suspicious of my Attacting them, sensible of my growing Interest among the Savages.—In order to give themselves more time to fortify by making some divirtion on the Illinois) engaged a considerable number of their Savages to make an Attempt on S^{t} Vincents; those Indians that had declared for the American Interest; in order to shew their Zeal sent word to them that if they had a mind to fight the Bostonians at S^{t} Vincents; they must first cut their way through them, as they were Big Knives too. This effectually stopt their operation; knowing that the Expedition depended intirely on the Kentuckians turning out, I began to be suspicious of a disappointment on hearing of their Marching against the Shownee Towns which proved too true for on my arrival at S^{t} Vincents the first of July, instead of two or three hundred Men that I was promised; I found only about thirty Volunteers, meeting with a Repulse from the Shawnees got discouraged Consequently not in the power of the Com^{d} to March them as Militia, being for some time, (as I hinted before) suspitious of a disappointment, I had conducted matters so as to make no Ill impression on the minds of the Savages in case I should not proceed as the whole had suspected that my design was against Detroit. Several Nations silicited me to go and suffer them to Join me. Various was the conjectures respecting the Propriety of the Attempt with the Troops we had (about three hund^{d} & fifty) at a Council of War held for the purpose there was only two casting voices against it and I pretend it was on account of Gen^{l} Sullivants Marching against Niagary, which we had Just heard that stopt us that there was no doubt of his success Detroit would fall of course; and consequently was not worth our while Marching against it: although I knew at [the] same time that Detroit would not fall with Niagary, as they had an easy communication with Montreal through another Channel by way of the Grand River. A number of Indians visited me at this time renewing the Chain of friendship &c. To all of whom I gave Gen^{l} satisfaction, except that of my refutial of a Tract of Land that their Chief had formerly offered me; I inquired of several Gentlemen acquainted with them, why they were Silicitus about it; their oppinions was that the Indians being exceedingly Jealous of their

Lands being taken without their Consent, being told by the English that I had a design on their Country, by my exceping a Tract from them as a preasant, would prove sufficiently to them that what they had been told was false, being satisfyed in this they also had a desire of my Remaining In their Country as their Chief and Guardian and that my refusial had given them suspicion; in order to Remove it I made a suitable Speech to them which gave Gen[l] satisfaction and in a few days they with a great deal of Ceremony presented me the following Deed of gift—

By the Tobacos Son Grand Chief of all the Peankeshaw Nations & of all the Tribes. Grand Dore to the Ouabache as ordered by the master of Life, holding the Tomahawk in one hand and peace in the other. Judging the Nations giving entrance for those that are for Peace, and making them a Clear Road &c.

DECLARATION.

Whereas for many years past, this once peaceable Land hath been put in confusion by the English encouraging all People to Raise the Tommahawk Against the Big Knives, saying that they were a bad people, Rebellious, and ought to be put from under Sun and their names to be no more.

But as the Sky at our Councils was always Misty and never Clear we was still at a loss to know what to do, hoping that the Master of Life would one Day or other make the Sky Clear and put us in the right Road. He taking Pitty on us sent a father among us (Col° George Rogers Clark) that has cleared our eyes and made our Paths straight defending our Lands &c—So that we now enjoy Peace from the Rising to the Seting of Sun; and the Nations even to the heads of the great River (meaning the Messicippi) are happy and will no more listen to Bad Birds; but abide by the Councils of their great father, A Chief of the Big Knives that is now among us—

And whereas it is our desire that he should long remain among us, that we may take his Council and be happy; it also being our desire to give him Lands to reside on in our Country that we may at all times speak to him. After many Silicitations to him to make choice of a Tract he chusing the Lands adjoining the falls of Ohio on the west side of said River—

I do hereby in the names of all the Great Chiefs and Warriers of the Ouabash and their Allies, Declare that so much Lands at the falls of Ohio contained in the following bounds, to wit, Beginning opposite the middle of the first Island below the falls, Bounded upwards by the west bank Bank [*sic*] of the River so far as to include two Leagues and a half on a straight line from the begining, thence at right angles with said line two Leagues & half in Breadth, in all its parts shall hereafter and ever be the sole property of our great father (Col° Clark) with all things thereto belonging, either above or below the earth shall be and is his; except a Road through the said Land to his Door which shall remain ours, and for us to walk on to speak to our father. All Nations from the Rising to the seting of the Sun, that are not in alliance with us are hereby warned to esteem the said gift as sacred and not to make that Land taste of Blood; that all people either at peace or War may repair in safety to get Council of their father. Whoever first darkens that Land shall no longer have a Name. This declaration shall forever be a Witness between all Nations and our present G^{t} father; that the said Lands are forever hereafter his property. In witness whereof I do in the name of all the Great Chiefs and Warriers of the Ouabash in open Council affix my mark and Seal done at S^{t} Vincents this 16th day of June 1779

(Sign'd) Francis son of Tobacco.

Which Deed, I excepted, and Indeavoured to convince them how much I Prised so liberal a gift &c as I had no idea of haveing Property in the Lands myself, knowing the Laws of my Country Justly against it; I chose it at the falls of Ohio suspecting that I might hereafter find it necessary to fortify that Place for conveniency of free Intercourse Having a Number of supernumerary Officers I sent them Into the Settlement Recruiting finding the Interest of the Department required me to spend a few months at the Falls of Ohio being also Induced with the hopes of giving the Shawneess a Drubing in case a sufficient force Could be again raised at Kentucky; After giving proper Instructions for the discretion of the Com^{ds} of the different posts I set out for the falls where I Arrived safe on the 20 day of August I Received an Express from his Excellency much to my Satisfaction having fresh

Assurance of a sufficient Reinforcement and his Intention of Erecting a Fortification at or near the Mouth of Ohio, so much the desire of every person it being a place of great Importance, and by having a Strong fortification &c it would immediately be the Mart and Key of the Western Country; all my Expectations in my being here has been disappointed (except laying up a considerable quantity of Beef) by lowness of the Ohio which so remarkable that it would be worth Recording, few being able to navigate it with the smallest Canoes for several months Past.

I shall not for the future leave it in Your Power to accuse me for a Neglect of friendship, but shall continue to transmit to you whatever I think worthy your notice

I am Sir with Esteem Yours

N. B. As for the description of the Illinois Country which you seem so anctious for you may expect to have by the ensuing fall as I expect by that Period to be able to give you a more Gen[l] Idea of it. this you may take for granted that its more Beautiful than any Idea I could have formed of a Country almost in a state of Nature, every thing you behold is an Additional Beauty, On the River You'll find the finest Lands the Sun ever shone on; In the high Country You will find a Variety of poor & Rich Lands with large Meadows extending beyond the reach of your Eyes Varigated with groves of Trees appearing like Islands in the Seas covered with Buffaloes and other Game; in many Places with a good Glass You may see all those that is on their feet in half a Million of Acres; so level is the Country which some future day will excell in Cattle. The Settlements of the Illinois commenced about one hundred Years ago by a few Traders from Canada my Reflections on that head its cituation the probability of a flourishing Trade the State of the Country at present what its capable of Producing My oppinion Respecting the cause of those extensive Plains &c. the Advantages arising by strong fortifications and Settlements at the mouth of Ohio. The different Nations of Indians their Traditions Numbers &c—You may expect in my next

G R CLARK

CHAPTER VI

BOWMAN'S JOURNAL, JANUARY 29 TO MARCH 20, 1779; CLARK'S JOURNAL, FEBRUARY 23 AND 24, 1779; CLARK'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR HENRY, APRIL 29, 1779; REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON

COLONEL VIGO INFORMS CLARK OF THE CAPTURE OF VINCENNES BY HAMILTON —CLARK DETERMINES TO MARCH TO THAT POST—THE HARDSHIPS ENCOUNTERED—CLARK NOTIFIES THE INHABITANTS OF HIS APPROACH—THE ATTACK ON FORT SACKVILLE—TERMS OF SURRENDER.

JOURNAL OF JOSEPH BOWMAN.

[Congressional Library, Letters to Washington, 1779, f. 91 *et seq.*]

A Journal of Col. G. R. Clarks Proceedings from the 29th Jan'y 1779 to the 20th March Inst

Mr Vigue [Vigo] a Spanish Subject who had been at Post St Vincent on his lawful business arrived and gave us Intelligence that Govr Hamilton and thirty regulars with fifty French Volunteers[2] and about four hundred Indians had come last Novr and took that Fort with Capt. Helm and Several[3] other Americans, who were there with a number of horses designed for the settlement of Kantuck &c.

30th On which Col. Clark called a Council with his officers and it was concluded to go and attack Govr Hamilton at all

[1] Major Joseph Bowman was one of Clark's most trusted associates. He was born in Virginia in 1752. When a young man, he came to Kentucky. He was commissioned major of a battalion of volunteers and rendered notable service to Clark at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes. His death occurred at Vincennes, February 5, 1782. See *Mason Letter, ante*, 122.

In the Bliss copy of Bowman's *Journal* and printed copy of the same in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 568 *et seq.*, there are a few minor differences, as indicated in the notes. See Appendix I, *post*, 611.

[2] "fifty volunteers."

[3] "such other Americans who were there with arms [*two or three words illegible*], and disarmed the settlers and inhabitants."

Events (for fear) if it was let alone till the Spring that he with his Indians would undoubtedly cut us all off.[1]

31.— Sent an express to to Cahokea for the Volunteers. Nothing Extraordinary this day.[2]

Feb'y. 1st Orders given for a large Batteau to be repair'd and provisions got ready for the Expedition concluded on—

2nd A Pack horse Mastr appointed and orders to prepare Pack saddles &c.

3rd The Gally or Batteau finished called her the Willing put the loading on Board together with two four Pounders and four Swivels Ammunition &c.

4th About ten oClock Capt McCarty arriv'd with a comp'y of Volunteers from Cahoes and about two o Clock in the afternoon the Batteau set off under the command of Lieut Rogers with 46 Men, with orders to proceed to a certain Station near St Vincent till further Orders.

5th Raised another comp'y of Volunteers under the command of Capt. Francois Charlwice [Charleville] which added to our force and encreased our number to 170 Including the Artillery Pack Horsemen &c. about three O Clock Crossed the Kaskaskias River with our Baggage and Marched about a League from the Town Rainy[3] and drisly weather.

7th began our March early, made a good days March for about 9 leagues[4]—The roads very bad with Mud and Water. pitched our camp in a square, Baggage in the Middle every Comp'y to guard their own Square

8th Marched early thro' the Water which we now began to meet in those large and level plains where (from the Flatness of the country the Water rests a considerable time before it drains off, notwithstanding our Men were in Great Spirits, tho much fatigued.

9th Made a moderate days march rain'd most of the day.[5]

[1] "for fear, if it was let alone till spring that he, with all the force that he could bring, would cut us off."

[2] "Sent an express to Cahokia for volunteers and other extraordinary things."

[3] "Fair and drizzly weather."

[4] "for about nine hours,"

[5] "Made another day's march. Fair the part of the day."

10.—Crossed the River of the Petel [Petit] Ford upon Trees that we felled for that purpose the Water being so high there was no fording it; still raining and no Tents encamped near the River stormy &c.

11th Crossed the saline River nothing extraordinary this day—

12. Marched across bad plain[1] saw and killed numbers of Buffaloe, the roads very bad from the immense Quantity of Rain that had fallen, the Men much fatigued, encamped at the Edge of the Wood, this plain or Meadow being fifteen or more Miles across—it was late in the Night before the Troops and baggage got together—Now 21 leagues[2] from st Vincent.

13. Arrived early at the two Wabashes altho a league a sunder they now made but one—We set to make a Canoe.

14. Finished the Canoe and put her in the water about four O Clock in the afternoon.

15. Ferryed across the two Wabashes with it—being then five Miles in Water to the opposite hills, where we encamped still raining—Orders given to fire no Guns in future except in case of Necessity.

16. Marched all day thro' Rain and Water Crossed the second river our provisions began to grow short.

17. Marched early crossed Several Rivers very deep sent Mr Kennedy (our commissary) with three Men to cross the River Embara [Embarras] to endeavour to cross if possible and proceed to a plantation [opposite] post Vincent in order to steal Boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash—About One hour before sunset We got Near the River Embara found the country all overflown, we strove to find the Wabash traveld till 8th O Clock in mud and water but could find no place. to encamp on still kept marching on but after some time Mr Kennedy and his party return'd found it impossible to cross the Embara River we found the Water fallen from a small spot of Ground staid there the remainder of the Night drisly and dark Weather

[1] "marched across Cot plains."

[2] "now twenty-one miles from St. Vincent." This is evidently an error, for they must have been at least fifty miles from their destination.

18th At Break of day heard Govr Hamiltons morning Gun—set off and marched down the River saw some fine land—About 2 o Clock came to the Bank of the Wabash, made Rafts for 4 Men to cross and go up to Town, and Steal Boats but they spent the day and the Night in the Water to no purpose for there was not one foot of dry land to be found.

19th Capt. McCartys Comp'y set to making a Canoe and at three O Clock the 4 Men returned after spending the Night on some old logs in the Water—the Canoe Finished Capt. McCarty with three of his Men embarked in the Canoe and made the next attempt to Steal Boats but he soon returned having discovered four large fires about a league distance from our Camp and Seemed to him to be fires of Whites and Indians—Immediately Col. Clark sent two Men in the said Canoe down to meet the Batteau with orders to come on day and Night that being our last hope, starving Many of the Men much cast down particularly the Volunteers, No provisions of any Sort now two days hard fortune.

20. Camp very quiet but hungry some almost in despair Many of the Creols Volunteers talking of returning fell to making more Canoes when about 12 O Clock our Centry on the River brought to a Boat with 5 frenchmen from the Post who told us we were not yet discover'd that the Inhabitants were well disposed towards us &c. Capt. Williams's Brother (who was taken in the Fort) had made his escape—also to us one Maisonvile with a party of Indians were 7 days in pursuit of him with much news more news in our favor Such as the repairs done the fort the strength [*sic*] &c. they informed us of two Canoes they had seen adrift at some distance above us—Order'd Capt. Worthington with a party to go in Search of the Canoes, returned late with one only—One of our men killed a deer which was distributed in camp—Very acceptable.

21st At Break of day began to ferry our Men over in our two Canoes to a Small little hill called the lower Mamell (or Bubbie) Capt. Williams with two Men went to look for a passage but were discover'd by two men in a Canoe but cou'd not fetch them too—the whole Army being over, we thought to get to town that Night, so plunged into the Water sometimes to the Neck for more than one league when we stop'd on the second hill of the Same name there being no dry land near us on one side for many leagues,

our Pilots says we cannot get along that it was impossible, the whole of the Army being over, we encamped, Rain all this day no Provisions.

22— Col. Clark encourages his Men which gave them great Spirits Marched on in the Water, those that were weak and faintish[1] from so much fatigue went in the Cannoes, we came one league farther to some sugar camps, where we staid all Night heard the Evening and Morning Guns from the Fort—No provisions yet, lord help us.

23. Set off to cross a plain called Horse Shoe plain about 4 Miles long cover'd with Water breast high—here we expected Some of our brave Men must certainly perish having froze in the Night and so long fasting and no other Resourse but wading this plain or rather a leak [*sic*] of Water we pushed into it with Courage Col. Clark being the first, taking care to have the Boats close by, to take those that was weak and benumbed (with the cold) into them Never was Men so animated with the thoughts of revenging the wrongs done to their back Settlements as this small Army was— About One O Clock we came in sight of the Town we halted on a small Nole of dry land[2] called Warriors Island where we took a Prisoner that was hunting ducks—who informed us that no person suspecting our comeing in that season, of the year—Col. Clark Wrote a letter to the Inhabitants in the following terms—

To the Inhabitants of Post Vincent

GENTLEMEN Being now within two Miles of Your Village with my Army determin'd to take your Fort this Night and not being willing to surprize you I take this step to request of such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you. to remain still in your houses, and those (if any there be) that are friends to the King, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair Buyer Gen[l] and fight like Men and if any such as to do not go to the fort, shall be discovered afterwards, the [*sic*] may depend on Severe punishment on the contrary those that are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated and I once more request they shall keep out of the streets for every person I find in arms on my Arrival I shall treat him as an Enemy.

signed G. R. CLARK—

[1] "Those that were weak and famished."
[2] "a small hill of dry land."

In order to publish this letter, we lay still to about Sun down when we began our March all in order with colors flying and drums brased after wading to the Edge of the Town in Water breas high we mounted the rising ground the town is built on about 8 o Clock Lieu[t] Bayly with 14 Regulars was detached to fire on the fort, while we took possession of the Town—and order'd to stay till he was reliev'd by another party which was soon done—Reconnoitred about to find out a place to throw up an Entrenchment found one and set Cap[t] Bomens comp'y to Work soon crossed the Main street about 120 yards from the fort Gate.

We were Inform'd that Cap[t] Lamoth with a party of 25 Men were out in a Scout, who heard our firing and came back—we sent a party to Intercept them but Missed them, However we took one of their Men and one Capt Major Nille a principal Man,[1] the Rest makeing their escape under cover of the Night into the Fort, smart firing all Night on both sides, the cannon play'd smartly, not one of our Men wounded seven Men in the Fort badly wounded—fine Sport for the sons of Liberty.

24. As soon as day light the fort began to play her small Arms Very Briskly one of our Men slightly wounded about 9 O Clock the Col. sent a flag to Gov[r] Hamilton the firing then ceased during which time our Men was provided with a Breakfast it being the only meal of Victuals since the 18[th] Ins[t].

Col. Clarks letter as follows—

Sir In order to save yourself from the Impending Storm that now Threatens you I order you to Immediately surrender yourself up with all your Garrison Stores &c. &c. for if I am obliged to storm, you may depend upon such Treatment justly due to a Murderer beware of destroying Stores of any kind or any papers or letters that is in your possession or hurting one house in the Town for by heavens if you do there shall be no Mercy shewn you.

signed G. R. Clark.

Answer from Gov[r] Hamilton—

Gov[r] Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Col. Clark that he and

[1] "one Captain Maisonville, a principal man."

his Garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action Unworthy of British subjects.

H. HAMILTON

The firing then began very hot on both sides none of our Men wounded several of the Men in the fort wounded thro' the port Holes, which caused Gov^{r} Hamilton to send out a flag with the following letter. viz.

L^{t} Gov^{r} Hamilton proposes to Col. Clark a truce for three days during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the Garrison, on condition Col. Clark shall observe on his part a like cessation of any offensive work that he wishes to confer with Col. Clark as soon as can be and further proposes that whatever may pass between them two and any other Person mutually—agreed upon to be present, shall remain a secret till Matters be finally concluded—As he wishes that whatever the Result of their conference may be to, the honor and credit of each party—If Col. Clark makes a difficulty of comeing into the fort L^{t} Gov^{r} Hamilton will speak to him before the Gate 24th Feb'y 1779.

Col. Clarks Answer—

Col. Clarks compliments to M^{r} Hamilton and begs leave to inform him that Col. Clark will not agree to any other terms than that, of M^{r} Hamiltons surrendering himself and Garrison Prisoners at discretion if M^{r} Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Col. Clark he will meet him at the Church with Capt. Helms. 24th Feb'y 1779.

The Messenger return'd with the above answer, during which time there came a party of Indians down the hills behind the Town, who had been sent by Gov^{r} Hamilton to get some Scalps and Prisoners from the falls of Ohio. Our Men having got news of it pursued them kill'd two on the Spot wounded three took 6 Prisoners Brought them into Town two of them proving to be White men That they took Prisoners, we releas'd them and brought the Indians to the Main Street before the Fort Gate there tomahawked them and threw them into the River—During which time

Gov^{r} Hamilton and Col. Clark met at the Church—Gov^{r} Hamilton produced certain articles of capitulation with his name signed to it which was refused—The Col. told him he wou'd consult with his officers and let him know the terms on which capitulate on [*sic*] as follows.

1..... That L^{t} Gov^{r} Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present With all the stores &c,

2.... The Garrison the Garrison [*sic*] are to deliver themselves prisoners of War, & march out with their arms & accoutrements &c.

3.... The garrison to be deliver'd up to morrow at ten o Clock.

4.... Three days time to be allow'd the Garrison to settle their accounts with the Traders & Inhabitants of this place.

5th The officers of the Garrison to be allow'd their necessary baggage &c. signed at Post Vincent 24th Feb'y. 79. Agreed to for the following Reasons—The Remoteness of Succour, the state and Quantity of Provisions &c. the Unanimity of officers and men on its expediency, The Hon'ble Terms allow'd and lastly the confidence in a Generous enemy.

HENRY HAMILTON L. Gov^{r}
& Sup^{r} Intend^{t}.

25th About 10 O Clock Capt. Bowman & Capt. M^{c}Carty Companies paraded on the one side of the Fort Gate, Gov^{r} Hamilton and his Garrison Marched out whilst Col. Clark Capt^{s} Williams & Wetheringtons[1] comp'y marched into the fort Reliev'd the Centry's hoisted the American colors—Secur'd all their arms Gov^{r} Hamilton marched back to the fort shut the Gates—Orders for 13 Cannon to be fired—during which time there happen'd a very unlucky accident for thro' Mismanagement there blew up 26 six pound Catridges in one of the Bateries which Much burnt Capt. Bowman Capt. Worthington and four more Men very Much.

No acc^{t} of our Boat as yet.

26. Rain all day Capt. Helm Bosseron Henry and Major Legra with 50 Men of the Militia order to proceed up the River

[1] "Worthington's."

With 3 boats with a Swivle in each to meet 10 Boats that was sent in dec^{r} last[1] for Provisions and stores to Omi and to take the same in custody.

27. The Willing our Batteau arriv'd to the great Mortification of all on board, that they had not the honor to assist us in the same, Came W^{m} Mires express from Williamsburgh With very good news—Capt. Bowman receives a Majors commis^{n} inclosed from the Gov^{r}.

28th Nothing extraordinary.

March 1st The officers discharged on Parole, nothing extraord'y

2nd 3rd & 4th Wet Weather.

5th About 10 o Clock Capt. Helm arriv'd with his party took Seven boats laden with Provision Bale Goods &c taken from the Enemy—with the following Prisoners—M^{r} Dejean Grand Judge of Detroit M^{r} Adimar Com'y with 38 Privates—Letters that was taken from the com'y dated at Detroit the 6th Feb'y says they are much afraid of our people in the Spring prays Gov^{r} Hamilton to come back again War was not as yet declar'd Between France and England this sent of a party of Volunteers to Kiskaskias.

6th A Very Rainy day nothing extraordinary.

7th Capt. Williams L^{t} Rogers with 25 Men set for the falls of the ohio to conduct the following Prisoners—Viz—Lieut. Gov^{r} Hamilton, Maj^{r} Hay, Cap^{t} Lamothee, Mons. Dejean Grand Judge of Detroit—Lieut. Shifflin, Doct^{r} M^{c}Beth, Froincois Masonville M^{r} Bellfeiull[2] with Eighteen Privates—8th 9th 10th 11th 12th 13th & 14th—Cloudy weather and Rain all the foregoing Week this morning Wm. Mires Set out for Williamsburgh with two Men.

15th

A Party of Piankishaws, Peaurians and Miami Indians wait on Col. Clark and Assure him of fidelity &c. to the Americans and beg their Protection.

In the Mean time an express arriv'd from Kiskaskias by which

[1] "October last."

[2] "Francis Maisonville, Mr. Bell Fenilb." The correct names are François Maisonville and Bellefeuille.

we learn that Capt. George with 41 Men were arriv'd there from New Orleans and took command of fort Clark and also that Capt. James Willing had resigned his comp'y to said Capt. George and that he and Capt. M^{c}Intire had embarked for Philad^{a}.

William Mires return'd not being able to go by land to the falls of the Ohio the country overflow'd with Water—so took a Canoe and three Men and went by Water.

16th Most of the Prisoners took the oath of Neutrality and got permission to set out for detroit Sent by them a copy of the Alliance between the United States and france. 17. Nothing Extraordinary

18th Snow and Rain the best part of the day.

19. Orders for six boats to be got ready to return to Kiskaskias with the Prisoners.

20. The Boats ready and loaded Capt. M^{c}Carty takes Charge with the Willing—Capt. Keller, Capt. Werthington Ensign^{s} Montgomery & Lawoin each of them to take charge one boat a Serg^{t} and Six Men to take charge of the Small Boat called the Running Fly—About 4 o Clock the whole embarked leaving Lieut. Brashier, command^{t} of the fort with Lieut. Bayly L^{t} Chaplin 40 Men Serg^{t} & Corp. Includ'd to take care of the Garrison till releiv'd from Kiskaskias.

Capt. Helm command of the Town in all Civil Matters and superintend^{t} of Indian affairs M^{r} Moses Henry Indian Agent M^{r} Patrick Kennedy Quarter Mast^{r} &c. The Boats after much rejoicing are now out of sight—God send them a good and safe passage.

Journal of George Rogers Clark.[1]

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 188 *et seq.*]

Journal of Colonel Clark.

What precedes this part of Col^{n} Clarke's journal is only an account of his setting out and his march till the 23rd Feb^{y}. Sett off very early, waded better than three miles on a stretch, our

[1] This journal has previously been printed in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 385 *et seq.* See Appendix II, *post*, 618.

people prodigious, yet they keep up a good heart in hopes of a speedy sight of our enemy. At last about two o'clock we came in sight of this long sought town and enemy, all quiet, the spirits of my men seemed to revive we marched up under cover of a wood called the Warriours Island where we lay concealed untill sunset, several of the inhabitants were out a shooting by which was assur'd they had no intelligence of us yet. I sent out two men to bring in one who came and I sent him to town to inform the inhabitants I was near them ordering all those attached to the King of England to enter the Fort and defend it, those who desired to be friends to keep in their houses. I order'd the march in the first division Capt. Williams, Capt. Worthington's Company and the Cascaskia Volunteers, in the 2nd commanded by Capt. Bowman his own Company and the Cohos Volunteers. At sun down I put the divisions in motion to march in the greatest order and regularity and observe the orders of their officers—above all to be silent—the 5 men we took in the canoes were our guides; we entered the town on the upper part having detached Lt. Bayley and 15 riflemen to attack the Fort and keep up a fire to harrass them until we took possession of the town and they were to remain on that duty untill relieved by another party, the two divisions marched into the town and took possession of the main street, put guards &c without the least molestation I continued all night sending parties out to annoy the enemy and caused a trench to be thrown up across the main street about 200 yds from the Fort Gate—we had intelligence that Capt. Lamotte and 30 men were sent out about 3 hours before our arrival to reconnoitre, as it seems they had some suspicion of a party being near them. One Maisonville and a party of Indians coming up the Ouabache with 2 prisoners made on the Ohio had discover'd our fires and they arrived here a few hours before us. I order'd out a party immediately to intercept them and took s^{d} Maisonville and one man—they gave us no intelligence worth mentioning.

24th As soon as daylight appeared the enemy perceived our works and began a very smart fire of small arms at it, but could not bring their cannon to bear on them, about 8 o'clock I sent a flag of truce with a letter desiring Lt. Gov. Hamilton in order to save the impending storm that hung over his head immediately

to surrender up the Garrison, Fort, Stores &c &c and at his peril not to destroy any one article now in the said Garrison—or to hurt any house &c belonging to the Inhabitants for if he did by Heaven, he might expect no mercy—his answer was Gov. H. begs leave to acquaint Col. C. that he and his Garrison were not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects—I then ordered out parties to attack the Fort and the firing began very smartly on both sides one of my men thro' a bravery known but to Americans walking carlesly up the main street was slightly wounded over the left eye but no ways dangerous—About 12 o'clock the firing from the Fort suspended a Flag coming out I order'd my people to stop firing till further orders. I soon perceived it was Capt. Helm who after salutations inform'd me that the purport of his commission was, that Lt. Gov. Hamilton was willing to surrender up the Fort and Garrison provided Col. Clarke would grant him honourable terms and that he beg'd Col. Clarke to come into the Fort to confer with him, first I desired Capt. Helm not to give any inteligence of G. H.'s strength &c he being on his Parole, second my answer to Gov. H was that I should not agree to any other terms than that Lt. Gov. H should immediately surrender at discretion and allowed him half an hour to consider thereof—as to entering the Fort my offrs and men would not allow of it, for it was with difficulty I restrained them from storming the Garrison. I dismissed Capt. Helm, with my answer, at the time allowed Capt. Helm came back with Lieut. Gov. H's second proposals which were—Lt Govr Hamilton proposes to Col. Clarke a truce for three days, during which time there shall no defensive works be carried on in the Garrison provided Col. Clarke shall observe the like cessation on his part—he further proposes that whatever may pass between them two and any person mutually agreed upon to be present shall remain secret untill matters be finally determined. As he wishes that whatever the result of this conference may be—the Honor and credit of each may be considered —so he wishes he may confer with Col. Clarke as soon as may be—as Col. Clarke makes a difficulty of coming into the Fort Lt Gov. H will speak to him before the Gate

24 Febr 1779 (sign'd) H. H.

This moment received intelligence that a party of Indians were coming up from the falls with Prisrs or Scalps, which party was sent out by G. Hamilton for that purpose, my people were so enraged they immediately intercepted the party which consisted of 8 Indians and a french man of the Garrison. they killed three on the spot and brought 4 in who were tomahawkd in the street oposite the Fort Gate and thrown into the river—the frenchman we shewd mercy as his aged father had behaved so well in my party—I relieved the two poor Prisrs who were French hunters on the Ohio, after which Lt Helm carried my answer thus—Col. Clarks compts to G. H. and begs leave to inform him that Col. Clark will not agree to any other terms than of G. H. surrendering himself and Garrison prisoners at discretion—if G. H. desires a conference with Col. Clarke, he will meet him at the church with Capt. Helm.

24 Febry 1779 (signd) G. R. CLARK.

I immediately repaired there to confer with G. Hamilton where I met with him and Capt. Helm.

Gov. Hamilton then begd I would consider the situation of both parties that he was willing to surrender the Garrison but was in hopes that Col. Clark would let him do it with Honour—I answered him I have been informed that he had 800 men—I have not that number but I came to fight that number. G. H. then replied who could give you this false information I am Sir (replied I) well acquainted with your strength and force and am able to take your Fort, therefore I will give no other terms but to submit yourself and Garrison to my discretion and mercy—he reply'd Sir my men are brave and willing to stand by me to the last, if I can't surrender upon Honble terms I'll fight it out to the last—Answered, Sir this will give my men infinite satisfaction and pleasure for it is their desire, he left me and went a few pays aloof, I told Capt Helm Sir you are a prisoner on your parole, I desire you to reconduct G. H. into the Fort and there remain till I retake you. Lt Gov. Hamilton then returned saying, Col. Clarke why will you force me to dishonour myself when you cannot acquire more honor by it—I told him could I look on you Sir as a Gentlemen I would do to the utmost of my power, but on you Sir who have embrued your hands in the blood of our women and children, Honor, my country, everything calls on me alloud for Vengeance. G. H. I know my

character has been staind but not deservedly for I have alwaise endeavour'd to instill Humanity as much as in my power to the Indians whom the orders of my superiours obliged me to employ. C. C. Sir I speak no more on this subject my blood glows within my veins to think on the crueltys your Indian parties have committed, therefore repair to your Fort and prepare for battle on which I turned off and the Gov and C^{t} Helm towards the Fort—when Capt Helm says Gentlemen don't be warm, strive to save many lives which may be useful to their country which will unavoidably fall in case you don't agree on which we again conferd—G Hamilton said, is there nothing to be done but fighting—Yes, Sir, I will send you such articles as [I] think proper to allow, if you accept them, well—I will allow you half an hour to consider on them on which C^{t} Helm came with me to take them to G. H.—having assembled my officers I sent the following articles viz.:

1st Lt. Gov. Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the stores, ammunition, provisions, &^{c}.

2nd. The Garrison will deliver themselves up Pris^{rs} of War to march out with their arms accoutrements, Knapsacks &^{c}.

3. The Garrison to be delivered up tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

4th. Three days to be allowed to the Garrison to settle their accounts with the traders of this place and inhabitants.

5. The officers of the Garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage &^{c}.

(signed) Post Vincents 24th Feb^{y} 1779 G. R. CLARK.

Within the limitted time Capt. Helm returned with the articles signed thus, viz

Agreed to for the following reasons, remoteness from succours, the state and quantity of Provisions &^{c} the unanimity of officers and men on its expediency, the Hon^{ble} terms allow^{d} and lastly the confidence in a generous Enemy.

(signed) H. HAMILTON Lt. Gov & Superintend^{t}

27th The willing (a boat) arrived at 3 o'clock she was detained by the strong current on the Ouabache and Ohio—2 Lts and 48 men with two iron 4 lb^{rs} and 5 swivels on board the Willing.

CLARK TO PATRICK HENRY, April 29, 1779.

[Jefferson, *Works* (Washington ed.), I., 222 *et seq.*][1]

TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

KASKASKIAS, ILLINOIS, April 29, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—

A few days ago, I received certain intelligence of William Morris [Myers],[2] my express to you, being killed near the falls of Ohio; news truly disagreeable to me, as I fear many of my letters will fall into the hands of the enemy, at Detroit, although some of them, as I learn, were found in the woods torn in pieces.[3] I do not doubt but before the receipt of his, you will have heard of my late success against Governor Hamilton, at post St. Vincennes. That gentleman, with a body of men, possessed himself of that post on the 15th of December last, repaired the fortifications for a repository, and in the spring, meant to attack this place, which he made no doubt of carrying; where he was to be joined by two hundred Indians from Michilimackinac, and five hundred Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other nations. With this body, he was to penetrate up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky on his way, having light brass cannon for the purpose, joined on his march by all the Indians that could be got to him. He made no doubt, that he could force all West Augusta. This expedition was ordered by the commander-in-chief of Canada. Destruction seemed to hover over us from every quarter; detached parties of the enemy were in the neighborhood every day, but afraid to attack. I ordered Major Bowman to evacuate the fort at the Cohas, and join me immediately, which he did. Having not received a scrape of a pen from you, for near twelve months, I could see but little probability of keeping possession of the country,

[1] This letter is also printed in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 395 *et seq.*, and in Henry, *Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Patrick Henry*, III., 233 *et seq.*

[2] William Myers, the agent by whom Clark sent his report of the capture of Hamilton to the governor of Virginia (see *ante*, 146, 163), was killed by the Indians. This message of April 29 to the governor was prepared because of the loss of the first. Providing against a similar accident, Clark evidently prepared a duplicate and forwarded it to Thomas Jefferson. Patrick Henry was governor of Virginia until June 1, 1779, when he was succeeded by Thomas Jefferson.

[3] See *post*, 309.

as my number of men was too small to stand a siege, and my situation too remote to call for assistance. I made all the preparations I possibly could for the attack, and was necessitated to set fire to some of the houses in town, to clear them out of the way. But in the height of the hurry, a Spanish merchant,[1] who had been at St. Vincennes, arrived, and gave the following intelligence: that Mr. Hamilton had weakened himself, by sending his Indians against the frontiers, and to block up the Ohio; that he had not more than eighty men in garrison, three pieces of cannon, and some swivels mounted; and that he intended to attack this place, as soon as the winter opened, and made no doubt of clearing the western waters by the fall. My situation and circumstances induced me to fall on the resolution of attacking him, before he could collect his Indians again. I was sensible the resolution was as desperate as my situation, but I saw no other probability of securing the country. I immediately despatched a small galley, which I had fitted up, mounting two four pounders and four swivels, with a company of men and necessary stores on board, with orders to force her way, if possible, and station herself a few miles below the enemy, suffer nothing to pass her, and wait for further orders. In the meantime, I marched across the country with one hundred and thirty men,[2] being all I could raise, after leaving this place garrisoned by the militia. The inhabitants of the country behaved exceedingly well, numbers of young men turned out on the expedition, and every other one embodied to guard the different towns. I marched the 7th of February. Although so small a body, it took me sixteen days on the route. The inclemency of the season, high waters, &c., seemed to threaten the loss of the expedition. When within three leagues of the enemy, in a direct line, it took us five days to cross the drowned lands of the Wabash river, having to wade often, upwards of two leagues, to our breast in water. Had not the weather been warm, we must have perished. But on the evening of the 23d, we got on dry land, in sight of the enemy; and at seven o'clock, made the attack, before they knew anything of us. The town immediately surrendered with joy, and assisted

[1] François Vigo, see *post*, 266.

[2] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 138, 139; Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 156.

in the seige. There was a continual fire on both sides, for eighteen hours. I had no expectation of gaining the fort until the arrival of my artillery. The moon setting about one o'clock, I had an entrenchment thrown up within rifle shot of their strongest battery, and poured such showers of well-directed balls into their ports, that we silenced two pieces of cannon in fifteen minutes, without getting a man hurt.

Governor Hamilton and myself had, on the following day, several conferences, but did not agree until the evening, when he agreed to surrender the garrison (seventy-nine in number) prisoners of war, with considerable stores. I got only one man wounded; not being able to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Seven were badly wounded in the fort, through the ports. In the height of this action, an Indian party that had been to war, and taken two prisoners, came in, not knowing of us. Hearing of them, I despatched a party to give them battle in the commons, and got nine of them, with the two prisoners, who proved to be Frenchmen. Hearing of a convoy of goods from Detroit, I sent a a party of sixty men, in armed boats well mounted with swivels, to meet them, before they could receive any intelligence. They met the convoy forty leagues up the river, and made a prize of the whole, taking forty prisoners and about ten thousand pounds worth of goods and provisions; also, the mail from Canada to Governor Hamilton, containing, however, no news of importance. But what crowned the general joy, was the arrival of William Morris, my express to you, with your letters, which gave general satisfaction. The soldiery, being made sensible of the gratitude of their country for their services, were so much elated, that they would have attempted the reduction of Detroit, had I ordered them. Having more prisoners than I knew what to do with, I was obliged to discharge a greater part of them, on parole. Mr. Hamilton, his principal officers and a few soldiers, I have sent to Kentucky, under a convoy of Captain Williams, in order to be conducted to you. After despatching Morris with letters to you, treating with the neighboring Indians, &c., I returned to this place, leaving a sufficient garrison at St. Vincennes.

During my absence, Captain Robert George, who now commands the company formerly commanded by Captain Willing, had

returned from New Orleans, which greatly added to our strength. It gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants, when acquainted with the protection which was given them, the alliance with France, &c. I am impatient for the arrival of Colonel Montgomery, but have heard nothing of him lately. By your instructions to me, I find you put no confidence in General M'Intosh's taking Detroit, as you encourage me to attempt it, if possible. It had been twice in my power. Had I been able to raise only five hundred men when I first arrived in the country, or when I was at St. Vincennes, could I have secured my prisoners, and only have had three hundred good men, I should have attempted it, and since learn there could have been no doubt of success, as by some gentlemen lately from that post, we are informed that the town and country kept three days in feasting and diversions, on hearing of my success against Mr. Hamilton, and were so certain of my embracing the fair opportunity of possessing myself of that post, that the merchants and others provided many necessaries for us on our arrival; the garrison, consisting of only eighty men, not daring to stop their diversions. They are now completing a new fort, and I fear too strong for any force I shall ever be able to raise in this country. We are proud to hear Congress intends putting their forces on the frontiers, under your direction. A small army from Pittsburg, conducted with spirit, may easily take Detroit, and put an end to the Indian war. Those Indians who are active against us, are the six nations, part of the Shawnese, the Meamonies [Miami], and about half the Chesaweys [Chippewa], Ottawas, Jowaas [Iowa?], and Pottawatimas nations, bordering on the lakes. Those nations who have treated with me, have behaved since very well; to wit, the Peankishaws, Kiccapoos, Orcaottenans of the Wabash river, the Kaskias, Perrians [Peoria], Mechigamies, Foxes, Socks, Opays [Peorias?], Illinois and Poues [Potawatomi], nations of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. Part of the Chessaweys have also treated, and are peaceable. I continually keep agents among them, to watch their motions and keep them peaceably inclined. Many of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and their confederates, are, I fear, ill disposed. It would be well if Colonel Montgomery should give them a dressing, as he comes down the Tennessee. There can be no peace expected from

many nations, while the English are at Detroit. I strongly suspect they will turn their arms against the Illinois, as they will be encouraged. I shall always be on my guard, watching every opportunity to take the advantage of the enemy, and, if I am ever able to muster six or seven hundred men, I shall give them a shorter distance to come and fight me, than at this place.

There is one circumstance very distressing, that of our moneys being discredited, to all intents and purposes, by the great number of traders who come here in my absence, each outbidding the other, giving prices unknown in this country by five hundred per cent., by which the people conceived it to be of no value, and both French and Spaniards refused to take a farthing of it. Provision is three times the price it was two months past, and to be got by no other means than my own bonds, goods, or force. Several merchants are now advancing considerable sums of their own property, rather than the service should suffer, by which I am sensible they must lose greatly, unless some method is taken to raise the credit of our coin, or a fund be sent to Orleans, for the payment of the expenses of this place, which would at once reduce the price of every species of provision; money being of little service to them, unless it would pass at the ports they trade at. I mentioned to you, my drawing some bills on Mr. Pollock in New Orleans, as I had no money with me. He would accept the bills, but had not money to pay them off, though the sums were trifling; so that we have little credit to expect from that quarter. I shall take every step I possibly can, for laying up a sufficient quantity of provisions, and hope you will immediately send me an express with your instructions. Public expenses in this country, have hitherto been very low, and may still continue so, if a correspondence is fixed at New Orleans for payment of expenses in this country, or gold and silver sent. I am glad to hear of Colonel Todd's appointment. I think government has taken the only step they could have done, to make this country flourish, and be of service to them. No other regulation would have suited the people. The last account I had of Colonel Rogers, was his being in New Orleans, with six of his men. The rest he left at the Spanish Ozack, above the Natches. I shall immediately send him some provisions, as I learn he is in great want. I doubt, he will not be able to get his

goods up the river except in Spanish bottoms. One regiment would be able to clear the Mississippi, and do great damage to the British interests in Florida, and, by properly conducting themselves, might perhaps gain the affection of the people, so as to raise a sufficient force to give a shock to Pensacola. Our alliance with France has entirely devoted this people to our interest. I have sent several copies of the articles to Detroit, and do not doubt but they will produce the desired effect. Your instructions I shall pay implicit regard to, and hope to conduct myself in such a manner as to do honor to my country.

I am, with the greatest respect, your humble servant,

G. R. CLARKE.

P. S. I understand there is a considerable quantity of cannon ball at Pittsburg. We are much in want of four and six pound ball. I hope you will immediately order some down.

REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HENRY HAMILTON ON HIS PROCEEDINGS FROM NOVEMBER, 1776 TO JUNE, 1781.

[Report of the British Hist. MSS. Commission, 1910.][1]

SIR,—The last letter I had the honor of addressing to your Excellency was dated May the seventh, 1781, and was accompanied with returns of the Prisoners, a general account of disbursements, and of Cash received at different times, duplicates of all which shall be sent by the first opportunity.

The Packett which brought Major Hay and myself sailed from Sandy Hook on the 27th May, and arrived at Falmouth on the 21st June.

Yesterday being the 5th of July I had the honor of paying my respects to Lord George Germaine. His Lordship was pleased to

[1] The copy of this report which was made by the commission, was taken from the manuscripts in the possession of Mrs. Stopford, Sackville. It has been corrected by collating with the original in the British Museum, 21783, f. 48, from which it differs in the addition of seven paragraphs at the close of the report. A copy of the report from the copy in the Canadian Archives, B., 123, p. 53, was published in the *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 489 *et seq.* Except in a few instances this follows the original in the British Museum, the difference being in the paragraphing and in a few words which were misread. Lord George Sackville was secretary of state for the colonies from 1775 to 1783. See introduction to the *Report*, V.

attend to the account I gave of our ill-success, and the treatment we experienced from the Rebels, from the day of our being made prisoners of War the 25 Feby 1779 to the 4th March 1781, when we were totally out of their power by a final exchange.

Having mentioned to His Lordship that I had preserved a diary of transactions he directed me to commit to paper a brief account, and transmit the same to your Excellency.

In obedience to His Lordship's orders I shall endeavor to avoid detail and supply as well as may be the want of such papers as were seized by Order of the Rebel Governor Mr. Jefferson, on our being thrown into the Dungeon at Williamsburg; some things previous to the arrival of your Excellency at Quebec, it may be proper slightly to mention.

On the 9th day of November I arrived at Detroit, and almost immediately applications were made by the Indians for my assent to their making inroads upon the Frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, this I declined giving not having received positive orders on the subject, and the rebels being in possession of Montreal, all intercourse with Sir Guy Carleton was cut off.

In the month of June 1777 Lieutenant Governor Cramahé wrote me a Letter containing the copy of Lord George Germaine's orders and instructions, by which I was Authorized to appoint proper Officers and Interpreters and to send them with the Indians against the Rebels, with the strictest injunctions to discourage and restrain them from their usual barbarities.

A most strict adherence to these injunctions has been observed on my part, and as whatever I advance can be well supported, I shall mention some of the measures taken with the Indians, to invalidate the odious falsaties propagated by the Rebels in different parts of America, and to shew that the Savages have yielded to restraint, and foregone their habits of cruelty.[1]

When any party Indians were desirous of going on a discovery, they were brought to me by the Interpreters, every dissuasive against cruelty was used their pretensions to the title of Warriors set in a just light, presents promised them for prisoners brought in alive, which the liberality of Government enabled me to make them, and the stability of future peace urged if after the conclusion

[1] See Introduction, *ante*, xxxvii.

of it, the Americans had living proofs of the humanity of the Indians, in the preservation of their Children and other defenceless persons.

Some or all these arguments had their weight with the very first party sent out, which returnd with seven prisoners alive, who testifyed to the gentle treatment shewn by the Savages. The presents given on this occasion were incentive to other parties to act in like manner, and when we went against St. Vincennes we left 129 prisoners of different Ages and Sexes, who seemed heartily grateful for their humane treatment, being clothed and fed at the expence of the Crown, and allowed all liberty within the settlement.

On the 6th of August 1778 intelligence was brought me by Mr. Francis Maisonville of the attack of the Illinois by Colonel Clarke, the shamefull treatment of Monsieur de Rocheblave, who was laid in Irons and put into a place where hogs had been kept, ankle deep in filth, the indignities offered Madame de Rocheblave, the destruction of his property &c.

Expresses were dispatched with all possible speed to inform the Commander-in-Chief at Quebec, Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, commandant at Niagara, and Captain De Peyster, commandant at Michilimakinac.

No time was lost in making preparations for executing the Orders of the Commander-in-Chief, should he approve of an attempt to dislodge the Rebels.

Monsieur de Celoron was sent off directly for Ouiattanon, with Belts and Speeches for the Miamis Indians, and those of the River Ouabache, his Orders which were given him in writing, as was the case with all partizan Officers, directed that he should as soon as possible give me information of the dispositions of the Indians, the Numbers and if possible the views of the Rebels, and that he should not fail to have the few small Cannon at Fort Sackville spiked, and the Trunnions knocked off, a detail of his treacherous conduct I had the honor of laying before your Excellency in a letter from Ouiattanon.

September 15th I had the honor of a letter from your Excellency, and in consequence wrote to Major de Peyster at Michilimakinac

informing him of my design of attempting to dislodge the Rebels from the Ilinois.

Having reviewed the Companies of Militia I found there would be as many of them turn out Volunteers as with the regulars La Mothe's Company, and the Indians, would employ what little Craft we had.

Captn Lernoult who at that time commanded the detachment of the King's (8th) Regiment, assisted me greatly in forwarding everything necessary to be provided, and gave permission to Lieutenant Showrd[1] two Serjeants and thirty Rank & File who were all Volunteers to accompany me.

Orders having been given in time for putting the carrying place at the Miamis in order, repairing the Carriages &c, proper artificers engaged, craft overhauled, and the weight of the provisions amunition, stores, Indian Goods &c., calculated. The Indians being found well-disposed, and Messengers sent to the different Nations resorting to Detroit, apprizing them of my design, and exhorting them to send out frequent parties upon the Frontiers, the day was fix'd for our departure.

Pere Potier the Jesuit missionary a man of a respectable character and venerable figure, came to the head of our little encampment on the Common of Detroit, and having attended to the reading the Articles of War, and the renewal of the Oath of allegiance to His Britannick Majesty, he gave the blessing to the Catholics present, conditionally, upon their strictly adhering to their oath, being the more engaged thereto as the indulgence and favour of their prince, merited their best services and had exceeded their most sanguine expectations The subsequent behavior of these people has occasioned my recalling this circumstance.

Our numbers (by recollection, as the Rebels got possession of the returns with other papers) were as follows—Of Regulars, one Lieutenant firworker two Matrosses—One Lieutenant 2 Serjeants, 30 Rank and file of the King's (8th) Regiment. Of Irregulars One Captain one Lieutenant 2 Serjeants 4 Rank & file—being Volunteers who had been disciplined in the best manner we could compass for about one Year, about seventy Volunteers selected from

[1] The word is not quite clear. It may be "Shewrd."

those who presented themselves at the reviews of the Militia companies of the settlement, and about 60 Indians.

On the 7th of October the various necessaries for a winter movement of 600 Miles being provided, by the activity and goodwill of Captains Lernoult and Grant the latter of whom had attended to everything afloat, and by the assistance of Major Hay and Mr. Fleming the Commissary, we struck our Tents and embarked with one Field peece which was all could be spared from the Garrison.

One single person, he an Indian, was affected with liquor.

We proceeded a little way down the River and encamp'd—I shall observe once for all, that camp duty was as strictly attended to, as the slender knowledge I possessed would admit, and that the Guards Picketts and advanced Centries, were regularly visited from the setting the watch, which was usually at sunset till broad daylight, that the boats were loaded, manned, and arranged in such a way as to be perfectly secured within our centries every night—That the Indians encamped and decamped, as regularly as could be wish'd, and that among them not a single Instance of drunkenness or quarrelling occurrd for 72 days, nor the least repining at the fatigues of the Journey, or the hardships of the season—Their customs in War, their ceremonies on the way, and what pass'd in the meetings with various tribes, with the Speeches, are enterd upon my diary, and may be of service to persons who wish to be acquainted with their forms without an attention to which, no hearty assistance is to be expected from them.

On the 9th a snowstorm having subsided, it was debated whether or not we should hazard the passage of the Lake, from the Mouth of Detroit river, to that of the Miamis, but considering the advanced Season, and that contrary winds or the freezing of the Lake would frustrate our design, I determined to make the Push. The traverse is of 36 miles and it was noon before the swell on the Lake was fallen sufficiently.

The night proved extremely dark, the head boats with guides carryed lights for the direction of those astern, about 11 o'clock the wind shifted, it began to rain, a heavy swell roll'd in, we were on a lee shore and all was at stake, what I sufferd on this occasion may more readily be conceiv'd than express'd, after rowing some time we lay on our Oars with our sterns to the swell till we judged

the most distant boats could discern our lights, and then rowed in shore, when happily we made an ouzy beach within a mile of the entrance of the Miamis river—It blew so hard all night we could neither pitch a tent or make a fire, and yet were happy in our escape, for if providentially we had not passed an extent of rocky coast before the storm arose, we had all inevitably perish'd.

This day Monsieur de Celeron met us on his return, he made his report aloud, that the rebels were already arrived at the Miamis, I affected indifference, tho' astonished at his imprudence, and said I had already heard of it. I orderd him to proceed to Detroit—It soon appeard that his design in giving that false intelligence was deliberately treacherous, as he had been industrious in passing the Indian settlements on the way to spread the alarm.

I apprized the Commandant at Detroit by letter of this manége. On the 11th we arrived at the foot of the Rapids, where we found Captain Grant, who in the sloop Archangel had brought 14 tonns of provision to expedite our journey—The next day we lost Lieutenant Showrd[1] by the accident of his piece going off which shattered his leg, we sent the Surgeon with him in a light boat to Detroit, where he sufferd the amputation but a mortification ensuing he lost his life.

On the 24th we arrived at the Miamis town after the usual fatigues attending such a Navigation, the water being remarkably low. Here we met several tribes of the Indians previously summoned to meet here, and held several conferences, made them presents, and dispatched Messengers to the Shawanese, as well as the Nations on our route, inviting them to join us, or at least watch the motions of the Rebels upon the frontiers; for which purpose I sent them amunition.

Having pass'd the portage of nine miles, we arrived at one of the sources of the Ouabache call'd the petite Riviere, the waters were so uncommonly low that we should not have been able to have pass'd, but that at the distance of 4 miles from the landing place the Beavers had made a dam which kept up the water, this we cut through to give a passage to our boats, and having taken in our lading at the landing pass'd all the boats. The Beavers are never molested at this place by the traders or Indians, and soon repair

[1] May be "Shewrd."

their dam, which is a most serviceable work upon this difficult communication. With great labor we next pass'd a Swamp called les Volets, beyond which the little Riviere à Boéte joins the one we had made our way thro. The shallowness of the water obliged us to make a dam across both Rivers to back the water into the Swamp, and when we judged the Water to be sufficiently raised cut our Dyke and pass'd with all our craft. The same obstacle occurred at Riviere à l'Anglais, and the same work was to be raised.

In our progress down the Ouabache difficulties encreased, the setting in of the frost lowerd the river, the floating ice cut the men as they worked in the water to haul the boats over shoals and rocks, our Batteau were damaged, and to be repeatedly unloaded, calked, and payd, 97,000 lbs. of provisions and stores to be carryed by the men, in which the Indians assisted chearfully, when the boats were to be lighten'd. It was sometimes a day's work to get the distance of half a league. It was necessary to stop frequently at the Indian Villages, to have conferences with them, furnish them with necessarys, and engage a few to accompany us. At length we got into a good depth of Water a fall of rain having raised the River, this advantage was succeeded by fresh difficultys the frost becoming so intense as to freeze the River quite across, however by hard labour we made our way, and now approaching within a few days' journey of St. Vincennes, our reconnoitring party brought in a Lieutenant and three Men, sent from Fort Sackville to gain intelligence. The Officer had in his pocket two commissions, one from Lieutenant Governor Abbott, the other from Colonel Clarke, and was in the pay of Congress—I gave their Arms to the Indians, but would not proceed rigorously with them, wishing to gain these people by lenity, and apprehensive, that an instance of severity might rouze the ferocity of the Indians which I wished of all things to avoid.

Learning from the prisoners the state of things at St. Vincennes, I sent off parties to lay upon the roads from thence to the Ilinois, and to the falls on the Ohio, where the Rebels had a Fort, and a number of families lately come to settle, their Orders were to intercept any messengers, secure them and their letters, but not to suffer any violence to be offer'd to their persons, They executed their Orders and took prisoners, two men sent off by the Officer

commanding for the Rebels at Fort Sackville with letters to Colonel Clarke acquainting him of our arrival.

Major Hay was detach'd with orders to fall down the river, and send to the principal Inhabitants of St. Vincennes, acquainting them that unless they quitted the Rebels and laid down their Arms, there was no mercy for them, some chiefs accompanied him to conciliate the Peankashaa Indians residing at St. Vincennes, and to show the French what they might expect if they pretended to resist. Major Hay secured the Arms, ammunition, and spiritous liquors, as soon as the inhabitants laid down their Arms, and the Officer who commanded in the Fort (Captain Helm) being deserted by the Officers and Men who to the Number of 70 had form'd his Garrison, and were in pay of the Congress surrender'd his wretched fort on the very day of our arrival being the 17th of December 1778. Thus we employ'd 71 days in coming only Six hundred Miles, which is to be attributed to the extraordinary difficulties of the way owing to an uncommon drought; the severity of the season, and the inevitable delays at the Indian Villages, particularly at Ouiattanon, where the Chiefs who had receiv'd the Rebel colors came in to us from their hunting, acknowledged their error gave up the flags and accused Monsieur de Celoron of having deserted them, besides that he never distributed to them the goods entrusted to him for the Indians.

In the fort we found two iron three pounders, mounted on truck carriages, two swivels not mounted, a very small quantity of amunition, and thirty two stout Horses which had been purchased for Congress, and which I gave to the Indians.

As to the state of the fort we found it a miserable stockade, without a Well, barrack, platform for small arms, or even a lock to the gate. Such was the moderation and good order observed by the Indians, that not a single person had the slenderest cause of complaint, not a shot was fired nor any inhabitant injured in person or property. It is remarkable that tho on our arrival at this place our number was encreased to 500 Men, there was not one sick, nor had there been a single instance of drunkenness among the Indians or soldiery from the day we left Detroit, tho'

rum was deliver'd out on every occasion when the fatigues or bad weather made it necessary. As soon as proper precautions were taken for securing our boats, landing our provisions &c[a], it became a point of consideration whether we should proceed directly to attack the Rebels at the Ilinois, or content ourselves with establishing ourselves in this post where we had these several advantages; the command of the River Ohio by which the Spaniards had supplyed the Rebel forts with Powder &c., the cutting off the communication between the Ilinois, and the falls of Ohio across the country—The being situated so as to check the River Indians, and encourage the Delawares and Ottawas on white River, further to divide our small force (since we must leave a Garrison in Fort Sackville) appear'd not eligible, and we could not expect the Indians to remain much longer with us. The state of our provisions, the length of the journey (240 miles) and the want of Carriages, added to the nature of the country, subject to innundations all combined to direct our determination to fortify ourselves here, and wait for reinforcements in the Spring.

On taking an account of the Inhabitants at this place of all ages and sexes we found their number to amount to 621, of this 217 fit to bear arms, on the spot, several being absent hunting Buffaloe for their winter provision.

Having summon'd the Inhabitants to assemble in the Church, I went to meet them, reproach'd them with their treachery and ingratitude, but told them since they had laid down their arms and sued for protection, that on renewing their Oath of Allegiance they should be secured in their persons and property. Lenity I thought might induce the French inhabitants at Kaskaskias to follow their example, tho' the conduct of the Canadians at large was but poor encouragement. I read twice to them the Oath prepared for them to take, explain'd the nature of it, and cautioned them against that levity they had so recently given proof of. The oath being administer'd, they severally kiss'd a silver crucifix at the foot of the Altar, after which they sign'd their names to a paper containing the same Oath in writing. It was conceived in the following terms.

A St. Vincennes ce 19me Decembre 1778.

"Nous sousignées, declarons et avouons, avoir preté le serment "de fidelité au congres, qu'en faisant cela, nous avons oublié notre "devoir envers Dieu, et avons manqué vis a vis des hommes— "Nous reclamons le pardon de Dieu, et nous esperons de la bonté "de notre Souverain legitime le Roi d'Angleterre qu'il acceptera "notre soumission, et nous prendra sous sa protection comme "bons et fidelles sujets, que nous promettons et jurons devenir, "devant Dieu et devant les hommes, en foi de quoi nous signons "de notre main, ou certifions de notre marque ordinaire, le jour "et mois susdit de l'an 1778.

[*Translation:* We, the undersigned, declare and acknowledge to have taken the oath of allegiance to Congress, in doing which we have forgotten our duty to God and have failed in our duty to man. We ask pardon of God and we hope from the goodness of our legitimate sovereign, the king of England, that he will accept our submission and take us under his protection as good and faithful subjects, which we promise and swear to become before God and before man. In faith of which we sign with our hand or certify with our ordinary mark, the aforesaid day and month of the year 1778.]

Those who had accepted commissions under the Congress delivered them up, and all those who had laid down their arms and renew'd their Oath of allegiance received their arms and on application had passports to hunt Buffaloe. The state of the Fort[1] was one of our first concerns, in the course of the winter we built a guard-house, Barracks for four companies, sunk a Well, erected two large Blockhouses of oak, musquet proof, with loop-holes below, and embrasures above for 5 pieces of Cannon each, alter'd and lined the Stockade, laid the Fort with gravel—Several parties were sent out chiefly towards Kaskasquias and the falls of Ohio by land, and to the mouth of the Ouabache by Water.

The Indians who came from different quarters all seem'd pleased with our arrival, and from their jealousy of the Americans, would

[1] Fort Sackville, which was named in honor of the secretary of the state for the colonies, had been completely neglected by the British for several years. From this report it is seen that Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton immediately set to work to put it in a condition to stand an attack.

I am persuaded, have acted to our wish. Messengers were sent to Mr. Stewart[1] the agent for Indian affairs to the Southward, with Letters proposing a meeting in the Spring at St. Vincennes, or the Cherokee River, the object of which was to reconcile the Southern Indians with the Shawanese and other Northern Nations, and to concert a general invasion of the frontier.

A Letter was also sent for Captain Blomer at the Natchez by a person who I expected would betray his trust, and shew it to Don Bernardo de Galvez at New Orleans.

A party of 30 Men with an Officer was sent to the Mouth of the Ouabache to intercept any boats that might be sent up the Ohio—as soon as Indian Parties return'd, others supplied their Places, and so well did they execute what was recommended to them, that they did at different times bring in prisoners and prevent intelligence being carried from St. Vincennes to the Ilinois, till the desertion of a Corporal and six men of La Mothe's company in the latter end of January, who gave the first intelligence to Colonel Clarke of our arrival.

As the Corporal and some of the Men had hitherto behaved well, it was apprehended that they were moved to desert by ill-intentioned people among the French at St. Vincennes. One of the deserters was brother to Gibault the priest, who had been an active Agent for the Rebels, and who's vicious and immoral conduct was sufficient to do infinite mischief in a Country where ignorance and bigotry give full scope to the depravity of a licentious ecclesiastic. This wretch it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their Allegiance to the King of Great Britain. To enumerate the Vices of the Inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue, is no more than truth, and justice require, still the most eminently vicious and scandalous was the reverend Monsieur Gibault.

The several Nations of Indians inhabiting the banks of the Ouabache came in at different times; made great professions, and declared their distrust of the Virginians, but there was but one Chief with his party who really acted with zeal and spirit, tho' the lake Indians shewed them a very good example. An Ottawa chief in particular soon after our arrival at St. Vincennes offer'd

[1] The word is blotted. The final letter is either "t" over "d" or vice versa.

himself with a party to go down to the River's mouth where it falls into the Ohio, where having remain'd some time without taking any prisoners, he declared he would not return without attempting to be of further service, and went accordingly by land (a very fatiguing march) to Kaskaskias, where had he not been prevented by the treachery of a Canadian, he would (as Col° Clarke afterwards told me himself) have taken prisoners Col° Clarke with several other officers who were going to Cahokia. This Canadian was the Interpreter to the Miamis Indians, Charles Baubin by name, who contrary to my positive orders took away their horses from some of the french hunters of the Ilinois, and would have kept them but for the Chief already mentioned who reproach'd him with acting contrary to my Orders—Baubin further threatened that the Indians were to be brought down to the Ilinois and everything put to fire and sword, which directly contradicted the written Messages and letters I had sent by him and Hypolite Baulon to the inhabitants of the Ilinois.

It is said Baubin is still employed as Interpreter to the Miamis, which makes me conclude some of my letters to your Excellency have miscarried. When he returned from the Ilinois, he asked leave to go to the Miamis, and his behaviour displayed the consciousness of a Villain who had betray'd his trust. Colonel Clarke's account of his treachery was supported by the testimony of other of his officers; thus at different periods, secret treason brought on our final misfortune.

The fort was on the 22nd of February in a tolerable state of defence the Work proposed being finish'd—This day, Mr. François Maisonville return'd from a scout having been in pursuit of Deserters, and brought in two Virginians prisoners, whom he had taken on the Ohio. He took me aside immediately and told me he had discover'd about four leagues below the fort, fourteen fires, but could not tell whether of Virginians or Savages, I instantly sent off Captain La Mothe, Lieutenant Shieffelin and 20 Men to bring me a more perfect account. The Waters being out, the meadows were so greatly overflowed it was necessary to take a circuit. Mr. Maisonville had taken upon him to serve as a guide tho' fatigued. They lost their way night coming on, and were only appriz'd by the firing of Cannon at the fort that it was invested; returning to

the Village & finding it impossible to make their way good, they concealed themselves in a barn, sending from time to time one of their Number to explore and make report, but as they emploied Canadians, none of them return'd—The Militia of the Fort had been order'd under arms in the evening. The Major, Le gras, and one of the Captains, Bosseron, with several of the Private Men being reported absent, I suspected treachery, the two Officers however made their appearance at sunset. About 5 minutes after candles had been lighted we were alarmed by hearing a Musquet discharged; presently after some more, I concluded that some party of Indians was return'd or that there was some riotous frolic in the Village, going upon the Parade to enquire I heard the Balls whistle, order'd the Men to the Blockhouses, forbidding them to fire till they perceived the shot to be directed against the Fort. We were shortly out of suspence, one of the serjeants receiving a shot in the breast. The fire was now return'd, but the enemy had a great advantage from their Rifles, and the cover of the Church, Houses, Barns, &c. Mr. McBeath the surgeon having been in the Village when the firing began, push'd to get to the Gate, and narrowly escaped being kill'd, he repcrted that as soon as the first shots were fired, the Woman of the house where he was told him that Colonel Clarke was arrived with 500 Men from the Ilinois. This very house had lately been searched in the night on suspicion of a stranger being conceald, but the serjeant and party could not discover any such person—Tho' the night was dark we had a Serjeant Matross and five Men wounded. The weather was still so cold we were obliged to bring the Wounded into our own quarters. The Officers who had continued in tents all the winter were exposed to the fire of the enemy's riflemen as the picketting of the Fort was so poorly set up that one might pass the hand clench'd, between the Stockades. We dislodged the enemy from the Church, and nearest houses by a few cannon shot from the Blockhouses, but when day appeared and we saw that the Inhabitants of the Village had joined the Rebels, we despaired of Captain La Mothe's party regaining the fort, but to our great surprize and joy about half-an-hour before sunrise they appear'd and got into the Fort over the Stockades which were upright, and 11 feet out of the ground, with their Arms in their hands. Two Canadians of his

Company had deserted the preceding night, and Mr. Maisonville was betrayed and deliver'd to the Rebels by his own Cousin. The firing was but slack after sunrise, and about 8 o'clock a flag of truce from the Rebels appear'd, carried by Nicolas Cardinal a Captain of the Militia of St. Vincennes, who deliver'd me a Letter from Coll Clarke requiring me to surrender at discretion, adding with an Oath that if I destroy'd any Stores or Papers I should be treated as a murtherer. Having assembled the Officers and read this letter I told them my intention was to undergo any extremity rather than trust to the discretion of such sort of people as we had to deal with. They all approve of this resolution, on which I assembled the Men and informed them of our determination. The English assured me they would defend the King's Colors to the last, adding a homely but hearty phrase, that they would stick to me as the shirt to my back—they then gave three cheers—The French on the contrary hung their heads—I return'd for answer to Col^{o} Clarke's Note, that threats would not prevent us from doing our duty as British Subjects, and the Flag having returnd, the firing recommenced. La Mothe's Volunteers now began to murmur, saying it was very hard to be obliged to fight against their countrymen and relations, who they now perceived had joind the Americans—As they made half our number, and after such a declaration were not to be trusted—The Englishmen wounded, six in number were a sixth of those we could depend on, and duty would every hour fall heavier on the remaining few; considering we were at the distance of six hundred miles from succour, that if we did not burn the Village we left the enemy most advantageous cover against us, and that if we did, we had nothing to expect after rejecting the first terms, but the extremity of revenge, I took up the determination of accepting honorable terms if they could be procured, else to abide the Worst.

I stated these considerations to the Officers first, who allowed them to be reasonable then to the Men, who very reluctantly admitted them, and here I must declare that if the defence of the Fort had depended on the spirit and courage of the English only the Rebels would have lost their labour, but Colonel Clarke has

since told me he knew to a man those of my little garrison who would do their duty, and those who would shrink from it—There is no doubt he was well informed.

The propositions which I sent out to Colonel Clarke were as follow.

Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clarke, Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the Stores, ammunition and provision, reserving only thirty-six rounds of powder & ball per man, and as many weeks' provision, as shall be sufficient to subsist those of the garrison who shall go by land or by Water to their destination which is to be agreed on hereafter.

The garrison are to deliver themselves up prisoners of War, and to march out with their Arms, accoutrements and Knapsacks.

A Guide or Guides to be given, with a safeguard to escort the Garrison to their destination, as also horses for the transport of provision, provided the Garrison marches by land.

The Garrison not to be deliver'd up, till the person employed by Colonel Clarke shall have receiv'd an account of the stores &c^{a}.

Three days time from the signing the Articles, to be allowed the Garrison for providing Shoes &c^{a} necessary for the journey (if by land) for the baking of bread, and for the settling accounts with the traders of this post.

Officers or others of the Garrison who have families, to be permitted to return to their homes, on promise of not acting during the present Contest between Great Britain and America.

Sick and wounded are recommended to the humanity and generosity of Colonel Clarke, any charges incurred for them to be answer'd by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, who will leave a draft for 50*l*. New York Currency for their use. Officers to take their private baggage.

Sign'd at Fort Sackville Feby. 24th, 1779

H. HAMILTON

Before anything was concluded the following scene was exhibited, of which I give your Excellency a relation, as it serves to contrast the behaviour of His Majesty's Subjects with that of the Rebels, so often celebrated for humanity, generosity, and indeed everything virtuous, elevated, and noble.

About 2 o'clock afternoon a party of Indians with some whites return'd from a Scout, with two Canadians whom they had taken prisoners near the falls of Ohio, probably with information for the Rebels at the Fort. Colonel Clarke sent off a detachment of 70 Men against them. The Indian party was 15 or 16 Men, who seeing the English Flag flying at the Fort, discharged their pieces, an usual compliment with those people, they were immediately fired upon by the Rebels and Canadians, two killed on the spot, one shot in the belly, who however escaped, the rest were surrounded and taken bound to the Village, where being set in the Street opposite the Fort Gate they were put to death, notwithstanding a truce at that moment existed. The manner (as related to me by different people, and among others by the man at whose door this execrable feat was perpetrated) was as follows—

One of them was tomahawk'd immediately. The rest sitting on the ground in a ring bound—seeing by the fate of their comrade what they had to expect, the next on his left sung his death song, and was in turn tomahawk'd, the rest underwent the same fate, one only was saved at the intercession of a Rebel Officer, who pleaded for him telling Coll Clarke that the Savages' father had formerly spared his life.

The Chief of this party after having had the hatchet stuck in his head, took it out himself and deliver'd it to the inhuman monster who struck him first, who repeated his stroke a second and a third time, after which the miserable spectacle was dragged by the rope about his neck to the River, thrown in, and suffer'd to spend still a few moments of life in fruitless struglings—Two serjeants who had been Volunteers with the Indians escaped death by the intercession of a father and a Sister who were on the spot. Mr. Francis Maisonville whom I formerly mentioned was set in a Chair, and by Coll Clarke's order a Man came with a scalping knife, who hesitating to proceed to this excess of barbarity on a defenceless wretch, Colonel Clarke with imprecations told him to proceed, and when a piece of the scalp had been raised the man stopp'd his hand, he was again order'd to proceed, and as the executor of Coll Clarke's will, was in the act of raising the Skin, a brother of Mr. Maisonville, who had joined the Rebels, step'd up and prevailed on Coll Clarke to desist. The poor man who survived this cruel

treatment, and shew'd an unshaken firmness in the minute of impending death, was not afterwards proof to the long confinement he underwent at Williamsburg, the gloominess of his situation affected his spirits first, the apprehension of suffering an ignominious death lower'd them still more, till his reason began to be impair'd—The surgeon, a Man of great humanity, tho' attached to the cause of Rebellion, wrote to the Governor and Council of Virginia to solicit a little enlargement for this poor man, as the only means likely to save him, what the answer was I know not, but the unfortunate creature put an end to his miseries and his life, in spight of two persons who watched him and were aware of his situation.

Colonel Clarke yet reeking with the blood of these unhappy Victims[1] came to the Esplanade before the Fort Gate, where I had agreed to meet him and treat of the surrender of the Garrison—He spoke with rapture of his late achievement, while he washed off the blood from his hands stained in this inhuman sacrifice.

He told me it was in vain to think of persisting in the defence of the Fort, that his cannon would be up in a few hours, that he knew to a Man who might be depended on with every other circumstance of my situation, that if from a spirit of obstinacy I persisted when there was no probability of relief and should stand an Assault, not a single Soul should be spared. I replyed that tho' my numbers were small I could depend on them, He said he knew I had but 35 or 36 staunch men, that 'twas but folly to think of a defence with so small numbers so overmatch'd; that if I would surrender at discretion and trust to his generosity, I should have better treatment than if I artcled [*sic*] for terms—my answer was, that I would then abide the consequence, and never take so disgracefull a step while I had ammunition and provision.

You will be answerable (said he) for the lives lost by your obstinacy. I said my Men had declared they would die with Arms in their hands rather than surrender at discretion, that still I would accept such terms as might consist with my honor and duty, that knowing what I could pretend to, little time was necessary for drawing up Articles—He said he would think upon it and return in half-an-hour, he returned accordingly accompanied by

[1] See Introduction, *ante*, lxxxiv.

one of his Captains—I went to meet them with Major Hay, the soldiers in the meantime apprehensive of some ill design, mannd the East Blockhouse ready to fire at an instant. The conversation was resumed, and Colonel Clarke appeared as determined as before, I then said further discourse was vain, that I would return to the Fort and to prevent mistakes, the firing should not take place for an hour after our parting took my leave & was proceeding to the fort, when Major Hay & Captain Bowman call'd me back, the subject was renewed, and Coll Clarke agreed to my sending terms for his consideration—They were sent that same evening, Colonel Clarke made his alterations and I agreed to them, having first called the Officers together, and exposed to them the necessity of the step. The Men were then assembled, and were convinced that no advantage to His Majesty's service could result from our holding out in the present circumstances.

Among reasons not mentioned on the face of the capitulation were the treachery of one-half our little garrison, the certainty of the Inhabitants of the Village having joyned the Rebels—The North-East Angle of the fort projecting over a sandbank already considerably undermined, the miserable state of the wounded Men, the impossibility of effecting an escape by water, while the half of our number had shewed their poltronnerie and treason, and our wounded must be left at the mercy of a mercyless set of Banditti.

Having given the necessary orders, I pass'd the night in sorting papers and in preparing for the disagreable ceremony of the next day.

Mortification, disappointment, and indignation had their turns.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 25th, we marched out with fix'd Bayonets and the Soldiers with their knapsacks—the colors had not been hoisted this morning, that we might be spared the mortification of hawling them down.

It had been told Coll Clarke, that we had labour'd all night to lay powder Chests under the Gateway, and had planted the six-pounder loaded with grape which by a train was to destroy the Rebels as they enter'd to take possession.

This report may reasonably be imputed to the invention of the french inhabitants since they had the effrontrie to give Coll

Clarke a written account of Cruelties exercised by us while at St. Vincennes, which our own American prisoners confuted in their Accounts to Coll Clarke.

Thus by the baseness and ingratitude of people who owed their lives and properties to us, we were betrayed into the hands of our enemies. Permit me Sir to make a slight digression, and attempt to show that a Correspondence with the french inhabitants, and not to our supineness and neglect, The Rebels owed the information necessary for accomplishing their design.

On our arrival at St. Vincennes a strict search was made for Gunpowder, all that was to be found in the place was put into the Magazine, and a heavy fine was laid on those who should be found to conceal any, nevertheless Colonel Clarke was supplyed by the Inhabitants, his own to the last ounce being damaged on his March.

He himself told me that he should never have attempted to attack us but that he was minutely informed of our situation in every respect.

The Indians who after a march in winter of seventy-one days had acted with great zeal and fidelity, and furnish'd as many parties as I wish'd, had almost all return'd to their homes—Two Companies of Volunteers from Detroit had testyfied so much uneasiness, and unwillingness to remain that I chose to send them away rather than keep them against their inclination—Several persons who had been on pay as partisans with the Indians I believe fomented this discontent, which I attributed to their surmizing that France would join the Americans—Those people I discharged and sent away—The conduct of the canadians in general has shewn that no ties that have force upon enlightened and generous minds, can bind them, and that they prefer any subjection, to the freedom of Englishmen. The artfull manége of the inhabitants of the Ilinois is not to be forgot—When news was carried to that place of the Indians coming against them under my orders, the young men offer'd their service to Coll Clarke to bear arms against the English, but their Fathers & uncles told him they had sworn allegiance to the King of great Britain, therefore could not act the same part, but that they would not fight against the Americans.

The terms granted by Colonel Clarke and which I reluctantly signd were as follow—

1st. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Coll Clarke, Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the Stores, ammunition & provisions &c &c.

2d. The Garrison are to deliver themselves up prisoners of war, and to march out with their Arms accoutrements and knapsacks.

3d. The Garrison to be deliver'd up to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

4th^{ly} Three days time to be allowed the Garrison to settle their accounts with the traders of this Town.

5thly. The Officers of the Garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage.

Signed at Post Vincennes the 24th day of February 1779

G. R. CLARKE

Agreed to for the following reasons—

The remoteness from succour, the state and quantity of provisions the unanimity of officers & men on its expediency, the honorable terms allowed and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

HENRY HAMILTON
Lieut. Govr. & Superintendent.

If it be consider'd that we were to leave our wounded men at the mercy of a Man who had shewn such instances of ferocity as Colonel Clarke had lately done, a compliment bespeaking his generosity and humanity may possibly find excuse with some as I know it has censure from others.

The evening of the day we capitulated, Colonel Clark order'd Neck-irons, fetters and handcuffs to be made which in our hearing he declared were designd for those Officers who had been employed as partisans with the Indians. I took him aside and reminded him that these persons were prisoners of War included in the capitulation which he had so lately set his hand to, he said his resolution was form'd, that he had made a vow never to spare woman or Child of the Indians or those who were employ'd with them—I observed to him that these persons having obey'd my orders were

not to be blamed for the execution of them, that I had never known that they had acted contrary to those orders, by encouraging the cruelty of the savages, on the contrary, and that if he was determined to pass by the consideration of his faith and that of the public, pledged for the performance of the Articles of capitulation, I desired he might throw me into prison or lay me in irons rather than the others—He smiled contemptuously, turn'd away and order'd three of these persons to the guard, till the Irons should be made—The scalps of the slaughter'd Indians were hung up by our Tents, a Young man of the name of Rainbault was brought into the fort with a halter about his neck and only for the interposition of the Volunteers from the Ilinois some of whom were his Relations would infallibly have been hanged without any crime laid to his charge but his having been with a scouting party; he was half strangled before he was taken from the tree.

Our Soldiers told us that some of the Rebels had sworn solemnly to destroy Major Hay and myself the first oppertunity. As we could not guard against any attempt in the situation we then found ourselves, we thought it best to appear unacquainted with any such resolution, but we were twice in the night obliged to fly for security to Coll Clarke's quarters in the fort, two men that were intoxicated and who's names had been given us, attempting to shoot us in our tent—The attempt was proved but no punishment ensued.

We were kept in the dark as to the day of our departure, tho' I had repeatedly ask'd it, that we might have bread baked and prepare what was necessary.

On the 5th of March, Monsieur Dejean was brought in prisoner, along with Monsieur Adhemar, the latter had been sent up with ten pirogues and thirty men to the Miamis, to bring down provisions and stores which had been forwarded from Detroit, Mr. Dejean had obtained leave of the Commandant there to pass to St. Vincennes, and had taken Charge of letters from Detroit for me—The day before Captain Helm (an American Officer who commanded the party sent to take the convoy) arrived at Ouiattanon Mr. Dejean heard that we had fallen into the hands of the Rebels, but he had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy the papers which with everything else were seized by the Rebels.

Besides the provision cloathing and Stores belonging to the King, all the private Baggage of the Officers fell into the possession of Coll Clarke, not an Article of which was offer'd them, tho' they to conciliate the good offices of the Rebels to our wounded men and those whom we apprehended would not be permitted to go along with us gave away to Coll Clarke and to his people several things we should otherwise not have parted with, we afterwards heard that the prisoners were notwithstanding treated with great severity.

Our Surgeon was robbed of his medicines and instruments Coll Clarke being arbiter of that article of the Capitulation by which the Officers were to take their *necessary* baggage.

At length on the 8th day of March, we were put into a heavy Oak boat, being 27 in Number, with our provision of Flour and pork at common ration, and 14 Gallons of Spirits for us and our guard which consisted of 23 persons including two officers—We had before us 360 Miles of water carriage and 840 to march to the place of our destination Williamsburgh in Virginia—The 10th in the afternoon we reach'd the Ohio, whose Waters were out in an uncommon and astonishing degree—The depth above the banks 18 feet with such a swift current as made it very fatiguing to row which we all did in turn while our guard were distributed in four light boats—At night we were obliged to lye in our boat making it fast to a tree, for the flood extended as far in the wood as the Eye could reach, we made a miserable shift with our mast and oars to throw a [*not legible*] over head to keep out the rain, and lay like swine close jammed together having not room to extend ourselves.

We presently found the discipline of our Guard such as would have enabled us to seize their Arms and escape to the Natchez, this was agitated among us but the Idea given up, on a persuasion that our companions left in the hands of the Rebels at St. Vincennes would be sufferers for it.

We fell in with four delaware Indians who were hunting having only their bows & arrows, our escort obliged them to accompany us part of the way, but they disappeard one day, and we were given to understand they were quietly knock'd on the head.

Not to trouble your Excellency with remarks made on my journey which are however noted in my diary, we arrived at the

falls of Ohio the 30th of March here we found a number of settlers who live in log houses in eternal apprehensions from the Indians—it is remarkable that the parties from St. Vincennes had been so vigilent, that the news of Fort Sackville falling into our hands the 17th of Decemr was only known here on the 29th of March—Colo Clarke had promised to send 15 Horses to this place for our use on the March, but that never was perform'd—He had apprized us that there was but little chance of escaping with our lives, the people on the Frontiers were so exasperated by the inroads of the Indians, and in this we found he had told us the truth, being often threatned upon the march and waylaid at different times.

Our guard however behaved very well, protected us and hunted for us else we must have starved for our rations were long since expended and our allowance of bears flesh and Indian meal was frequently very scanty—The people at the forts are in a wretched state, obliged to enclose their cattle every night within the fort, and carry their rifle to field when they go to plow or cut wood.

On our long march we had frequently hunger and thirst to encounter as well as fatigue, at length we gained the settled Country and at Lynches ferry on James River, were put into canoes and continued our progress by Water.

On the 20th of May being on shore to get refreshment we were agreeably surprized to find ourselves at Brigadier Hamiltons quarters, who endeavored by his kindness and hospitality to make us forget our hardships—The same evening halting at the house of a Rebel Colonel Lewis, we had the good fortune to see two Officers of the convention Army, Captain Freeman aid de camp to General Reidesel was so obliging as to be the bearer of a Letter from me to General Philips, as also one for your Excellency containing the Capitulation and some returns—On the 26th A Rebel Captain with a Guard marched us from Beaver dam to Richmond, from thence to Chesterfield, where we remain'd till the 15th June, on which day an Officer having a written order under the hand of the Governor of the Province Thomas Jefferson for taking me in Irons to Williamsburgh. I was accordingly handcuff'd, put upon a horse, and my servant not being suffered to go with me, my Valise was fasten'd behind me—Captn Lamothe was order'd to accompany me, being in like manner handcuff'd—The

fatigues of the march having heated my blood to a violent degree I had several large boils on my legs, my handcuffs were too tight but were eased at a Smiths shop on the road thus sometimes riding and sometimes walking we arrived the 2d evening at Williamsburgh having come 60 Miles—We were conducted to the Palace where we remain'd about half an hour in the Street at the Governors door, in wet cloaths, weary, hungry, and thirsty, but had not even a cup of water offered to us—During this time a considerable Mob gather'd about us, which accompanied us to jail—On our arrival there we were put into a cell, not ten feet square where we found five criminals and Mr. Dejean who was also handcuff'd.

This poor man could not refrain from tears on seeing our equipment, We had the floor for a bed, the 5 felons were as happy as rum could make them and so we were left to our repose for that night.

The next day we three were taken out about 11 oClock, and before a number of people our handcuffs taken off and fetters put on in exchange—I was honored with the largest which weighed eighteen pounds eight ounces—As I thought oppertunities might not offer frequently, and seeing some of the delagates present, I took occasion while my irons were rivetting to speak a few words.

I told them that the ignominious manner in which we were treated without any proof of criminality, or any hearing, without even a crime being laid to our charge, was a reproach to those only who could act in that manner by prisoners of War, under the sanction of a Capitulation—That after a proceeding so unjust I was prepared for any extremity, but desired the persons present to observe that punishment was exercised on us before any enquiery had taken place or any person who might have accused us being confronted with us—some by their gestures appeard to feel for us, but no one utter'd a word, and when our fetters were properly fixed we were remanded to our Dungeon from which the five felons were removed—The light we received was from a grate, which faced the Court of 20 feet square with walls 30 feet high—The prison having been built 60 Years it may be conceived we were subject to one very offensive convenience, in the heat of summer almost suffocating, our door was only open'd to give us water, we were not allowed any candle, and from the first to the last of our

confinement we never could find that the Governor or Council had order'd provision of any kind to be made for us except Water with which we were really very well supplied—The variety of vermin to which we were a prey, bad air, Chagrin and want of exercise began to produce their effects on my companions; having therefore obtain'd from our Goaler (who was left sole arbiter to deale out his indulgence or straighten our captivity) paper pen & ink, I wrote the following letter to the Lieut: Governor and Council of Virginia, the humility of the Stile was adopted in consequence of finding, that a bold representation of our situation would never find its way out of the prison.

Your Excellency will I hope pardon me for giving a copy of the paper which I gave to the Goaler the day before, and which he return'd to me with the greatest insolence of contempt, telling me that dignified Characters in that Country were not to be treated with so little ceremony—It was worded as follows—

MR. PELHAM—

"Having understood from you yesterday that the Governor was "gone to the Country to stay for a month, I request of you to "wait on the Lieutenant Governor, present my respects to him, ac- "quainting him, that by a written order sign'd by the Governor, "I with Mr. Dejean and Captain La Mothe have been ironed & "thrown into a dungeon where we have now lain upwards of 40 "days—That we have not been inform'd of the cause of this treat- "ment—we do not hear of our being to be confronted with our "accusers, we hear no mention of any public enquiery, we suffer "without any trial: We understand that these proceedings are "not agreeable to the Laws of this Province, or to any known "rule of equity, that it is inconsistent with the tenor of the Gov- "ernors Oath, and breathes the genuine spirit of lettres de câchet "in the most arbitrary government—The Governor's departure, "without bestowing a thought on men in our situation, shews, that "we may suffer in reputation, health and loss of time, with as "little prospect of redress, as if we were in the cells of the inquisi- "tion—Mr. Pelham please to inform the Lieutenant Governor, "that I do not think common justice to be less the birthright of "every man, than the enjoyments of light & liberty, but that

"since our arrival in this State, we have in lieu of common jus-
"tice, experienced uncommon injustice—I do therefore for myself
"and the Gentlemen confin'd with me, demand *Justice*, Justice
"as open to the public, as our treatment has been notorious.

"Mr. Pelham when you shall commit this Message to paper, I
"beg you will give me a copy of it certified with your own name
"signd.

This being as I mentioned contemptuously refused—I was necessitated to lower my tone, or give up all thoughts of redress, and this I might have done for the Lieutenant Governor never deign'd an answer to the following letter

WILLIAMSBURGH JAIL July 30th—1779.

GENTLEMEN—

Mr. Pelham having very obligingly procured me the means of addressing you, I take the first oppertunity of representing to you the circumstances and situation of the two Gentlemen at present in confinement along with me.

I am to suppose they have been put in prison for having acted under my orders, if there be any criminality in those orders, Justice demands that I alone should be the sufferer—I therefore make it my request that I suffer alone.

The health of these Gentlemen are daily impair'd by the consequences of their restraint, as they are in want even of a change of linnen highly necessary at this sultry season—As to my own conduct however misrepresented, I have a confidence (which "will I hope hereafter appear well grounded) that it will sup-
"port itself against the attacks which have been made upon it
"in this Country, and that it will abide the test of that enquiery
"which I am to expect it will undergo, whenever I shall be call'd
"upon by those Superiors, whose orders I have endeavored to
"execute, with humanity and moderation.

Gentlemen whatever may be the result of this application I shall with patience wait for the day when I may more largely expose

to the World the whole tenor of my conduct, which I have all the reason imaginable to think, has been discolored and misrepresented.

I have the honor to be with all due respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient very homble servant

HENRY HAMILTON

TO THE HONORABLE THE LIEUT GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA.

Having been by order of the Governor (with the advice of his Council) prohibited the use of pen Ink and paper, or the converse of any one but our Jailor we had no employment but in our reflections, at length the prisoners in the next cell contrived to thrust the Newspapers thro a hole and in them we found the formal charge drawn up against us entirely unsupported by truth or evidence—I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency copies of their publications—The day after our confinement the jailor came to ask me for my Keys, which having deliver'd my box was search'd, and such papers as would have disproved their assertions, taken out, however as I had had many proofs of the disingenious part these people were capable of acting, I had hid my journal, with copies of usefull papers, which I have found means to preserve, tho our place and mode of confinement were so often changed.

August 31st—Major Hay with the other Prisoners from Chesterfield arrived at Williamsburgh, the Soldiers were confined in the debtors room, the officers 5 in Number were put into the Dungeon with us which made the heat intolerable

At eleven at night we were obliged to alarm the prisoners in the next cell who pass'd the word to the Guard for the Jailor, our Surgeon being on the point of suffocating an asthma to which he was Subject having seized him at this time with that violence, that he lost his pulse for ten minutes, we had tried by wafting a Blanket to draw some air thro' the grate but this was insufficient and if he had not had presence enough of mind to open a vein, he would probably have expired, for the state of the air was such that a Candle with which we had lately been indulged, would barely live if held at the top of the Cell.

The Jailor took Mr. McBeath out and suffered him to sleep in his own Room, and I must declare in Justice to him, that in several points he shewed more feeling by far than his employers.

The door of our Cell continuing shut for several days, the poor prisoners Young and old, Men and Women, offered to be lock'd up and debarr'd the use of the court, if we might be allow'd that liberty, which at length we had

The Humanity and attention of these poor people is not to be forgot, they offer'd themselves to do a hundred kind offices, cleand and wash'd our Cell, shew'd us how to manage our Irons, wrapped them round with rags, offer'd to saw them off whenever means of escape offer'd, but what struck me most was, that when we were indulged with the use of the court and sat to eat, these people always withdrew—Gratitude calls on me to mention the difference of Characters we experienced from the leaders in this Country, and those subjected to their controul.

Being attack'd with a fit of the Gout a Surgeon was sent for who treated me with the greatest tenderness—by his means my fetters were taken off, and handcuffs put on, but these were little restraint, for as I had fallen away considerably, I could slip my hands thro them with ease.

Other persons persuaded of the falsehood and infamy of the charges laid against us found means to convey to us intelligence, and what was still more acceptable, sometimes a loaf of bread, meat, vegetables fruit &c. and this at their great peril—On our first arrival a person came who proposed to furnish us provision at four pounds per man of their paper Money per day. General Philips knowing our situation had sent us an unlimited credit, and his letter having passed to us thro' the hands of the Governor and Council we for a time lived plentifully and had the means of helping out the miserable ration of the prisoners, but after a while the executive power order'd our purveyor to limit our allowance, and at length after we had rejected the parole he was forbid to furnish us any longer, so that in the depth of a Winter the severest ever known in this country, we had water alone for drink, and our provision was bread of Indian meal and very poor salted Beef.

October 1st—A Parole was tenderd to us which having read and duly considered we all rejected, as some people thought a

spirit of obstinacy rather than prudence dictated on this occasion, I send your Excellency a transcript of it—

Copy of the first parole tender'd Octob. 1st. 1779.

I do promise on my parole of honor, that I will not depart out of the limits which shall from time to time be prescribed to me by the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, or any other person having Authority from him to prescribe or alter such limits —That I will not say or do anything directly or indirectly to the prejudice of the united States of America or any of them.

That I will hold no conference with any prisoners of war, other than those fix'd at the same quarters with me, but in the presence of such person as the Governor or some one acting by authority from him shall appoint, nor send nor receive any letter or message, nor communicate any intelligence to or from any person but with the privity and permission of the Governor, or other person authorized by him for that purpose, to whom all letters or other papers coming to my hands shall be deliverd before their Seals shall be broken, or they shall be otherwise opened: and this promise which I make on the faith of a Gentleman shall be binding on me untill I shall be enlarged from my captivity by exchange or otherwise with the consent of the Governor of Virginia.

Virginia Sct:

Under the faith of the above parole.....is dischargd from his confinement in the public Jail, is to prepare himself immediately and to take his departure with such Gentlemen as shall be appointed to escort him to Hanover court house, where he is to continue till further orders, not going more than one mile from said court house in any direction.

The County Lieutenant of Hanover, has Authority to inspect and licence all letters from the said.....

Sign'd TH. JEFFERSON.

As we had suffer'd already from the simple asservations of obscure persons, one of whom John Dodge was known by several Virginias to be an unprincipled and perjured renegado, and as we

had experienced the inhumanity of the executive power, It plainly appeard that this parole was offer'd from no other motive than to lay us open to the malice of the first informer, when we should probably have been imprisoned as before, with the additional Stigma of having broken a parole, which it was next to impossible to observe in all its parts.

October the 9th The Soldiers were sent from the Jail to the Barrack, where being allowed to cut wood a part was sent to the Jail for us, and even the American soldiers on guard, tho' miserably bare of clothing themselves, used to spare a part of their own fuel for the dressing our victuals.

On Christmas Day the Soldiers were march'd away to King William County—The weather at this time became so intensely cold, that we could not rise from the floor but continued day and night in our blankets, The scurvy began to make it's appearance, and our legs to swell—The Jailor then concluding we could not survive the severity of the cold in our present situation, took us to an upper room in the Jail, where prisoners had formerly been kept, this tho it had no window but an open grate was more tolerable than the Dungeon, we could light fire in the Chimney and by sacrificing part of our blankets to stop the grated window and stuff the cracks in the cieling we made a shift to endure in the daytime, at night were remanded to our Dungeon.

April 18th. 1780 Lieutenant Schieffelin made his escape, in Company with Monsieur De Rochblave and after great risques and difficulties got to New York.

June 1st—Mr. Maisonville destroyd himself.

August 1st—We were march'd from Williamsburgh—Major Hay and I sent to the Jail at Chesterfield—the Surgeon and Mr. Bellefeuille to King William Court-House—Captn La Mothe and Mr. Dejean some time in last October accepted the parole formerly rejected, the former went to Hanover, the latter went to Coll Clarke but what is become of him, I have not since learn'd.

Some time in September a second parole was offer'd for our consideration which varied so little from the first that we chose to remain prisoners rather than accept it—While at Chesterfield our confinement was rendered very tolerable, and several of the

Military and other who were convinced of the injustice and illiberality of our treatment shewed by their behaviour what opinion they had of the executive power—In this Jail Major Hay and I had a very severe tho' short attack of Fever which was pretty generally felt thro' the Country, we were well attended—We had liberty to walk about in the neighbourhood of the Jail—On the 23d Lieutenant Colº Fowles who had been a long time Prisoner to the English on Long Island, arrived at Chesterfield.

He had had hopes of procuring an Exchange, and got permission to come to virginia to effect it if practicable—He brought me letters from my friends at York which gave me to understand, that unless I accepted a Parole, there was little probability of my procuring an exchange—Having therefore Written to Brigadier Hamilton to request the continuance of his kindness to the prisoners now removed to Frederic Town—I with Major Hay accepted the parole following—

I Henry Hamilton Lieutenant Governor and Superintendant of Detroit hereby acknowledge myself a prisoner of War to the Commonwealth of Virginia, and having permission from His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Governor of the said Commonwealth to go to New York, do pledge my faith and most sacred promise upon my parole of honor, that I will not do, say, write, or cause to be done said or written, directly or indirectly, in any respect whatsoever anything to the prejudice of the united States of America, or any of them, untill I shall be enlarged from my Captivity by exchange or otherwise with the consent of the said Governor of Virginia or his successors, & that I will return when required by the said Governor or his successors, to such place within the said Commonwealth, as he shall point out, and deliver myself up again to him or the person acting for or under him.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at Chesterfield this 10th day of October 1780

HENRY HAMILTON (L. S.)

The within mentioned Henry Hamilton, having sign'd a Parole of which this is a copy, has permission to go to New York, and

to remain within such parts of that State, as are in possession of the armies of his Britannick Majesty, untill he shall be exchanged, or otherwise liberated with consent of the Governor of Virginia for the time being, or untill he shall be recalled by him.

Given under my hand and Seal of the Commonwealth of Virginia at Richmond, date within written.

(L. S.) TH. JEFFERSON

Having accepted this Parole we hasten'd to Williamsburg in our way to Hampton, and there were stopped by the Lt. Governor, who as General Leslie had just arrived thought it not adviseable to let us pass, and gave orders for our being escorted back to Richmond—This treatment I resented telling them they might march me back prisoner, but that this was a step they might judge imprudent in the present Juncture. They seemd to think so, for we had liberty to proceed—As soon as I had given certificates, recommending to General Leslie such of the inhabitants as had shewn an attachment to Government, or had been kind to us in our distress, we proceeded to York, where some turbulent people were minded to set a guard over us and stop our progress, at length we got to Hampton—This short journey cost us one thousand pounds, such was the depreciated State of the paper Money at that time.

At Hampton people were civil to us furnish'd us with a cannoe, which to our inexpressible satisfaction put us on board His Majesty's Sloop Delight, Captain Inglis, who by his kind reception of us presently recruited our lower'd spirits—We next went to wait on Captain Gayton Commander of the squadron—The cartel Vessel which was to have conveyed us from Hampton to New York, had been taken and the masters certificate not appearing genuine, he with the Vessel were detain'd.

Having paid our Respects to General Leslie who received us with the greatest politeness, we returned to the Romulus, Captain Gayton's ship—The Cartel Master was suffer'd to go to Hampton to prepare for his Voyage. The Stores which General Leslie and Captain Gayton had most liberally supplied us were plunder'd by the Americans on shore for we did not choose to

risque ourselves out of a King's Ship—At length we set off from the Romulus in our Cartel, a little miserable sloop of 36 feet keel, for a passage in which we were obliged to pay four hundred hard dollars—A Violent gale of wind obliged us to Anchor off Smith's Islands, where we were very near perishing, our crew was three hours at work to get the Anchor out of the ground, at last we got it home leaving one flook behind, and to our no small mortification were obliged to put back to Hampton—Here we were on the point of being detain'd by Order of General Nelson,[1] who had assembled some Militia, but our Skipper being desirous to get away, and having got another Anchor, we once more set sail for New York.

A very severe Gale of wind took us near the Capes of Delaware when our skipper not having a log line on board laid the vessel to, and we had reason in the morning to admire our good fortune, for the wind was right on Shore, and it was 12 at night when he lay to, judging by the run—that we were opposite Delaware Bay, as it proved for we had driven seven leagues up the Bay from the time of laying to.

We arrived at New York very squalid Spectacles, not having had any sleep for 3 days and nights, our Cloths ragged, Shoes broken and so alter'd in face and figure that our acquaintance could scarcely recollect us—His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, Major General Philips, Lord Rawdon were so good as to take several steps towards procuring our Exchange, which finally took place on the 4th day of March 1781, we took our passage for England the 10th, but the packet not sailing till the 27th of May our arrival in this Country was so late as the 21st June.

Thus Sir I have attempted to give your Excellency some account of my unfortunate failure, with the causes of it which while I lament I must attribute chiefly, if not entirely, to the treachery of persons, whom I had reason to expect, Lenity and moderation would have gained, and whose interest it was to be faithfull.

Among those to be raised for this service, there was but little choice, the Arts of some rebel emisaries, and the [in]trigues of persons still attach'd to the Interest of France got the better of the good intentions the Canadians might have set out with.

[1] May possibly be "Nilson."

The difficulties and dangers of Colonel Clark's march from the Ilinois, were such as required great courage to encounter, and great perseverance to overcome. In trusting to traitors he was more fortunate than myself, whether on the whole he was entitled to success is not for me to determine, If my conduct appears to your Excellency in a justifiable light, I may hope to be more pitied than blamed at least your approbation will enable me to support the weight of that censure which seldom fails to accompany an unsuccessfull enterprize.

I have the honor to be with profound respect Sir Your Excellency's most devoted, most obedient and most humble servant

HENRY HAMILTON

JERMYN STREET LONDON
July 6th, 1781.

[*Endorsed:*] Lt. Gv. Hamilton, London the 6th July, 1781. Rec'd from Himself.

CHAPTER VII

CLARK'S MEMOIR, 1773–1779

CLARK GOES TO KENTUCKY, 1775—HENDERSON'S COMPANY—ELECTION OF DEPUTIES IN KENTUCKY—JOHN GABRIEL JONES AND CLARK GO TO VIRGINIA TO ASK THE PROTECTION OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES—CLARK AGAIN IN KENTUCKY—RETURNS TO VIRGINIA, OCTOBER, 1777, AND CONFERS WITH GOVERNOR HENRY OVER WESTERN AFFAIRS—THE PROPOSED EXPEDITION—DESCENDS THE OHIO AND MARCHES TO KASKASKIA—CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA AND OTHER ILLINOIS POSTS—AFFAIRS AT VINCENNES—AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS—CAPTURE OF VINCENNES—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON SENT TO WILLIAMSBURG—CLARK RETURNS TO KASKASKIA.

CLARK TO JOHN BROWN, 1791 [?].[1]

[Draper MSS., 47J1 *et seq.*]

SIR

in fulfiling the engagement I am under to you in with Respect to the wars of Kentucky I must commence with the first settlemen of the District which had been but partially Explored previous to the year 1773 when a considerable number Surveyors and private adventurers passed Gen^{ly} through it the first Settlement attempted was Col. J. Harrod at Harrods Town in the spring 1774 but they Had made but small progress in Building &c before they was obliged to abandon the Cuntrey on^{t} acc^{t} of the war with the Shawonees they Marched through the wilderness and Joined Col. Lewis army at the Close of that war they made preperation and again took possession of their Town in the spring 1775 in mean time Col Henderson and Company had purchased the Cuntrey from the Cherokees[2] and made in Establishment at Boonsborough

[1] For a discussion concerning the date and historical value of this document, see Appendix III, *post*, 619. The *Memoir* has previously been printed in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 457 *et seq.*; extracts from it have also been published by Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "The Cherokees no no Right to Kentucky."

opening a Land office &c but you are too well acquainted with those circumstances too need any Information it was at this period that I first had thoughts of paying some attention to the Interest of this Cuntrey the the Proprietors at first took great pains to Ingratiate them selves in the fav[r] of the people but too soon for their Interest began to Raise on ther Lands which caused many to complain. a few Gentlemen mad some attempts to to persuade the people to pay no attention to them. I plainly saw that they would work there own Ruin as the greatest Security they had for the Cuntrey would be that of making it the Interest of the people to support their claim and that by their Conduct they would shortly exasperate the people and that would be the Moment to overset them. I left the Cuntrey in the Fall 1775[1] and Returned the Spring following while in Virginia I found there was various oppinions Respecting Hendersons Claim Many thought it go[o]d others doubtd wheter or not Virginia could with propriety have any pretentions to the Cuntrey this was what I wanted to know I imediately fixed on my plans that of assembling the people get them to Elect deputies and send them to the assembly of Virginia and treat with them Respecting the Cuntrey if Valuable Conditions was procured to declare our selves Citizens of the State otherways Establish an Independant Government and by giving away great part of the Lands and disposing of the Remainder otherways we could not only gain great numbers of Inhabitants but in good Measure protect them to Carry this Scheam into effect I appointed a gen[l] Meeting at Harrods Town on the 6[th] June 76 that some thing that something would be proposed to the people that very much conser[n]ed their Interest the Reason I had for not publishing what I wished to be done before the Day was that the people should not get into parties over the Subject and as every one would wish to know what was to be done theer would be a more gen[l] Meeting but unfortunately it was late in the Eavening of thât Day before I could get to the place the people had been in some confusion but at last concluded that the whole design was to send delagates to the assembly of Virginia with a petition praying the assembly to accept of them as Such to Establish a New County &c the Poles was opened and before I arrive

[1] See letter of Clark to his brother Jonathan Clark, *ante*, 11.

far advanced in the Election and had Entered with spirit into it that I could not get them to change the principal that of Delagates with Petitions to that of Deputies under the authority of the people in short I did not take much pains M[r] John Gabriel Jones and my Self was Elected the papers prepaired and in a few days we set out for Williamsburgh in hopes arriving before the assembly then Seting should Rise under great apprehentions that the Indeans under the Influance of the Brittish would shortly make a Break uppon the Cuntrey and no time ought to be lost in geting it [in] a State of defence and apprehending no imediate danger on the Wilderness Road M[r] Jones and my self attempted to pass without waiting for other company but had great cause to repent it, the second Day we discovered allarming signs we was under great apprehentions on the third Day M[r] Jones Horse gave out and our little put on mine and in so Hilly a Cuntrey it was Impossible that more than one could ride at time the weather being very rainy our Feet being wet for three or four Days and Nights without ever being dry not daring to make fire we boath got what the Hunters call the Scald Feet a most shocking Complaint the Skin seems to[o] hot on every part of our Feet this cituation we travailed in greator torment than I ever before or since Experienced in hopes of geting Relief at the Station 10 or 12 miles from the Cumberland Gap in powills Valley how greatly were we disappointed on our arival to find the place totolley abandoned and part of it Burnt my Companion being but little used to such distress got almost discouraged at the disappointment I flattered him in the certainty of the peoples being at Martins Fort about 8 Miles ahead as I expected the whole had imbodied their although the danger was much greator than we had apprehended but being now fully apprised of it I could without Runing any great Risque if we could but make out to walk through the woods by boath of us Riding whare there was leaval ground. this we attempted in Vain and was obliged to take the Road for the person on Foot could by no means bare to the torture of tracking thrugh the thick Woods hearing of Indean guns Frequently we ware in hopes they ware Hunters from the station we ware aiming at but to our supprise on our arrival foun[d] the Fort to have been abandoned for a Considerable time a few Human Tract to be seen which we

knew to be Indeans as well as the Guns we had heard. our situation now appeared to be deplo[rable] the nearest Inhabetants we now knew to be sixty miles not able to Travel our selves and Indeans appeared to be in full possession of the Cuntrey that we ware in we sat a few Viewing Each other I found myself Reduced to a perfect desperation M^{r} Jones asked me what we should do I told him that it impossible for us to make to Settlement in the condition that we ware in to hide our selves in the Mountains if the weather was to continue wet we might probably get worse than better and perhaps perish that we knew that within 8 or 10 Days that a party was to follow us from Kentucky that I knew that oil and ouse made of oak Bark would cure our Feet in a few Days that I thought that the only plan we could would be to get possession of the best cabbin in the place fortify ourselves in it and burn down the Rest of the Fort that abundance of Hogs about the corn Cribs we a few of them a barrel of Water and some corn that we probably stand a Siege untill we ware Releived by the party we expected to follow us from Kentucky that 10 or 12 Indean could not drive us out of the House as I was well acquainted with them a[nd] [k]new that they would not storm us to a great disadvantage that we ware well armed a Rifle 2 Cases of good pistols and a Hanger that I was confident that we could defend our selves against a greator number of Indians than he had an Idea of he was over Joyed at the proposition an we fell to work I sent him to kill a Hog by Runing a sword through it was Eating corn to prevent noise a small strong Cabbin of Cap^{tn} Martins being a little detached from the Rest and Locked having a table and some other things in it I clome up to the top of the chimney and flung it down until it was so Low that I could drop into the House without hurting my self (not being able to support myself with my Feet against the Logs) and cut the Locke of the Door Loose by this time my Friend had got his hog he being best able to walk filed a Cag with water and Collecting some wood geting in some corn &c we Barred the Door nocked out some port holes set the Table in the Middle of the Floor and Spread our arms and amunition in order and waited with Impatience for the wind to shift that we might set fire to the Fort with out burning our own Castle our agrement was that in case of an attact that M^{r} Jones should continue to load

the Pieces as discharged them without paying any attention to the Enemy except there was the appearance of a storm we Cooked some provitions and mean time dresed our Feet with oil and continued to prepair ourselves for defence with delegince untill late in the Eavening when the wind the wind appeared to die away we proposed seting Fire to the Houses as we intended but we had no sooner unbared our Door than we heard a Horse Bell open on the Road and in a few minutes stop again we ware fully convinced that the Enemy ware at hand and amediately secured ourselves as well as possible determined to Execute our first plan and if they should attempt to burn us out to nock of the Roof of the Cabbin we waited in suspence for some time but at last to our great Joy found that they ware white men that had come from the Settlement of Clinch River to collect some things they had hid at the time they had left the place the Bell of one of their Horses happened unstop when they got within sight of the Fort, when they discovered the smoak of our Fire supposeing us to be Indians they Creep round in order to make full discovery and get the advantage of us while at this business we had a full View of them and shew our selves to them their appeared to be happy in having it in their power to Relieve us with them we crosed the Mountains to the Settlements Recruiting ourselves we proceeded on our Journey as far as Bottetourt County, and there learnt that we ware too late for the assembly[1] that they had already Risen we ware now at a loss for some time to determine what but concluded that we should wait untill the Fall session in mean time that I should go to Williamsburgh and attempt to procure some powder for the Kentuck and watch their Interest we parted M[r] Jones Returned to Holston in order to [join] the Forces that was Raising in order to repell the Cherokee Indians as the[y] lately Commenced Hostilities and myself proceeded on the Gov[r] of Virginia (M[r] Henry) Lay sick as his Seat in Hanover whare I waited on him and produced my Vouchers he appeared much disposed to favour the Kentuckyens and wrote by me to the Counsill on the subject I attended them my application was for 500 lbs of powder only[2] to be co[n]veyed to Kentucky as Imediate supply after Various

[1] See letter of John Clark to Jonathan Clark, August 12, 1776, *ante*, 17.

[2] See petition of Clark to the Executive Council, August 23, 1776, *ante*, 19.

questions and Consultations they agreed to furnish the supply but as we ware a detached people not yet united to the state of Virginia and uncertain untill the seting of the assembly whether we should or not they could only lend us the amunation as to Frends in distress but that I must become answerable for it in case the Assembly should not receive us as Citizens of the State I informed them that it was out of my power to pay the Expence of Cariage and Guards necessary for those supplies that the British Officers on our Frontiers ware making use of every Effort to ingage the Indians in the war that the People might be distroyed for the want of this small supply that I was in hopes they would consider the Matter and favour us as to send the amunition out at Publick Expence &c. They Replied that they ware really disposed to do every thing for us in their power consistent with their office (which I believed) after Making Making use of many arguments to convince me that even what they proposed was a stretch of power informed me that they could venture no further an order was Issued to the Keeper of the Magizean to deliver me the Amunition I had for twelve month past Reflected so much on the Various Situation of things Respecting our Selves on Continent at large that my Resolution was formed before I left the counsill Chamber. I Resolved to Return the order that I had Received and Imediately repair to Kentucky knowing that the people would readyly fall into my first plan as what had passed had almost Reduced it to a Certainty of sucksess I wrote to the Councill and inclosed the order informing them that I had weighed the Matter and found that it was out of my power to convey those stores at my own Expence such a distance through an Enemies Cuntrey that I was sorry to find that we should have to seek protection else whare which I did not doubt of geting that if a Cuntrey was not worth protecting it was not worth Claiming &c &c what pased on the Reseption of this Letter I cannot tell I was sent for that could suppose by a set of Gent[n] zealous in the welfare of their Cuntrey and fully apprised of what they might expect to take place at Kentucky being a little prejudiced in favr. of my Mother Cuntrey I was wiling to meet half way orders was amediately Issued dated Aug[t] 23[d] 1776[1] for they conveying those Stores to pittsburg and their to wait further orders

[1] See *ante*, 18, for the order of the council of this date.

from me things being amicably setled I wrote to Kentucky informing of them what had been done and Recommended it to them to send to Pittsburgh and convey the Amunition by water to their own Cuntrey (this they never Receved) and waited my self untill the Fall Session when I was Joined by my Coleague M^{r} Jones we laid our Papers befor the assembly they Resolved that we could not take seat as Members but that our Business should be attended to Co^{l} Henderson one of the purchsers of the Chirokees being present Retarded our business much Co^{l} Arthur Camppell one of the Members being also much opposed to our having a new County but wished us to remain annexed to the County on the Frontiers of which we lay and himself Represented this caused it to be late in the session before we got a compleat Establishment a new county by the name of Kentucky of a county by the name of Kentucky M^{r} Jones and my self partèd at Williamsburgh but learning that the amunition was yet at pittsburgh we resolved to go by that post and take it down the River we agreed to meet their but the weather prooving sevear it was late in the Fall before we could set out but however trifling a small Quantity of amunition or the loss or acquisition of a few men may appear in the scale of affairs among people in Gen^{l} to the Kentuckuns the loss of either I knew would be sensibly felt—of course payed every attention possible I found that the Indians ware fully prepairing for war in the spring that those of them that attended at F^{t} Pitt under the Colour of friendship was in fact acting as spies that they had some Idea of our intention of going down the River and would attempt to intercept us sensible that our safety solely depended on Expedition only without waiting to Recruit our party, we set out with seven hands only in a small Vessel and by the most Indefatigable labour made our way good. we past the Indians in the Night or by some means or other got a head of them, for the Day before we Landed near Limestone we plainly discovered that they war in persuit of us: we hid our stores in four or five different places, at a considerable distance apart, and runing a few miles lower in our Vessel set it a drift and took by Land for Harrods Town in order to get a force suffitient and Return for our stores we pased by the Blue Lick; and the third day from our leaving the River got to Hinkstons Cabbin on the West Fork

of Licking Creek, while we ware resting our selves, four men came to us that had been Exploreing Land in that quarter and informed of the situation of affairs in Kentucky that very little damage had yet been done that the late Co[l] Jn° Todd was with a party some whare in that part of the Cuntrey; that if we could find him we should be strong Enough to Return to the River; but this was uncertain. As several of our party was much fatigued we agreed that my self and two others should proced to Harrods Town for the proposed party; that M[r] Jones and the Rest should Remain in that neighberhood untill our Return. In a short time after I had set out Co[l] Todd arrived at the same place and after some consultation concluded that they ware able to go to the River and bring on the amunition & other stores and accordingly set out with Ten men and between the Blue Lick and the River on 25 Dec[r] met the Indians on our Trail and got totally routed M[r] Jones was killed and three others got killed and taken prisoners fortunate for us the prisoners did not discover our Hidden stores to the Indians.[1] The party sent from Harrods brought them safe to that place which gave universal Joy.[2] on the 29[th] Dec[r] a large party of Indians attacted M[c]Clleins F[t] on Elkhorn Kiled Mc Clellin and White and wounded two others after which the whole moved to Harrodstown the Inhabitants of Kentucky at this period consisted only of about [*blank in MS.*] men in those stations Harrods Town Boonsborough and Co[l] Logans about this time Established. the information I gave suffitiently allarmed them; the people had scarsely time to prepair themselves before a large body of Indians advanced on the 7[th] March 77 (on the 5[th] the Militia of the C[ty] was Imbodied) to the attack of Harrods Town they fired on some Boys in the eavening, 5 miles from Town kiled one; the Rest made their escape and gave the allarm a party from the Fort advanced to the place it being late in the Eavening they fortunally did not fall in with the Indians as in all probability our

[1] See Clark's *Diary*, *ante*, 20, which was begun December 25, 1776. It is probable that Clark still had the original of this document in his possession when he was writing the *Memoir*. The facts are related in the same order and there is but little variation in the statements except that the *Memoir* is much more complete.

[2] See *Diary*, March 6, *ante*, 21. Two were killed a short distance from Harrodsburg.

party would have been cut to pieces and of course the Cuntrey lost the loss of a single man at this time was sensibly felt and Gen[l] Actions with the Enemy ought to be guarded agains without an aparent superiority, as the enemy could easely Retrive their loses by Recruits from numerous Nations which was an advantage we could not expect to injoy in for some time in the morning following the Indians had waylaid the upper of the Town (that had been Evacuated the Eavening before) and a little after Day light set fire to one of the Houses a small party unadvisedly went to see what was the cause and was fired on by the Indians they ware covered by a party from the Fort and made good their Retreat in this affair there was a man lost Killed on each side and a few wounded. being the Superior officer we had the Cuntrey put in as good a state of defence as our situation would admit of determined if possible to stand our Ground in hopes of Relief as the Gov[r] of Virginia had uniformly appeared to be our Steady friend from this period we may date the commencement of that Blo[o]dy war in Kentucky that have continued ever since with savage fury in which (on a modirate calculation upwards of two Thousand Souls have perished on our side and sevearly felt by the most active Indian Nations to enumerate all the little actions that happened it is Impossible they ware continual and frequently sevear whin compared to our small forces the Forts ware often attacted (policy seem to have Required that the whole should be imbodied in one place but depending on Hunting for the greatest part of our provitions forbid it) no people could be in a more allarming situation detached at least two Hundred miles from the nearest settlement of the States surrounded by numerous Nations of Indians each one far superior in number to ourselves and under the Influance fo the British government and pointedly directed to distroy us as appeared by many Instruments of writing left on the brest of people Kiled by them I was frequently affraid that the people would think of Making their peace with DeTroit and suffer themselves and Families to be carried of their distress may be easily conceived from our situation but they yet remained firm in hopes of Relief which they received by the arrival of a Company of Men under Com[d] of Col John Bowman on the 2[d] of Sep[tr] this Reinforcement though small added new life to the appearance of

things incourageed by this and the stand they had already made every one seemed determend to exert himself in Strengthing the Cuntrey by Incouraging as many of his friends as possible to move out which succeeded in the end after the arrival of Col. Bowman I left Kentucky in Oct^{r} 1777 with a party of young Men who had been detained on the promis of being liberated on the arrival of Co^{l} Bowman and Returned to Virginia. During the past sevear spring and sumer our conduct was very uniform the defence of our Forts the procuring of provitions and when possible supprising the Indeans (which was frequently done) burying the dead and dresing the wounded seemed to be all our business.[1] the whole of my time when not thus Imployed in Reflecting on things in Gen^{l} particularly Kentucky how it accorded with the interest of the United States whether it was to their interest to support it [or] not &c. this led me to a long train of thinking the result of which was to lay aside every private View ingage seriously in the war and have the Interest and welfare of the publick my only View untill the fate of the Fall of the continent should be known divesting myself of prejudice partiallity &c in fav^{r} of any particular part of the Comunity but to persue what I conceived to be the Interest of the whole this hath Influance my conduct through the course of the war and inabled me better to Judge of the Importance of Kentucky to the Union situated as it was in the center almost of the Indians that had already Gen^{ly} engaged in the Kentucky war as an impediment in their way to the more Interiour frontiers that as soon as they should accomplish the destruction of it they would Bodily let loose on the Frontiers that instead of the states Receiving supplies from thence they would oblige to keep large bodies of Troops for their defence and almost impossible to move an army at so great a distance to attac their Towns if they could find them and that by supporting and incourageing the growth of Kentucky those obstacles would in a great Measure be removed for should the British Officers find their mistaken policy in carrying on the war against Kentucky by the Indeans and withdraw them from and bend their whole force against the interiour

[1] The events between March 6 and September 2 are related in detail in the *Diary*, see *ante*, 21 *et seq.* This is likewise true for the expedition to Williamsburg which was begun October 1.

frontiers as a certain mode of distresing the States we migh[t] with a little assistance at any time March from this Cuntrey at any time with ease to any part of their Cuntrey we chose (this is the only circumstance that can excuse their conduct) those Ideas caused me to View Kentucky in the most favourable point of View as a place of the greatest consequence and ought to meet with every incouragement and that nothing that I could ingage in would be of more Gen[l] Utility than its defence and as the Commandant of the different Towns of the Illinois and Waubash I knew was busily Ingaged in Exciting the Indians their Reduction became my first object expecting that it might probably open a field for further action I sent two young Hunters S. More & B. Linn to those places as spies with proper Instructions for their conduct to prevent suspition neither did they nor any person in Kentucky ever know my design untill it was ripe for execution they Returned to Harrodsburgh with all the information I could have Reasonably expected I found by them that they[1] had but little expectation of a visit from us but that things ware keep in good [order] the Militia Traind &c that they might in case of a visit be prepared that the greatest pains ware taken to inflame the minds of the French Inhabitants against the Americans notwithstanding they could discover traces of affection in some of the Inhabitants that the Indians in that part of the cuntrey were genl[ly] Ingaged in the war &c[2] When I left Kentucky Oct[r] 1 1777 I plainly saw that every Eye was turnd towards me as if expecting some stroke in their fav[r] some doubted my return expected that I would Join the army in Virginia I left them with Reluctance promising that I would certainly Return to their assistance which I had predetermined

On my arrival at Williamsburgh I Remained a considerable time setling the Ac[ts] of the Kentuck Militia and making Remarks[3] of every thing I saw or heard that would lead me to the knowledge of the disposition of those in power Burgoynes army having been Captured and things seeming to wear a pleasing

[1] Draper here inserts in brackets: "the Ill[s] people."

[2] See contents of letter from Clark to Henry, *ante*, 30.

[3] Draper here inserts in brackets: "observations."

aspect on the 10th of Decembr I communicated[1] my Views to Govr Henry[2] at first View he apperd to be fond of it but to Detach a party off at so great a Distance (although the service performed Might be of great utility) appeared Daring and Hazardous as nothing but secresy would probable give sucksess to the Enterprise to lay the Matter before the assembly then seting would be dangerous as it would soon be known throughout the Fronters and probably the first prisoner taken by the Indians would give the allarm which would end in the certain distruction of the party he had several private Counsills composed of select gentn after makeing every Inquirey into my prosed plan of opperation (and particularly that of a Retreat in case of Misfortune which I intended a cross the Mississippi into the Spanish Territory) the Expedition was resolved on and as an Incouragement to those that would Ingage in sd service and Instrument of writing was sign wharein those Gentn promised to use their Influance to procure from the assembly 300 Acres of Land Each in case of sucksess the Govr and Councill so warmly Ingaged in the sucksess of this enterprise that I had very little trouble in geting matters adjusted and on the 2 Day of Jny 1778 Received my Instructions[3] and Received 1,200 £ for the use of the Expedition and order on pittsburgh for Boats amunition &c finding from the Governors conversation to me in Genl upon the subject that he did not wish an implicit attention to his instructions should prevent my executing any thing that would manifestly tend to the good of the publick on the 4th I set forward Cloathed with all the authority I wished for I advanced to Majr Wm B. Smith 150 £ to Recruit men on Holston and to meet me in Kentucky[4] Captn Leonard Helms of Fauquire and Captn Joseph Bowman Frederick to Raise each a Company and on the 1st Feby arrive at Redstone old Fort being now in the Cuntrey whare all my arrangements

[1] The account given in the *Memoir* may from this date be compared also with that in the *Mason Letter*. *Diary*, *ante*, 27. "Proposed an Expedition against F. C. to the Governor and councill which they afterwards agreed to, I continue here until the 2." *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 115. "I proposed the plan to a few Gentlemen, they communicated it to the Governour"

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "See Note 1. G. R. C."

[3] Marginal note by Clark: "Note 2. G. R. C."

[4] Marginal note by Clark: "He never joined me G. R. C."

ware to be made I appointed Cap^{tn} William Harrod and many other officers to the Recruiting service and Contracted for Flower and other Stores that I wanted Gen^{l} Hand then Comm^{d} at Pitt, promis a supply of the articles I had orders for. I received information from Cap^{tn} Helms that several Gen^{tn} in quarter took pains to counteract his Interest in Recruiting as no such service was known of by the assembly consequently he had to send to the Governor to get his conduct Ratified I found also oposition to our Interest in the Pittsburgh Cuntrey as the whole was divided into Violent partics between the Virginians and pensilvanians Respecting Territory each trying to Counter Act the Idea of men being for the State of Virginia affected the Vulgar of the one party, and as my Real Instruction was keep conseald and only an Instrument from the Governour wrote designedly for deseption was made publick wharein I was to Raise men for the defence of Kentucky Many Gen^{tn} of Boath parties conceived it to be Injurious to the publick Interest to draw of men at so Critical a moment for the defence of a few detached Inhabitants that had better be removed &c those circumstances caused some confution in the Recruting business on the 29th of March I received a Letter from Maj^{r} Smith by Express informing me that he had Raised four Companies on Holston to be march amediately to Kentuck agreable to his orders and an Express from Kentucky informed me that they had much strengthened since I had left that Quarter &c. this information of four companies being ready Raised with Bowmans and Helms which I knew was on their way to join me at Redstone caused me to be more easy Respecting Recruits than I otherway should have been the officer only got such as had friends at Kentucky or induced by their own Interest and desire to see the Cuntrey meeting with several disappointments it was late in may before I could leave the Redstone settlement with three companies and a considerable number of Families and private adventurers taking in my stores at Pittsburg and weling I proceeded Down the River with Caution on our arrival at the mouth of the grat Konhaway Cap^{tn} Arbuckell the Comd^{t} informed us that about 250 Indians had warmly attacted his post the Day before and wounded a few of his men that the Enemy had directed their ther Course to the settlements of Greenbrier that he had

sent an Express of[f] to give the allarm that if I thought it prudent he was sensible that the forces I had with the addition of part of the Garison could in all probability overtake them before they got to the settlement and give them a total Rout the prospect was flattering but the uncertainty of geting the advantage of the Enimy the loss of time and perhaps a number of men which end in the destruction of the Enterprise that I was on and the almost certainty of fronteers geting the allarm by the Express in time and might repell them (which they did) those Ideas induced me to decline it I proceeded on (being Joined by Cap^{tn} James O'hara on his way to the Arkansa on publick business)[1] I landed at the mouth of Kentucky whare I intended to have Fortified as the growth of Kentucky greatly depended on a post being fixed on the Ohio River as a place of securety for the Emigrants that wished to come down the River but taking in View my designs to the westward I found that Kentucky was not the spot (except we could afford to keep two posts) in case of sucksess it would be absolutely nessesary to have a post of Communication on the River betwen the Illinois and Kentucky and of course the Falls was the more Elligible spot as it would answer all those desireable purposes and in a great measure Protect the Navigation of the River as every Vessel would be obliged to stop some time at that place they would be always exposed to the Indians I had learned that but one company Cap^{tn} Dillard of Maj^{r} Smith Troops had yet arrived in Kentucky which allarmed me as I was affraid the disappointment would prove fatal to our scheme I wrote to Co^{l} Bowman informed him of my Intention of fixing a Garison at the Falls and that I had an object in view of the greatest Importance to the Cuntrey desired him to meet me their with what Troops their was of Maj^{r} Smiths and what Militia could be spared with safety from the different Posts I moved on to the Fall and Viewed the diferent cituation but reflecting that my secret Instruction ware yet [unknown] eaven to the party with me, and not knowing what would be the consequence when they should be divulged I wished to have every thing as much as possible on our being Joined by the

[1] James O'Hara wrote Oliver Pollock, June 24, 1778, as follows: "On my passage from Fort Pitt with two Bateaus loaded with provisions sent by General Hand for the use of Cap^{n} Willing's party," copy in *Clark MSS.*, in Va. State Archives. For Willing, see Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III., 109, 113, 114.

whole I observed the little Island of about seven acres oposite to whare the Town of Lewisville now stands seldom or never was intirly covered by the water, I resolved to take possession and fortify which I did on [*blank in MS.*] of June; dividing the Island among the Families for Gardens. these Families that followed me I now found to be of Real Service as they ware of little expence, and with the Invalids would keep possession of this Little post untill we should be able to Occupy the Main shore which happened in the Fall, agreeable to Instructions I sent from the Illinois the people on the Monongehaly Learning by I had sent them of this post great numbers had moved down. this was one of the principal among other Causes of the Rapid progress of the settlement of Kentucky. on the arrival of Co^{l} Bowman part of the Militia and several of the Gen^{tn} of the Cuntrey we found on Exmination that we ware much weaker than expected and the Indians continued without intermission and their more numerous the longer they continued as the British continued to add to their strength by Exiteing others to Join them &c under those circumstances we could not think of leaving the posts of Kentucky defenceless that it was better to Run a great Risque with one party than to divide our forces in such a manner as to Hazard the loss of boath; of course we agread to take but one compleat company and part of another from Kentucky, expecting that they would be replaced by troops we yet expected from Maj^{r} Smith. Those war our deliberation after my Making known my Instructions almost every Gen^{tn} warmly Espoused the Enterprise and plainly saw the utility of it, and supposed they saw the salvation of Kentucky almost in their Reach but surely Repined that we ware not strong enough to put it beyond all doubt. the Soldiery in Gen^{l} Debated on the subject but determined to follow their Officers some ware allarmed at the thought of being taken at so great a distance into the Enemys Cuntrey that if they should have sucksess in the first instance they might be attacted in their posts without a possibility of geting suckors or making of their Retreat (in case of Retreat it was designed to the Spanish Government) spies ware continually among the whole, some dissatisfaction was discovered in Cap^{tn} Dillards Company consequently the Boats ware well secured and sentinels placed whare it thought their was

a possibility of their waiding from the Island, my design was to take them from the Island down the [river] on our way that would not attempt to desert but got out Generald by [*blank in MS.*] their Lieutenant whome I had previously conceived a very tolerable opinion of they had by swiming in the Day discovered that the channel oposite to their Camp might be waided and a little before Day himself and the Greatest part of the company slipt down the Bank and got to the oposite shore before they were discovered by the sentinells. Vexed at the Idea of their escape in the manner they did as one of my principal motives for taken post on the Island was to prevent desertion and intending to set out the next day I was undetermined for few moments wat to do as it might take a party several Days to over take and having no distrust of those that Remained the example was [not] amediately dangerous but might prove so hearafter, and recollecting that there was a number of Horses belonging to Gen^{tn} from Harrodsburgh I ordered a strong party to persue them and for the Foot and Hors to Relieve each other Regularly and to put to death every man that was in their power that would not surrender they overhauled them in about 20 Miles the Deserters discovering them at a distance scattered in the wods only 7 or 8 was taken the Rest made ther way to the different posts Many that was not woodsmen almost perished,[1] the poor Lieut and the few that Remained with him after suffering almost all that could be felt from Hunger and fatigue arrive at Harrods Town, having heard of his conduct would not for some time suffer him to come into their Houses nor give him any thing to Eat, on the Return of the party the Soldiery Hung and burnt his Effigy. every preparation now made for our departure after spending a Day of amusement in parting with our friends of Kentucky they to Return to the defence of their Cuntrey and we in serch of new adventures and on the [*blank in MS.*] of June 1778 we left our Little Island and Run about a mile up the River in order to gain the main Channel, and shot the Fall at the very moment of the suns being in a great

[1] Compare this account with that given in the *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 118.

Eclipse which caused Various conjectures among the superstitious[1] as I knew that spies ware kept on the River below the Towns of the Illinois I had resolved to March part of the way by Land and of course left the whole of our bagage, except as much as would equip us in the Indean mode; the whole of our force, after leaving such as was Judged not Competent to the expected fatiegue, Consisted only of four Companies Cap^{tns} Jn^{o} Montgomery J. Bowman L. Helms & W Harrod my force being so small to what I expected owing to the various circumstances already mentioned I found it nessessary to alter my plans of operation, as post St. Vincenes at this time was a Town of Considerable force consisting of near four Hundred Militia with an Indean Town adjoining and great numbers continually in the Neighberhood, and in the scale of Indian affairs of More Importance than any other. had thought of attacking it first but now found that I could by no means venture near it & Resolved to begin my Carear in the Illinois where their was more Inhabitants but scattered in different Villages, and less danger of being amediately overpowered by the Indeans, and in case of nessessity probably make our retreat good to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, but if suckcessfull hear might probably pave our way to the possession [of] St Vincent I had fully acquainted myself that the French Inhabitants in those Western settlements had great Influance among the Indeans in Gen^{l} and more beloved by them (the Ind^{s}) than any other Europeans. that their Commertial Intercours was universal through-

[1] A letter from W. S. Burnham addressed to Simon Newcomb who was at the time in charge of the National Observatory at Washington, brought the following reply:

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1886.

DEAR SIR:—

I have much pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter of July 20th, inquiring whether an eclipse of the sun was visible at Louisville, Ky., about the first of June 1778.

I find by reference to the ephemenides that on the morning of June 24th, 1778, there was a total eclipse of the sun visible in this country, the moon's shadow passing over the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico.

At Louisville the sun must have been four-fifths or even nine-tenths covered about nine o'clock in the morning. It may interest you to know that this was one of the recurrences of the great eclipse of 1868.

Yours very truly,

Mr. W. S. BURNHAM, S. NEWCOMB

Government Building, Chicago, Ill.

A copy of this letter is in the possession of Colonel R. T. Durrett of Louisville.

out the West and N Western Cuntrey and the governing Interest on the Lakes was mostly in the Hands of the English not much beloved by them those and many other Ideas Similar thereto caused me to Resolve if possible to strengthen myself by such train of conduct as might probably attach the whole to our Interest and give us influance at a greator distance than the limets of the Cuntrey we ware aiming for thos war the principals that Influanced my future conduct and fort[u]nately I had Just Received a Let[r] from Co[l] Campbell Dated Pittsburgh informing me of the contents of the Treaty betwen france and America[1] As I intended to leave the Ohio at F[t] Missiac 3 leagues below the Tennessee I landed on Baritaria a small Island in the mouth of that River in order to prepair for the March in a few Hours after one Jn[o] Duff and a party of Hunters coming Down the River was brought too by our Boats they ware men formerly from the States and assured us of their happiness in the adventure their supprise having been owing to their not knowing who we ware they had been but lately from Kaskaskias and was able to give us all the Inteligence we wished for. they said that Gov[r] Abbot had lately left S[t] Vincent and was gone to DeTroit on some business of Importance that M[r] Rochblave Commanded at Kaskaskias &c that the Militia was keep in good order, and spies on the Mississippi, and that all Hunters boath Indians & others ware ordered to keep a good lookout for the Rebels, that the Fort was keep in good order as an assylum &c but they believed the whole to proceed more from the

[1] Draper MSS., 48J22. Letter from John Campbell to Clark, dated Pittsburgh, June 8, 1778. This letter was published in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VIII., 497. In the letter, Clark was informed of the celebration at Pittsburgh, May 26, on account of the report that France had acknowledged the independence of the United States; that a treaty of commerce had been made between the representatives of the two nations, and that hostilities between Great Britain and France were about to begin.

A dispatch announcing the success of the American representatives at Paris was received by Congress May 3, 1778. Wharton, *Dip. Corr. of the Amer. Rev.*, II., 568.

Colonel John Campbell was born in Ireland. He came to America and became a trader among the western Indians. During the early Revolution he was in charge of the commissary at Fort Pitt. In 1779, while returning from Louisville with Colonel David Rogers he was captured by the Indians and taken to Detroit (see 302 for defeat of Colonel Rogers). Because of his defiant attitude he was not exchanged until nearly the end of the war. He became one of the prominent citizens of Louisville; represented Kentucky in the Virginia legislature; was a member of the Kentucky Constitutional Convention; and was chosen speaker of the state Senate in 1798.

fondness of perade than the expectation of a Visit, that they ware convinced if they was to get timely notice of us they would collect and give us a warm Reception as they ware taught to Harbour a most horrid Idea of the Barbarity of the Rebels, espetially the Virginians, but that if we could supprize the place which they ware in hopes we might they made no doubt of our being able to do as we pleased that they hope to be Received as partakers in the Enterprise and wished us to put full confidence [in] them and they would assist guides in the conducting the party &c this was agreed to they prooved Valuable men the acquisition to us was great as I had had no Inteligence from those posts since the Spies I sent twelve months past, but no part of their information pleased me more than that of the Inhabitants Viewing of us as more savage than their Neighbours the Indians, I was determined to improve upon this if I was fortunate enough to get them into my possession, as I conceived the greator the Shock I could give them at first the more sensibly would they feel my lenity and become more valuable friends; this I conceived to be agreable to Human nature, as I had observed it in many Instances having every thing prepaired we moved down to a little gut a small distance above Messiac[1] in which we concealed our Boats and set out a Northwest course, nothing remarkable on this rout, the weather was favoarable, in some parts water scarce as well as game of course we suffered drougth and Hunger but not excessive on the third Day John Saunders our principal guide appeared Confused we soon discovered that he was totally lost without there was some other cause of his present conduct I asked him Various question and from his answers I could scarcely determine what to think of him, whether or not be was sensible that he was lost the thought of which or that he wished to deceive us the cry of the whole Detachment was that he was a Traitor, he beged that he might be suffered to go some distance into a plain that was in full View to try to make some discovery whether or not he was right. I told him he might but that I was suspitious of him from his conduct that from the first of his being imployed always said that he knew the way well that there was now a different appearance that I saw the nature of the Cuntrey was such that a person once aquainted with

[1] Draper here inserts in brackets: "Ft. Massac."

it could not in a short time forget it that a few men should go with him to prevent his escape, and that if he did not discover and take us into the Hunters Road that lead from the East into Kaskaskias that he had frequently described that I would have him Imediately put to death which I was determined to have done, but after an Hour or two's search he came to a place that he perfectly knew and we discovered that the poor fellow had been as they call it bewildered. In the eavining of the fourth of July in the eavining we got with in a few miles of the Town whare we lay untill near dark, keeping spies a head, after which we continued our march and took possession of a House whare in a large Family lived on the bank of the Kaskias River abut three Quartirs of a Mille above the Town[1] whare we ware informed that a few Days before the people ware under arms but had concluded that the cause of the allarm was without foundation and that at present all was quiet that their was great number of men [in] Town but that the Indians had gen[ly] left it we soon procoured a suffitiency of Vessels that the man [had] in care to convey us across the River and formed the party into three Divitions.[2] I was now convinced that it was Impossible that the Inhabitants could make any resistance as they could not now possibly get notice of us time enough to make much resistance my object now was to conduct matters so as to get possession of the place with as little confution as possible but to have it eaven at the loss of the whole town not perfectly relying on the Information we got at the House as he seamed to Vary in his information and [a noise?] was Just heard in Town which he informed us he supposed was the Negroes at a Dance &c with one of the Divitions I march of to the Fort and ordered the other two into different Quarters of the Town, that if I met with no resistance at a certain signal, a gen[l] shout was to be given and certain part was to be amediately possessed and men of each detachm[t] that could speak the French Language to Run through every streat and proclaim what had happened and inform the Inhabitants that every person that appeared in the streats would be shot down this disposition had its desired effect and in a very

[1] *Mason Letter*, see *ante*, 120. "about a mile above the Town."
[2] *Ibid.* "I immediately divided my little Army into two Divisions."

little time we had compleat possession and every Aveneue guarded to prevent any escape to give the allarm to the other Villages in case of opposition Various orders had been Issued not worth mentioning I dont suppose greator silence ever Reagnd among the Inhabitants of a place than did at this at present not a person to be seen, not a word to be heard by them for some time, but designedly the greatest noise keep up by our Troops through every quarter of the Town and Patrools continually the whole night round it as Intecepting any information was a Capitol object and in about two Hours the whole of the Inhabitants was disarmed and Informed that if one was takin attempting to make his escape he should be amediately put to death. M^{r} Rochblave was secur'd but as it had been some time before he could be got out of his Room I suppose it was in order to inform his Lady what to do I suppose to secure his Publick Letters &c as but few was got his chamber not being Visited for the night shee had full oppertunity of doing but by what Means we never could learn. I dont suppose among her Trunks—although they never was examined she must have expected the loss of eaven her cloaths from the Idea she entertained of us several particular persons was sent for in the course of the Night for infermation &c but got very Little except what we already knew except from the conduct of several person then in Town their was reason to suppose that they ware inclined to the american Interest that a great number of Ind^{ns} had been and was then in the neghberhood of Kohokias 60 Miles from this that M^{r} Sere a principal merchant one of the most inveterate Enemies we had left this place a few Days past with a large Quantity of furs for Michilimackinack & from thence to Quebeck from [which] he had lately arrived that he was then in S^{t} Louis[1] the Spanish Capital that his Lady and Family was then [in] Town with a very considerable quantity of goods which would [be useful to the troops] pointing out many other Individuals &c I amediately suspected what those informers aimed at that of makeing their peace with me at the expence of their Neighbers my situation Required too much caution to give them much satisfaction I found that M^{r} Sere was one of the most

[1] Cerré was at Ste. Genevieve on July 11. See his letter to Clark of that date, *ante*, 47.

Eminent men in the Cuntrey of great influance among the people I had some suspition that his accusars was probably in debt to and wished to Ruin him but from observation I had made from what I had heard of him, be became an object of consequence to me that perhaps he might be wavouring in his oppinion Respecting the contest that if he should take a desisive part in our favour he might be a valuable acquisition. in short his Enemies cause me much to wish to see and as he was then out of my power I made no doubt of bringing it about through the Means of his Family having them then in my power I had a guard Amediately placed at his House his stores sealed &c as well as all others Making no doubt but that when he heard of this he would be extreamly anxious to get an interview

Mess^{rs} R^{d} Winston and Dan^{l} Murry who proved to have been in the american interest by the mor[n]ing of the 5th had plenty of Provitions prepaired after the Troops had regaled themselves they whare withdrawn from within the Town and posted in distent position on the Borders of it and every person had been expressly forbid holding any conversation with the Inhabitants all was distrust their Town in compleat possession of an Enemy whome they Entertained the most horrid Idea of and not yet being able to have any conversation with one of our people even those that I had conversation with was ordered not to speak to the Rest after some time they were informed that they walk frely about the Town after finding they was busy in conversation I had a few of the principal malitia officers put in Irons without Hinting a Reason for it or hearing any thing they had to say in their own defence the worst was now expected by the whole I saw the Consternation the Inhabitants ware in and I suppose in Imagination felt all they experienced in Reallity and felt my self perfectly disposed to act as an arbiter betwen them and my Duty after some time the Priest got permition to wait on me he came with five or six Elderly Gen^{tn} with him how ever shocked they already ware from their present situation the addition was obvious and great when they entered the Room whare I was siting with other Officers a dirty savage apperance as we had left our Cloath at the River we ware almost naked and torn by the Bushes and Bryers they ware shocked and it was some time before they would Venture to take

seats an longer before they would speak they at last was asked what they wanted the priest informed me (after asking which was the principal) that as the Inhabitants expected to be seperated never perhaps to meet again they beged through him that they might be permited to spend some time in the church to take their leave of each other (I knew they expected their very Religion was obnoxtious to us) I carelesly told him that I had nothing to say to his church that he might go their if he would if he did to inform the people not to venture out of the Town they attempted some other Conversation but was informed that we was not at leisure they went off after answering me a few questions that I asked them with a very faint degree that they might totally discouraged from pe[ti]tioning again as they had not yet come to the point I wanted—the whole Town seem to have collected to the Church Infants was Carried and the Houses Gen^{ly} left withaut a person in them without it was such that cared but little how things went and a few others that was not so much allarmed order was given given to prevent the soldiers entering a house they Remained a considerable time in the church after which the priest and many of the principal men came to me to Return thanks for the Indulgence shewn them and beged permission to address me farther on a subject that was more dear to them than any thing else that their present situation was the fate of war that the loss of their property they could reconsile but was in hopes that I would not part them from their families and that the women and children might be allowed to keep some of their Cloaths and a small Quantity of provitions that ware in hopes by Industry that they might support them that their whole conduct has been Influanced by their Comd^{ts} whome they looked upon themselves bound to obey and that they ware not shore ware not certain of being acquainted with the nature of the American war as they had had but little opportunity to inform themselves that Many of [them had] frequently expressed themselves as much in favour of the Americans as they dare do in Short they said every thing that could be supposed that Sensible men in their allarming situation would advance all they appeared to aim at was some lenity shewn their women and families supposing that their goods would appease us. I had suffitient Reason to believe that their was no Finess in all this but

that they really spoke their sentiments and the height of their expectations. This was the point I wished to bring them to— I asked them very abruptly whether or not they thought they were speaking to savages that I was certain they did from the tenor of their conversation did they suppose that we ment to strip the women and children or take the Bread out of ther mouths or that we would condesend to make war on the women and Children or the Church. that it was to prevent the effution of Innocent blood by the Indians through the Instigation of their Com^{dts} and Enemies that caused us to visit them, and not the prospect of Plunder that as soon as that object was obtained we should be perrfectly satisfied that as the King of France had Joined the Americans their was a probability of their shortly being and end to the War (this information very apparently effected them) they ware at liberty [to] take which side they pleased with out any dred of loosing their property or having their families distressed as for their church all religians would be tolerated in america and that so far from our Intermedling with it that any Insult offered to it should be punished and to convince them that we ware not savages and Plunderers as they had conceived that they Might return to their Families and inform them that they might conduct themselves as utial with all Fredom and without apprehention of any danger that from the information I had got since my arrivall so fully convinced me of their being Influanced by false information from their leaders that I was willing to forget every thing past that their friends in confinement should amediately Released and the guards with drawn from every part of the Town except Seres[1] and that I only required a complyance to a proclamation I should amediately issue &c this was the substance of my Reply to them they wished to soften the Idea of my conceiving that they supposed us to be savages and Plunderers that they had conceived that the property in all Towns belonged to those that Reduced it &c &c I informed them that I new that they ware taught to believe that we ware but little better than bar[bar]ians but that we would say no more on the subject that I wish them to go and Relieve the anczicty of the Inhabitants,

[1] The home of Cerré. The account of the coming of Gibault to Clark and the result is about the same in both the *Memoir* and *Mason Letter*.

their Feelings must be more easily guessed than expressed they Retired and in a few minutes the Scene was changed from an almost mortal dejection to that of Joy on the extream the Bells Ringing the Church crow[d]ed Returning thanks in short every appearance of Extravagant Joy that could fill a place with almost confution I amediately set about prepairing a proclamation to be presented to them befor they left the Church. but wishing [to] prove the people farther I omited it for a few Days as I made no doubt but that any Report that would be now made of us thrugh the Cuntrey would be favourable I was more careless who went or came into the Town but not knowing what might happen I yet uneasy as Kohokia and was determined to make a lodgment their as soon as possible and gain the place by something Similar to what had been done I ordered Maj^{r} Bowman to mount his company and part of another and a few Inhabitants to inform their Friends what had hapened on Horses to be procured from the Town and proceed without delay and if possible get possession of Kohos befor the Insuing morning that I should give him no further Instructions on the subject but for him to make use of his own prudence he gave orders for collecting the Horses on which Numbers of the Gent^{n} came and informed me that they was sensible of the design that the Troops ware much fatiegued that they hoped I would not take it amiss at their offering themselves to Execute what ever I should wish to be done at Kohos that the people ware their friends and relations and would follow their Example at least they hoped that they might be permited to Accompany the Detachment conceiving that it might be good policy to shew them that we put confidence in them and that in fact what I wish for from obvious Reasons I informed them that I made no doubt but that Maj^{r} Bowman would be fond of their company and that as many as chose it might go through we ware to we ware too weak to be other ways than suspitious and much on our guard and knowing that we had a suffitient security for their good behaviour I told them [if] they went they ough[t] to Equipt for War although I was in hopes that every would be amicably Settled but as it was the first time they ever boor arms as free men it might be well to equip themselves and try how they felt as such Espetially as they ware agoing to put their friends in

the Same situation &c they appeared Highly please at the Idea and in the Eavening the Majr set out with a Troop but little Inferiour to the one we had Marched into the Cuntrey the French being commanded by their former militia officircers these new Friends of ours was so Elated at thought of the Perade they ware to make at Kohas that they ware too much Ingaged in Equ[i]ping themselves to appear to the best advantage that it was night before the party Moved and the distance 20 Leagues that it was late in the Morning of the 6th before they Reach Kohokia detaining every person they Met with they got into the borders of the Town before they ware discovered[1] the Inhabitants was at first much allarmed at being thus suddenly visited by strangers in a Hostile appearance and ordered to surrender the Town even by their Friends and Relations but as the confution among the Women Children appeard greator than they expected from the cry of the big Knife[2] being in Town they Amedeately assumed and gave the people a detail of what had happened at Kaskaskias the Majr informed them not to be allarmed that although Resistance at present was out of the question he would convince them that he would prever their friendship than otherways that he was authorised to inform them that they ware at Liberty to become Free americans as their Friends at Kaskaskias had or that did not chuse it might move out of the Cuntrey except those that had been ingaged in Inciting the Indians to war Liberty and Fredom & hozaing for the Americans rang thrugh the whole Town the Kaskaskias Gentn dispersed among their Friends in a few hours the whole was Imicably [arranged] and Majr Bowman snugly Quartered in the old British Fort some Individuals said that the Town was given up too tamely, but little attention was paid to them a considerable number of Indians that was then incampt in the Neighberhood as this was a principal post of Trade amediately fled. one of them them that was at St. Louis some time af[ter] this got a Letter wrote to me excusing himself for not paying me a Visit by the 8th Majr Bowman got every[thing] settled agrable

[1] Compare with *Mason Letter, ante*, 122.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "Big Knife is a name that we ware generally known to the westward and much dreaded by the Indians at the time.—G. R. C."

to our wishes. the whole of the Inhabitants took the oath of allegience chearfully[1] he set about Repairing the Fort and Regulating the internal Police of the place &c the Intermediate Vilages followed the example of the others and as a strict examination was not made as to those who had a hand in Incouraging the Indians to war in a few Days the Cuntrey appeared to be in a most perfect state of Harmony a friendly correspondence amediately commenced betwen the Spanish officers and our selves added much[2] to the Gen[l] Tranquility and happiness but as to myself Injoyments of this nature was not my fortune I found myself Launched into a Field that would require great attention and all the address that I was master of to Extricate myself from in doing that service to my cuntrey which appeared now in full View with Honour [to] them and credit to my self as I could now get every peace of Information I wished for I was astonished at the pains and Expences the British ware at in Ingage in the Indians and that they had Emisaries in evey Nation throughout those Extensive Cuntreys and with great even bringing the Inhabitants of Lake Superiour by water to DuTroit and fiting them out from thence that the sound of war was universal among them scarcely a nation but what had Declared it and received the Blody Belt & Hatchet post S[t] Vincenes I found to be a place of Infinite Importance to us to gain it was now my objet[3] but sensible that all the force we had Joined by every man in Kentucky would not be able to aproach it I Resolved on other Measures than that of arms I determined to send no Measage to the Indians for some time but wishing for an Interview to happen betwen us through the Means of the French Gen[tn] and appear careless myself in all the Titles I gave myself in nessesary writings &c the Falls of Ohio was mentioned in oder that the Troops we had was only a detachment from that place though suffitient to answer our present purpose that the body of our forces ware their fortifying that great numbers more was Dayley expected to arrive from whence we entended to proceed to war every man we had was taught to speak on this st[r]ain from many hints and fained

[1] See *Mason Letter, ante*, 122.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

Information of Mine before I left that place the greatest part of them believed the most of this to be true in short an Excuse for our Marching into the Illinois with so small a force was Really nessessary this Idea had at an early period struck me I inquired particularly into the manner the people had been Governed formerly and much to my satisfaction that it had Gen[ly] as sevear as under the Military Law. I was determined to make an advantage of it and took every step in my power to cause the peoples to feell the blessings Injoyed by an American Citizen which I soon discovered inablcd me to support from their own choice almost a supream authority over them I caused a Court of sivil Judicature to be Established at Kohas[1] Elected by the people Maj[r] Bowman to the supprise of the people held a pole for a Majestacy and was Elected and acted as Judge of the Court the policy of M[r] Bowman holding a pole is easily perseived after this similar Courts ware established in the Towns of Kaskas and S[t] Vincenes ther was an appeal to myself in certain Cases and I believe that no people ever had their business done more to their satisfaction that [than] they had through the means of this Regulation for a considerable time.

M[r] Sere formerly Mentioned at the time of Maj[r] Bowmans arrival at Kohas was yet in S[t] Louis and prepairing to procecute his Journey to Canada but was stopt in consequence of the Information after learning the situation of things agreable to my Expectation he Resolved to return but learning that their was a Guard keep at his House and at no other and that Several had attempted to Ruin him by their information to me you was advised not to venture over without a safe Conduct he applyed to the Spanish Governor for a Let[r] to that purpose and came to S[t] jenveive opposite to Kas[kas]kias and got another from the Comd[t] of that post to the same purpose and sent them to me but all the Interest he could make thrugh the Channel of the spanish officers and the solicitation of his particular Friends which I found to be a great majority of the people could [not] procure him a safe conduct I absolutely denied it and hinted that I wish to hear no more on the subject neither would I hear any person that had any

[1] For early records of this court see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 1 *et seq.*

thing to say in Vindication of him informing of them that I understood that Mr. Sere was a sensible man that if he was Innocent of the allegations against him he would not be affraid of delivering himself up that his backwardness seem to prove his guilt that I cared very little about him I suppose a Rumer amediately gave him this information in a few Hours he came over and before visiting his Family presented himself before me I told him that I supposed that he was fully sensible of the Charges that was Exhibited against particularly that of inciting the Indians to murder &c a crime that ought to be punished by by all people that should be so fortunate as to get such persons in their power that his late backwardness almost confirmed me in his guilt. he Replyed that he was a Mear Merchant that he never conserned himself about State affairs further than the Interest of his Trade required that he had [not had] as yet an oppertunety so fully to Acq^{t} himself with the principals of the present Contest as to Inable finally to settle his own opinion to his satisfaction that his being Gen^{l} so far detached from the seat of affairs that he was always doubtfull of his only heard one side of the Question that he had Learned more in a few Days past than he ever before knew that it only confirmed his former suspition I Read him part of a Letter from Gov^{r} Hamilton of DeTroit to M^{r} Rochblave wherein he was alluded to with much affection the said that when he was their he behaved himself as became a subject that he defied any man to prove that he ever Incouraged an Ind^{n} to war that many had often heard him disapprove of the cruelty of such proceedings that their was that their was a number in Town that was much in Debt to him perhaps the object of some of them to get clear of it by Ruin[in]g of him that it would be Inconsistent for him in his present situation to offer to declare his present sentiments Respecting the war but wished to stand every test as that of Incouraging of the Indians is what he ever detested he excused his fears in coming over the Mississippi as soon as he could have wished I told him to retire into another Room without making him any further Reply the whole Town was anctious to know the fate of M^{r} Sere I sent for his accusers a great number following them and had M^{r} Sere called I plainly saw the confution his appearance made among them I open the case to the whole

told them that I never chose to condemn a man unheard that Sere was now present that I was Ready to do Justice to the world in Gen[l] by the punishment of M[r] Sere if he was found Guilty of Incouraging murder or equit him if innocent of the charge that they would give in their information Sere began to speak to them but was ordered to desist his accusars began to whisper to each other and to retire for private conversation at length but one of six or seven was left in the Room I asked him what he had to say to the point in question in fact I found that none of them had any thing to say to the purpose I gave them a suitable Reprimand and after some gen[l] conversation I informed M[r] Sere that I was happy to find that he had so Honourably acquited himself of so black a charge that he was now at liberty to dispose of himself and property as he pleased if he chose to become a Citizen of the Union that it would give us pleasure if not he was at full liberty to dispose of himself he made many acknowledgements and concluded by saying that many doubts that he had ware now cleared up to his satisfaction[1] and that now [he] wished to take the oath amediately in short he became a most Valuable man to us. as simple as this may appear it had great weight with the people and was of Infinite service to us every thing in this quarter having a most promising appearance Post Vincenes never being out of my mind and from some things that I had learnt had some Reason to suspect that M[r] Jebault the Priest was inclined to the American Interest previous to our arrival in the Cuntrey and now great respect showed him having great Influance over the people at this period S[t] Vincent also being under his Jurisdiction I made no doubt of his Integrity to us I sent for him and had long conferance with him on the subject of S[t] Vincenes in answer to all my Queries he informed me that he did not think it was worth my while to cause any Military preparation to be made at the Falls for the attack of S[t] Vincenes although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in its Neighberhood that to his Knowledge was Gen[ly] at was that Gov[r] Abbot had a few weaks left the place on some business to DeTroit; that he expected that when the Inhabitants was fully acquainted with what had past at

[1] Marginal note by Clark: "great pains had been taken to explain the nature of the war to the people."

the Illinois and the present happiness of their Friends and made fully acquainted with the nature of the war that their Sentiments would greatly change that he new that his appearance their would have great weight Eaven among the savages that if it was agreable to me he would take this business on himself and had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American Interest without my being at the Trouble of Marching Troops against it that his business being altogether Spiritual he wished that another person might be charged with the Temporal part of the Embassy but that he would privately direct the whole &c he named Doct[r] Lafont as his assosiate This was perfectly agreable to what I had been secretly aiming at for some Days the plan was amediately setled and the Two Doctors with their intended Retinue among whom I had a spie Set about prepairing for their Journey and set out on the 14[th] of July with the Following Adress[1] and great numbers of Letters from their Friends to the Inhabitants and Let[r] to M[r] Jebault D[r] Lafonts Instruction is lost M[r] Jebault Verbal Instructions how to act in certain cases It is mentioned hear that Gov[r] Abbots Letters to M[r] Rochblave had convincd us that they warmly attached to the american cause &c this was altogether a piece of policy no such thing had [a]s we knew that the would with propriety suppose that Gov[r] abbots Let[r] to Rochblave had fallen into our hands as he had wrote in that stile Respecting them they more cordially Veryfy it M[r] Jebault was led to believe this and authorising them to Garison their own Town themselves would convince them of the Great confidence we put in them &c all this had its desired effect M[r] Jebault and party arrive safe and after their spending a day or two in Explaining Matters to the people, they Universally acceeded to the propotial (except a few Europanes that was left by M[r] Abbot that amediately left the Cuntrey) and went in a body to the Church whare the Oath of Allegience was administered to them in the Most Solem Manner an officer[2] was Elected and the Fort Amediately [taken possession of] and the American Flag displayed to the astonisment of the Indians and every thing setled far beyond our most sanguine hopes the people hear amediately

[1] Marginal note by Clark: "See note 12. G. R. C."
[2] Marginal note by Clark: "Note 13. G. R. C."

began to put on a new face and to talk in a different Stile and to act as perfect Fremen with a Garison of their own with the United States at their Elbows their Language to the Indians was Amediately altered they began as Citizens of the States and informed the Indians that their old Father the King of France was come to Life again and had Joined the Big knife as was Mad at them for Fighting for the English that they would advise them to make peace with the Americans as soon [as] they could otherways they might expect the Land to be very Blody &c &c they began to think seriously throughout out those Cuntreys this was now the kind of Language they Gen^{ly} got from their antients Friends of the waubash and Illinois thrugh the means of their correspondence Receding among the Nations our Batteries began now to play in a proper Channel M^{r} Jebault and party accompanied by several gen^{tn} of S^{t} Vincenes Returned about the first of August with the Joyfull News[1] during his absence on this business which caused great anczicty in me (for without the possession of this post all our Views would have been blasted) I was exceedingly Ingaged in Regulating of things in the Illinois the Reduction of those posts was the period of the Inlistments of our Troops[2] I was at a great looss at this time to determine how to act and how far I might Venture to strain my Authority as my Instruction was Silent on many important Ocations as it was Impossible to foresee the events that would take place to abandon the Cuntrey and all the prospects that opened to our View in the Indian department at this time for the want for the want of Instruction in certain cases thought would amount to a reflection on government as having no confidence in Me I Resolved to usurp all the Authority nessesary to Carry my points I had the Greatest part of our [men] Reenlisted on a different Establishment appointed French officers in the Cuntrey to compleat a Company of the young Inhabitants Established a Garrison at Kahokia commanded by Cap^{tn} Bowman another at Kaskias Cap^{tn} Williams late Lieu^{t} post Vincenes Remained in the situation as mentioned Co^{l} W^{m} Linn that had

[1] *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 123. "In a few weeks they returned with intiligence" etc.

[2] For the expiration of the time of the troops and their re-enlistment, compare *Ibid.*

accompanied us as a Volunteer took charge of the party that was to be descharged on their arrival at the Falls and orders sent for the Removal of that post to the main Land Cap^{tn} John Montgomery was dispatched to Government with Let^{rs} and also Conducted M^{r} Rochblave thither, the principals of this Gen^{tn} was so fixed and Violent agains the united [States] that was quite unsitiable [to have him remain] his Lady had been to take of[f] all her furniture &c without among the Soldiers except a few the whole of her Slaves was detained to be sold as plunder to the Soldiers which did not take place for some time the officers gen^{ly} wishing them to be returned to M^{rs} Rochblave (he being confined to his Room in order to secure him from the soldiers as he seemed to take delight in Insulting them on all occations and I was feared that some of them might do him a mischief) and was in hopes that the Troops might be brought to conform to it as many of them ware men of sentiment and the Dividend would be but small and the Credit would be considerable this was in a fair way to take place some of the officers was desired to ask M^{r} Rochblave to walk and spend the eavening a Certain House in whare a number of his acquaintance would be assembled he did but at the assembly he abused them in a most Intolerable manner as Rebels &c they amediately sent him of into the Guard House and all further thoughts of saving his slave was sold and divided among the it amounted to about 1500 pounds[1] I[2] inform the Governor by Co^{l} Montgomery of the whole of our proceedings and present prospects pointing [out] the nessesity for an Imediate au[g]mentation of Troops and that some person should be sent as head of the civil Department &c Refering him to Cap^{tn} Montgomery for a Gen^{l} Information of things this party being dispatched I again turned my attention to S^{t} Vincenes & plainly saw that it would be highly nessesary to have an American officer at that post Cap^{tn} L. Helms appeared Calculated to answer my purpose he was past the Meridian of life and a good deal acquainted with Indian business I sent him to Comand at that post[3] and also

[1] For the impoverished condition of Rocheblave, see *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, x., 466.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "This copy is lost. G. R. C."

[3] Marginal note by Clark: "No. 14. G. R. C."

appointed him Agent for Indian affar in the Department of the waubash (as others ware of this in different quarters) expecting by the Fall to receive Reinforcements from the Governor when a strong Garison should be sent to him he was fully possested of my Ideas and the plans I proposed to persue and about the middle of august set out to take possession his new Command an Indian chief called the Tobaccos son a piankeshaw at this Resided in a Village adjoining S^{t} Vincent this man was caled by the Indians the Grand Door to the waubash as the grat Pondiac had been to that of S^{t} Joseph that nothing of Importance was be undertaken by the League on the Waubash without his assent I discovered that to win him was an object of great importance I sent him a spirited compliments by M^{r} Jebault he returned them I now by Cap^{tn} Helms Touched him on the same spring that I had done the Inhabitants and the follow[ing] speach with a belt[1] of wampom directing Cap^{tn} Helms how Manage if he was pasificly Inclined or other ways The Cap^{tn} arrive safe at S^{t} Vincenes and was received with acclimations by the people and after the utial Ceremonies was over he sent for the Grand Door and delivered my Letter to him after having it read he informed the Cap^{tn} that he was happy to see him one of the big knife chiefs that he was in this Town it was true that he had Joined the English against him but confessed that he always thought the sky looked glomy and as the contents of the Letter was a matter of great Moment he could not give an answer for some time that he must collect his counsillers on the subjet and was in [hopes] the Cap^{tn} would be patient &c in short he put [on] all the Courtly Dignity that he was master off and Captain Helms following his Example it was several Days before this business was finished as the whole proceeding was very serimonious at length the Cap^{tn} was invited to the Indian counsell and informed by the Tobacco that they had maturely considered the case in hand and had got the nature of the war betwen the English and us Explained to their satisfaction that we spoke the same Language and the same people he had always thought that he was in the Dark as to the truth of it but now the sky was Cleared up that he found that the Big Knife was in the Right that perhaps if the Englis conquered

[1] Marginal note by Clark: "No. 15. G. R. C."

they would serve them in the same manner they intended to serve us &c in short that his Ideas was quite changed and that he tell all the Red people on the waubash to blody the Land no more for the English and Jumpt up struck his Breast Called himself a Man and a warriour and said that he was now a Big knife and took Cap^{tn} Helms by the Hand whose example was [followed by] the whole present and the eavening spent meriment thus ended this Valuable negotiation and the saving of much Blood this man proved a zealous Friend to Day of his Death[1] (which happened two years after when he desired to be buried [by] the American his Body was convey to the Garison of Kohokias and buried with the Honour of war) he appeared in all his conduct as if he had the american Interest much at Heart. in a short time almost the whole of the Various Tribes of the different Nations on the waubash as high as the weautinon Came to S^{t} Vincenes and followed the example of their grand chief and as expresses was continually passing between Cap. Helms and self the whole time of those Treaties the business was setled perfectly to my satisfaction and greatly to the advantage of the Publick the British Interes Dayly lost ground in this Quarter and in a short time our Influance Reach the Indians [as far] as the River S^{t} Joseph and the Border of Lake Michigan the French Gen^{tn} at the different posts that we now had possession Ingaged warmly in our Interest they appeared [to] Vie with each other in promoting the business and through the Means of their Correspondence Trading among the Indians and otherways in a short time the Indians of Vareous Tribes Inhabiting this Region at Illinois in great numbers came to Kohokias in order to make peace with us from the Information they Gen^{y} got from the French Gen^{n} (whome they Implisitly believed) Respecting us they ware truly allarmed and of course we ware Visited by the Greatest part of them with out any Invitation from us of cours we had greatly the advantage in making use of such language as suited our interest with the greater propriety those treaties commencing last of aug^{t} that continued

[1] For the attitude of Tobacco's Son towards Clark, see Mason *Letter*, *ante*, 152. This chief remained the firm friend of the Americans.

betwen three and four weeks was probably Conducted in a different [way] from any other known in america at that time. they commenced about the last of augst and first of sep^{tr}[1] I had been always convincd to our Gen^{l} Conduct with the Indians was rong that Inviteing them to treaties was construed by them in a different manner to what we expected and imputed by them to fear and that given them great presents confirmed it. I Resolved to guard against this &c I took great pains to make myself aquainted fully acquainted with the French and Spanish Methods of Treating Indians and of the manner and disposition &c of the Indians in General and as the Indians in this Quarter had not yet been spoiled by us I was Resolved that they should not I began this business fully prepaired having copies of the British Treaties After the great Ceremonies Commonly made use of at the Comencement of Indian Treaties they as the soliciters opening of it and after laying whole blame of their takeing up the Blody Hachet to the delusions of the English acknowledging ther errour and many protestation of guarding in future against those bad birds flying thrugh the Land (alluding to the British Emisaries sent among them) concluding in hoping that as the Great spirit had brought us together for good as he is good that they might be received as our friends and that the peace might take place of the blody Belt throwing down and stamping on those Emblems of war that they had received from the British such as Red belts of wampum Flags &c &c

I informed them that I had paid attention to what they had said and that the next Day I would give them an answer when I hoped that the Hearts and years of all people would be open to Received the truth which should be pure without deception that I Recommended it to keep themselves prepaired for the Result of this Day on which perhaps their very Existance as as Nations depended &c and dismised them not suffering any of our people to shake hands with them as peace was not yet concluded telling them it was time enough to give the Hand when the Heart could be given also they Replyed such sentiments was Like men that had but

[1] Clark's attitude towards the Indians is treated fully in *Mason Letter, ante*, 124 *et seq.*

one Heart and that did not speak with a double Tongue &c The next Day I delivered them the following speach

Men & Warriors pay attention you informed me yesterday that the Great Spirit had brought us together which you hoped was good as he is good I also have the same hope and that what ever may be agread to by us at present I expect that Each party will strictly adhear to (whether for peace or war) and hence forward prove our selves worthy of the attention of the great spirit I am a man and a Warriour and not a councillor I carry in my Right hand war and Peace in my left and was sent by the great counsel phire of the Big Knife and their friends to take possession of all the Towns that the English possess in this Cuntrey and to remain hear watching the Motions of the Red people to Blody the Paths of those that continued the attempt of stoping the course of the Rivers but to Clear the Roads that lead from us to those that wished to be in friendship with us that the Women and Childrin might walk without anything being in the way for them to strike their Foot against but to continue to call on the Great phire for a suffitient number of warriours to Darken the Lands of the Lands so that the Inhabitants should hear no sound in it but that of Birds that live on Blood I know that a mist is yet before your Eyes I will dispell the clouds that you may clearly see the cause of the cause War betwen the Big Knife and the English that you may Judge yourselves which is in the Right and then if you are men and Warriours as you profess yourselves to be prove it by Stickly adhearing to what you may now declare without deceiving Either party and prove your selves to be only old Women

The Big Knife are very much like the Red people they dont know well how to make Blanket powder and cloath &c they buy from the English (whom they formerly desended from) and live chiefly by making corn Hunting and Trade as you and the French your Neig[h]bours do. Bug [*sic*] the Big knife Dayley geting more numerous like the Trees in the woods so that the Land got poor and Hunting scarce having but little to Trade with the women began to cry to see their Children Naked and tryed to learn to make cloathes for them themselves and soon gave their Husbands Blankets of their own making and the men learned to make Guns and Powder so that they did not was to buy so much from the

English they got mad and put Strong Garison through all our Cuntrey (as you see they have done among you on the Lakes and among the French) and would not let our women Spin nor the men Make powder nor let us trade with any body else but said that we should Buy all from them and since we had got saucy they would make us give them two Bucks for a Blanket that we use to get for one and that we should do as they pleased &c killed some of us to make the reast fear This is the truth and the cause of the War betwen us which did not take place for some time after they had served us in this manner the Women and Children was cold and Hungrey and continued to cry the young men was lost and no counsellors to put them in the Right path the whole Land was Dark and the old men hung down their Heads for shame as they could not see the sun and thus the[re] was mourning for many Years At last the great sperit took pity on us and kindled a great Counsill fire that never goes out at a place called Philadelphia stuck down a post and left a war Tomahawk by it and went Away. The sun amediately broke out and the sky was Blue the old men heled up their Heads and assembled at the Phire took up the Hatchet sharpened it and put it into hands of the young men and told to strike English as long as they could find one on this side of the Great Water the young men Amediately struck the war Post and Blood Insued Thus the war began and the English was drove from one place to another until they got weak and hired you the Red people to fight for them and help them The great Sperit getting angrey at this he caused your old Father the French King and other Great Nations to Joyn the Big knife and fight with them against all their Enemies so that the English is become like a Dear in the Woods From this you may see that it is the great sperit that caused your waters to be Troubled because you Faught for the people that he was mad with and if your women and Children should Cry you must blame your selves for it and not the Big knife you can now Judge who is in the right I have already told you who I am Hear is a Blody Belt and a white one take which you please behave like men and dont let your present situation being surrounded by the Big knife cause you to take up the one Belt with your hands when your Hearts Drink up the other If you take

the Blody path you shall go from this Town in safety and Join your Freinds the English and we will try like Warriours who can put the most Stumbling Blocks in the Roads and keep our Cloaths the longest perfumed with Blood If you should take the Path of Peace and now be received as Brothers to the Big knife French &c and should hereafter listen to bad Birds that will be flying through your Land you will then be counted not men but having two Tongues ought to be destroyed without listning to what you say as nobody could understand you As I am convinced that you never before heard the Truth I would not wish you to give me an answer before you have time to counsill (if you wish it) we will part this Eavening and when you are ready, if the Great Spirit will bring us together again let us prove our selves worthy by Speaking and thinking with but one Heart and one Tongue &c &c

Whatever their private consultations on this speach might be we never could learn but on their Return the next Day the business commenced with more than Utial ceremony a new fire was Kindled all the Gen^{tn} in Town was Collected and after all their preparatory seremony was gone through the Cheif that was to speak advanced near to the Table whare I set with the Belt of peace in his hand another with the Sacred Pipe and a third with the fire to Kindle it which was first presented to the Heavens then to the Earth and compleating a cirkle it was presented to all the Spirits Invokeing them to witness what was about to be concluded on to my self and desending down to every person present the Speaker then adressed him self to the Indians the substance of which was that they ought to be thankfull that the great spirit had taken pity on them and had cleared the sky and opened their Ears and Hearts So that they could hear the Receive and Truth &c &c and addressing himself to me said that they had paid great attention to what the great spirit had put into my Heart to say to them that they beleved the whole to be the Truth as the big knife did not speak like any other people they had ever heard that they now plainly saw that they had been deceved that the English had told them Lies and never had told them the Truth which some of their old men had always said which they now believed that we ware in the right and as the English had Forts

in their Cuntrey they migh[t] if they got strong want to serve the Red people as they did the B knife that they the Red people ought to help us &c that they had with a sincear Heart taken up the Belt of Peace (and spurned the other away) that they war determined to hold it fast and would have no doubt of our friendship as Judging from the maner of our speaking that their was no room for suspition that they would call in all ther warriours and cast the Tomahawk into the River whare it could never be found again and suffer no more Emisaries or Bad birds to pass thrugh their Land to disquiet their women and Children that they might be alway chearfull to smoath the Roads for their Brothers the B Knife when ever they came to see them that they would send to all their Friends and let them know the good Talk they had heard and what was done and advise them to listen to the same that they hoped that I would send men among them with my Eyes to see my self they ware men and strictly adheard to all that had been said at this great fire that the great spirit had Kindled at hear at Kohokias for their good of all people that would listen to it &c

This is the substance of their answer to me The Pipe was again Kindled and presented to all the Spirits to be witnesses smoaking of which and shaking of Hands concluded this Grand peace of Business I suppose with as much Dignity and Importance in their Eyes as the Treaty betwen France and America was to ours they put on a different apearance they greatest Harmony now Reaigned without the apearance of any distrust on their side but we ware [not] quite so tame as I had set a Resolution never to give them any thing that should have the appearance of Courting them but Gen^{ly} made some excuse for the little I present[ed] such as their comming a long way to see me had expended their amunition wore out their Leggins or met with some misfortune or other but they ware gen^{ly} allarmed and conclution of Peace satisfied them and parted with in all appearance perfectly satisfied I always made it a point to keep spies among them and was pleased to find that the greatest body of those that Treated with us strictly adheared to it so that in a short time from this we could send a single soldier through any part of the Ouabash and Illinois cuntreys for the whole of those Indians came to Treat Either at

Kohokias or S^{t} Vincens in course of this Fall it is not [worth] while the particulars of Every Treaty as the one already Mentioned conveys an Idea of the plan we went on the whole was held on the same Principal always sticking to the Text but Varying in the Manner of Delivery to the Different Tribes Some times more sevear but never Moderateing exept with those we ware in friendship with of cours a very different kind of Language was made use of Their Replyes ware nearly the same throughout the whole and a boundary seemed to be now fixed betwen the British Emisaries and our own at the heads of the Waters of the Lakes and those of the mississippi Neither party careing much to venture to fur some of the Nations got divided among themselves part for us others for the English. Such a sudden change among the Indians in this Region in our fav^{r} Required great attention to keep up the Flame from cooling too soon (as the appearance of a Reinforcement which we had Reason to expect in the Fall would Renew our Influance) Every Method was pursued to convince the French Inhabitants that their Interest &c was studied every restriction that was formerly under that was disagreable to them was done away their business with the comanding officers was done without Fuss Neither any to courts that weakly set on their business and many other little things that [had] good effects and through them our Interest Grew considerably among their Friends on the Lakes and Many Traders and others watching their opertuneties and came a cross with their goods and setled in the Illinois and S^{t} Vincenes this also had a good effect among the Indians the Friendly correspondence betwen the Spaniards and ourselves was much to our advantange as every thing the Indians heard from them was to our Interest The behaviour of two young men at the time of those Treaties at Kohokias effected me very much and perhaps not disagreable to you to have their conduct Related a party of what is called the Meadow Indians that Rove about among the different Nations composed partly of the whole of them was informed that [if] they would contrive to take me off they would get a great reward &c they came Down as other had done pretending to treat for peace they ware lodged in the yard of M^{r} Bradies pretending some acquantance about one Hu[n]dred yards from my Quarters and nearly the same distance

fronting the Fort the Little River Kohokias passing fronting the Houses on the oposite side of that part of the streat which was there about knee deep having business at time with other Indians they listened to what was passing Loitired about and got pretty well acquainted With our people having receved but a bad Report of them I took aparenly but little notice of them they had observed the House I lodged in very Quait of Nights and had supposed the Guards to be but few formed ther plan in the following manner some of them was to cross the River fire of their Guns opposite to their Quarters on which they ware to attempt to get in under the protection of the Quarter Guard as flying from other Indians their Enemies that had fired on them across the River if they suckceeded to Butcher the Guard and Carry myself off a few nights after ther arrival they made the attempt about one aclock[1] having two much to think to sleep much I happened to be awake at the time the allarm was given they war amediately at the yard gate when the sentinell presenting his piece being a ligh[t] night they saw the Guard peraded front of the Door More numerous perhaps than they expected they took a by way and got into their Quarters the whole Town was now under arms they guard was possitive it was those Indians they ware amediately examined Said it was their Enamies that had fired on them cross the Creek that they wanted to get under the protection of the Guard but was not permited and made the best of their way back to defend themselves but some of the French Gen^{tn} being better acquainted [with] them than the rest insisted that it was them that give the allarm sent for a candle and discovered that Leggens and Moquesons of the fellows that had crossed the River quite wet an[d] muddy they ware quite confounded wanted to make Various excuses but was [not] suffered to speak their design was easily seen through. I said but little to them (and as ther was good many of other Nations in Town and to convince the whole of the strict union of the French and us) I told them as they had disturbed the Town the people might do as they pleased with them and went away but whispered that the cheifs should be sent to the Guard house and put in Irons which was amediately done by the Inhabitants they in that situation was every Day brought into the

[1] For the attempt to capture Clark, see *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 126.

Counsel but not suffered to speak and on finishing with the others I had their Irons taken off and told them that their disign was obvious to me as a Bird from their Cuntrey had whispered me in the year that all people said that they ought to Die which they must think themselves that they deserved and what I intended but on considering the Matter and the Meanness of the attempt to watch and Ketch a Bear sleaping I found that you was only old women and too mean to be killed by a B Knife but as you ought to punished for puting on Britch Cloath like men that shall be taken from you and plenty of provition given to you home as women dont know to hunt and as long as you stay hear you shall be treated as all skaws ought to be and without any further notice of them conversed Indifferently with others present on very triffling subjects they appeared to be much agutated after some time they Rose and advanced with a Belt and Pipe of Peace which to me and made a speach which I would not suffer to be Interpreted (at that time) and a Sword laying on the Table I Brok ther Pipe and told them that the B K never treated with women and for them to sit down and Injoy themselves as other did and not be affraid (what they had said was an acknowledgement of their design excusing themselves by saying that it was owing to bad men that was among them from Michilimackinack that put it into their Heads that they ware in hope we would take pity on their women and children and as their lives was spared when they deserved to loose it they ware in hopes that peace would be granted them as it was to others &c) several chiefs of other Nations present spoke in their favr Condemning their attempt as they saw the Big Knife was above little things they ware [sure] I would take pity on the Families of those men and grant them peace &c I told them that I had never made war upon them that if the B. K come across such people in the woods they commonly shot them down as they did wolves to prevent ther Eating the Dear but never Talked about it &c the conversation on the subject dropt for some time these fellows continued busy in private conversation at last two young men advanced to the Middle of the Floor set down and flung their Blankets over their heads (this at first I did not know what to make of) two of the chiefs with a pipe stood by them and spoke nearly in the same manner

they had done before and concluded by saying that they had offered those two young men as an attonement for their guilt and was in hopes that the B K would be Reconsiled after this sacrifice of their &c and again offered the Pipe which I refused and told them to go and set down that I would have nothing to say to them but in a mile tone than I had before spoke to them It appeared that those people had got so compleatly allarmed (which I had taken pains to do Guarding disperation) that they supposed a Tomahawk was hanh[g]ing over the heads of every one of ther Nation that nothing would save them but get peace before they left the place and expected that by our puting to Death or keeping those two young men as slaves that we should be Reconsiled. The young men keep their first Position and frequently would push the Blanket aside as if impatient to know their fate I could have no expectation of this Business Ending in this manner I always Intended at last to be perswaded to grant those people peace but this astonished me I hardly knew whether it was sinccar or not but every thing Proved it every person present (which was a great number) seemed anctious to know what would be done and a Gen[l] silance amediately took place for some time all suspence I Viewed those persons with pleasure you may Easily guess at my feeling on the Occation I had read of some thing simalar but did not know whether to believe it or not and never before nor since felt my self so Capable of speaking I ordered the young men to Rise and oncover themselves (I found their was a very Visible alteration in their Countenances which they appeared to try to conseal) I Suitably Harangued the whole assembly on the Subject and concluded by teling them that I was happy to find that there was men among all Nations as we ware now witnesses their was at least two among those people I then spoke to the young men said agread in their praised &c concluded by saying that it was only such men as them that chiefs of a nation that it such that I liked to Treat with that through them the B K granted Piece and Friendship to their people that I took them by the Hand as my Brothers and chiefs of their Nation and I expected that all present would acknowledge them as such I first presented them to my own officers to the French and Spanish Gen[n] present and Lastly to the Indians the whole greeting them

as chiefs and ended the Business by having them Saluted by the Garison[1] I wish I had a copy or I could remember the whole I said on this business but you may Easily conceive from the nature of it. It appeared to give Ge[l] satisfaction but I thought the old Chefs appeared much cowed our new Nabobs was now treated with great Respect on all occations a Counsill was called in order to do some business with them and great seremony made use of &c in order more firmly to Rivet what had been done and on departure some presents was given them to distribute among ther Friends at home by whom I understood they ware acknowledged and held in great esteem and the Americans much spoke of among them

It would be difficult to ac[t] for the consequences in case they had have succeeded in their plan (it appears to have been but badly laid but is the most pro[ba]ble one they could have attempted it in the Town in Daylight and I never went out of it without Guards too strong for them the whole as it turned out was a fortunate adventure it gain us much credit and had good effect among the Indians in this Quarter as it soon became the subject of their Gen[l] Conversation I now turned my attention to Saguina M[r] Black Bird & Nakiowin two chiefs of the Bands of the Sotairs and outaway Nation bordering on Lake Michigan and the River S[t] Josiph M[r] Black Bird and party was in S[t] Louis at the time that Maj[r] Bowman took possession Koho, got allarmed and pushed off knowing that their Nation was warmly Ingaged in the War and not believing the Spanish protection suffitient to secure them against the Revenge of the B K that was so near at hand although the Gov[r] purswaded them with a certainty of their being friendly received those chiefs on ther passage up the Illinois met with Numbers of Traders (who had heard wat had passed among their Friends and had already begun to alter ther Tone among the Indians) that perswaded them to turn back and see the B. K. for as he had been so near them and would not go to see them they would think that he was affraid and run away & he excused himself by saying his Family was sick but that he would go in the Spring in the Mean time would write to us V[2]

[1] See *Mason Letter, ante*, 128.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "N 17 this Let[r]"

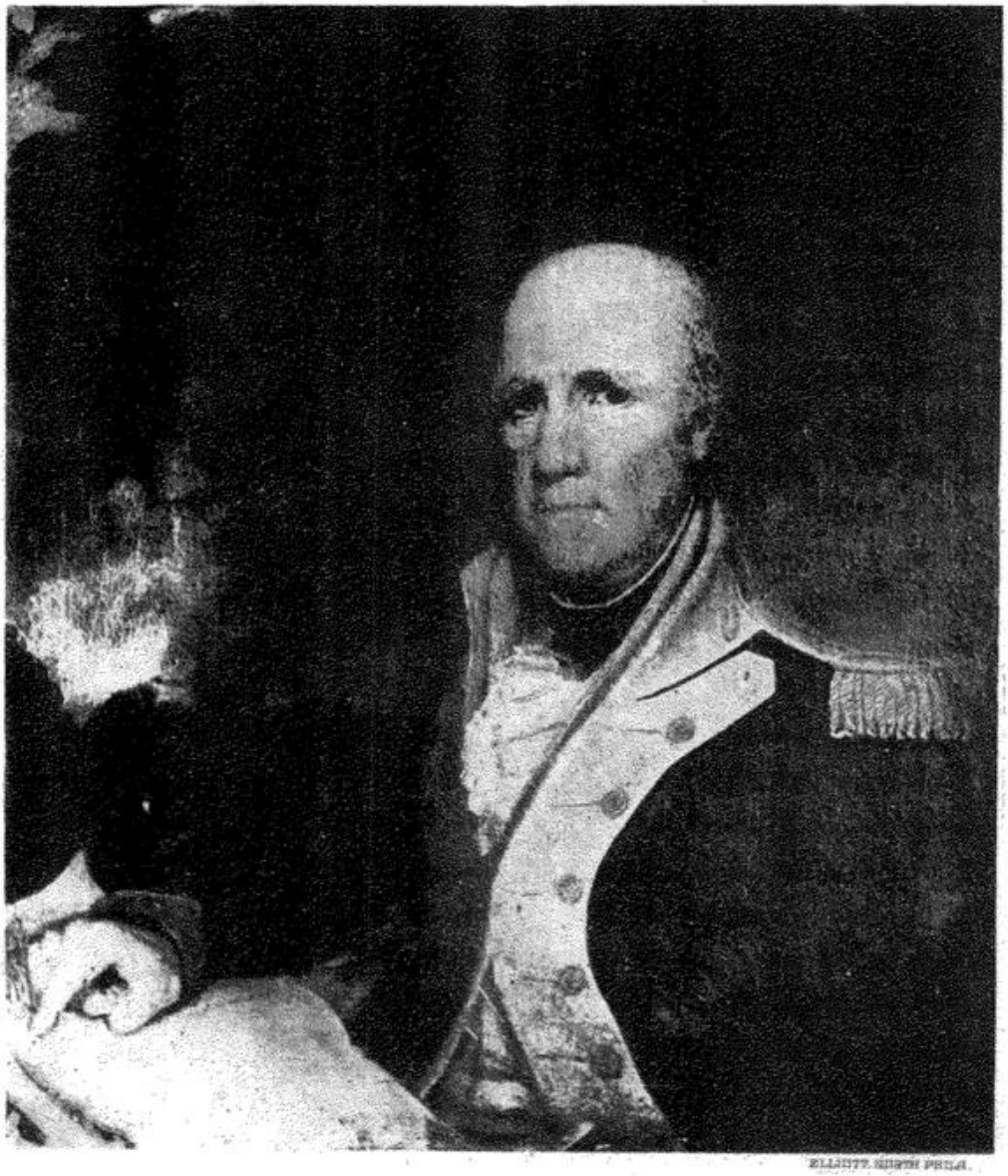
I suppose he thought calculated to make us believe that they war Freinds to us and I make no doubt but that their sentiments now dayly changed in our favour I made strict enquirey about Black Bird I found that they ware cheifs of Considerable Bands about S^{t} Joseph then at war that Black Bird had great Influance in that Quarter and it was thought by some Traders lately arrived that he Really wanted a Conferance but wished to have an Invitation &c I gave a man that answered my purpose two Hundred Dollars to Visit him at S^{t} Joseph and wrote him a compleat answer to his Let^{r} Inviting of him to come at Kaskaskias this Fall which he did with only Eight attendants[1] and my Mesenger Denoe after they had Rested and got Refreshed he observed some Utial preparations makeing for an Indian counsel he sent and informed me that he came to see me on Business of Consequence that conserned boath our nations and wished that we should not Spend our time in seremony he said it was customary among all Indians but that it was not nessessary between us that we could do our business seting at a Table much better that he wanted much conversation with me and hoped that their would be no seremony used &c I found that M^{r} Black Bird in a different manner to what other had been that he assumed the Airs of a Polite Gen^{n} &c a Room was prepaired and the Nabob formaly Introduced by a French Gen^{tn} after a few compliments he took a Seat at one end of the Table myself at the other the Interpreters to our Right & Left Gen^{tn} seated round the Room B. B^{d} opened the conferance and attempted to speak as much in the European manner as possible he said that he long wished to have some conversation with a chief of our Nation but never before had an opertunity he had conversed with prisoners but he put little confidence in what they said as they ware gen^{l} affraid to speak that he had ingaged in the war for some time but had always doubted the propriety of it as the English and us appeared to be the same people he was sensible that their was some mistery that he was unacquainted with that he had only heard one side of the story and now wished me to Explain it to him fully that he might be a Judge himself as he would then have heard boath sides to satisfy

[1] Letter of Patrick Henry to Congress, November 16, 1778, *ante*, 72. "The Great Blackbird, a Chippewa Chief, has also sent a belt of peace to Col. Clark."

this inquisitave Indian I was obliged to begin almost at the first settlement of America and to go through almost the whol History of it to the present time particularly the cause of the Revolution and as I must not speak to him as I did to other Indians by Similes it took me near half a Day to satisfy him he asked a great number of questions very pertinent and must be satisfied as to every point which I was now more able to do being pretty well acquainted with all the British Officers had said to them

He appeared to be quite satisfied and said that he was convinced from many circumstances that what I had said was a true state of the matter that he long suspected from the Conduct of the English that they wished to keep the Indians in the dark and it was now very obvious to him that he thought the Americans was perfectly Right and that they augh[t] to be assisted than otherways that he was happy to find that their old Friends the French had Joined us and that the Indians ought to do so Likewise but as I had said we would not wish it they ought at least to set still that he would not blame us if we did as I had said drive the whole off the face of the Earth that would not do so, for it was plain to him that the English was affraid otherways they would not give so many goods as they did for the Indians to fight for them that he was perfectly satisfied himself that I might be assured that his sentiments was fixed in fav^{r} of us and would no longer pay any attention to the English that he would amediately put an end to the war as to his part but as many of their young men was then out I must excuse that but as soon as they Returned he would make them lay down their arms and not one of those that he Influanced should again take them up that on his return home he would take pains too tell the Indians of every denomination of what had passed betwen us and inform them of the true cause of the war and that he was sure that the most of them would follow his example that it would have good effect if I would send a young man among them under his protection (which I did) as his appearance would give great weight to what he himself said to them that for the future he was in hopes that we should View each other as Freinds and that Correspondence should be keep up betwen us &c &c

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ELLIOTT, SIDNEY PHILA.

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GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

From a portrait painted by John Wesley Jarvis in the collection of Colonel R. T. Durrett of Louisville, Kentucky

I told him that I was happy to find that this business was likely to end so much to both our satisfactions and so much to the advantage and Tranquility of Each of our people that I should amediately the Gov^{r} of Virginia of what passed betwen us and that I knew that it would give him all the Americans great pleasure and that he (B B) would Registered among their friends &c &c this is wat passed betwen us of a publick nature after spending a few Days with us he returned home a young man of Mine acompanied him I had two pack Horses loaded with nessaries for his Journy home and sent some presents to his Family perhaps to the amount of 20 or 30 pounds thus ended the business betwen this chief and my self and as I had frequent oppertunity of hearing from him in the cours of this fall I found that he strictly adheard to what he had declared to me that he had not only stopt his own tribe but had great numbers of Indians in that quarter to very cool in the British Interest

I had though it policy in the course of all my conversation with the Indians to inform them that I did not blame them for receiving what presents the British chose to give them but that it was degrading to them to make war as Hirelings &c that it was beneath the Dignity of a Warriour & the B K View others that was at war against them on their own Ac^{t} with more they did the Hireling that the one was keep as great Trophies when perhaps the scalps of the others was given to the children to ply with or flung to the Dogs this kind of Language to a people whome we most ardently wish to be at peace with may appear strange but it had good effect among person of ther Education and perfectly Consonant to our systim of Policy about this time I Received a letter from a chief of the Name of Lajes or the Big Gate it seems that this fellow being a lad at the Time Pontiac Besieged DeTroit had shot a man standing in a Gate and amediately the Name of Big Gate was given to him as a Mark of Honour he had early ingaged in the British Interest and had lead several parties against the Fronteers with good sucksess and on hearing what was going forward in the Illinois he fell in with some Putowatamies on their way to see us and came with them to hear what we had to say for ourselves he assurance to make his apearance in a compleat war dress and the Blody Belt that he had Received from the

English hanging about his Neck he attended the counsells for several Days always placed himself in front of the Room and set in great state without saying a word to us or we to him I had found out I wanted to know about him and had fixed my Resolutions and in the cours of my business with the other Indians I had made use of several expressions in order to prepair my Gent^n^ for what and on the close of the business I address myself to him told him that I had been informed who he was but as he knew that publick business must take place before private ceremonies I hoped that he would excuse me in speaking to him before that time that it was customary among the white people that what Officers meet in this Manner although Enemies they treated each other with greator Respect than they did Common people and Valued each other the more in proportion Exploits that he had against each others Nation espetially as he had come designedly to see us and business was now over I hoped he would spend a few Days more with us and that he would do us the pleasure of Dining with the B K that eavining he appeared in nettles and Rose and began to excuse himself I would not hear but run on uppon the same topeck I would stop he would commence and I would begin again untill I found I had worked him up to as high a pitch as I wished for and then him go on he stept out into the middle of the Floor took of his Belt of war and a small British Flag that was in his Busam and flung them on the Floor then the whole of his cloath that he had except his Britch Cloath Struck his Breast and addressed himself to the whole audience and told them that they knew that he warriour from his youth that he delighted in war that the English had told him lies he thought from what they said that the B K was in the wrong and that he had been at war against them three times and prepaired to go again but thought that he would rest himself a while and come hear and see what sort of people ware and how they Talked that he had listened to every that had been said that he was now convinced that the English was wrong and that the B K was right and that he as a man and a warriour would not fight in a rong cause—that there ware the Blody cloths the English had given him he had flung away & gave them a kick across the room Struck his Breast and said that he was now a Big Knife and came and shook Hand

with me and the whole company as his Brothers a great deal o[f] meriment Insued the whole company appeared devirted he being a mery fellow himself keep up ther by speaking to them as a new Man and a B Knife but as our new Brother was now naked it was nessessary that he should be cloathed those that he had pulled of being pushed into the street by one of the servants as dispised Cap^{tn} M^{c}Carty having a Suit good deal Laced Cap^{tn} Big Gate at Dinner was much the finest man at Table and to appear in as much state as the Rest of us he had ordered one of his men to wait on him but was rather awkward as we had suffered the Indians to Dine with us except chiefs of the Greatest Dignity to prevent any Jealousy pains was taken with those in Town that was of as High Rank as M^{r} Lajes after Dinner was over he informed me that he wish to have some private conversation with me and pointed to Room that had a large window opening into a Back streat being always suspitious I did not know My new Brother intended to Stab me and make his escape through the window I privately to him made provition and we ware shut up with the Interpretor near half an Hour he gave me a History of himself and a full ac^{t} of the situation of things at DeTroit said that he could do almost what he pleased at that place that if I chose it he go and bring me a scalp or a prisoner in Forty Days as they did not know what had happened hear he could have what oppertunity he pleased I told him that we never wished the Indians to fight for us all we wished them to do was for them to set still and look on that those that would not might expect to be swallowed up as they would see the Lakes Covered with of Boats belonging to the B K and wished him by no means to kill any person on our Ac^{t} but that he would bring me news or a prisoner if he could get one Handily I should be glad but by no means to hurt him as it was beneath us to treat prisoners ill. I gave him a Captains Commission and a medal The Day he took his departure many Indians accompanying him as he took his leave at my Quarters Many Gen^{tn} present they saluted by him fireing their pistals through the windows pasing in front of they he was again saluted which Elated him much he did not advanced far before he stopt and said he supposed those poor soldiers was Hungary for a dram and ordered one of his men to go to a Trader

of his acquaintance then in Town and get a little keg of Rum and give to them to drink his health which was done and then went of by water up the Illinois River whare he fell in with some Traders of his acquaintance that had got a permit at Mackinois to Trade on those Waters with a design to come to the to us and was then on their passage Lajes asked them which way they ware going they said only Trading then asked them if they was not affraid of the B K that was at Kohas they said not he then asked the who they was for they what he ment by it he said are for the King of England or the B K. knowing the fellow character they answered for the King of Engd Certainly was he not he said no that he was a Captn of the B. K. and produced his Comission and told them that they ware Enemies to his Cuntrey and his prisoners that he would Return and take them to his Superior Officer at Kohos the men got allarmed did not know what to make of the fellow but found he was in earnest and had a Comission for under my Hand Seal they then told him that they ware Runing away and was going to the B K he said they Liars and would not believe them and pestered them for two or three Days untill a party came by that he knew was in the American Interest and became surety that they should deliver themselves up to and got a Letter wrote to me dictated by himself he warned the Men to take care of themselves for if they ware deceitfull and fell into his hands again that he should treat them ill this was a Curious Indian Letter I cant Remember the particulars of it further than that it touched on the above business it is lost with all the papers of the present year except a few that by chance have been Recovered Cap Big Gate proceded on his Journey and as long as I knew of him behaved well spoke much of his new Dignity abusing the other Indians for fighting as Hirelings &c whether or not he ever after Joined the Brith I never learnt By this time we had done business with almost the whole of the Indns on the Waubash and Illinois and as High as the Ioways, sacks and Renards the Inhabitants of the Bottom of Lake Michigan &c and the Cuntrey at this time appeared to be in a perfect State of Tranqulity I was pleased to learn that our new post at the Fall of Ohio continued to gather strength as well as the Kentuckey in Genl and that a powerfull

expedition was to move from Pittsburgh to DeTroit[1] this with the thought of what we had done cause us to Injoy ourselves for the first time since our arrival (but it did not last long) a part of Mississury Indians came several Hundred down that River to see us their Curiosity was so great that they could not Resist the temptation they informed us that the whole of their business was a Visit that they had often heard of the B K. and wished to see them and hoped that their Curiosity m[a]y be excused which was and themselves Familiarly treated whille they staid they appeared to be something different in their manners and their complexion much fairer than any other Indians I had seen and suppose that they gave rise the Idea of their being Welch Indians in that quarter Cap^{tn} Helms informed me express that the British had sent an Emisary to the Weaughtinon with a considerable Quantity of goods to attempt to regain the affections of the Indians in that Quarter that he Thought he might be taken If I would Authorise the attempt several Gen^{tn} at the Opost was of the same opinion I authorised the Enterprise and impowered the Cap^{tn} to ac^{t} agreable to the counsills held among themselves but that if they at any time on finding the attempt dangerous or the chance against them to Relinquish the Enterprise and return giving out that they had only made a small Excurtion to see their friends &c he set out by Water with [*blank in MS.*] men chefly Inhabitants of S^{t} Vincents and proceed up the Waubash the French Merchants a long tradeing with the Indians on the way and Cap^{tn} Speaking to on publick affairs as if this was intended as a Visit he wished to pay them and that those with him attended in Complisance and to see a little about their Trade they did not appear as having any Hostile intention untill they got near the Weaughs they then made all the Expedition possible Entered the Fort and took the Kite and twenty or thirty Chipeway warriour then in counsill prisoners the Emisary (I forget his name) frequently heard of this party coming up the River but was told by the Indians that they ment no Harm that the B K that was along only came with the Traders to give good talks to his friends &c but after a few Day he began to suspect the sincerity of the Indians and moved

[1] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 131.

of up the River a little before Cap^{tn} Helms arived[1] Those chipeways was a party that he had Invited to met at the Weaugh and get supplyed and make war at the Opost they arrive but a few minutes before our party hearing the News and finding their Friend gone they slipt into the Fort as a convenience to take some refreshments and hold a Counsell they had had scarcely commenced before our party entered and Closed the gate on them[2] as the Inhabitants did not give them notice of the aproach of the party the Indians was much allarmed at finding themselves so suddenly taken and had but little to say for themselves at first After some consultation betwen Cap^{tn} Helms and the French Gen^{tn} with him it was thought that a good advantage might be made of this adventure and fixed on the plan there was a great deal said to the prisoners but the whol amount was this that the B K never to catch a prisoner sleeping and as that was the case in the present instance they the Indians was at liberty and might fight for the English as long as they pleased that if they again fell into the Hands of the B K they might expect what would be their fate the Indians gave a Suitable answer to this seeming Generosity and declared that they never would fight against the B K again and I understood that these Indians frequently Mentioned this adventure and spoke much in our favour our party Returned in safty to the Opost having Spoke with the greatest part of the Indians aparantly much to the satisfaction of boath parties

So great was our Interest among the Indians about this time that Governor Hamilton on his Expedition against S^{t} Vincent with all his Influance could Raise not more than four or five Hundred Indians to accompany him.

The Chicasaws being at war I wished I which to have some correspondence them to feel their pulse I did not chuse to send to them as it would appear too much like Beggin a peace as they call it. It occurred to me that the Kaskaskias Indians had been long at war with the Chicasaws which had seemingly subsided for some time and Batteast, the Kaskias Chief I new was much in our Interest I proposed that he should go and propose a firm

[1] *Mason Letter, ante*, 130. "But a few days before the Captains arrival Mr. Celeron thought proper to make his Escape."

[2] *Ibid.* "neglecting to shut the Gate or keep Sentinels."

peace betwen him and the chicasaws and if he suckceeded to mention some thing of the B K. I was in hopes to bring on a correspondence in this manner Batteast went with out being what was my real design the chicasaws Received him very kindly but he could not compleat his own business for the want of some chiefs that was out of the way he mentioned the Americans but ther conversation on the subject was cool and answered no great purpose.

The Winter now aproaching things began to wear a more glomy aspect not a word from Government severelly informed that their was great preparation making at DeTroit for an grand Expedition and that some Movement had already taken place as far as the Ome Town and talks sent to all the Indians we supposed that it was preparation to give the Army from F. Pitt as warm a Reception as possible &c all this Information gave us at first some pleasure[1] untill we learnd that the army from Pittsburgh instead of marching into DeTroit had spent their time in Perade and Building a few post to facilitate their future designs this information we soon got from the Falls and disappointed us very much[2] one Denny an Inhabitant of Kohokia was taken up by Majr Bowman for writing through the Indians to his friend near DeTroit given dangerous Information his Letters was intercepted and him self tied to the tail of a Cart and by drum Received a lash at every Door in Town and Burnt in the Hand for other Misdemeneours this was the first and most sevear punishment we had Inflicted on any of the Inhabitants it was nessessary at this time to show the people that we ware capable of Extreams Either way and that the good treatment we had shewn them was from the principal of the Government[3] no information from St Vincents for some time past as once a fortnight was the fixed time of the post we began to suspect some thing was wrong we sent spies that did not Return and we remained in a

[1] *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 132. "It being near Christmas we feasted ourselves with the hopes of immediately hearing from Detroit."

[2] Introduction, *ante*, xlix.

[3] *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 132. "A Young Man at the Town of Cohos holding a Correspondence and sending Intilligence to Governour Hambletons Party was Detected & punished accordingly."

state of suspence[1] I had prepaired to set out from Kaskias to Kohokia but whether proved bad for several Days at length set out while it was snowing but likely to clear up which it did in about ½ Hour[2] we observed that six or seven men had passed some distance on the Road since the snow had ceased which we supposed was person from Town but wondered what they could be after having several Chairs a long the approaching near the River Hill one of the Cariages sunk into a gut the gen[tn] that Rode in it was some time geting it out as the others would not suffer any assistance to be given them untill their Laughfter was out we went chearfully to Preara De Rush 12 Miles from Kaskaskia war I intended to spend the Eavening at Cap[tn] Barbers after supper a Dance was proposed in the Heigh of which an Express arrive informed me that late that Eavening some negres being up the Kaskaskias River Cuting of wood that a party of white men and Ind[s] came to them and after asking them a number of Questions told them that their was 800 of them laying within in a few miles and intended to attact the fort that night but if they gave information they would be put to Death and went off some of the Negrees gave the information and the express dispatched after me this sounded to us much like the Truth we had had Various suspition for some time past no information from the Post the Various Reports of the Indians and our spies not Returning and the Tracts we had seen in the Road occured to us the Vilage we ware in was much allarmed I was perswaded to cross the River to the Spanish side as a surety or protection as the Fort must be invested before that time I laughed at the Idea much to their Amusement Resolved the attempt to get into the Fort I ordered our Horses Borrowed Cloaths and every man dressed like a Hunter and set out politically making very merry on the subject the Snow on the ground and the Mo[o]n shone very bright taking the express with me in order to have time to think in about a Quarter of an Hour I wrote a Card to Maj[r] Bowman at Kohokia ordering him Down with his Company and all the Volunteers he could Raise to be cautious and if he found that he

[1] *Mason Letter, ante,* 132. "In this situation we remain'd for many Days."

[2] The account of the trip to Cahokia and return to Kaskaskia is virtually the same as that given in the *Mason Letter, ante,* 133.

could not Render service to mak S[t] Genevieve his Retreat and to act occationally the express was mounted on the best Horse we had being an expert woodsman he had orders to Run the Horse as long as he could go faster than he could himself on foot then to quit him and make the best of his way we proceeded leaving the Road whare their was any woods for a Covert for an Enemy the design of our dresing a woodmen in Leggins Capoes Handkerchefs tied on our Heads &c was in case the Enemy had actually Invested the Fort to quit our Horses fall into their Lines and fight with the Indians (as probably they would not be apt to discover us from their friends the English) untill we could make our way good with them to a certain gut near one of the angles of the Fort whare their was a Small Sally port whare we could Easily make our selves known and probably draw some of them into it this was our plan in this seeming desperate situation geting near the Town all was Silant we approach cautiously discovered that nobody of men had passed as could be easily discovered in the snow by our taking a circuitous Rout we went in much to the Joy of the whole I found every preperation I could have wished for and from every circumstance we must expect the Enemy in the Neighberhood particularly from the manner of the conversation with the Negroes the Night past off with out any further allarm and Ge[ly] supposed that the Snow had prevented the attact I spent the nigh[t] in various I knew that it was Impossible that we could defend the Town or hold out long in the fort but was in hopes of Baffling their attempt and fright them away by a very plausable Report (that as they must have taken S[t] Vincenes to get to us) we had Received full information of their hole proceedings and had sent an Express to Kentucky for an Army to march across and Intercept their Retreat &c &c As by the report of the Negros the most of the Inhabitants of the Town was much threatned I was affraid that they would propose the defence of it but that nothing should appear wanting in us I sent for the principal of them and put the Question to them and desired them to speak their sentiments freely after some deliberation they told me that they thought it prudent to Remain Nutral it was certainly a More Juditious Resolution and what I wished but I made my advantage of it I pretended to be in a passion desired them to go to their homes

that I had no further business with them that I expected they would see their Town in flames they went off and some of the young men came in Voluntarily some of them privately advised that all the wood in Town should be ordered into the Garison but Received but a slight answer and told that we had plenty of provitions Several Building being very near the Walls of the Fort the Inhabitants was told to move out that they would be amediately burnt a large Barn that Stood not far off full of grain was amediately set on fire without any thing being taken out of it and some other small buildings tore down and carried into the Fort for fuel and preparations making to set other building on fire all was now confution the Town on Fire the women and Children screaming moving &c I sensibly felt for them some of them beged to know how much of the Town I intended to burn that they might move their goods off they was Informed that it was far from us to wish to destroy more than was absolutely nessesary that they must be sensible that at a time like this it was our duty to do any thing nessessary to promote our Safety that although I new they Enemy would soon be Intercepted by an Army from Kentucky yet they might do us much damage if we did not take nessessary precautions that we only meant to destroy the provitions that it should not fall into the Hands of the Enemy that they must confess that it was Right but as the wind was unfavourable no more building would be fired untill it Shifted they went off and we waited to see the Issue of all this in a very little time we observed the Carts began to play and in two Hours we had upwards of six months provition in Store this policy was to make our selves appear as daring as possible as well to get provitions the people ware desired to stop that perhaps the report was false that the spies would soon Return (when we should know better how to proceed) they did in a short time and informed that they had discovered the Trail of 70 or 80 men[1] that appeared to direct ther course towards the opost but no appearance of a formiadable force in the Neighberhood things got more quiet they Day

[1] *Mason Letter, ante*, 137. "Our Spies returning, and found the great Army that gave the alarm consisted only of about forty Whites and Indians making their Retreat as fast as possible to St. Vincents."

following Majr Bowman arived with a considerable number of Men[1] we now began to feel ourselves of More Importance it was now conjectured that St Vincents was certainly in the Hands of the Enemy and that the party that had been in the Neighberhood had been sent from that place on some Errand or other and the snow falling found it Impossible to Remain undiscovered as they must Hunt had given the allarm in order to have time to escape (this was nearly the case as we hereafter learned they war a party composed chiefly of Indians sent by Govr Hamilton then in possession of St Vincent with Very Polite Instructions to lay in the Neiberhood of the Illinois untill they could get an opertunity of making a prisoner of me but by no means to Kill me that in case of suckcess they ware to treat me with every politeness on their Return to furnish me with a Horse and to prevent me from taking a little amusement I should want on the way but that I should be always attended by persons on better Horses than I had myself thus I was to be a prisoner of state in the Hands of the Savages this party by some means or other (I never could be perfectly satisfied from who, got information of a Visit to the Garison of Kohokia which I Intended they fixed themselves back of a Hill near the Road about three miles above Kaskaskias always keeping a few as a look out on the Road these fellows had advanced nearer to the Town the Day that I set out than Utial the snow comeing on they had set out to return to their camp and walked some distance in the Road which was the tracts we saw the Cuntrey in this part being very open and we riding very fast they found it impossible to make their way good so as to allarm their Camp without being discovered and secreted themselves behind Some Rocks or Bushes within 70 or 80 yards of the Little gut whare the Cariage Swampt and we Tarried they Reported that they could have Supprised and taken the most of us but that not being able to distinguish me from the Rest as we ware all Muffled up with cloaths they ware affraid to fire for fear of Killing me but I Imagine the truth was they ware affraid to discover themselves as they [we] ware near double their numbers and even the Servants compleatly armed (the bad weather certainly as they did not expect us

[1] *Mason Letter, ante,* 137. "Capt. Bowman Arrived the following day with his own and a compy of Volunteers from Cohos."

out and the body of them had returned to their camp and only seven that had advanced further on the Road was out finding that their hopes was now blasted and that they could not remain without being discovered they fell in with the Negroes with a design to raise such an allarm as should give them time to get of which they Compleatly effected the Instructions to this party was one principal caus of the Respect shewn to Gov^{r} Hamilton by our officers when he fell into our hands but his treatment when in Virginia was very different and dissatisfactory to them as they thought it in some Measure affected themselves) but to return it was concluded to send other spies to S^{t} Vincenes and in the meantime prepair ourselves to ac^{t}. Occationly being fully confident that a Revolution would shortly take place either for or against us we wished to strengthen our selves as much as possible the Volunteers that accompanied Maj^{r} Bowman from Kohokias was sent home and an Elegant Suit of Colours presented to them those that was but badly armed was compleated out of the stores and presents made to the others &c as an acknowledgment for the willingness they had shown on the present occation they paraded about Town with their New Flag and Equipments and Viewed themselves as superiour to the young Fellows Kaskaskias which cause so much anomosity betwen the two parties that it did not subside untill I interfeared some time after by a little peace of Policy that Reunited them when it Suited my own Convenience after making every arrangement that we thought most condusive to our safty Maj^{r} Bowman Returned to his Quarter and we Remained in suspence waiting for the Return of our spies we had thought that if we found their was no probability of keeping possession of our posts to abandon them Just on the aproach of the Enemy Return to Kentucky as that had considerably Increased raise a force suffitient to intercept and prevent the English from returning again to Dutroit as we knew the Indians was not fond of long Campaigns and would leave them but on the 29th of Jan^{y} 1779 M^{r} Vigo then a Spanish merch^{t} who had been at S^{t} Vincenes Arrived and gave information that Gov^{r} Hamilton with Thirty Regulars Fifty French Volunteers Indians Ajeants Interpretors Boatmen &c that amounted to a considerable Number and about four Hundred Indians had in December last taken

that post[1] and as the season was so far advanced it was thought Impossible to reach the Illinois he sent some of his Indians to Kentucky and to watch the Ohio disbanding of others &c the whole to meet again in the Spring drive us out of the Illinois and attact the Kentucky in a Body Joined by their southern friends[2] that all the Goods was taken from the Merchants of S[t] Vincents for the Kings use that they ware Repairing the Fort and Expected a Reenforcement from DuTroit in the spring that they appears to have plenty of all Kinds of Stores that they ware strict in their Disipline but that he did not believe they was under much apprehention of a Visit and believed that if we could get their undiscovered that we might take the place in sho[r]t we got Every Information from this Gen[tn] that we could wish for as he had had good opertunity and had taken great pains to inform himself with a design to give Inteligence We now Viewed ourselves in very critical Situation in a manner cut off from any Intercourse betwen us and the continent that G Hamilton in the Spring by a Junction of his Northward and Southern Indians which he had prepaird for would be at the Head of such force that nothing in this Quarter could withstand his arms that Kentucky must amediately fall and well if the desolation would end their. If we could amediately make our way good to Kentucky we ware convinced to before we could Raise a force Eaven suffitient to save that cuntrey it would be too late as all the Men in it Joined by the Troops we Had would not be suffitient and to get timely suckers from the Interiour Frontiers was out of the question we saw but one alternative which was to attact the Enemy in their Quarters If we ware fortunate it would save the whole if otherways it would be nothing more than what would Certainly be the consequence if we should not make the attempt Incouraged by the Idea of the greatness of the consequences that would attend our sucksess The Season of the year being also favourable as the Enemy

[1] *Mason Letter, ante*, 138. "Governour Hamiltons Party consisted of about eight hundred when he took possession of that Post."

Bowman's *Journal, ante*, 155, states that there were thirty Regulars, fifty French volunteers and about four hundred Indians with Hamilton. Letter of Clark to Governor Henry, February 3, 1779, *ante*, 97, says that Hamilton came with a body of six hundred men composed of regulars, French volunteers and Indians.

[2] *Ibid.*

could not suppose that we should be so mad as to attempt to march 80 Leagues through a Drownded Cuntrey in the Debth of Wintor that they would be of their Guard and probably would not think it worth while to keep out spies that probably that if we could make our way good we might supprise them and we pull through the Cuntrey would not be in a worse situation than if we had not made the attempt those and many other similar reason Induced us to Resolve to attempt the Enterprise[1] which met with the aprobation of Every Individual belonging to us[2] Orders was amediately Issued for preparations the whole Cuntrey took fire at the allarm and every Order was Executed with Chearfullness by every description of the Inhabitants prepairing provitions Incouraging Volunteers &c &c and as we had plenty of stores Every man was compleatly Riged with what [he] could desire to withstand to coldest weather. Knowing that the Ouabasch at this season of the year in probability would be [over] flowed for five or six miles wide and to build Vessels in the Neighberhood of the Enemy would be dangerus to obviate this and to convey our artillery and stores it was concluded to send a Vessel round by water so strong that she might force her way as she could not be attacted only by water (without she chose it) as the whole of the low Lands was under water and of course she might keep of any Heights that was on the Rivers a large Mississippi Boat was amediately purchased and compleatly fitted as a Galley Mounting two four pounders and four Large Swivels and 46 men Commanded by Cap[tn] John Rogers He set sail the 4[th] of February with orders to force his way up the Waubash as High as the Mouth of White River and to secreat him self untill further orders[3] but if he found himself discovered to do the Enemy all the damage he could without Runing too great a Risques of Loosing his Vessel and not to leave the River untill he was out of hopes of arrival arrival by Land but by all means to conduct himself so as to give no suspition of our approch by Land We had great dependance on this Vessel she was far superiour to any thing the Enemy could fit out without

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 155.

[2] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 138.

[3] For the orders to Lieutenant Rogers see transcript, February 3, 1779, *ante*, 100.

building a new one and at the worst if we war discovered we could build a number of large Perogues shuch as they possessed to attend her and with such a Little Fleet perhaps pester the Enemy Very Much and if we saw it our Interest forc a Landing at any rate it would be some time before they could be a match for us on the Water

As we had for some time time past been in a state of suspence we had partly prepared for some such event as this of course we ware soon compleat the Inhabitants of Kaskias being a little cowed since the affair of the supposed Intended siege nothing was said to them on the subject of Volunteers untill the arrival of those for [from] Kohokia[1] to whome an Expensive Entertainment to which they Invited all their Acquaintance of Kaskias all little differences made up and by twelve oclock the next Day application was made to Raise a company at Kaskaskies[2] which was granted and Compleated before Night the whole of the Inhabitants Exerting themselves in order to wipe of past Coolness Every thing being now ready on the 5th of February after Reciving a lecture and Absolution from the Priest &c Crossed the Kaskias River with 170 Men Marched about three miles and Incamped whare we lay untill the 8th[3] and set out[4] the weather wet (but fortunately not cold for the season) and great part of the plains under water for several Inches it was difficult and very Fatieguing Marching my object now was to keep the men in spirits I suffered them to shoot game on all occations and feast on them like Indians war Dances each company by Turns Inviteing the other to their feasts which was the Case every Night[5] as the Company that was to give it was always supplied with Horses to lay up suffitient Store of well meat in the course of the Day my self and principal

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 4, *ante*, 156.

[2] February 5. This company was commanded by Captain François Charleville. *Ibid.*

[3] This should be February 7. *Ibid.*

[4] Marginal note by Clark: "Refer to Majr Bowman's Journal for the particulars of this march.—G. R. C."

[5] "Greatest care was to divert the Men as much as possible in order to keep up their spirits." *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 140.
Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 156. February 8th, "Notwithstanding our Men were in Great Spirits, tho much fatigued—" February 12, "Marched across bad plain saw and killed numbers of Bufaloe, the roads very bad."

Officers hailing on the woodsmen shouting now and then and Runing as much through the Mud and Water as any of them Thus Insinsibly without a Murmur was those men led on to the Banks of the Little Waubash which we reached the 13th through Increditable difficulties far surpassing any thing any of us had ever experienced (but notthing to what we had to go through) frequently in the pleasant of a day and the divertions of the night wore of the thought of the preceeding Day. This place is called the two Little Waubashes they are three miles apart and from the Heights of the one to that of the other on the oposite Shores is five miles the whole under water Genly About three feet Deep never under two and frequently four we formed a camp on a Height we found on the Bank of the River and suffered our Troops to amuse themselves I Viewed this sheet of Water for some time with Distrust but accusing myself of Doubting I amediately Set to work without holding any consultation about it or suffering any body else to do so in my presence ordered a Perogue[1] Ammediately built and acted as though crossing the water would be only a piece of divertion and as but few could work at at a time, pains was taken to find divertion for the rest to keep them in High spirits but the men ware well prepared for this attempt as they had frequently waided farther in Water, but perhaps seldom above half Leg deep. My Anczicty to cross this place continually increased as I saw that it would at once fling us into a situation of a forlorn hope as all Ideas of a Retreat would be in some Measure done away that if the Men began after this was accomplished to think seriously of what they had really suffered that they prefer Risquing any seeming difficulty that might probably turn out favourable, than to attempt a Retreat when they would be certain of Experiencing what they had already felt and if the weather should be Freesing altogether Impracticable except the Ice would bear them in the eavening of the 14th our Vessel was finished maned and sent to Explore the Drownded Lands with private Instructions what Report to make. and, if possible, to find some spot of dry Land on the Bank of the oposite small River which they did about half a Acrae, and marked the Trees back from thence to the camp and made a very

[1] See *Mason Letter, ante*, 140. Also Bowman's *Journal, ante*, 157.

favourable Report fortunately the 15th happened to be a worm moist Day for the Season and the channel of the River whare we lay About Thirty yds wide a scaffold was built on the opposite Shore that was about 3 feet under water our Baggage ferried across and but on it our Horses swam across and Received their Loads at the scaffold by which time the Troops was also brought across and we began our march our Vessell Loaded with those that was sickly &c we moved on chearfully every Moment expecting to see dry Land which was not discovered untill to little Dry spots mentioned this being a smaller branch than the other the Troops amediately crossed and marched on in the water as utial to gain and take possession of the nighest Height they could discover our Horses and Baggage crossed as they had done at the former River and proceeded on following the marked Trail of the Troops (as Tracts could not be seen in the water the Trees was Marked By the eavening we found our Selves Incamped on a pretty Height in high spirits Each Laughing at the other in consequence of something that had happened in the course of this ferrying business as they called it and the whole at the great Exploit as they thought that they had accomplished this a little Antick Drummer afforded them great divertion by floating on his Drum &c all this was greatly Incouraged and they really began to think themselves superiour to other men and that neither the Rivers or seasons could stop their progress their whole conversation now was what they would do when they got about the Enemy and now began to View the main Waubash as a Creek and Made no Doubt but such men as they ware could find a way to cross it they wound themselves up to such a pitch that they soon took St Vincenes divided the spoil and before Bed time was far advanced on their Route to DeTroit this no Doubt was pleasing to those of us that had more serious thoughts we ware now as it ware in the Enemies Cuntrey no possibility of a Retreat if the Enemy should discover and overpower us (except by the Means of our Gally if we should fall in with her) we ware now convinced that the whole of the Low Cuntrey on the waubach was drownded that the Enemy could Easily get to us if they discovered us and wished to risque an action if they did not we made no doubt of crossing the River by some means or other suppose Captn Rogers

had not got to his station agreable to his appointment that we would and if possible steal some Vessels from Houses oposite to the Town &c we flatered ourselves that all would be well and March on in High Spirits on the 17th dispatched Mr Keneday and three men off to cross the River Umbara (this River is six miles from St Vincenes) and if possible get some Vessels in the Vicinity of the Town but principally if he could do it in safety get some Intelign he proceeded on and geting to the River found that the Cuntrey betwen that and the Waubach Over flowed we Marched down below the Mouth of the Umbara attempting in Vain to get to the Ba[n]ks of the waubash late in the Night finding a dry spot we Incampted and was amused for the first time by the Morning Gun from the British Garrison we continued our March and about 2 OClock 18th gain the Banks of the Waubash 3 Leagues below the Town whare we Incamped dispatched four men across the River on a Raft to find Land if possible[1] march to the Town if possible and get some canoes privately Captn Mc-Carty with a few set out the next in a little canoe he had made for the same purpose boath parties Returned without the first could not get to Land and the Captn Was drove back by the appearance of a Camp the Canoe was amediately dispatched down the River to meet the Gally with orders to proceed Day and Night but determined to have every string to my Bow I possibly could I ordered canoes to be built in a private place not yet out of hopes of our Boat arriving if she did those canoes would augment our Fleet if she did not before they ware ready they would answer our purpose without her Many of our Volunteers began for the first time to despair some talked of Returning[2] but my situation was situation now was such that I was past all uneasiness I laughed at them without perswading or ordering them to desist from any such attempt but told them I should be glad they would go out and kill some dear they went confused with such conduct my own Troops I knew had no Idea of abandoning an Enterprise for the want of provitions while their was plenty of good Horses

[1] The account here follows closely that given in Bowman's *Journal*, February 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22. See *ante*, 158. See also the letter of Bowman to Isaac Hite, June 14, 1779, *post*, 334.

[2] Compare with *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 140; also with Bowman's *Journal*, February 19, *ante*, 158.

in their possession and I new that with out any Violence the Volunteers could be detained for a few Days in the course of which time our fate would be known I conducted myself in such a manner that caused the whole to believe that I had no doubt of suckcess which keep their Spirits and Hunters being out they every moment hopes of geting a geting a supply from them as well as the hopes of the Gallys heaving in sight[1] I was sensible that if we should not be discovered in two Days that we should effect the passage of the River On the 20th the water guard decoyed on shore a Boat with 5 Frenchmen and some provitions on board they on their way to Join a party of Hunters down the River they informed us that we not discovered that the Inhabitants ware well disposed towards us[2] that they had greatly strenghened the fort, which was quite finished that their numbers was nearly the same as when Mr Vigo left the place in short they gave us every Information we wished for and of two Vessels that they said was a drift up the River Captn Worthington Recovered one having now two small Vessels Early of the 21st the Crossing of our Troops comenced and was landed and Landed on a small rising called the Mamel[3] leaving our Baggage Captn J. Williams serching for a passage gave chase to a canoe but could not bring it to the men that we had taken said that it was Impossible that we could make the Town that Night or at all with our Vessels but recollecting what we had done we thought otherways—pushed into the water and Marched a League to what is call the upper Mamell being frequently to the arm pits in water[4] hear we Incampted our men yet in spirits from the hopes of their Fatiegue soon being at an end and their wishes acomplish in geting in in contact with the Enemy this last march through the water was so far Superiour to any thing the French Men had an Idea of that they ware backward in speaking said that the nearest Land to us was a small League call the Shugar Camps on the bank of the

[1] Marginal note by Clark: "The reason why provisions was now so scarce was owing to the whole of ours being damaged on the march and game being very scarce in the vicinity of St Vincent."

[2] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 20, *ante*, 158.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

River[1] a canoe was dispatch of and Returned without finding that we could pass I went in her my self and sounded the water found as deep as to my neck I Returned with a design to have the men Transported on board the canoes to the Shugar Camp which I new would spend the whole Day and Insuing night as the Vessels would pass but slowly through the Bushes the loss of so much time to men half starved was a matter of consequence I would have given now a good deal for a Days provition or for one of our Horses I returned but slowly to the Troops giving my self time to think on our arrival all ran to hear what was the Report every Eye was fixed on me I unfortunately Spoke Serious to one of the Officers—the whole was allarmed without knowing what I said the ran from one to another bewailing their Situation I Viewed their confution for about one minute Whispered to those near me to [do] as I did—amediately took some water in my hand poured on Powder Blacked my face gave the war hoop and marched into the water without saying a word the party gased and fell in one after another without saying a word like a flock of sheep. I ordered those that was near me to begin a favourite song of theirs it soon passed through the Line and the whole went on chearfully[2] I now Intended have them Transported across the deepest part of the water but when geting about waist deep one of the men Informed me that he thought he felt a path[3] we examined and found it so and concluded that it keep on the Highest ground which it did and by pains to follow it we got to the Shugar camp without the least difficulty and what gave the allarm at the former proved fortunate whare their was about half an Acre of dry ground at least not under water whare we took up our Lodgings the French men that we had taken on the River appeared to be uneasy at our situation they beged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to Town in they night that they would bring from their own Houses provitions without a possibility of any persons knowing it that some of our men should go with them as a surety of their good conduct that it was impossible we

[1] Compare with *Mason Letter, ante*, 140; also with Bowman's *Journal*. February 22, *ante*, 159.

[2] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 22.

[3] Marginal note by Clark: "A path is very easyly discovered under water by the Feet.—G. R. C."

could march from that place untill the water fell that would be in a few days for the plain befor for upwards of three miles was covered too deep to march some of the Selicited that it might be done I would not suffer it by no means I never could well account for this piece [of] obstinacy and give satisfactory reasons to myself or any body else why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to Execute and so much advantage but some thing seemed to Tell me that it should not be done and it was not. The most of the weather that we had on this march was moist and warm for the season this was the coldest Night we had the Ice in the morning was from ½ to ¾ Inch thick near the shoars and in still water[1] the Morning was the finest we had had on our march A little after sun-Rise I Lectured the whole what I said to them I forget but it may be easily Imagined by a person that could possess my affections for them at that time Concluded by informing them that surmounting the plain that was then in full View and Reaching the oposite woods would put an End to their fatiegue that in a few Hours they would have a sight of their long wish for Object and amediately stept into the water without waiting[2] for any Reply a Huza took place as we Gen[ly] March through the water in a line as it was much Easiest before a third Entered I Halted and further to prove the Men and having some suspition of three or four Hollowed to Maj[r] Bowman order him to fall in the rear with 25 men and put to death any man that refused to March that we wished to have no such person among us the whole gave a cry of apperbation that it was Right and on we went This was the most Trying of all the difficulties we had experienced I Gen[ly] keep 15 or 20 of the strongest men Next myself and Judging from my own feeling what must be that of of other geting about the Middle of the plain the water about need deep I found myself sensibly failing as their was hear no Trees or Bushes for the men to support them selves by I doubted that many of the most weak would be drownd I order the canoes to make the Land discharge their Loading and ply backwards and forwards with all diligence and pick up the men and to Incourage the party sent some of the

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 23, *ante*, 159.
[2] *Ibid.*

strongest men forward with orders when they got to a certain distance to pass the word back that the water was geting [shallower] and when geting near the woods to cry out Land This stratagem had its desired effect the men Incouraged by exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities the weak holding by the stronger and frequently one with two others holt this was of Infinite advantage to the weak but the water never got shallower but continued deepening geting to the woods whare they expected Land the Water was up to my shoulders but gaining those woods was of great consequence all the Low men and Weakly Hung to the Trees and floated on the old logs untill they ware taken of by the Canoes the strong and Tall got ashore and built fires many would reach the shore and fall with their bodies half in the water not being able to Support themselves with out it this was a delightfull Dry spot of Ground of about Ten Acres we soon found that the fires answered no purpose but that two strong men taking a weaker one by the Arms was the only way to recover him and being a delightfull Day it soon did But fortunately as if designed by Providence a Canoe of Indian squaws and Children was coming up to the Town and took through part of this plain as a nigh way was discovered by our Canoes as they ware out after the men they gave chase and took them on Board of which was near half Quarter of Buffaloe some corn Tallow Kettles &c this was a grand prise and was Invaluable Broath was amediately made and served out to the most weak by [but] with great care most of the whole got a little but a great many would not tast it but gave their part to the weakly Jocosely saying something cheary to their comrades this little refreshment[1] and fine weather by the afternoon gave new life to the whole crossing a narrow deep Lake in the Canoes and marching some distance we came to a Copse of Timber called the warriours Island[2] we ware now in full View of the Fort and Town not a srub betwen us at about two miles distance every man now feasted his Eyes and forgot that he had suffered any thing that all that had pass[d] was owing to good policy and nothing but what a man could bear and that a soldier had no Right to think &c passing from one extream to another which is common in such

[1] This incident is given in no other account of the march.

[2] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 23, *ante*, 159.

cases it was now we had to Display our Abilities the plain betwen us and the Town was not a perfect level the sunken ground was covered with water full of Ducks we observed several men on Hors back out shooting of them within half Mile of us and sent out as many of our active young French men to decoy and take one of them prisoner in such a manner as not to allarm the others which they did[1] the Information we got from this person was similar to those we took on the River excep that of the British that Eavening having Compleated the wall of the Fort &c that their was a good many Indians in Town our situation was now Truly critical no possibility of Retreating in case of Defeat in full View of a Town that at this time had upwards of Six Hundred Men in it Troops Inhabitants and Indians. The Crew of the Gally though not fifty men would have been now a Reinforcement of Imence Magnitude to our Little Army (If I may so call it) but we would not think of them we ware now in the situation that I had Laboured to get our selves in the Idea of being made prisoner was foreign almost to Every man as the expected nothing but Torture from the savages if they fell into their Hands our Fate was now to be determined probably in a few Hours we knew that nothing but the Most daring conduct could Insure suckcess I knew that a number of the Inhabitants wished us well many Luke warm to the Interest of Either and also learned that the Grand Chief the Tobacos son had openly but a few Days past openly declared in Counsell with the British that he was Brother and Friend to the big knife these ware favourable circumstances (and as their was but little probability of our remaining untill dark undiscovered as great numbers of Fowlers go out in the and that we now sec and hear through the Plains around us) I determined to begin the Carear amediately and Wrote the Following Placart to the Inhabitants and sent it off by the Prisoner Just taken who was not permited to see our numbers

To the Inhabitants &c

Gen[a] Being now within Two Miles of your Villag with my army determined to take your Fort this Night and not being willing to supprize you I take this step to Request of such of you as are true citizens & willing to Injoy the Liberty I bring you to

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 23, *ante*, 159.

remain Still in your Houses. and that those (If any there be) that are Friends to the King of England will Instantly repair to the Fort and Join his Troops and Fight like men and if such should here after be discovered that did not Repair to the Garison they be depend on sevear punishment on the contrary those that are True friends to Liberty may Expect to be well Treated as such. I once more Request that they may keep out of the Streets for every person found under Arms on my Arrival will be Treated as an Enemy[1]

I had Various Ideas on the Supposed Result of this Letter I knew that it could do us no damage that it would Incourage our Friends cause the lukewarm to be desided and Astonish our Enemies that they would of course suppose our Information good and our forces so numerous that we ware sure of suckcess and this was only a piece of Parade that the army was from Kentucky and not from the Illinois as it would be thought Impossible to march from thence and that my Name was only made use of (this they firmly believed untill the next morning when I was shown to them by a person in the Fort that knew me well) or that we ware a Flying party that only made use of this stratagem to give our selves to Retreat this latter Idea I new would be soon done away. several Gen^{tn} men sent ther Compliments to ther Friends under borrowed Names well known at S^{t} Vincents and the person supposed to have been at Kentucky the soldiers all had instructions that ther common conversation when speaking of our Numbers should be such that a stranger overhearing must suppose that their was near 1000[2] of us we anctiously Viewed this Messenger untill he entered the Town and in a few minutes could discover by our glases some stir in every street we could penetrate into, and great numbers Runing or Riding out into the Commons we supposed to View us which was the case but what supprised us was that nothing had yet happened that had the appearance of the Garisons being allarmed no Drum nor Gun[3] we began to suppose that the Information we got from our prisoner false and that the Enemy

[1] For the problem, see Bowman's *Journal*, February 23, *ante*, 159.

[2] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 141.

[3] *Ibid.* "The Houses obstructed the Forts observing us."

already knew of us and was prepared Every Mand [man] had been Impatient the moment was now arrive a little before sunset we Moved and Displayed our selves in full View of the Town[1] Crowds gazing at us we ware plunging ourselves into certain distruction or suckcess their was no midway thought of we had but little to Say to our men except Inculcating an Idea of the nessessity of obedience &c we knew they did not want I[n]courageing and that any thing might be attempted with them that was possible for such a number perfectly cool under proper subordination pleased with the prospect before them and much atached to their officers they all declared that they ware confinced that an implicit obedience to order was the only thing that would insure suckcess and hope that no mercy should be shown the person that should Violate them but amediately put to Death such Language as this from soldiers to persons in our situation must have been exceedingly agreable we moved on slowly in full View of the Town but as it was a point of some consequence to us to make ourselves appear as formadable we in leaving the covert that we ware in Marched and counter March in such a manner that we appeared numerous) Raising Volunteers in the Illinois every person that set about the business must have a set of Colurs given him which they brought with them to the am[t] of 10 or 12 pair these ware displayed to the best advantage and as the Low plain we mach through was not a perfect level but have frequent Risings in it of Seven or Eight Feet higher than the common Level which was covered with Water and they Gen[ly] Run in an oblique direction to the Town we took the advantage of on[e] of them march through the Water under it which compleatly prevented our Men being Numbered but our Colours shewed considerably above the height as they ware fixed to long poles procured for the purpose and at a distance made no despicable appearance[2] and as our young frenchmen had while we lay on the Warriours Island decoyed and taken several Fowlers with their Horses officers ware mounted on those and Rode about more compleatly to deceiv the Enemy in this manner we moved and directed our march in such a manner as to suffer it to be dark before had avanced more than half way to the

[1] For the order of march, see Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 165.

[2] Compare with *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 141.

Town we then suddenly altered our direction and crosed ponds whare they could not have suspected us and about Eight OClock gained the Heights back of the Town and as their was yet no Hostile appearance we ware impatient to have to have the cause unridled L[t] Bayley was ordered with 14 Men to march and fire on the Fort the main body move in a different direction and took possession of the Strongest part of the Town the firing now commenced on the Fort but they did not believe it was an Enemy untill on[e] of the men was shot down through a port as he was lighting his Match as Drunken Indians frequently saluted the Fort after night the Drums now sounded and the business fairly commenced on boath sides[1] Reinforcements was sent to attact of the Garison while Other Arangements ware making in Town &c we now found that the Garison had known nothing of us that having finished the Fort that eavening they had amused themselves at different games and had retired Just before my Letter arrive as it was near Roal Call the Placart being made publick Many of the Inhabitants was affraid to sho out of the Houses for fear of offence and not one dare give Information our friends flew to the Commons and other Convenient places to View the pleasing sight which was observe from the Garison and the reason asked but a satisfactory Excuse given and as part of the Town lay between our Line of March and the Garison we could not be seen by the sentinels on the walls Cap[tn] W. Shannon and another being some time before taken Prisoners by one ther and that Eavening brought in the party had discovered at the shugar camps some sign of us they supposed it to be a party of observation that Intended to Land on the Hight some distance below the Town Cap[tn] Lamoth was sent to Intercept them[2] (It was at him the people said they were looking at when they ware asked the reason of their unutial stir) several Suspected person had been taken to the Garison among which was M[r] Mosses Henry M[rs] Henry went under the pretence of Carrying him provition and whispered him the News and what she had seen M[r] Henry conveyed it to the rest of his fellow prisoners which gave them much pleasure particularly Cap[tn] Helms who amused himself very much during the Siege and I believe did much

[1] For the beginning of the attack see *Mason Letter, ante*, 142.

[2] See Bowman's *Journal, ante*, 160. Also *Mason Letter, ante*, 142.

damage[1] Amunition was scarce with us as the most of our Stores had been put on board of the Gally though her Crew was but few such a Reinforcement to us at this period would have been Invaluable in many Instances but fortunately at the time of its being Reported that the whole of the Good in the Town was to be taken for the Kings use for which the owners was to receive Bills Co[l] Legrass Maj[r] Bosseron and others had buried the Greatest part of their powder and Ball this was amediately produced and we found our selves well supplyed by those Gen[tn].[2] The Tobacco's Son being in Town with a nunmber of Warriours amediately mustered them and let us know that he wished to Join us that by the Morning he would have a Hundred men he received for answer that we thanked him for his friendly disposition and as we ware suffitiently strong ourselves we wished him to desist and that we would converse on the Subject in the Morning and as we knew that their was a number of Indians in and near the Town that was our Enemies some confution might hapen if our men should mix in the Dark but hoped that we might be favoured with his counsell and Company During the Night which was agreable to him[3] the Garison was now Compleatly surrounded and the firing continued without Intermission (except about 15 minutes a little before Day) untill about 9 OClock the following morning by the whole of our Troops Joined by a few of the young men of the Town that got permission Except 50 Men keep as a Reserve in case of Casualty happening which was many and diverting in the course of the night I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation of the Fort Town and the parts Relative to each the Cannon of the Garrison was on the upper Floars of strong Block Houses at Each angle of the F[t] Eleven Feet above the surface and the Ports so badly cut that many of

[1] The means through which Lieutenant Helm learned of the attack is given only in the *Memoir*.

[2] The earliest account received at Detroit informing the British officers of the capture of Vincennes was that taken by Captain Chene. He was outside the fort at the time of the capitulation and made his escape. A copy of his report is in the Draper MSS., 58J15 *et seq.* In it he says. "The Rebels entered at the lower end of the village with a drum beating and a white colour flying, and proceeded immediately to the houses of Major LeGras and Captain Bosron. They then wandred up to the Fort, which they immediately invested."

[3] For the attitude of Tobacco's Son, see *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 152.

our Troops lay under the fire of them within 20 or 30 yards of the walls they did no Damage except to the Building of the Town some of which they much shattered and their Musquetrey in the dark Imployed against woodsmen Covered by Houses pailings (the gardens of S[t] Vincents were very near & about two thirds around it the fencing was generally of good piquets well set and about six feet high whare those were wanting breast works were soon made by tearing down old houses gardens &c so that those within had very little advantage to those without the Fort[1] and not knowing the number of the enemy thought themselves in a worse situation than they Really was) Ditches the banks of the River & was but of little avail and did no damage to us except wounding a man or two and as we could not afford to loose men great care was taken to preserve them suffitiently covered and to keep up a Hot Fire in order to Intimidate the Enemy as well as to destroy them the Ambrasures of their Cannon ware frequent shut for our Rifle men finding the true direction of them would pour in such Volleys when they ware opened that the men could not stand to the Guns 7 or Eigh[t] of them in a short time got cut down[2] our Troops would frequently abuse the Enemy in order to agravate them to open their Ports and fire their Cannon that that they might have the pleasure of Cuting them down with their Rifles fifty of which perhaps would be leveled the moment the Port flew open and I believe if they had have stood to their Artillery that the greatest part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the Night as the greatest part of our men Lay within Thirty yards of the Walls and in a few Houses was Eaqually Covered to those within it and much more Experienced in that mode of fighting the Flash of our guns directed them perhaps in an Instant the man moved his body the moment there was the least appearance at one of their Loop holes perhaps there would be dozzen guns fired at it some times an Ireruglar and as hot a fire as possible keep up from different Directions for a few minutes and then only a continual Scatering fire at the ports as utial and a great noise and Laughter Imediately commenced in different parts of the Town by the Reserved parties as if the had only fired on the

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 23, *ante*, 160; *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 142.
[2] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 23, *ante*, 160.

Fort a few minute for Amusement as if those continually fire at the Fort was only Regularly Relieved conduct similar to this keep the garison Eternally allarmed they did not now what moment they might be stormed or saped as they could plainly discover that we had flung up some Intrenchments across the Streats and appeared to frequently very busily under the Bank of the River which was within Thirty Feet of the Walls the situation of the Magazine we well knew Cap^{tn} Bowman began some works in order to blow it up in case our Artillery should arrive but as we knew that we ware Dayley liable to overpowered by the numerous bands of Indeans on the River in case they had again Hertily Joined the Enemy (the certainty of which we ware yet unacquainted with) we resolved to loose no time but to get the Fort in our possession as soon as possible and that if the Vessel did not arrive before to undermine the Fort the ensuing night and fixed on the Spot and plan of Executing this work which we Intended to commence the next Day The Indians of Different Tribes that was Inimical had left the Town and neighberhood Cap^{tn} Lamoth continued to hover about it in order if possible to make his way good into the Fort parties continued in vain to supprise him a few of his party was taken one of which was Masonville[1] a famous Indian partizan two Lads that captured him led him to a post in the Streat and fought from behind him as a Breast work supposing that the Enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him as he would allarm them they were ordered by an officer that discovered them at their amusement and was ordered to untie and take him of the Guard which they did but was so Inhumane as to take of part of scalp on the way but happened to do him no other damage As almost the whole of the persons that most active in the Department of DeTroit was Either in the Fort or with Cap^{tn} Lamoth I got Extreamly uneasy for fear that he would not fall in our powers knowing that he would go off if he could effect his purpose in the course of the Night finding that without some unforeseen actident that the Fort must Enivetably be ours and that a Reinforcement of 20 Men although considerable to them would not would not be of great moment to us in the present situation of our affairs and knowing that we had weakened them by kiling

[1] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 142; Bowman's *Journal*, February 23, *ante*, 160.

or wounding many of their Gunners after some deliberation on the subject we concluded to Risque the Reinforcement in preference to his going again among the Indians and as the Garison had at least a month provitions if they could hold out in the course of that time he might do us much Damage a little before Day the Troops was withdrawn from the Fort except a few parties of observation and the firing totally ceased orders was given that in case approached not to allarm or fire on him without a certainty of killing or taking the whole in less than a Quarter of an Hour he passed within 10 Feet of an officer and small party that lay consealed Ladders was flung over to them and as they Mounted them as they mounted our party shouted many of them fell from the Top of the Walls some within and others back but as they was not fired on they all got over much to the Joy of their Friends which was Easily discovered by us but no doubt but that on their considering the matter they must have been convinced that it was a scheam of ours to let them in and that we ware so strong as to care but Little about them as the Manner of their geting into the Garison our T[r]oops Hollowing and diverting themselves at them while mounting without fireing at them and being frequently told by our Most Blackguard soldiers of the scheam and Reason for suffering them to get in to the Fort which on Reflection they must have believed but we knew that their knowledge of it could now do us no damage but rather Intimidate them: however the Garison appear much Elated at the Recovery of a Valuable offiser and party The firing amediately commenced on boath sides with double Vigour and I believe that more Noise could not have been made by the same Number of men their shouts could not be heard for the fire arms but a continual Blaze around the Garison without much done untill a little before Day light when our Troops was drawn of to posts prepared for them from about 60 to 100 y^{ds} from the Garison from which a Loop hole could sc[a]rcely be darkened by [but] a Rifle Ball would pass through it[1] to have Stood to their Cannon would have [been] destroying their men without a probability of doing much service our situations ware nearly similar it would have been imprudent in either party to

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 161; also Bowman's letter to Isaac Hite, *post*, 334; Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 165.

have waisted ther men with out some desisive stroke required it thus the attact continued untill about nine Oclock in the morning of the 24th Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the Day before had a considerable number of Letters with them I supposed it an Express that we expected about this time which I new to be of the greatest moment to us as we had not received one Since our arrival in the countrey and not being fully acquainted with the character of our Enemy we ware doubtfull that those papers might be destroyed to prevent which I sent a flag Demanding the Garison and desiring Govr Hamilton not to destroy them with some threats in case he did if his Garison should fall into my Hands[1] his answer was that they ware not disposed to be awed into any thing unbecoming British Subjects[2] the fireing Commenced warmly for a considerable time and we ware obliged to be carefull in preventing our Men from exposing themselves too much as they ware now much animated having been refreshed during the Flag and frequently mentioned their wishes to storm the place and put an end to the business at once this would at this time be a piece of Rashness our Troops got warm the firing was heavy through every crack that could be discovered in any part of the Fort with cross shot several of the Garrison got wounded and no possibility of standing near the Ambrazures after some towards the Eavening a flag appeared with the following propotials[3] I was greatly at a loss to conceive what reason G Hamilton could have for wishing a Truce of Three Days on such terms as he proposed numbers said it was a scheam to get me into their possession I had a different opinion and no Idea of his possessing such sentiments as an act of that nature would Infalibly ruin him but was convinced that he had some prospect of suckers or other ways Extricating

[1] Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 160, says about nine o'clock the flag of truce was sent into the fort. This document gives the message sent to Governor Hamilton. *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 143, says about eight o'clock; and Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 165, gives the same hour.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "See Majr Bowman's Journal."

[3] Marginal note by Clark: "See M. B. Jo. G. R. C." This proposal and Clark's answer are given in Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 161. See also Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 166. This gives the proposal of a truce for three days as the second sent by Governor Hamilton. See Hamilton's account, *ante*, 187. He declared that there were at the time six of his English followers wounded and that there were only about thirty more who could be depended on.

himself although we had the greatest reason to expect a Reinforcement in less than three Days that would at once put an End to siege I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the propotial and sent the Following answer Sir &c[1]

we met at the Church about 80 y[ds] from y[e] Fort Gov[r] Hamilton Maj[r] Hay Superintendand of Indian affairs and Cap[tn] Helms that was their prisoner Maj[r] Bowman & self the conference began Gov[r] Hamilton produced articles of capitulation signed that contained Various articles one of which was that the Garison should be surrendered on their being permited to go to pensecola on parole &c after deliberating on every article I rejected the whole he then wished that I would make some proposition[2] I told him that I had no others to make than what I had already done that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion that his Troops had behaved with spirit that they could not suppose that they would be wo[r]se treated in consequence of it with their Viewing us as savages that If he chose to comply with demand though hard perhaps the sooner the beter that it was in Vain to make any proposition to me That he by this time must be sensible that the Garison would Fall and that boath of us must that all Blood spilt for the future by the Garison as Murder that my Troops was already Impatient and Called aloud for permission to tear down and storm the Fort if such a step was taken many of Course would be cut down and the Result of an Inraged body of Woodmen breaking in must be obvious to him it would be out of the power of an Amican officer to save a single man Various altercation took place for a considerable time Cap[tn] Helms attempted to moderate our fixed determination I told him that he was a British prisoner and it was doubtfull whether or not he could with propriety Speak on the subject[3] G H[amilton] then said that Cap[tn] Hels[4] was from that moment Liberated and might use his pleasure I informed the Cap[tn] that I would not reseive him on such terms that he must return to the Garison and wait his

[1] Marginal note by Clark: "V. M. B. J°. G. R. C."

[2] Compare with Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 162; and *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 143.

[3] See Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 168.

[4] Marginal note by Clark: "C. [Capt.] Helms had been extreamly well treated by the British. G. R. C."

fate and told the Gov^r that hostilities should not commence untill the minute after the drums gave the allarm We took our leave and parted but a few step before the Gov^r Stopt and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the Garison on any other terms than those I had offered I told him that I had no objections in giving him my ral Reasons which was simply those that I knew the greatest part of the principal Indian partizans of DeTroit was with him that I wanted an excuse to put them to Death or other ways treat them as I thought proper[1] that the Cries of the Widows and Fatherless on the Frontiers that they had occationed now Required their Blood from my Hands and that I did not chuse to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute Commands of their authority which I looked upon to be next to divine that I would rather Loose Fifty Men that not to Impower myself to Execute this piece of business with propriety that if he choose to Risque the masacre of his Garison for their sakes it was at his own pleasure and that I perhaps might take it in my head to send for some of those Widows to see it Executed[2] Maj^r Hay paying great attention I had observed a kind of distrust in his countenance which in a great measure Influenced my Conversation during this time on my Concluding pray Sir says he who is that you call Indian partizans Si^r I Replyed I take Maj^r Hay to be one of the Principals I never saw a man in the Moment of Execution So Struck as he appeared to be Pail and Trembling scarcely able to stand G H. blushed and I observed was much affected at his behaviour in the presence Cap^tn Bowmans Countenance Suffitiently explained his disdain for the one and his Sorrow for the other I Viewed the whole with such sentiments as I suppose Natural to some men in such cases some moments Relapsed without a word passing on either side from that Moment by Resolutions changed Respecting G Hamilton situation I told him that we would return to our respective posts that I would reconsider the matter and that I would let him know the Result if we though[t] of making any further propotials that of surrendering at discretion he should know it by the Flag if not to be on his Guard at a certain by Drum in mean [time] no

[1] Compare with *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 144.

[2] Compare with Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 167.

offensive measures should be taken[1] in mean time agreed to and we parted what had passed being made known to our officers it was agread the we should moderate our Resolutions the following articles was sent to the Garison and an answer amediately returned[2] The business being now nearly at an End Troops was posted in several strong Houses around the Garison and Patrooled during the Night to prevent any Deception that might be attempted and the remainder of[f] Duty lay on their arms and for the first time for many Days past got some Rest

During the hole conference a party of about twenty Warriours that had bin sent to the Fall for scalps and prisoners was discovered on the Return as they entered the plains near the Town and their being no firing at this time they had suspition of an Enemy Cap^{tn} Jn^{o} Williams was order to meet and salute them he went on meeting them the Indians supposed it a party of their Friends coming to welcome them gave the Scalp and war hoope and came on with all the Parade of suckcessfull Warriours Williams did the same aproaching each nearer the Indns fire a Volley in the air the Cap^{tn} did so aproaching within a few steps of each other the cheif stopt as being suspitious Cap^{tn} Williams amediately seized him the rest saw the mistake ran fifteen of them was Killed and Made prisoners two two partizans [killed][3] and two prisoners released of them proved to be prisoners was Released and Indians Tomahawked by the Soldiers and flung into the River we after this learned that but one of this party ever returned that got off to their Nation so that seventeen must have been destroyed it was known by us that nearly the whole of them was badly wounded but as we yet had an Enemy to contend with of more Importance than they ware of their was no time for pursuit and but a few minutes in Executing the business before Cap^{tn} Williams

[1] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 144.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "See M. B. J. G. R. C." For the terms submitted, see Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 162. Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 168.

[3] In the *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 144, it is said, "Six of them was made Prisoners, two of them Scalped, and the rest so wounded as we afterwards learnt, but one Lived." Clark's *Journal*, *ante*, 167, indicates that the number in the party consisted of eight Indians and one Frenchman. Of these three were killed on the spot, and four were afterwards tomahawked in the street. Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 161. "Our Men having got news of it pursued them kill'd two on the Spot wounded three took 6 Prisoners Brought them into Town two of them proving to be White Men That they took Prisoners."

drew of his party and Returned of course the Indⁿ that not amediate fell or was taken got off One reason why we whished not Receive the Garison untill the following morning was its being late in the Eavening be[fore] the Capitulation was signed and the Number of prisoners that we should Have when compared to our small force we doubted the want of Day light to arrange matters to advantage and as we knew we could now prevent any misfortune happening as we could now form such dispositions with our Troops as Render the Fort almost useless as to defence that their could be no danger of cours supposed it prudent to let the British Troops Remain in the Fort untill the following morning we should not have had so suspitions as to made of so much precaution but I must confess that we could not help Doubting Honour of men that could condesend to Incourage the barbarity of the Indians olthough almost every man had conceived a very favourable opinion of Govʳ Hamilton (and I believed what affected myself made some impression on the whole) I was happy to find that he never deviated while he stayed with us from that Dignity of Conduct that became an officer in his situation

The Morning of the 25th aproaching arrangements ware made for receiving the Garrison and about 10 Oclock it was delivered in Form[1] and every thing amediately arranged to the best advantage on Viewing the Inside of the Fort and stores I was at first astonish at being given up in the Manner it was but on weighing every circumstance I found that it was prudent and a lucky circumstance and probably save the lives of many men on boath sides as the night past we Inclinded to attempt undermining of it and I found it would have required deligence to have prevented our suckcess if we had faild in this on further Examination I found that our information was so good that in all probability that the first hot shot after arrival of our Artillery would have blown up the Magazine and would at once put an end to the business as its situation and the Quantity of Pow[d]er in it was such that it must have nearly destroyed great part of the Garison We yet found

[1] The formalities observed are described in Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 162. For Hamilton's account, see *ante*, 191. His reasons for capitulating were, he stated: the treachery of one-half of his men; the assurance that the villagers had joined the Americans; the condition of his wounded men; the weak state of his defenses; the impossibility of escaping; and lack of provisions.

ourselves uneasy the Number of prisoners we had taken aded to those of the Garison was so considerable when compared to our own numbers that we ware at a loss how to dispose of them so as not to intefear with our future operations[1] DeTroit opened full in our View not more than 80 men in the Fort great part of them Invalids and we found that a considerable Number of thar prinsipal Inhabitants was disaffected to the British cause[2] the distance of any suckers they could get except Indians was very considerable they the Indians on our rout we knew would now be more than ever be cool towards the English that this matter was never rightly considered by the continent if it had the execution was but faintly attempted possession of Dutroit and a post of Communication at Guiahoga supplies might be always easily sent through that channel from pitsburgh and Lake Erie we might have easily in our possession which would compleatly put an End to all our Troubles in this Quarter and perhaps open a Doar to further advantageous operations those ware the Ideas that influanced us at present we could now augment our forces in this quarter to about four Hundred men as near half the Inhabitants of St Vincens would Join us Kentuck we new could immediately furnish perhaps 200 Men as their was a certainty of their receiving a great addition of setlers in the spring[3] with the of our own stores which we had learnd was safe on their passage added to that of the British their would not be a single article wanting for such an atempt and supplyes of provitions migh[t] be got at DuTroit for some time we privately Resolved to imbrase the object that seemed to Court my acceptance without delay giving the Enemy no time to recover the present blows they had received but wished it to become the object of the Soldiery and Inhabitants before we should say any thing about it but immediately became the common topick among them and in a few days had arranged things so that they

[1] A list of the prisoners is given, *ante*, 111.

[2] Draper MSS., 49J26. Captain Lernoult to Governor Hamilton, February 9, 1779. "I have erected a strong work on the Hill sufficient to Secure the Stores &ca. belonging to the Crown and to enable me with a few troops and fewer good subjects here to defend them." See the letter of Leonard Helm to Clark, May 9, 1779, *post*, 316; also letter of Helm to Clark, May 31, 1779, *post*, 324.

[3] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 146.

war in their Imagination almost ready to march they ware discountenanced in such conversation and such measures taken as tended to show that our Ideas was foreign from such an attempt but at same time was taken every step to have our way the great quntity of publick goods brought from DeTroit added to the whole of those belonging to the Traders of St Vincent that had been taken was very considerable the whole was immediately divided among the soldiery (excep some Indian Medals that was kep in order to be altered for publick use) The officers received nothing except a few articles of Cloathing that they stood in need of t[h]e soldiers got almost Rich others envied their good fortune[1] and wished that some Enterprise might be undertaken to inable them to perform some exploit DuTroit was their object the Clamour had now got to a great height[2] to silance it and to answer other purposes they ware told that an army was to march the Insuing summer from Pittsburgh to take possession of DuTroit although from the last Falls proceeding we new that no such thing was to be aprehended A compleat company of Volunteers from DeTroit of Cap^{tn} Lamoths mostly composed of young men was drawn up and when expecting to be sent of into a strange cuntrey and probaly never again returning to their connections was told that we ware happy to learn that many of them ware torn from their Fathers and Mothers and forced on this Expedition others ignorant of the True cause in contest had engaged from a principal that actuates a great number of men that of being fond of enterprise but that they now had had a good opertunity to make themselves fully acquainted with the Nature of the War which they might explain to their friends and that as we new that sending them to the States whare they would be confined in a Jail probably for the course of the war would make a great number of our Friends at DeTroit unhappy we had thought proper for their sakes to suffer them to return home &c a great deal was said to them on the subject on the whole they ware discharged on taking an

[1] *Virginia Magazine*, xv., 211 *et seq.* Joseph Bowman to Isaac Hite, June 14, 1779, *post*, 334. "At the surrender of the Garrison we got One, six-pound Brass field Piece two four-Pounders of Iron & two swivels Likewise a Large quantity of Militery stores and Indian goods to the amount of Twenty Thousand Pounds."

[2] See the letter of Bowman to Hite.

Oath not to bear Arms against America untill exchanged and received an order for their Arms Boats and provitions to return with the Boats was to be sold and divided among them when they got home in a few Days they set out (and as we had spies that went among them as Traders we learned that they made great havack to the British interest on their return Publickly saying that they had taken an Oath not to fight against america but they had not sworn not to Fight [for] them &c and things carried to such a Height that the Com^{dg} Officer thought it prudent not to take notice of any thing that was said or done M^{rs} McComb that keep a noted boarding hows I understood had the assurance to shew him the stores she had provided for the Americans this was the completion of our my design in suffering this company to return) Many others that we could trust we suffered to Inlist in the Core so that our charge of prisoners was much reduced[1] Finding that Ten Boats loaded with goods and provitions was Dailey expected down the Waubash for fear of geting inteligence and returning on the 26th Cap^{tn} Helms Maj^{rs} Bosseron & Legraw with 50 Volunteers was sent in three armed Boats in pursuit of them[2] 27th Our Gally arrived all safe the crew much Mortified although they deserved great credit for their diligence they had on their passage taken up Wm. Myers Express from Government[3] these dispatches gave much incouragement our own Battallion to be compleated and an additional one to be expected this Spring but in the end proved unfortunate and on first reading gave boath pleasure and pain we had though but a day or twos time to study on the subject so fix on the plan of operation that we ware almost certain of suckcess in case we without delay made the attempt on Detroit as we knew our own strength and supplies and wanted no further information Respecting that Post but on the other hand we ware hear flattered with the prospect of an Imediate Reinforcement

a Councill was called on the subject I layed before the officers

[1] Compare this account of the treatment of the volunteers from Detroit with that given in the *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 146. See also Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 163. For a list of the names of these prisoners, see *ante*, 111. For the attitude of many persons at Detroit, see letter of Leonard Helm to Clark, May 9, 1779, *post*, 316.

[2] See Bowman's *Journal*, February 26 and 27, *ante*, 162.

[3] Marginal note by Clark: "V. Note 18. G. R. C."

my plans for the Immediate Reduction of DeTroit and explained the almost certainty of suckcess and probability of keeping possession of it untill we could Receive suckers from the State which we might reasonable suppose that they would make use of every Exertion on receiving the Inteligence which we could easily convey to them in a few If we waited the arrival of the Troops Mention in the Packet the Enemy in the mean time might get strengthened and probably we might not be so capable of Carrying the with the expected reinforcement as we should be with our present force in case we ware to make the attempt at this time and in case we shou[l]d be disapointed in the promest Reinforcement we might not be able to effect it at all their was various arguments made use of on this delicate point every person appeared anctious to Imbrace the present opertunity but prudence appeared to forbid the Execution but to wait for the reinforcement the argument that appeared to have the greatest weight was that with such a force we might march boldly through the Indian Nations that it would make a greator on them all well as the Inhabitants of DeTroit and have better effect than if we ware now to slip of and take the place with the small force which was certainly in our power that the British would not wish to weaken Niagara by sending any considerable reinforcement to DeTroit that it was more difficult for them to get suckers from Canaday that it was for us to Receive them from the states that they would not be able to get a Reinforcement in time to prevent our executed our designs as we might with propriety expect ours in a few Weaks In short the Enterprise was defered untill the [*blank in MS.*] of June to Rendevouse at this post in the mean time every preparation to [be] made procouring Provetions &c and to blind our designs the whole except a small Garison should march Immediately of to the Illinois and orders to Kentucky to prepair themselves to meet at the apointed time this was now our proposed plan an directed our operations the Insuing spring

March 5th Captn Helms Majrs Bosseron & Legraw [Legras] returned from of their tour up the River with great suckcess they came up with the enemy in the Night discrying their Fires at a distance waited untill all was quiet surround and took the whole prisoners without firing of a gun those Gentlemen was so of their

Guard and so little apprehention of a enemy in that part of the world that they could hardly perswade themselves that what they saw and Heard was real this was a Valuable 7 Boats loaded with Provitions and goods to a considerable amount[1] the Provitions was taken for the Publick and the Goods Divided among the whole except about 800£ worth to cloath the Troops we expected to Receive in a shot [*sic*] time this was very agreable to the Soldiers as I told them that they State should pay them in Money their proportions and that they had great plenty of Goods this reservation was a Valuable Idea for the Troops on their arrival what few ther was almost intirely Naked

7th Captns Williams & Rogers set out by water with a party of 25 men to conduct the British officers to Kentuckey and farther to weaken the Prisoner 18 Privates was also sent after their arrival at the Falls Captn Rogers had Instruction to superentend their Rout to Williamsburg and be carefull that all manner of supplies should be furnished them on their way, and to wait the orders of the Governor[2] poor Mieres the Express got killed on his passage and his packs fell into the Hands of the Enemy but I had so much on my guard that their was not a sentence in it that could be of any disadvantage to us for the Enemy to know and private Letters from Soldiers to their friends[3] designed wrote to deseve in case of such acsidents this was very customary with us as our expresses was frequently supprised I sent a second to the Governor giving him a shot but full act of what had past and our Views the copys of this packet had been long since lost among many other papers but I expect the original might be recovered among the Publick papers of those times I sent Letters to the Comd of Kentucky directing him to give me a certain but private act of the Number of Men he could furnish in June[4] the weather being now very disagreable and having some Leisure our time was spent in consultation weighing matters and arrangeing things to the best advantage A number of our men now got sick their Intrepidity

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, March 5, *ante*, 163.

[2] See the orders of Clark to Lieutenant Rogers, *ante*, 100.

[3] See letter of James Patten to Clark, April 10, 1779, *post*, 309, also letter of Robert George to Clark, April 19, 1779, *post*, 310.

[4] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 150.

and good suckcess had untill this keep up their spirits but things falling of to that little more than that of common Garison duty they more sensibly felt the Pains and other complaints that they had contracted during the severity of the late uncommon march to which many of those Valuable men fell fell a sacrifice and few others ever perfectly recovered it, I had yet sent no messag to the Indian Tribes wishing to wait to see what effect all this would have on them the Piankeshaws being of the Tribe of the Tobacos son was alway familiar with us part of the behaviour of this Grande as he View himself was diverting enough he had conceived such an inviolable attachment to cap^{tn} Helms that on finding that the Cap^{tn} was a prisoner and not being as yet able to Release him declared himself a prisoner also and Joined his Brother as he called and continually keep with him and condoleing their conditions as prisoners in great distress at the same wanted nothing that was in the power of the Garison to furnish Governor Hamilton knowing his Influance was extreamly Jealous of his behaviour and took every pains to gain him by presents &c when any this was presented him his reply would be that it would serve him and his Brother to live on and would not enter into counsel saying that he was a prisoner and had nothing to say but was in hopes that when the grass grew that his Brothers the B K would release him and when he was free he could talk &c being presented with an elegant sword he drew it and bending the point on the floor very seriously said it would serve him and his Brother to amuse themselves sticking frogs in the Ponds while in captivity in short they could no nothing with him and the Moment he heard of our arival he Paraded all the warriours he had in his Village (Joining S^{t} Vincents) and was ready to fall in and attact the Fort but for reasons formerly mentioned was desired to desist.[1]

15th a party of upper Piankeshaws Petawatmees and Miami Cheifs made their appearance Making great protestations of their attachment to the Americans begging to the might be taken under the cover of our wings and that the Roads through the Land might be made straight and all the Stumbling Blocks removed &c and that their friends the Neighbering Nations migh[t] be

[1] For a complete account of Clark's dealings with the friendly Indians, see *Mason Letter, ante*, 147.

also considered in the same point of View.[1] I well knew from what principal all this Sprang from and as I had now DeTroit in my Eye it was my business to make a straight and clear Road for my self to walk without thinking much of their Interest or any thing else but that of opening this Road in earnest by Flattery deception or any other means that occured I Told them that I was glad to see and was happy learn that most of the Nation on the Waubash and Ome Rivers had proved themselves to be men by strictly adhearing to the Treaties they had with the B Knife last fall except a few weak minds that had been Deluded by the English to come to war that I did not know exactly who they ware nor much cared but understood that they ware a band illy compose of almost all the Tribes but such people was to be found among all Nations that had the Meanness to sell their Cuntrey for a shirt but as these kind of people was not of the attention of Warriours we would say no more about them and speak on subjects more becoming us That I should let the great Counsell of the Americans know of their good behaviour and knew that they would be counted as friends to the Big Knife and would be always under their protection and their Cuntrey secured to them as the Big Knife had land enough and did not want any more but if ever they brok their faith the B K would never again trust them as they never hold friendship with a people that they find hath two hearts That they ware witnesses to the calamities the British had brought on their Cuntries by their False assertions and presents which was a suffitient proof of their weakness that they saw that all their boasted Valour was like to fall to the ground and would not come out of their fort the other day to try to save the Indians that they Flattered to war and suffered to be kiled in their sight and as the nature of the war had been fully explained to them last fall they might clearly see that the great spirit would not suffer it other ways That it was not only the case on the Waubash but every whare else That they might be assured that the Nations that would continue obstinately to listen to the English would be drove out of the Land and thir Cuntries given to those that was Steady

[1] See Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 163, also *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 147.
The speech given in the *Memoir* is enlarged, but the tone is practically the same as that in the *Mason Letter*.

friends to the Americans that I expected for the future that if any of My people should be going to war through ther cuntrey that they would be protected which should be always the case with theirs when among us and that mutual confidence should continue to exist &c &c They replyed that from what they had seen and heard that they ware convinced that the Master of life had a hand in all things that their people would rejoice on their Return that they would take pains to difuse what they had heard through all the Nations and made no doubt of the good effect of it &c &c after a long speach in the Indian stile calling all the spirits to be witness concluded by Renewing the chain of Friendship by smoaking the Sacred pipe exchanged Belts &c and I believe went of really well pleased (but not able to fathom the bottom of all they had heard the greatest part of which was mear Political Lies) for the Insuing summer Cap. J. Shelby with his own Company only Lay for a considerable time in the Weaugh Town in the heart of their Cuntrey and was treated in the most friendly manner by all the Natives that he saw[1] and was frequently invited by them to Join and plunder what the called the Kings pasture at DeTroit what they meant was to go and steal Horses from that Settlement

About this time an express arrived from the Illinois with Letters from Cap^{tn} Robert George[2]

[*Half page in manuscript is left blank.*]

Things being now pretty well arranged Lieu^{t} Richd Brashears was appointed to the Com^{d} of the Garrison L^{ts} Bayly and Chapline with 40 Pickd men. Cap^{tn} Helms Com^{dt} of the Town Superintendant of Indian affairs &c giving nessessary instruction to all persons that I left in office on the 20th of March I set sail on board of our Gally which was now made perfectly compleat and 70 Men[3] on attended by five arm^{d} Boats the waters being very High we soon reached the Missary the winds favouring of us in a

[1] Captain Shelby and Major Bosseron were ordered, August 1779, to reenforce Captain Linctot at Ouiatanon. See *post*, August 22, 1779, 360; also September 8, 1779, *post*, 362.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "Inquire of Captain George. G. R. C." See Bowman's *Journal*, *ante*, 163.

[3] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 149. The number of men accompanying Clark is given as eighty.

few Day we arrive safe at Kaskaskias to the Great Joy of our new friends Cap^{tn} George and Company waiting to receive us on our passage up the Mississippi we had observed several Indian Camps that appear to us fresh but had been left in great confution this we could not ac^{t} for but was now informed that a few Days past a party of Delaware Warriours Came to Town and appeared to be very Impudent that in the Eavening having been drinking they Swore they had come their for scalps and would have them and Flashed a Gun at the breast of an american woman present[1] A serjeant and party that moment passing by the House Saw the Confution rushed in the Indians Immediately fled the Serjeant persued and Killed [*blank in MS.*] of them A party was Instantly sent to rout their Camps on the River which was executed the Day before we came up which was the sign we had seen part of the De!aware Nation had setled a Town at the forks of the White River and Hunted the Cuntries on the Ohio and Mississippi they had on our first arrival Hatched up a kind of peece with us but I always new they ware for open war but never before could get a proper excuse for extirmenating them the Cuntrey which I new they would be loath to leave and that the other Indians wished them away as they ware great Hunters and Killed up their game a few Days after this Cap^{tn} Helms informed me by express that a party of Traders that was going by Land to the Fall was Kiled and plundered by the Delawares of White River that it appeared that their designs was altogether Hostile as they had received a belt from the great Counsell of their Nation I was sorry for the loss of our men otherways pleased at what had happened as it would give me an opertunity of showing the other Indians the Horid fate of those that would dare make war on the big Knife and to excell them in barbarity I new was and is the only way to make war and gain a name among the Indians. I immediately sent orders to St Vincent to make war on the Delawars to use every means in their power to distroy them to show no kind of Mercy to the Men but to spare the Women and Children this order was executed without delay their camps ware attacted in every quarter whare they could be fund many fell and others brought to s^{t} Vincents and put to death the women and children secured &c

[1] See *Mason Letter, ante*, 149.

they amediately applyed for reconsileation but was informed that I had ordered the War for reasons was explained to them and that they dare not lay down the Tomahawk without permittion from me but that if the Indians was agread no more Blood should be spilt untill an Express should go to Kaskaskias which was imediately sent I refused to make piece with the Delawares and let them know that we never trusted those that had once Violated their faith but that if they had a mind to be quiet they might and if they could geat any of the Neighbouring Indians to be security for their god behaviour I would let them alone but that I cared very little about it &c privately directing Cap^{tn} Helms how to manage a Counsell was called of all the Indians in the Neighbourhood my answer was made Publick the Piankeshaws took on themselve to answer for the future good Conduct of the Delawares and the Tobaccoes Son in a long speach inform of the baseness of their conduct and how richly they had deserved the sevear blow they had met with that he had given them permition to settle in that Cuntrey but not kill his friends that they now saw the B K had refused to make piece with them but he had become Surety for their good conduct and that they might go and mind their Hunting and that if they ever did any more mischeif to this pointing to the Sacred Bow[1] that held in his left hand which was as much as to say that he himself would for the future chastise them thus ended the war betwen us and the Delawares in this quarter much to our advantage as the Nation about said that we ware as brave as the Indians and not affraid to put our enemy to Death June being the time for the Rendesvouse at this Post every exertion was made in procuring provition of every speties and making other preparations I received and express from Kentucky wharin Col Bowman informed me that he could furnish 300 good men[2] we war now going on in high spirits and Dayley expecting the Troops down the Tennessee when on the [*blank in MS.*] we ware

[1] Marginal note by Clark: "This bow is decorated with beautiful feathers an Eagle's tail, and all the gaudy trinkets that can be put about it and at one end is a spear about six inches long dipt in blood which he touched when he shewed to the Delawares except the Pipe of Piece this is the most sacred Instrument known to the Inds and only handled by those of the greatest dignity. G. R. C." See letter of Helm to Clark, May 9, 1779, *post*, 316.

[2] See *Mason Letter*, *ante*, 150.

supprised at the arival of Col. Montgomery with 150 men only which was all we had a right to expect from that Quarter in a short if ever as the recruiting business went on but slowly and for the first time I learned the fall of our paper money[1] things Imediately put on a different appearance we now lamented that we did not march &c from S[t] Vincenes to DeTroit but as we had a prospect of considerable Reinforcement from Kentucky we yet Flattered ourselves that some thing migh[t] be done at least we might Maneuvrer in such a maner as to Keep the enemy in hot water and in suspence and prevent their doing our fronteers much damage went on with the procuring supplies and did not yet loose sight of our object and in order to feel the pulse of the Enemy I detached of Maj[r] Linctot that had lately Joined us and a Company of Volunteers up the Illinois River under the pretense of Visiting our friends to cross the Cuntrey and fall at the Weaughs and Return to the opost making his observations on his Rout This we expected woud properly cover our designs and if we saw it prudent we might on his return proceed[2] early in June Col. Montgomery was detached of by water with the whole of our stores Maj[r] Bowman march the remainder of our Troops by Land my self with a party of Horse reached the opost in four Days whare the whole safely arrived in a short time after Instead of 300 Men from Kentucky thare appeared about 30 Volunteers commanded by Cap[tn] M[c]Gary the loss of the expedition was too obvious to hesitate about it Col. Bowman had turned his attention against the Shawnees Town and got repulsed and his men discouraged[3] this business from the first had been so conducted as to make no disadvantageous impression on the Enemy in case of a disapointment as they could never know whether we really had a design on DeTroit or only a feint to amuse them which would appear most probable Arrangeing things to the best advantage was now my principal Study The Troops was divided betwen the posts of S[t] Vincents Kohokias and Kaskaskias part to the Falls of

[1] John Todd to Clark, March 24, 1779, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 75.

[2] See *Mason Letter, ante*, 150.

[3] Compare with *Mason Letter, ante*, 151. See letter of John Bowman to Clark, June 13, 1779, *post*, 331.

Ohio Co[l] Montgomery appointed to the Com[d] of the Illinois Maj[r] Bowman power[d] to superintend the Recruiting business a number of officers oppointed to that Service Maj[r] Linctot and Cap[tn] [Helm] to Superintend the Indian busines and myself to take up my quarters at the Falls as the most convenient Spot to have an eye over the whole each person marching of to his post in Aug[st] I arrive by Land at the [*MS. imperfect*] as far as White River [*MS. imperfect*] in a few Days

our movements during the summer had confused the Enemy consequently the commanding officer at Michilimackinack had sent an expedition via S[t] Joseph to penetrate into the Illinois & to drive the American Traders out of it on their arrival at S[t] Joseph while Maj[r] Linctot was on his way up the River it was reported that an American army was aproaching the Indians imediately fled from the English[1] being asked the ocasion was told that they were Invited to see them and the B. K fight, and as it was like to be the case they had with drawn to a Height in order to have a full View of the Ingagement finding their little dependence on their Indians they with draw to the mouth of the R S[t] Josephs and formed a strong camp but on their first learning this Inteligence they had sent an express to Mackinaw A Sloop being dispatched of with provition & coming within full View of their camp at the mouth of the River supposing that it was the americans that had captured their friends at S[t] Joseph and had taken post there all the signs they could make could not bring the Vessel too she returned with the disagreable news and the poor fellows had to starve untill they could get an answer to a second express in meantime M[r] Linctot knowing nothing of all this had changed his rout to the weaugh which caused a conjecture that the whole body of us was directing our course to DeTroit which caused

[1] It is probable that this expedition is described in a letter from John Williams to Clark, September 25, 1779. See *post*, 367. Lieutenant Bennett was sent from Mackinac, May 29, with a force of two hundred and eighty men for the purpose of intercepting Linctot. (*Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, IX., 390. For the outcome of this expedition, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 375, 376, 397 *et seq.*) Geoffrey Linctot was Indian agent at Cahokia. On being elected to the command of a Cahokia company, he chose to unite the duties of his two offices and make this expedition by the Illinois River. Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 611.

much confution through the whole[1] the summer was spent to advantage as we ware carefull to spread such reports as suited our Interest I remained at Louisville untill the spring following continually discharging the multiplicity of business that was continually before me from every quarter I fully acquainted the Governor of Virginia[2] that as the new setlers now peopling Kentucky were quite numerous I was in hope that the was fully able to withstand any force the Enemy could send against her and perhaps act on the offensive We now began to feel the effects of the depretiated state of the paper currency every thing was at two or three prices and scarcely to be had at any price[3] We set out on a plan of laying up this Fall great Quantitics of jerked meat for the Insuing season but as DeTroit had pretty well recovered itself the Shawanees Delawares and other prominent Indian tribes was so exceedingly Troublesom that our hunters Had no suckcess numbers being cut off and small skirmishes in the Cuntrey so common that but little notice was taken of them Col. Rogers who had been sent to the mississippi for a very considerable Quantity of Goo[d]s geting a reinforcement at the Falls on his passage to Pittsburgh, a little above Licking Creek got totally defeated himself and almost the whole of his party consisting of about 70 men were killed or made prisoners among the Latter those of Note ware Col. John Campbell and Cap[tn] Abraham Chapline a small boat made her escape which was all that was saved.[4]

[1] See letter of Thomas Quirk to Clark, August 22, 1779, *post*, 359. See Introduction, *ante*, cvii.

[2] Marginal note by Clark: "See my letter to him. G. R. C."

[3] Letter of Colonel Montgomery to Clark, October 5, 1779. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 129; "Our Money is of no acount to Them and our Bills Comes Back protested." See also letter of Captain Shelby to Clark, October 10, 1779, *post*, 370.

[4] See letter of Robert Todd to Clark, October 16, 1779, *post*, 371.

CHAPTER VIII

ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAPTURE OF DETROIT, MAY 12, 1779—JUNE 16, 1779

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY—CIVIL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED—JOHN TODD, JR., "GOVERNOR"—ELECTION OF MAGISTRATES—FIDELITY OF THE FRENCH AT CAHOKIA AND KASKASKIA—SITUATION AT DETROIT—MICHILLIMACKINAC—CLARK'S PROPERTY.

CLARK TO PATRICK HENRY, March 9, 1779.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 199.—Copy.][1]

D^r^ SIR

by W^m^ Moiers you wrote to me, if possible to procure you some Horses and Mares, nothing could give me greater pleasure than to serve, but I doubt at present it is out of my power as my situation and Circumstances is much Alter'd as p^r^ Letter—there being no such horses here as you request me to get, And I have so much publick business to do especially in the Indian Departm^t^ that I doubt I shall not be able to go to the Illinois for some time. I find that you have conceived a greater oppinion of the Horses in this country than I have.[2]

The Pawné and Chicasa Horses are very good and some of them delicate, but the common breed in this country is triffling as they are adulterated. The finest Stallion by far that is in the country, I purchased some time ago, and rode him on this Expedition, and resolved to make you a Compliment of him, but to my mortification I find it impossible to get him across the drown'd lands of

[1]There is another copy of this letter in the British Public Record Office, "Enclosure No. 36," in a letter from General Haldimand to Lord George Germain, June 7, 1779. The letter has been printed in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I., 94, and in Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 410.

[2]De Peyster of Michillimackinac reported to Governor Haldimand in May, 1779, that he had learned that "a Canadian named Benelo at the head of twenty-five Horse-men is travelling thro the Iowa and Lake Country to purchase Horses for Mr. Clarke." *Can. Arch.*, Ser. B, Vol. 97, f. 1.

the Wabash as it is near three leagues across at present, & no appearence of its falling shortly, but you depend that I shall by the first opportunity send him to you,

He came from new Mexico three hundred leagues W^st^ of this. I dont think it in my power to send you such Mares as you want this spring, but in order to procure you the best can be got, I shall contract with some man of the Spanish Government, by permit of the Commd^r^ to go to the Pawné Nation two hundred leagues West, and get the finest Mares to be had of the true blood, they will be good, as they are all so, if they are handsome they will please you; I shall give such instructions as will be necessary, and am in hopes that you will get them by the fall, I could soon get five or Six Mares at the Illinois very fine, but I think they are hurt by hard usage, as the Inhabitants are barbarous Horse Masters

but shall do it, except I can execute my other plan

I thank you for your remembrance of my situation respecting lands in the Frontiers, I learn that Government has reserved on the lands on the Cumberland for the Soldiers.

If I should be deprived of a certain tract of land on that River which I purchased three Years ago, and have been at a considerable expence to improve, I shall in a manner lose my all, It is known by the name of the great french Lick on the South or West side containing three thousand Acres, if you can do any thing for me in saving of it, I shall for ever remember it with gratitude.

Their is glorious Situations and bodies of land in this Country formerly purchased, I am in hopes of being able in a short time to send you a Map of the whole

my Comp^ts^ to y^r^ Lady and familly, and remain

S^r^ Your humble Servant

G R CLARK.

FORT P^s^ HENRY March 9^th^ 1779

TO HIS EXCELLENCY PAT. HENRY Esq^r^ Gov^r^ of Virginia Williamsburg

P^r^ W^m^ Moiers

CLARK TO BENJAMIN HARRISON, March 10, 1779.[1]

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 200.—Copy.]

FORT P. HENRY S^{T} VINCENT March 10th 1779.

D^{R} SIR,

I receiv'd your kind Letter with the thanks of the House inclosed. I must confess Sir that I think my country has done me more honor than I merited but may rest assured that my study shall be to deserve that Honor that they have already conferr'd on me.

by my public letters you will be fully acquainted with my late successful expedition against L^{t} Gov^{r} Hamilton who has fallen into my hands with all the principal Partizans of Detroit. This stroke will nearly put an end to the Indian War, had I but men enough to take the advantage of y^{e} present confusion of the Indian Nations, I could silence the whole in two months, I learn that five hundred men is ordered out to reinforce me, If they arrive, with what I have in the country; I am in hopes will enable me to do something Clever.

I am with respect Sir Y^{r} very humble Servant

G R. CLARK

COL^{L} HARRISON Speaker of the House D. Williamsbourg
P^{r} W^{m} Moires

[*Endorsed:*] No^{s} 3. and 4. *Copys* Col^{l} Clark's Letter to M^{r} Harrison.

CLARK TO WILLIAM MYERS, March 13, 1779.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 197.—Copy.]

William Moires Express
a
Warrant

To W^{M} MOIRES

S^{R} as the Letters you have at present contain matters of great consequence and require a quick passage to Williamsburg, This

[1] This letter has been printed in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I., 95; Beckwith. *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 412; and, in extract, in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 384.

is to impower You to press for the Service any thing you may stand in need of. If you cannot get it by fair means, you are to use force of Arms. I request of you to lose no time as you prize the interest of your Country.

I wish you success[1] &c[a]

G R CLARK

FORT P[T] HENRY March 13[th] 1779.

[*Endorsed:*] N° 1 Copy of a Warrant taken with the Letters

CLARK TO R. B. LERNOULT, March 16, 1779.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 196.—Copy.]

FORT P. HENRY S[T] VINCENT March 16[th] 1779.[2]

SIR,

As many of the Gentlemen that fell into my hands at this Post left Letters at their departure for their Friends at Detroit I have inclosed them to you hoping that you will expedite them to the persons directed to, As a few of the Inhabitants of this town with a number of your own people have permits to go to Detroit on their lawfull business, I hope you will not detain such as should want to return, as you may be assured that I want no Intelligence from them.

You have one M[r] Bentley[3] Inhabitant of the Illinois a prisoner among you, I would fondly exchange one of equal rank for him, if agreable, I learn by your letter to Gov[r] Hamilton that you were

[1] William Myers was killed by the Indians, in Kentucky, April 4, see *post*, 309. This letter has been printed in Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 414 and, in part, in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 382.

[2] Copies of this letter were sent by General Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton 26–31 May, and to Lord George Germain June 7, 1779, and are in the Public Record Office and the Royal Institution. This letter has been printed in Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 415, and in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, X., 308.

[3] On the career of Thomas Bentley consult the indexes of Alvord, *Cahokia Records* and *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II. and V.). In the latter volume is a letter from Joseph Bowman and Jean Girault also asking for the exchange of Bentley.

very busy making new works, I am glad to hear it, as it saves the Ammericans some expences in building

my Compᵗˢ to the Gentlemen of yʳ Garrison

I am Yours &cᵃ

G R CLARK

CAPᴺ LERNOULT

The Officers of Fort Pat. Henry solicit Captain Lernoult to present their compliments to the Officers of his Garrison

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from a Colˡ Clark to Captⁿ Lernoult dated March 16ᵗʰ 1779

LEONARD HELM APPOINTED SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AT VINCENNES, March 16, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 48J30.—D. S.]

TO LEONARD HELMS ESQᴿ

By George Rogers Clark Esqʳ Colᵒ and Commander in chief of the Virginia Forces in the Illinois Deparᵗ &c.

By virtue of the Power and Authority to me given by his Excellency Patrick Henry Esqʳ Governour of the State of Verginia &c You are hereby nominated and appointed Superintendant of Indian affairs in the Department of Sᵗ Vincents. You are therefore carefully to do your duty as [*MS. torn*] appertaining to the Indian department assigned you tending to the welfare of the [*MS. torn*] States in general.

Given under my hand and seal at head Quarters Kaskaskias

Recorded at Kaskaskias March 16ᵗʰ 17 [*MS. torn*]

[GEORGE ROGERS] CLARK

CARBONNEAUX Greffier

CAPTAIN R. B. LERNOULT TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BOLTON, March 26, 1779.[1]

[Draper MSS., 58J9.—Copy.]

DETROIT, March 26, 1779.

SIR,

I had just finished copies of the several letters taken by the Indians near Fort Laurence and extracts of Govʳ Hamilton's and

[1] This letter has been printed in Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 420.

Mr Hay's last letters; when one Isadore Chaine (an Interpreter) and two Hurons arrived from Post Vincennes with the unfortunate news of that place having been retaken by Colonel Clarke, the Governor and whole party made prisoners, except himself, who made his escape with difficulty. This most unlucky stroke, with the arrival of a large body of Virginians advancing towards St. Dustrie[1] has greatly damped the spirits of the Indians. The chiefs from St. Dustrie are come in here with John Montoure[2] to claim Governor Hamilton's promises to assist them; they declare, if a large detachment with cannon are not sent without delay from below, they must go out of the way, being not able to fight the enemy alone. As the loss of this Post opens a new road for the Virginians to this place by the Miamis River, I hope a strong reinforcement will be sent here from Niagara by return of the vessels —at least what they can convey—as the new work is not yet defensible requiring many hands. The Canadians, exceedingly assuming on our bad success and weakness, not one of them will lend a hand. Spades, shovels, &c. are much wanted—also amunition as pr enclosed returns: above 30,000 lbs of Flour of last years allowance not as yet sent here, with other species in proportion, and the enormous quantity consumed in the last unfortunate expedition, has reduced us greatly. Pray forward it. The Indians insist on having provisions sent to them, or they must be starved.

The loss of Governor Hamilton is a most feeling one to me: I find the burthen heavy without assistance. It requires, I confess, superior abilities, and a better constitution. I will do my best, however.

I beg leave to repeat to you the necessity of a reinforcement being sent, as the consequences may be fatal. I send the Felicity with this pacquet, which, with the Angelica, already down, will convey part of the Troops, as some of the Indian Chiefs wait the

[1] Name commonly used for Sandusky. It was a noted trade center in the Wyandot country.

[2] John Montour was the son of Andrew Montour, the noted half-breed interpreter who accompanied Washington on his western expedition, 1754. John was educated in Philadelphia at the expense of the state. He was regarded as a friend to the American cause and in 1782, was granted a captain's commission. This letter, however, seems to indicate that confidence in him was misplaced. See Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 167 *et seq.*

return of the vessels to see if any notice is taken of their distress, or prove me a Liar.

A letter to his Excellency's address, I send you. It came some days before the unfortunate affair from Post Vincennes by Lieutenant Du Vernet, who is returned. All the Canadians are Rebels, to a man. I shall wait your orders with great impatience, and am

Sir, Yours, &c.,

(Signed) R. B. LERNOULT.

LIEUT. COLONEL BOLTON

JAMES PATTEN TO CLARK, April 10, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J36.—A. L. S.]

FALLS OF OHIO Aprile 10th 1779

SIR

Last sunday Wm Moyers Express was killed & scalped by a party of Indians who way-laid the road, about four miles up Bear-grass, he was found yesterday Evening and I went out this morning expecting to find the Packet about him as he was not stripped, but found nothing on him only his Clothes; and found in different places through the Woods the following Letters which I forwarded by Express to Colo Bowman Viz.

1 Letter to his Excellency Pat: Henry torn in two & the seal not broke

I Letter to Colo Arthur Campbell torn in two pieces & the seal broke

1 Letter to Peter Dierly Botetourt, entire

1 Letter to Capt. Donolly, Botetourt, entire

Part of a Letter from Major Bowman to Colo Bowman

Some piece of writing (Mr Girault's hand) torn to very small pieces, & a Letter from Major Bowman to some person in Frederick County torn in pieces, were found nigh the place where Moyers was killed—John Moore who was with Moyers is supposed to be taken prisoner Dominick Flanagan & Henry Homan were fired upon & taken prisoners on the same Day by a Party of Western Indians.

[*On reverse of sheet.*]

I have not heard from Harrodsburgh since Captns Harrod & Williams set of with Mr Hamelton

Wm Moyers sent of an Express to inform you of his safe arrival here last sunday

The Boat who met you below the Saline River arrived here safe

Seventy men with some Families arrived here a few Days ago from West Augusta & gave an acct of a good deal of Mischief done by the Indians this Spring; they likewise say that several hundreds were almost ready to start for this Country when they came of.

Fort Laurence on Tuskarowa was besieged & harrassed by a number of Indians commanded by John Montuer & almost starved out before they could be relieved. the Fort was commanded by Colo Gibson & a few men & they were relieved by 500 or 600 of the Militia.

I am sorry that I am under the Necessity of sending you so much bad News

I am Sir with the greatest Respect

Your very humble Servt.

JAMES PATTEN

To Colo GEORGE R CLARK ILLINOIS

[*Addressed:*] To Colo George R Clark at the Illinois Pr Express

[*Endorsed:*] Captn Patten Apl 10–1779

ROBERT GEORGE TO CLARK, April 19, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J37.—A. L. S.]

FORT CLARK 19th April 1779

SIR

I thought it adviseable to send you this Express to Acquaint you of what Passes here, having Intelligence of Some Indians being about, I had the Persons who saw them Qualified, who took the Inclosed Oath, I sent out Ensign Girty (who I admited some days ago to his former Office) to Spy, and Intended on his return to give you an Account of my Proceedings, but an Express Arriving this Evening from the Falls of Ohio, by which we have hear'd that

W^m^ Moyres, (bearer of your Express to Williamsburg) was Kill'd about five Miles above the Falls, occasions me to send Immadiately the bearer, that you may be apprised of what has happened, before you leave Kahos—and if any thing worth your Notice, should occur, either by the Spies or Otherwise, you may depend on immadiate Notice,—The Gentlemen of the Garrison Join me in wishing you safe home—In the mean time I beg you will believe me with much Respect and Esteem

Sir Your very Obed^t^ & most Hum^l^ Serv^t^

ROB^T^ GEORGE[1] Cp^t^

P. S. I dont take the Liberty to Advise you, but you cannot be too Cautious on your way here, and your Presence is much required.

[*Addressed:*] (on Public Service) George Rogers Clark Esquire Colonel of the Illinois Battalion & Commander in Chief of the Western Department &c^a^ &c^a^ &c^a^ Kahokias P^r^ Express.

[*Endorsed:*] Capt^n^ George 19^th^ Ap^l^ 1779.

JOSEPH BOWMAN TO THE CHIEFS OF THE POTAWATOMI, April 20, 1779.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 266.]

A MECH KIGIE Chef du village de Chicagou datte 20 avril 1779

J'ai reçu Votre Lettre Le 12^m^ 9^bre^ et L'ai Lu. Quand nos enfants écoutent Bien Leur pere, ils entendent ce que Leur pere

[*Translation.*][2]

TO MECH KIGIE Chief of the village of Chicago 20^th^ April, 1779.

I have received your letter of 12^th^ of November and have read it. When our children listen attentively to their father, they hear

[1] Captain Robert George was a relative of Clark. He was one of the men who accompanied Captain James Willing in his attack on the Mississippi posts, 1778. (See Introduction, *ante*, xcvi.) Willing returned by sea in order to acquaint Congress with the conditions in the Spanish province. Captain George and Lieutenant Richard Harrison were given command of forty men, who had been with him and took them up the river to Kaskaskia. He served in the West during the remainder of the war. *Draper MSS.*, 48J32. See also Clark's *Memoir*, *ante*, 298.

[2] Translation by the editor.

dit. . . mais, Vos Oreilles sont Bouchées il y a moien de Les ouvrir—Ecoutez

Je dis a tous Les Sauvages ainsi qu'a Vous de Rester tranquils sur Leur natte, de chasser et de faire vivre Leurs Femmes et Leurs Enfants, d'user envers Les françois et traiteurs qui viennent chez Eux, pour Leur Bien, avec droiture Et de Les Bien payer, afin qu'ils Reviennent parmi Eux avec Leur Cœur Content, et qu'ils S'en Retournent de même.

Je dis aussi que guand de mauvaises personnes viennent parmi Vous avec des marchandises et autre présent pour tacher de Vous Exciter a Vous soulever Et Aller en guerre, ils travaillent en conséquence pour votre destruction, Et au Lieu d'etre Vos amis il sont vos plus Cruels Ennemis.

A Vous—Je vous Recommande, s'ils l'en trouvent de Cette sorte dans Votre Village de prendre Leur marchandises & de me L'apporter, du quel soin vous serez recompensé—ou de La partager Entre vous Egallement

Le Bostonnois ne dit jamais que La meme chose—il ne demande pas que le Sauvage fasse La guerre pour Lui, il La fait pour Lui

[*Translation.*]

what their father says, but, your ears are stopped; there is a way to open them: Listen—

I say to all the savages as well as to you to stay quietly at home, to hunt, to support their wives and children, to treat well the French and traders who honestly come to them for their welfare and to pay them justly with goods, so that they come among them with contented hearts, and return with the same feeling.

I say also that when bad people come among you with goods and other presents to try to excite you and incite you to war, they work therefore for your own destruction, and instead of being your friends, they are your most cruel enemies.

To you I recommend that if any such are found in your village to take their goods and bring them to me, for which care you will be rewarded, or divide it among yourselves equally.

The Bostonian always says the same thing; he does not ask that the savage make war for him, he does this for himself—so

memeque par conséquent Le Sauvage Reste tranquil—je Recommande Cependant a Ceuz qui Veulent Le Battre pour Langlois—de Bien affiler Leur Casse-tete Et de Combattre Comme des hommes—Car nous aimons La guerre,—C'est ce que mes jeunes gens désirent sans cependant La demander.

Que Ceuz a qui nous avons donné La main ne nous La Retire pas—Si L'on nous trompe Ce n'est qu'une fois.

Souviens toi de Cela toi Et les tiens—Car La punition Suivra de prés Le Crime. traitez Bien tous Les francois Car ils sont mes freres.

Votre Bon pere pourvû que Vous soyez Bons Enfants

Signé Jo. BOWMAN—major

[*Translation.*]

that the savage can rest quietly, I advise nevertheless that those who wish to fight for the English to sharpen well their tomahawks and to fight like men, for we love war—that is what my young men want without, however, demanding it.

Let those to whom we have extended the hand not draw back. If any one fools us it is only once.

Remember this, you and all yours—for punishment follows close the crime, treat well all the French for they are my brothers.

Your good father if you are good children,

Jo. BOWMAN, Major.

CLARK TO NANALOIBI, April 20, 1779.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.782, f. 227.][1]

20m Avril 1779.

A NANALOIBI Chef Des Pont.

J'entends toujours dire que Les Sauvages n'ont point d'oreilles—

[*Translation.*][2]

April 20th, 1779.

TO NANALOIBI, Chief of the Potawatomi,

I always hear that the savages have no ears. I think that it

[1] A copy of this letter taken from the Canadian Archives was published by F. J. Turner in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I., 96, and also by Beckwith, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, I., 430. Nanaloibi was chief of the Potawatomi.

[2] Translation by the editor.

Je crois qu'il servit a propos que je fis une Sortie sur Euz pour Leur en donner.

Cependant, je ne me plains pas Encorre de toi ni de tes jeunes gens parceque L'on ma dit que vous ne vouliez pas aller En querre Sur les grands Couteauz, C'est ce qui me décide aujourdhui a te donner La main Et te dire, Comme pere, de Rester tranquil Sur ta natte—Comme tu as fais jusqu'a présent, Et d'avertir tous Les Sauvages qui sont de tes amis de n'etre plus fous Et de chasser pour faire Vivre Leurs femmes Et Leurs Enfants plutot que de se méler de La guerre.

dis Leur En mon nom que je suis aussi Bon pere que Bon guerrier Et que s'ils poussent ma patience a Bout quils me Connoitront—s'il y en a qui veulent Encorre Etre fous, je Les invites de se précautionner d'armes Solides, parce qu'ils seroient malheureux, s'ils venoient a manquer. Jai des soldats qui n'ont point peur Et qui sont fous aussi—je ne Les pourrai peut-etre point arreter moi même, Car ils ne cherchent que Sa guerre Et ne demande qu'a Se Battre—Ainsi je te Répete Encorre que Les Sauvages Restént tranquils— je ne Veuz point qu'ils se Battent ni pour ni Contre moi, S'ils ont Les Oreilles Bouchées qu'ils Les fassent percer—

[*Translation.*]

would be well that I make an attack on them to give them some. Nevertheless I do not complain yet against you or your young men because I have been told that you do not wish to make war on the Big Knives. That is what decides me to-day to extend the hand and tell you, as your father, to remain quietly at home, as you have done until now, to warn all the savages who are your friends, to be no longer mad, to hunt in order to provide for the women and children, rather than to mix themselves up in war.

Tell them in my name that I am as good a father as warrior and that if they exhaust my patience, they shall hear from me; if there are still some who wish to be mad, I warn them to arm themselves strongly for they will be unfortunate if they fail to do so. I have soldiers who are not afraid and who are also mad. I could not perhaps stop them myself, for they want only war and ask only to fight. Thus I repeat again that the savages be quiet. I do not wish them to fight either for or against me. If they have closed ears let them be pierced; have them told or tell them

Fais Leur dire on dis Leur toi meme qu il y a Long tems que je Les avertis Et que je Commence a Être fatigué—de tous Les sauvages—je n'écris qu'à toi Et a *Mech Kigie* parce que je crois une partie des autres mes Ennemis, qui me Connoitront a La premiere folie qu'ils pouront faire. N'ecoute point Les mauvais oiseauz qui viendront dans ton village pour Lever les jeunes gens, Regarde toujours Les francois Comme tes alliés—qui Leur fait du mal m'en fait. Si quelqu'un Vient chez toi pour Lever Les jeunes gens de La part des Anglois—je tordonne Si tu Veuz Etre mon ami, de prendre tous Les Effets qu'ils pourront apporter, Et de me Les Envoyer ou de Les separer Egalement dans ton village.

Ceuz qui Vous invitent a La guerre sont vos plus Cruels Ennemis —ainsi Croyez moi—soyez tranquils Si vous ne voulez pas Rendre Vos familles dignes de pitié.

Voila mon dernier avertissement

Signé S^{a} CLARK

[*Endorsed:*] from Major Depeyster rec^{d} the 1st July 1779. Rebel Co^{l} Clark's Speech to the Pot^{o}uawatamas &c.

N^{o} 5 20th April 1779 General Clarke's (Rebel General) Speeche to the Potiawatami Indians — Sent by Major De Peyter the 1^{a} July 1779.

[*Translation.*]

yourself that it has been long that I have warned them and that I am beginning to be tired of all the savages. I write to you and Mech Kigie only because I believe that a part of the others, my enemies, shall know me the first madness they commit. Do not listen to the bad birds who come to your village to take away the young men; regard always the French as your friends. Whoever does them harm does it to me. If anyone comes to raise the young men for the English, I order you if you are my friend to take all the property that they bring, and send it to me or divide it equally in your village.

Those who ask you to go to war are your most cruel enemies. Thus believe me. Be quiet if you do not wish your families to be worthy of pity.

This is my last warning.

Signed G. R. CLARK.

JOHN ROGERS TO JONATHAN CLARK, May 6, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 1L54.—A. L. S.]

WASHINGTON COUNTY May 6th 79

Dr SIR:

I am so far on my way to Wiliamsburg with Govnr. Hammelton and seven other Officers and a number of men that were made Prisoners at post Vincent In the Elenoy [Illinois] Cuntary [*sic*] by your Brother George R Clark who was very well when I left him the 8th of March he is detirmined not to be Idle in that Cuntary while Detroyet and Noche [Natchez] remains in the hands of the Enemy he has had the greattest success that ever a man had with so few men we made 101 prisoners and had only 130 men 60 of which were French their was seven men wounded in the Fort and seven Indians killed that were Comeing in with two prisoners I have seen Col. Russel whom I have the Minits of the hole Expidition to whom I refur you to for Information of the affair to Gether with other satisfactory accounts we had one man woundded time is shor[t] and the scarcity obblidges me to Conclude and beg Leave to subscribe mysell

Your very Humb Servt and ever well wisher

JOHN ROGERS

Remember me to your Brother Johnny if in Camp

[*Addressed:*] To Majr Jonathn Clarke at Camp Pr favr of Col. Russel

[*Endorsed:*] Capt John Rogers Washington Co: Va. May 6. 1779

CAPTAIN LEONARD HELM TO CLARK, May 9, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J42.—A. L. S.]

May 9th 1779 ST VINCT

Dr Sr

I think my self In duty bound to Inform you of Every particular that Comes under my Notice it Gives me Great Satisfaction to think of your Intention against Detroit, you must Be the man to take that place, I have had Itellige Since I wrote to you, their is not above one hundred men in the Garison, he says their is Expected, one hundrd men from MishMCnoc [Michillimackinac]

to reinforse, pray Neglect No time on your Expedision, as I am informd The Noches [Natchez] is abandond, I know your activity To be Great, I think you may depend on The Greatest part of this Vilage to go with you, you may be asurd yr Name Strikes Terror to both English and Indians Send No man, But your Self If you think proper Of the Expedition Weau [Ouiatanon] & ome [Miami] is ready to receive you with Joy your Health and mine by the Whole Vilage before the Comdt officer and by many of The officers of the Garison, this I have from a man of Verasity and a true friend to our Cause He Farther Informs me that Buck Island has met with a fatal stroke at the Loss of a Very Considibril Loss He had this Inteligince from gent who Informd him That there was a mercht that said he Lost six hd Dols in silver which was burnt on board the angileck which he Expeced to have made great Advance by, the Letter you aquainted me of I never Recd, the Deliware Indians In this Quarter is Very Peacible, but if you do not put some regularity with such Il disposed persons as is the occation of these unhappy disputes or Elc I Cant pertend to Stay at this place I have nothing more but To Inform you that if their is not a stop put To Kiling Indian friends we must Expect to have all foes

I am your obedient Humb Sert To Comd

LEOD HELM

N B there was a Considerable Quantity of goods aboard of the sam Vessel of the prperty Of the truest of our friends at detroit

RICHARD BRASHERS TO CLARK, May 9, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J41.—A. L. S.]

May 9th 1779[1]

DEAR COLO.

I Shall take Every percartionate step that in my power Lays according to your Instructions so that I may be able to give you a just a Compt of my perceedeings Dureing my Station at this post I flatter my self that I might in form you that the grand armey that was imboded to Come a gainst us has been Scard by Some

[1] This letter was written from Vincennes, the "Post Vinsant" indicating the address of the writer.

threats that has been Sent to them from this place But at the same time I Leave no Room for an advantage to be taken of us if in Case our information Should be Rong I Should be very hapy if I Cold only heare of your a Rival at this post wanst moore And to percede on an Expedition that has Been So Long Caring on from Wester a guster [West Augusta] which at Last Cannot be Ended with out your Asistance I receved a Letter the other Day from a bove which gave me the foloing a Compte [account] of the perceeding of the armey a bove and the perticulars is that O if we had Col Clarke to Command we Cold Do Some thing as well as other people. I should be Glad if you intend to go to that place you would gave me a small hint of it allowing me to make free with your In Rigard to a matter of importances of that sort as I may prepare my Self And Company for the same at the same Time no purson to be a Quainted with it but your humble Servent Who is Ready and willing to asist you in all and Evary Instruction that I may Receve from you and from one that Esteemes you more then tongeue Can Express and with all begs Leave to Subscribe him self your most obedient

And Veary Humble Servent
RICH^{D} BRASHEARS

P. S Capt Helm will give you the perticulers of Indian afairs and Like wise from Detroit and all other places that Comes under our notice and at the Same time you will give me Leave to Trouble you with my Letters at all opertunitys that I may have from

Dear Col^{o} your most Obediant and Humble Servant to order
RICHARD BRASHEARS

To COLO. CLARKE Esqr
POST VINSANT

[*Addressed:*] Col. Clarke Esqr and Commandent of the western Departement at Kuskuskia pr Express

Address of Clark to the People of Kaskaskia, May 12, 1779.[1]

[Draper MSS., 49J43.—L. S.]

Messieurs

Dès votre premiere déclaration et attachement aux causes des ameriquains, Jusqu'a la Glorieuse Prise du Poste saint vincent, J'avois douté de Votre sincerité, mais dans ce moment Critique j'ai Eprouvé votre fidelité, J'ai été si touché du zêle avec lequel vous vous y êtes montré, que mon Desir est aprésent de vous rendre heureux, et de vous Prouver l'affection sincere que J'ai pour le bien, Et l'avencement de cette Colonie En general et d'un chacun En particulier. les Jeunes gens de ce pais sont revenus du Poste saint vincent couvert de L'auriers J'espere qu'ils continueront toujours. Quoyqu'il y en ait quelques uns qui n'ont Point Eu depart a cett Glorieuse action, Je n'en ai pas moins d'estime pour Eux sous L'Esperance qu'ils Prenderont leurs revenche si L'occasion s'en Presentoit, qui pendant mon absence

[*Translation.*]

Gentlemen

Since your first declaration and attachment for the American cause, until the glorious capture of Post Vincennes, I had doubted your sincerity, but in that critical moment, I proved your faithfulness. I was so touched with the zeal which you there displayed that my desire at present is to make you happy, and to prove to you the sincere affection I have for the welfare and advancement of this colony in general and of each individual. The young men of this province have come back from Post Vincennes covered with laurels which I hope they will continue to wear. Although there are a few who did not have anything to do with this glorious action, I do not esteem them less, hoping they will take revenge if the occasion presents itself,

[1] Printed in original with translation in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 80 *et seq.* See John Todd's speech at the same time. (*Ibid.*, 83.) For the history of this court; and many important documents concerning it, consult indexes of same editor's *Kaskaskia Records* and *Cahokia Records*.

ont avec Les derniere Exactitude fait leur devoir en la Garde de ce fort. Et Je Vous promets qu'aussitôt Qu'il Sera En mon pouvoir que vous joüiray dela Liberté dont les ameriquains joüissent Eux Mêmes et que leurs sang coulent dans leurs veines Pour leur salut et la deffence de leurs Patrie et que vous Messieurs vous pouvés reclamer les Memes privileges, Je vous ai deja dis et je vous Le repete Encore quele Gouvernement vous protege il va vous Envoyer un Regiment de troupes reglées pour votre sureté et deffence, et il vous a appointé un Lieutenant Gouverneur Civile Pour regler et terminer vos affaires, dans peu vous Connoitrerés le sistême ameriquain que vous trouverés peut être dans le principe Etranger Et dans le suite vous y trouverés tant de douceur Et de tranquillité que vous benirés le jour que vous avés ambrassé La Cause des ameriquains vous Devés être persuadé que l'on ne desire rien autre chose que de vous rendre heureux et de vous procureur tous les secours possible.

Voicy Monsieur le Colonel Toodd, mon grand ami, que Je vous presente icy pour vous Gouverner et c'est la seule personne Dans L'Etat que J'ai desiré avoir dans cette Colonie pour remplir ce

[*Translation.*]

During my absence they have with great exactitude, done their duty as guards of the fort. And I promise you that as soon as it is in my power you shall enjoy the liberty which the Americans enjoy themselves. Their blood runs in their veins for the welfare and defense of their native land and you, Sirs, may claim the same privileges. I have already told you and repeat it that the government protects you and will send a regiment of regular troops for your safeguard and defense. A civil lieutenant-governor has been appointed to regulate and settle your affairs. In a short time you will understand the American system which you may think strange in the beginning but in the end you will find in it such peace and tranquillity that you will bless the day on which you espoused the American cause. You may be persuaded that we desire nothing so much as to render you happy and procure for you all the help possible.

I present to you Colonel Todd, my good friend, as your governor. He is the only person in the state whom I wished to have fill this

poste Je suis plus que persuadé de sa Capacité par ma Connoissance et La diligence qu'il apporterer a vous rendre Justice et En meme temps heureux

Vous êtes icy assemblé Messieurs pour une affaires de la derniere importance qui consiste a apointer les personnes les plus Capables et les Plus illuminées pour Juger vos differens dont J'y suis interessé your votre bien futur aussi bien Que pour le present.

Je vous prie de Considerer L'importance de ce choix et delefaire sans partialité et de prendre Des personnes les plus dignes de ces charges et j'Espere que dans peu vous serés convainçu Que vous êtes des membres les plus Libres de L'univers Je vais Encore une fois m'addresser aux Jeunes gens qui ont servi sous moy dans La glorieuse Expedition du poste et leurs assure Quils ne seront pas oublié dans toutes les Provinces de nos Colonies pour les Bienfaits Et bon services qu'ils ont rendus Je n'ai pas oublié d'En rendre un fidel Compte aux Etats De leur sincere attachement depuis le Jour De mon arrivée dans ce pais Jusqu'a ce Jour C'est avec une

[*Translation.*]

post in this colony. I am fully persuaded from my knowledge of his capacity and diligence that he will render you justice and at the same time make you happy.

You are assembled here, gentlemen, for an event of the greatest importance which consists in the election of the most capable and enlightened persons to judge your differences. In this I am interested not only for your present welfare but also for your future.

I pray you to consider the importance of this choice, to conduct it without partiality and choose the persons the most worthy of these offices and I hope that in a short time you will be convinced that you are the freest people in the world. I shall once more address the young men who served under me in the glorious expedition and assure them that they will not be forgotten in all sections of our colonies for the good deeds and services that they have rendered. I have not forgotten to give a faithful account of their sincere attachment since the day of my arrival in this country to

grande sincerité que Je desire L'avencement et La prosperite des habitans des Illinois En general

Je vous prie de me Croire aves le plus sincere attachement Messieurs

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

G R CLARK

FORT CLARK le 12 May 1779

[*Translation.*]

this day. It is with sincerity that I wish the advancement and prosperity of the inhabitants of Illinois in general.

I beg of you to believe me with the sincerest attachment, Gentlemen,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

G. R. CLARK.

FORT CLARK, May 12, 1779.

PATRICK HENRY TO BENJAMIN HARRISON, May 19, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

I have enclosed a Letter, for the perusal of the Assembly from Col° Clark at the Illinois; This Letter among other things, informs me of an Expedition, which he had plann'd and was determined to execute, in order to recover Fort St. Vincent, which had been formerly taken from the British Troops, and garrisoned by those under the Colonels Command. This Enterprise has succeeded to our utmost Wishes, for the Garrison commanded by Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, and consisting of British Regulars and a number of Volunteers, were made Prisoners of War. Col° Clark has sent the Governor with several Officers & privates, under a proper Guard, who have by this time arrived, at New London, in the County of Bedford. Proper Measures will be adopted, by the Executive, for their confinement & Security. unfortunately the Letters from Col° Clark, containing, no doubt a particular Account of this affair, were in the Possession of an Express, who was murdered by a Party of Indians on his way through Kentucky to this Place; the Letters, as I am

informed were distroyed. As the Facts, which I have mentioned, are sufficiently authenticated, I thought it material, that they shou'd be communicated to the Assembly.

I have the Honor to be Sir Y^r^ most obedient Servant

P. HENRY

May 19. 1779.

THE HONBLE THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

TROOPS UNDER CLARK AT KASKASKIA, May 21, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

A provision Return For the Troops at Fort Clark under the Command of Col° G R Clark Commencing the 19 & Ending the 21 of May both day Encluded 1779.

Rank	field officers		Com-mis'd officers			Staff officers			Non Com-misd officers			drums and fifes		Rank & file						
Company	Colo	Major	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Conduct Genl.	Sergon	Assuing Comisary	Sergant Majr	Qr Master Sert	Sergants	drummers	Fifers	gunners	Artificers	Confind	Wash Women	Fit for duty	Total	No. of Rashons
Field & Staff	1	1	–	–	"	1	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	5	15
Capt George	"	"	1	2	"	"	"	"	"	1	2	1	"	1	"	1	2	26	30	111
Capt McCarty	"	"	1	2	"	"	"	"	"		2	1	"	2	"	1	2	16	21	81
Capt Williams			1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	1	3	"	"	1	10	14	54
Capt Worthington			1	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	2	"	"	1	"	3	1	4	9	39
Capt Kellar			1	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	3	3	18
Total			5	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	2	1	7	"	5	6	59	82	318

JA^S^ ROBERTSON Q^r^ Master
G R CLARK

CAPTAIN LEONARD HELM TO CLARK, May 31, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J47.—A. L. S.]

S^{T} VINC^{T} May 31st 1779

D^{R} SIR

According to your Instructions I have proceeded in every perticular Circumstance of affairs at Detroit M^{r} Corney [Carney] arrived a few days ago and brings the following Intelligence Viz

That he made this place in Eighteen days after he left Detroit, and that at his Arrivel and the Reception of your Letter Directed to the Commanding Officer he was Received with much Civility; the Commander told him if he could not get every perticular article agreeable to your Demand he would assist him to purchas them though he Expected you would bite him. But says he if the fortune of war Turns on Col^{o} Clarks side and I am taken prisoner I had Rather be taken by him than any other person, Looking on your bravery generosity and knobleness of mind to be no disgrace and that if he had the honour to take you he would not think it small; Likewise M^{r} Corney took much pains to find how many Royalists were in the Fort that were true to the British Cause he thought there were three and not many more. Cap^{t} Masonveal's [Maisonville] flag Staff was taken down in the Night by the Inhabitants of the Village his Staff was laid by the water side they took the flag Spit on it & and hung it up at his Door. he says its not safe for a person to spake dispicably of the Americans that there is a Room for you and an other for me in every principle Gentlemans house in the Village furnished with Bowls and Glasses and Called Col^{o} Clarks & Cap^{t} Helms Rooms, he further says; that the Hogs[1] that were in a pen for three years when they hard the News of Liberty broke out of the pen and made an Eligant Ball & drank Success to Col^{o} Clark that he seen Children in the Streets with Cups of water drinking Success to Clack Success to Clack. that there was 600^{lb} of Lead found on Hog Island three miles above the fort and given to the Commander the Inhabitants demanded one Calf a Barrel of wine and some Spirits to be given them in Return for it as there was no

[1] Doubtless refers to the people living on "Hogg" Island. This island was in the Detroit River three miles above the fort. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, v., 235, 237, 240, 241, 412, 413, 427.

Owner for it they then Repaired to the Island and made a large Intertainment most of the people were drunk and Spoke their minds freely they drank Success to Congress like wise to Col° Clark they are uncertain whether to put Confidence in the Indians a party arrived there before he came away with two Scalps Cap^t^ Rinolt [Lernoult] sent to meet them and Ordered not to bring the Scalps to him but take them to Govr^nr^ Hamilton who first taught them unhuman Murder. Matters in this place stand in as fair a light as can be Expected a present being Informed by men from your department that our Currancy is so much under valued by the Inhabitants there has caused much Truble and disturbance here, but with the Assistance of Major Lagraus [Le Gras] and Cap^t^ Busron [Bosseron] we have Setled matters here better than could be Expected it has been Reported that our Currancy and y^r^ Bill neither of them pass at Orleans I hope you will hurry Col° Todd to this place as there is a greater occation for him hear than at your department knowing you more capable to manage your affairs than I am the Speeches that have been made since your departure I have sent you Excuse my not sending Express sooner as I waited for all Intelligance from Detroit and the Indians. I have purchased a very fine asortment of goods in partnership with John Cowan which we got from a Merchant lately from Detroit and Intend keeping them for the use of your Troops when they arrive at this place if you will let us know whether you will want them as there are not any goods to be purchased at this place Scarcely on any terms. Abraham Daniel, a Delaware Indian that went to the falls of Ohio with M^r^ Trig and Company Informs me by Intelligance from two men that lately arrived from the Dalaware Camp, and says that an Expodition is gone from the falls of Ohio against the Shawnah Towns[1] & that the Army Consisted of Eight hundred men & that there was a Number of men Remaining yet at the falls and more coming dailey.

M^r^ Corney gives his Compliments to Col° Clark and Informs him that he proceeded according to his Instructions in every perticular at Detroit but could not get every Article sent for by

[1] Refers to Colonel John Bowman's expedition, see Introduction, *ante*, cviii.

you the were not to be got at any Store in the Village Inclosed you have an Invoice of the perticulars he brought.

my Compliments to Maqam Williams & The Gentlemen officers I coclude with a Longing desire to see you

Y^r Ob^t Hble Serv^t

LEO^D HELM

To GEORGE R. CLARK Esq^r Col^o Comd^t of Illinois S^t Vincent & its dependancies

N B All the papers that William Moyers had with him when Killed were taken to Detroit and Delivered to the Commanding Officer

TROOPS UNDER CLARK AT KASKASKIA, June 2, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

A provision Return for the troops at Fort Clark Under The Command of Colo G. R. Clark Commencing the 31 & Ending The 2 of June Both Days Included 1779

Rank	field officers			Com-mis'd officers			Staff officers			Non Com-misd officers			drums and fifes		Rank & file								
Company	Colonel	Lieut Colo.	Major	Caplains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Comr General	Sergon	Issuing Comesary	Sert Major	Qr Mast Sergon	Sergants	Drums	fifers	gunners	Artificers	Confind	Butcher	Wash Women	Children	fit for duty	Total	No of Rashons
Field & Staff.....	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	4	12	
Capt George.....	"	"	"	1	2	"	"	"	"	"	1	2	1	"	1	"	"	1	2	"	19	23	90
Capt Quirks.....	"	"	"	1	1	1	"	"	"	"	1	3	1	1	"	"	"	"	4	6	24	34	129
Capt Williams....	"	"	"	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	1	2	"	"	"	1	"	4	7	30
Capt Shelby.....	"	"	"	1	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	3	5	17	25	90
Capt Todd.....	"	"	"	1	1	"	"	"	"	1	"	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	22	22	81
Capt Taylor.....	"	"	"	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	3	"	"	"	"	"	"	3	6	19	28	99
Capt Evans.....	"	"	"	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	3	5	26	34	114
Capt McCarty....	"	"	"	1	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	3	1	1	3	1	"	"	2	"	20	26	102
Ct Worthington...	"	"	"	1	"	1	"	"	"	1	"	2	"	"	1	"	"	"	1	"	5	7	36
Capt Kellar.....	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	1	"	6	7	30
Total.....	1	1	"	9	9	4		1	1	2	2	22	3	3	7	1	"	1	20	21	162	217	813

JA^S ROBERTSON Q^r Master

G R CLARK

JOSEPH BOWMAN TO CLARK, June 3, 1779.[1]

[Draper MSS., 49J49.—A. L. S.]

KAHOUS, June 3d 1779

DEAR SIR

By the bearer Mr —— I have Just received the following Inteligence from Michal Mcanoy [Michillimackinac] who Informes me that he left that the 8h of April Last with permition to go as far as Labai[2] with orders to Longloid[3] & Gouchey[4] from Majr Depoister[5] forbiding them from Raising aney more Indians against the americans that Majr Depoister has but forty men and 100 at Detroit by Report, the Indians Informes them of our armey beeing near Detroit that in two days they Can fetch in a scalp from our People, he on his way here Receivd the kindest treatment from the Indians who seam Initrely disposd in our favor he has brought with him a large Quantity of goods that was Conceald to him by Mr Bentley who was to start in ten days after him in cace he could obtain A permitt otherways he wood make his Escape the best way he could I begin to be Impatiant to start and am In hopes by Next monday to make a move with Every thing from here with hoops of finding you all in Readiness for a start which I make not the least doubt of; if in cace your purchacers has been as buisly Imployd as we where, I Expect Mr Shannon back Every hour, The weather begins to grow warm & the waters Low so that no time Ought to be lost with regaurd to prepareing Every Necessary requird for our Expedetion, pray make Every officer Exert himself as I have been obligd to do, as much depends on Industery, their is maney Thanks to be paid to the Inhabitants here, as they have Spaird their Cattle & Horses past Expectation they have furnishd Every fifth head of Cattle in stead of the tenth, which amounts to 80 odd 40 odd Horses [*Line at bottom of MS. missing.*[6]] The reason of not getting more

[1] Printed also in Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 612; see *ibid.*, 610.

[2] Le Baye, Green Bay.

[3] Langlade. See Introduction, lxxxix.

[4] Gautier. *Ibid.*

[5] De Peyster. See *ibid.*, xc.

[6] In the copy printed by Alvord, the line is given as: "& 150000 lb of Flower with [*MS. torn*] ing to press one thing."

Flower from this Place is owing to the scarceity, as their has been sold out of this town since your Departure from here between twenty and thirty Thousand weight I am afraid that Unless you send up a boat for the flower I shall be disappointed I have had the offer of severl Bark boats but none of them in order, or strong Enough to trust a Load in,

My respects to the Gentlemen officers whilst

I Remain Dr Sr your most Obdt frind & Humlo Ser

JoS BOWMAN

N B in my letter in stead of orders forbiding the Indians to be raisd against the Americans they are cauld for to MichalMcanoy to a counsel

[*Addressed:*] Colo George Rogers Clark Commandr in cheif of westrn Deprt Kaskaskias pr Mr pravoe

[*Endorsed:*] Received 5th June 79 Captn Bowman 3d June 1779

BILLS OF EXCHANGE DRAWN BY WILLIAM SHANNON, June 5, 1779.[1]

[Draper MSS., 46J47.]

Exchang 7698 No 97

On sight of this My Exchange pleas to Pay Mons Capt Langtot or order the sum of Seven thousand Six hundred and ninety Eight Livres in cash for Peltrys furnished the State of Virginia for the use of Purchasing Provisions for said State as p account

See. at fort Clark this 5th day June 1779.

(Signed) WILLIAM SHANNON

To COL G R CLARK Esqr

Accepted (Signed) G. R CLARK

[*Endorsed:*] Recd the amount of the within Bill of Genl Clark one part by the hands of Mr Tazewell in officers Certificates and the Balance due by his bond of this date of the * * * * * * * * of two hundred and Seventy five pounds seventeen shillings and six pence.

By power of attorney of Godfroy Linctot

7698 Livres (Signed) CH. GRATIOT

[1] These bills are printed merely to illustrate the methods of exchange.

Exchange 3836 2/5

On sight of this My Exchange pleas pay Capt Langtot or order the sum of three Thousand Eight hundred and thirty Six dollars and two fifths it being for the Peltrys received in your name and delivered to Mr Barkley on my arrival at Fort Clark this 5 day of June 1779.

(Signed) WILLIAM SHANNON

To G R CLARK Esqr

accepted (Signed) G R CLARK

[*Endorsed:*] Received the amount of the within Bill of Genl Clark by the hands of Mr. Tazewell in officers Certificates by Power of attorney of Godefroy Linctot

(Signed) CH GRATIOT

RICHMOND december 22d 1783 3836 dollars

CLARK TO THE TREASURER OF VIRGINIA, June 6, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

Ex. 200 Dollrs

KASKASKIA 6th June 1779

On Sight of this my first of Exchange Second of same Tenor and Date not paid. Pay to Mad. Rocheblave or Order the Sum of Two Hundred Dollars being for Sundries furnished for the use of the Troops of this Garrison

And Oblige Your Obedt Servt

G. R CLARKE

TO THE TREASURER OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

March 21st 1780

Accepted to be discharged in tobacco at twenty Five Shillings the Hundred.

By advice of Council

THOS. JEFFERSON

CLARK TO OLIVER POLLOCK, June 12, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

KASKASKAS June 12 1779

DEAR SIR

Yesterday I received your Letter by Mr Mantonis dated 26 February. I am under many obligations to you for the advice from Pensicola and many other favors, a strong reinforcement to Florida is what has been for some time expected by us, from their Maneuvers about the Center of the American Shore. I shall Immediately send Copys of your Letters to me with my Oppinion thereon to the seat of Government. what measures they may take I do not know an Expidition was Intended against the Floridays on the Mississippi but I am now convinced that it is out of the Question without a greater force but I do not think (Although I suppose for the sake of a Breathing spell they have Crouded themselves in the most remote Corner of the Continant for that purpose) that they will be suffered to Enjoy their Peace long. for the Warr on our side has changed from a Defensive to an Offensive one. I have little or no news to Inform you of Mr Lindsay the Bearer of this Letter is a Gentleman of variaty and lately from the Settlements will give you the whole. You mentioned your writing to me the 15 February. I can heare nothing of the Letter nor by whom sent I have never received the scrape of a Pen from you before Except by Lieut Harrison. I am sorry to learn you have not been supplyed with funds as Expected your protesting my late Bills has not surprized me.[1] as I Expected it being surrounded by Enemies Mr Hamilton & his Savages being obligated for my own safety to lay in Considerable Stores. I was oblidged to take every step I possibly could to procure them unwilling to use force &c. I believe In order to get Bills on you they Refused to receive a Coppers worth of Continental money so that I expect by this time they are sorry that they Attempted to deceive me.

[1] Clark's drafts on Pollock were accepted by the latter but, since he had no funds, many were not paid. There is preserved the protest by a St. Louis merchant, Joseph Perrault, concerning such notes, amounting to 2277 *piastres*, made in Kaskaskia on June 24, 1779. It may be that Clark refers to these notes, and others like them, for the knowledge of Pollock's failure to pay must have reached Kaskaskia some days before such a formal step as a legal protest was made. See Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 98.

I have by several Expresses wrote to his Excellency the Governor of Virginia Respecting you leting him know what I have long Surmised & the Circumstances now laid open in your letter before me. I act by his Authority and know that he will take every Step he possibly can to make you a remittance which I expected would have been the case before this time, I learn your Clerk is on his way up and hope it will then lay in my power, to settle all my Business in the Country respecting, altho' our Credit on the Mississippi at present appears to be low (perhaps our own faults). I am Determined not to wait untill some Person appears with a longer Sword than I have as for drawing any more bills on you. I have thought it fruitless Virginia State will never let you suffer long for what you have done for her and if it has not been in her power to send you supplys she bears it with a greatful Remembrance

I am Sir with the greatest respect Your very humb^{l} Serv^{t}

(Signed) G R CLARK

M^{r} Lindsay will acquaint you of the State of M^{r} Hamelton the great Hair buyer

To OL^{R} POLLOCK Esq^{r} New Orleans.

COLONEL JOHN BOWMAN TO CLARK, June 13, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J52.—A. L. S.]

HARRODSBURGH June 13th 1779

DEAR SIR

I Rec^{d} your letters by Duff the 9 of this Present Month, by Keller this Instant in Which you Desire the Assistance of this County to Joyn you on your Intending Expedetion, I am Sory to Inform you that the Adventurers that came out hear this last Spring, has Returned for their famileys to the Sittlement, at Present at the Old Stations, their is onley Part of the Old Standbys the onley Sufferers hear to a Man would turn out to Joyn you could we onley Get Men to Garison the forts at Harrodsburgh their will Remain 16 Men at Logans 25—— at Boonesburgh about the same number at Bryans Camp 9 at Licken Station 12 at Elkhorn 8 which will be as few as I can think Leaving in the Garisons, Would time have admitted I woould have Gethered the People

to Gether and Swear[d] More Men to your Assistance but the time So Short has Ocasioned the Situation hear to be left as I have mentioned. had your Instructions come four weaks Sooner I had Gethered 296 Men and Marched them to one of the Shawnee towns and finding the Indians having fortified them selves in two or three Log cabbins and we having no Provisions wee Burnt the greatest Part of their town, the Plunder We Brought away with us amounted to £31666.14 I Rec[d] a letter from W[m] Linn at the falls three Days agoe where in he informs me that he has 100 Men Redy to March in order to Joyn you if so you will be Rainforced by One hundred and fifty Men or their Abouts. there is a Great Many Men come Down the River Lately but they are So Scattred the canot Possibly be colected to answer this Present Purpos News I have none, but a Report prevaling hear that Congress have sent an armey against Detroit and since the have Marched two Men are Come from Pensylvania here and say it is so. I am Obleged in a few days to Start for W[m]burgh tho I am not Present with you in Person yet you have My hart and all my good wishes where Ever you go Ma god Bless you, and I Remain Dear Sir your Sincear friend and Hum[l] Serv[t]

JN[o] BOWMAN

[*Addressed:*] On Publick Service To Col George Rogers Clark Comm[dr] Cheiff of the Illionois Cuntrey By John Duff Express

JOSEPH BOWMAN TO ISAAC HITE,[1] June 14, 1779.

[*Virginia Magazine of History*, XV., 211.]

ISLENOISE, KASKASKIA, June 14th, 1779.

DEAR SR:

I Received your Letter by Brother Isaac who Arived Saif at this Place the 10 of may Last which gave me the Greatest Satisfaction to hear from you & the rest of my friends so distinate from me, I am sorry that it is not in my Power to furnish Isaac With a Quantity of goods &c. agreeable to his Instructions from you as I

[1] Isaac Hite was the son of Joist Hite who was the first settler in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In 1775, Isaac Hite was with a company of surveyors in the vicinity of Harrodsburg. He was one of the defenders of Boonesborough against the Indians in 1777. See Clark's *Diary*, *ante*, 22.

should approve Of it much could they be had, but Believe me their is none in the Country as their has been no supplys brought from New Orleans Since Last Summer, by which means I was disappointed of Getting a Cargo I had sent for; the traiding Vessels at New orleans has for some time Imployd themselves seaking Of traid Else where on the american Coasts. Money has become so plenty here with us by traiders from Difirent Quarters that it does not Rate at above half as High as it does aney where Else in the United states, so that their is no Chance of Purchaceing aney Commodity what Ever whereby a prophit might be had from it, at Preasent, and as the distance is two great for Isaac to Return without doing something I have Recommended him to Continue here and go with our Ridgements, which Is to start in about four days for Detroit where I hope to find goods in great abundance. We have had Every Piece of Intiligence we could wish for from that Quarter and make no Doubt of our Success. Notwithstanding the Reinforcement by Colo. Mongomery and our own troops will not Exceed five Hundred men, but our men here beeing Accustomed to Success since our Arivel in this Couptry, and their Anxiaty so great, gives us the greatist Confidence of their Braverey and good Conduct.

If we should be successfull on our Expedetion I Expect to Return with my Brother which will be some time towards Christmass.

Kaintuckey is very strong several forts built their Laitley I am Inform'd that Brother John has March'd some time agoe with a bodey of troops from their against the Shawnees.

I wrote to you in March Last giveing you A detail of our Last Expedition against Governor Hamilton at Post St. Vinsent but our Express Unfortunately got Kil'd Near the falls of Ohio and All the letters and Papers destroy'd so that I do not Expect you have had a true account as yet. Some time in December Last Governer Hamelton Came down the wabash from Detroit with about 800 men Includeing french English & Indians Retook St. Vinsent from us without the Loss of aney men of Either side. He immediately sent off Belts and speeches to Sundray Nations to the North & westward of this In Order to Collect as maney as to Inable him to Retake the Islenoise Country Destroy Kaintuckey and drive all before him as far As fort Pitt, thus finding our

situation without the Least Expectations of Succor Oblige us to fall On an Expedient Resolution, which was for a boate with two four Pounders & 4 swivels to be sent off Immediately with 50 (40)[1] to Perceed by water to Post Vinsent whilst Col. Clark myself & the Rest of his forces Consisting of about 130 where to Conduct our selves by Land and meet our boat on her way within a few miles of that Place & then to Lay seage to the fort upon all avents, Accordingly on the sixth of February we started trough Rain Mud and mire Continueing our Rout the Distance About 180 miles and in Nineteen days arived at the Place, but no account of our Boat it beein kept Back by the High water, our men were almost Perrished to Death beeing 5 day without Privision and haveing the waters to waid the Cheifest Part of that time from their middles up to their Necks, mear Hunger then forced us to attact the Fort before the arivel of our boat which began about 8 oclock in the night with A brisk fire on both sides and Continued all night and the Cheifest part of the next Day Durcing which time ther Cannon Play'd on Us from Every Quarter of the fort but Done us no Damage we wounded sundray of their men through the Portholes which Caus'd them to surrender themselves and Garrison, to the great Mortification of Our Boats Crew who had not the Oppertunity of makeing use of their Cannon, the Cheifest Part of the Indians where sent out in Parties to war Some to Kaintuckey some to watch the Ohio &c Untill their main bodey could Collect for the Executeing the Plan they had Laid, so that we took but seven Indians which was Immediately Tomahock'd and between 130 or 40 Prisoners amongst whome where some french Troops which was Discharg'd upon Parole, maney Nations has since been in and treated for Peace; at the surrender of the Garrison we got One, sixpound Brass field Piece two four-Pounders of Iron & two swivels Likewise a large Quantity of Militery stores and Indian goods to the amount of Twenty Thousand Pounds, ... we have sent All the Officers with their attendance to Williamsburg the rest Destributed to the diferent towns in this Country. . . . . If we could have had more men here then what we had there is no telling what we mought have done, but I am afraid that the Assembly has not thought this Country of so

[1] The figures are written one over the other in the original.

Great Importance as what it Raley is, Other ways their mought have been a finel Peace settled with the Indians by this time; and nothing but that alone Induces me to Continue as long as what I have done, as I Am Sensible, that the acting in a Publick Compasity Interfairs two much with our Private affairs. . . . . the bearer stands waiting for my letter and have not time to write or Answer Other Letters that I receiv'd by my Brother for which I hope you'l Excuse me to all you heare Complain, my Compliments to aunt and All Enqureing friends not forgetting my Uncle John.

whilst I Remain Dear Sr. your most Obed't friend & Humb Sarv't

Jos. BOWMAN.

N. B. Isaac Informes me that Ab'm has Quit the service If so I am in hoops he will Drive out our stock to Kaintuckey this fall.

J. B.

CLARK TO HIS FATHER, JOHN CLARK, June, 15, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J53.—A. L. S.]

ILLINOIS KASKASKIAS June 15th 1779

Dr Sr

I Received your much Esteemed Letter by dicky[1] who arive safe at this place. Happy to learn that all Friends [*MS. torn*], I have for a long time Injoyed a perfect State of Health under the greatest fatigues. my dispositions of Wr Hitherto have been Crownd with great success but must Confess that Circumstances appear more [serious] at present than for some time past but I hope to Extricate myself as formerly no person Commanding on this Continent is in a more Critical Situation than I am Surrounded on all Sides by Numerous Nations of Indians with English officers among them Incouraging them to war but my Influance and Success of late hath been so great that I still keep the greatest number of them on our Side of the Question I dont doubt but you

[1] Richard Clark, brother of Colonel Clark, was then nineteen years of age. He took part in western affairs, went to the relief of Cahokia in 1780, and was engaged in the campaign against the Indians about Peoria. In 1782, he was associated with his brother in the attack on the Shawnee. Two years later he lost his life while traveling alone through the Indian country.

have before this time had a full account of my late Attact on post S^{t} Vincents after an Ingagement of Eighteen Hours the famous Governor Hamilton and his Murdering Band fell into my hands nothing extraodinary has happened Since my Last to you by Cap^{tn} Jack Rogers, I have Given Dicky a Lieutenants Commission if I Can get him to Imbrace the Air of an officer I dont doubt but he may make a good appearance in a short time I think he already improves. Expences in this Cuntrey is amasingly high it has not Cost me less than twelve or thirteen Hundred pounds since I have been in it. I Can give no account when Shall See you but as Soon as possible. I instructed one M^{r} Randolph that does business for me to give you Ten Thousand Pounds to keep for me I expect he has done it before this Reaches you, if Dicky and myself should be both lost in this Cuntrey it will be worth Seven years Trouble of my Brothers to Seek after my Fortune which at this time Cant be less than Twenty Thousand Pounds Sterling as my success in Trade has been Equal to that of war, for fear of actidents I have had Records taken of all my papers in the Clearks office in this town, you have for several years known the height of my ambition but I did not Expect to arrive at that so much determined Moment in so Short a time as I have done. Fortune in Every Respect as yet hath hovered Round me as if determined to direct me you may Judge Sir what Impressions it must have on a grateful Brest whose greatest Glory is to addore the Suppreme director of all things Sir it would give me the Greatest happiness to be assured that it was not a Doubt in your Brest but that you had in me as dutifull a son as ever Father was possessed of. My D^{r} Mother Brothers and Sisters have my is possesd of my sincear Regard I am Sr with Esteem yours

G R Clark

CHAPTER IX

CLARK'S RETURN TO THE FALLS OF THE OHIO AND EVENTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR, 1779

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ILLINOIS TROOPS—CLARK VOTED A SWORD BY THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY—CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CIVIL AND THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES—REASONS FOR A FORT NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO—SOLDIERS IN DISTRESS THROUGH LACK OF CLOTHING AND FOOD—PLAN OF OPERATIONS, NOVEMBER 16, 1779—DEPRECIATION OF CONTINENTAL MONEY IN THE WEST.

INDICTMENT OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON.[1]

[Draper MSS., 49J54.—Contemporary print.]

IN COUNCIL, JUNE 16, 1779.

The Board proceeded to the consideration of the letters of Colonel Clarke, and other papers relating to Henry Hamilton, Esq. who has acted some years past as Lieutenant Governour of the settlement at and about Detroit, and commandant of the British garrison there, under Sir Guy Carleton as Governour in Chief; Philip Dejean, Justice of the Peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, Captain of volunteers, prisoners of war, taken in the county of Illinois.

They find that Governour Hamilton has executed the task of inciting the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the citizens of these states, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, with an eagerness and activity which evince that the general nature of his charge harmonized with his particular disposition; they should have been satisfied from the other testimony adduced that these enormities were committed by savages acting under his commission, but the number of proclamations which at different times were left in houses, the inhabitants of which were killed or carried away by the Indians, one of which

[1] For a statement on Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, see Introduction, *ante*, xxxvii. For Jefferson's view see *post*, 347.

proclamations, under the hand and seal of Governour Hamilton, is in possession of the Board, puts this fact beyond doubt. At the time of his captivity it appears, that he had sent considerable detachments of Indians against the frontier settlements of the states, and had actually appointed a great council of Indians to meet him at the mouth of the Tanissee, to concert the operations of this present campaign. They find that his treatment of our citizens and soldiers, captivated and carried within the limits of his command, has been cruel and inhumane; that in the case of John Dodge,[1] a citizen of these states, which has been particularly stated to this Board, he loaded him with irons, threw him into a dungeon, without bedding, without straw, without fire, in the dead of winter and severe climate of Detroit; that in that state he harrassed and wasted him, with incessant expectations of death; that when the rigours of his situation had brought him so low that death seemed likely to withdraw him from their power, he was taken out and attended to till somewhat mended, and then again, before he had recovered abilities to walk, was returned to his dungeon, in which a hole was cut seven inches square only, for the admission of air, and the same load of irons again put on him; that appearing again to be in imminent danger of being lost to them, he was a second time taken from his dungeon, in which he had lain from January to June, with the intermission before mentioned of a few weeks only; that Governour Hamilton gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners, which induced the Indians, after making their captives carry their baggage into the neighbourhood of the fort, there to put them to death, and carry in their scalps to the Governour, who welcomed

[1] John Dodge printed a pamphlet entitled: *An Entertaining Narrative of the cruel and barbarous Treatment and extreme Sufferings of Mr. John Dodge during his captivity etc.* (Danvers, 1780). This has been recently reprinted by C. M. Burton of Detroit. For the history of John Dodge consult the indexes of Alvord, *Cahokia Records* and *Kaskaskia Records*. From the facts known about Dodge, little credit can be given to his testimony, yet the present paper, so far as it charges Hamilton with acts of cruelty performed at Detroit, is largely based on his statements. Dodge wrote to a friend in July, 1779: "I am going to Williamsburg in a few days to prosecute Hamilton and that Rascal Dejean Lamotte, likewise Hominay Hay. They will all be hanged without redemption, and the Lord have mercy on their Souls." Later in September he wrote that he had had the pleasure of seeing these same men in irons in a dungeon and he adds, "they were put there for the usage they gave me at Detroit." Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 104, 122.

their return and successes by a discharge of cannon; that when a prisoner brought alive, and destined to death by the Indians, the fire already kindled, and himself bound to the stake, was dexterously withdrawn and secreted from them by the humanity of a fellow prisoner; a large reward was offered for the discovery of the victim, which having tempted a servant to betray his concealment, the present prisoner Dejean being sent with a party of soldiers, surrounded the house, took and threw into jail the unhappy victim, and his deliverer, where the former soon expired under the perpetual assurances of Dejean, that he was again to be restored into the hands of the savages, and the latter when enlarged was bitterly and illiberally reprimanded and threatened by Governour Hamilton.

It appears to them that the prisoner Dejean, was on all occasions the willing and cordial instrument of Governour Hamilton, acting both as judge and keeper of the jail, and instigating and urging him by malicious insinuations and untruths, to increase rather than relax his severities, heightening the cruelty of his orders by the manner of executing them; offering at one time a reward to one prisoner to be the hangman of another, threatening his life on refusal, and taking from his prisoners the little property their opportunities enabled them to acquire.

It appears that the prisoner Lamothe, was a Captain of the volunteer scalping parties of Indians and whites, who went out, from time to time, under general orders, to spare neither men, women, nor children.

From this detail of circumstances which arose in a few cases only, coming accidentally to the knowledge of the Board, they think themselves authorized to presume by fair deduction what would be the horrid history of the sufferings of the many who have expired under their miseries (which therefore will remain for ever untold) or who have escaped from them, are yet too remote and too much dispersed to bring together their well grounded accusations against these prisoners.

They have seen that the conduct of the British officers, civil and military, has in its general tenor, through the whole course of this war, been savage and unprecedented among civilized nations; that our officers and soldiers taken by them have been loaded with

irons, consigned to loathsome and crouded jails, dungeons, and prison ships; supplied often with no food, generally with too little for the sustenance of nature, and that little sometimes unsound and unwholesome, whereby so many of them have perished that captivity and miserable death have with them been almost synonimous; that they have been transported beyond seas where their fate is out of the reach of our enquiry, have been compelled to take arms against their country, and by a new refinement in cruelty to become the murtherers of their own brethren.

Their prisoners with us have, on the other hand, been treated with moderation and humanity; they have been fed on all occasions with wholesome and plentiful food, lodged comfortably, suffered to go at large within extensive tracts of country, treated with liberal hospitality, permitted to live in the families of our citizens, to labour for themselves, to acquire and to enjoy property, and finally to participate of the principal benefits of society while privileged from all its burthens.

Reviewing this contrast which cannot be denied by our enemies themselves in a single point, which has now been kept up during four years of unremitted war, a term long enough to produce well founded despair that our moderation may ever lead them into the practice of humanity, called on by that justice which we owe to those who are fighting the battles of their country, to deal out at length miseries to their enemies, measure for measure, and to distress the feelings of mankind by exhibiting to them spectacles of severe retaliation, where we had long and vainly endeavoured to introduce an emulation in kindness; happily possessed by the fortune of war of some of those very individuals, who having distinguished themselves personally in this line of cruel conduct, are fit subjects to begin on with the work of retaliation, this Board has resolved to advise the Governour that the said Henry Hamilton, Philip Dejean, and William Lamothe, prisoners of war, be put into irons, confined in the dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and excluded all converse except with their keeper. And the Governour orders accordingly.

(A Copy)

Attest ARCHIBALD BLAIR, C. C.

Williamsburg: Printed by John Dixon and Thomas Nicolson.

GEOFFREY LINCTOT TO CLARK, June 16, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J55.—A. L. S.]

MONSIEUR

Jay Lhonneur de vous ecrire Laprésente pour vous Marquerre mon EnBara^{te} Maj^{r} Debeaumane a sont depart avois Donné ordre a M^{r} Lacroix de me fournire tous Ce qui me Servis naissaicere tant en provision de Bouche que pour Les Esfait que jaurois Bessoint pour Les Besoint de Letat Se qui ne sa Compli pas sela me mais dans La Plus grande Embara du monde par La Rivée des Nation qui viene de toute part et en grand nombre et je nay pas un grins de may pour Les Resevoir Les nouvelle que ses sauvage rapporte sont a notre avantage et Leurs Conseille ne tante qua La paix et a opptenire Leurs Grace quils nous demande et que je leurs ayt acordé a votre non se qui parrais Les flater Boucoupe ces sauvage qui viene Du detrois qui en sont party depuis vint jours Raporte que Les Englois font nombre de quatrevint Compris Les marchant que sependant ils sont toujours Conseliez de frapper Sur nous Leurs dissant quausitaux que nous Seront Maitre du paye que nous Les Empoissonneront tous quoi quil en soit toute

[*Translation.*][1]

SIR:

I have the honor of writing this letter in order to inform you of my embarrassment. Major Bowman before leaving gave orders to Mr. La Croix to furnish me with all that I might need both in food and other articles which would be required in the service of the state. This he has not done, and I have been left in great embarrassment on account of the arrival of many tribes from all quarters and I have not a grain of corn for their reception. The news those savages bring is to our advantage. Their plan tends only to peace and to obtain the favor which they demand of us and which I have accorded them in your name. This appears to flatter them much. Many savages from Detroit who left that place twenty days ago report that the English are eighty strong including the merchants; that they always advise the savages to fall upon us saying to them that as soon as we become masters of the country we will poison them all. However all will be well

[1] Translation by the editor.

ira bien et jesperre que vous auray La Bonté de Donner des ordre au subjet de se quil me faut pour reservoir Les nation ainsy que pour tacherre da voirre Des fusils Comme Ile Se trouve Des volontaire qui Nant non Poind et quil Mandemand faitte mois avoir de la marchandise au magasont et je pourrai avoir Des fusils pour Ce La Je féray tous mon posible pour maquiter de mon devoir et vous pris De Me croire avec un profont Respects

Votre humble Monsieur Et Respectueux Serviteur

LINCTOT

au CASHAUX Ce le 16 Junt 1779

[*Addressed:*] A Monsieur George Rogers Clark Escuier Colonel du Bataillon des Ilinois Et Gouverneur General au fort Clark

[*Endorsed:*] He informs G. Clark that he has no provisions for the Indians who are coming in from all Quarters. That the Indians who came from Detroit informed him that the English were urging them to fall upon Our people

[*Translation.*]

and I hope you will give orders concerning what I need to receive the tribes and to buy guns, since there are volunteers without them who ask me for some. Send me merchandise to the store-house and I shall be able to get guns, to which end I shall do my very best in order to accomplish my duty. I beg, sir, to believe me with great respect,

Your humble and respectful servant,

LINCTOT.

CAHOKIA, June 16, 1779.

[*Addressed:*] Mr. George R. Clark, Esquire, Colonel of the Illinois Battalion and Governor-General at Fort Clark.

CLARK'S PROCLAMATION ON DESERTERS, June 19, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J56.—D. S.]

By George Rogers Clark Esquire Collonel of The Illinois Battalion and Commander in Chief of the American Forces in the Western Department &ca &ca &ca

PROCLAMATION

By Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given by his Excellency Patrick Henry Governor General of the State of Virginia &ca.

Whereas great Disadvantages and Detriments have arrisen by harbouring the Deserters of Spain in this Department as also those from hence receiving Protection under the Spanish Government, In order therefore to Remedy, the Reciprocal damage and Detriment Suffered by both Parties on that account, I now do by these Presents, Proclame, and Declare, that no Protection shall be given to any Desertor, from his Catholic Majesties Troops, and those that had heretofore Received Protection from me, are by this Proclamation Debared, and Deprived, therefrom, and Ordered to quit this Shore, And I do Further Order, every Officer, or Other Person, belonging to this Place to Confine Every Spanish Desertor, that shall hereafter be found, in this Country, or any Part thereof, Strictly forbiding, on Pain of Severe Punishment, every Person or Persons of what Station or Occupation soever, from harbouring, Crossing, or Permitting to Remain, undiscovered in any part of this Department. and if any should be caught, that they be immadiately Imprisoned, untill they can be conveniently remitted to their Corps.

Given Under my Hand at Fort Clark this 19th June 1779

G R CLARK

[*Endorsed:*] Proclamation about Spanish Deserters

WILLIAM SHANNON TO J. P. LE GRAS, June 24, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

SIR:

Your indisputable fidelity for the American Cause in general puts me at this Critical Juncture under an Obligation of making aplication to you once more in behalf of the States, as you are Sensible of the Conduct of the Officers in general who at Present have the Command at this post. I need not decend to Particulars yet this unportable Behaviour, not only with regard to their Interfering with my departmt but in Every other Respect had

once allmost Exasperated me to such a degree as to promise not to interfere with the Business of the Army in any Respect whatsoever, untill Such time as I could have an oppertunity of making a true Representation of their Conduct Either to Col. Clark or Government. But after Cooly Reflect'g on the Situation of the Country and the distress of the poor Inhabitants would be in if the Garrison were to be evacuated, which certainly would be the case if we were to go off without Endeavouring to make some further Provision than is at Present made for the Troops stationed at this post and so I beg you if there is any Possibility in doing it, to use your influence with the Inhabitants to furnish the Garrison with Corn & Beef untill Such times as there can be some Supplies got from some other Quarter or Express from the Falls of Ohio. Could you Engage it so as the Commiss. could have directions where to make application I could Settle with you for It Before we would go in and Could Engage you a service so Assentially necessary as this is to the State will not escape the notice of Government unrewarded, your knowledge of this matter Joined to your Attachm: to the Cause Renders any further arguments useless. So I beg leave to Subscribe myself Sir,

Your Friend & Humble Serv't,

WILL'M SHANNON.

To COL'O LEGRAS—Present.

JOHN ROGERS TO JONATHAN CLARK, July 7, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 1L57.—A. L. S.]

CAROLINE July 7th 1779

D^R^ SIR–

I left your Brother at S^t^ Vincent the Eight of March well and in high Spirits we got Certain inteligence of Hammeltons being In Possestion of S^t^ Vincent the Second of February we Imediately prepared and marched against him on the Sixth and arrived and atacked the Fort the 23^rd^ at Seven Oclock in the Eavening there being a very brisk fire on both sides for 18 hours we took the advantage of the Night and threw up an intrenchment within Rifel shot of one of their strongest Bateries from which we poured in so many well directed shot through their ports as to silence their

Canon in a few Minutes. During the action there was a party of Fifteen Indians Coming in with two Prisoners which we got word of and sent a party who met them in the Comons of the Town and killed seven wounded two and took two prisoners which was afterward set at Liberty on makeing it appear that they fell in with the party on their way to the Town. There was Seven of the British Soaldiers badly wounded in the fort belonging to the Eighth or Kings Rigment after which the Garison surrendered Prisoners of War to the Number of 79 Upon the surrender of the Fort there was a party of fifty men Detached up the Waughbash River to intercept some provisions and Dry Goods that was comeing from Detroyet to S^{t} Vincent

They got word of our success at S^{t} Vincent but Doubted the truth of it they sent off two Spies to see if they Could Discover any thing the party encamped on the bank of the River with their stores to wait the return of their Spies which Luckly fell in the hands of our party on their way to intercept the above stores which they came up with and took 150 Miles above S^{t} Vincent together with about Forty men Canadians when our Officer and his party Came on their Camp they saluted him and Cried out "Vive le Congress" that is Live the Congress the Mail from Detroyet to Govn^{r} Hammelton allso fell in our hands by which we find the Canadians in the neighbourhood of Detroyet are not well affected to the Britons and are ready to revolt to the Americans when Ever a favorable opertunity offers: our Party was 130 strong when the atack was made on the fort about 60 of which was French Voluntears from the Vilages on the Massipia who behaved very well and spirited, we had only one man wounded in the atack; During our March we had Five days waiding to the Breast of the men through the Drowned Lands oblidged to make Conoes to take our amunition & provision in I was sent off with a part of the prisoners 26 in number Eight of which were Officers, the Remainder of the Prisoners was Detained in the Illenoy on account of our not having men to Guard them but the Canadians have taken the Oath of Nutrality. The Goods taken amounted to better than ten Thousand Pounds which was Divided among the Men we allso got a good many arms and warlike stores with one Brass Field piece Six Pounder Compleatly fixed two Iron four Pounders and two

Swivels. your Brother Left a garison of 35 men in the Fort under the Command of Cap[t] Helm who was made Prisoner by Hammelton when he took S[t] Vincent but Released by us with five other prisoners, the Colonel is now at Kaskaskias a village on the Massippi

I shall set out for the Illenoy the Last of next Month and should be glad to heare from you before my return your Brother would be glad to hearc from you and would be glad to be informed of all the news Respecting our affairs in your quarter if you will write to him and Contrive the Letters to me I will take care to Deliver them if you send them by post Direct them to be left in the Post Office Fredericburg where I shall enquire for such Letters—your Friends are well I rest and Remain

Your Aft Cousin
JOHN ROGERS

PROCLAMATION, July 18, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J61.—D. S.]

PROCLAMATION

Comme Le Service De L'etat Demende promptement une quantité Considerable De Boeuf et Voyant Que Les habitants De ce Village N'en Nont Pas Beaucoup a Vendre et Ne Doutant point De Leur attachement au Service

Pour Mieux Encourager Les Dits habitants a en fournir Sauve que Leur famille En [*word torn off*]

[*Translation.*][1]

PROCLAMATION.

Since the service of the state demands immediately a considerable quantity of beef, and since the inhabitants of this village do not have enough to sell, not doubting their attachment to the service

To better encourage the said inhabitants to provide some unless their families [*word torn off*]

[1] Translation by the editor.

J'ordonne a Messieurs Les Contracteurs D'au [*MS. torn*]
Le prix Des annimeaux a Cornes [*MS. torn*]
Plus que a Lordinaire [*MS. torn*]
Delivrés Dans L'espace De [*MS. torn*]
a Moy Pour Des Letres De [*MS. torn*]
feront Le Payement
a S^{t} Vincennes Le 18^{e} Julliet 1779

G. R. CLARK

[*Translation.*]

I order the merchants [*MS. torn*]
The price of horned animals [*MS. torn*]
More than usual [*MS. torn*]
Delivered within the space [*MS. torn*]
to me for letters [*MS. torn*]
will make the payment
VINCENNES, the 18th of July, 1779.

G. R. CLARK.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GOVERNOR GUY CARLETON, July 22, 1779.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—A. L. S.]

SIR,

Your Letter, on the Subject of Lieutenant Governor Hamiltons confinement, came safely to hand. I shall with great chearfulness explain to you, the Reasons on which the advice of Council was founded, since, after the satisfaction of doing what is right, the greatest is that of having what we do approved by those opinion deserve esteem.

We think ourselves justified in Governor Hamilton strict confinement, on the general principle of national retaliation. To state to you the particular facts of British Cruelty to american prisoners, would be to give a melancholy history from the capture of Col^{o} Ethan Allen, at the beginning of the war, to the present day; a history which I will avoid, as equally disagreeable, to you, & to me. I with pleasure do you the justice to say that I believe

[1] Published in Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), II., 248 *et seq.* and in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 321.

these facts to be very much unknown to you, as Canada has been the only Scene of your Service, in America, and, in that quarter, we have reason to believe that S^r^ Guy Carleton, and the other officers commanding there, have treated our prisoners (since the instance of Col^o^ Allen) with considerable lenity. What has been done in England, & what in New York, and Philadelphia, you are probably uninformed; as it would hardly be made the subject of epistolary correspondence. I will only observe to you, Sir, that the confinement, and treatment, of our officers, soldiers, & seamen, have been so rigorous, and cruel, as that a very great proportion of the whole of those captured in the course of this war, & carried to Philadelphia, while in possession of the British army, and to New York, have perished miserably, from that cause only, and that the fact is as well established, with us, as any historical fact which has happened in the course of the War. A Gentleman of this Commonwealth, in public office, and of known & established Character, who was taken on sea, carried to New York, and exchanged, has given us lately a particular information of the treatment of our prisoners there. Officers taken by Land, it seems, are permitted to go on parole within certain limits on Long Island, till suggestions shall be made to their prejudice by some Tory refugee or other equally worthless person, when they are hurried to the Prevot in New York, without enquiring whether they be founded upon positive facts, be matter of hearsay, or taken from the reports of interested men. The example of enquiring into the truth of charges of this nature, according to legal principles of evidence has surely not been set us by our Enemies. We enquired what these Prevots were and were told they were the common miserable jails, built for the confinement of Malefactors. Officers and men taken by sea are kept in prison ships, in [*MS. torn*] from five to ten a day. When therefore we are desired to advert to the possible consequences of treating prisoners with rigour, I need only ask where did those rigours begin. not with us assur'd-ly. I think you Sir, who have had as good opportunities as any British officer of learning in what manner we treat those whom the fortune of war has put into our hands, can clear us from the charge of rigour as far as your knowledge or information has extended. I can assert that Governor Hamilton's is the first

instance which has occurred in my own country, and if there has been another in any of the United States, it is unknown to me, these instances must have been extremely rare; if they have ever existed at all, or they could not have been altogether unheard of by me. when a uniform exercise of kindness to prisoners on our part has been returned by us as uniform severity on the part of our enemies, you must excuse me for saying it is high time, by other lessons, to teach respect to the dictates of humanity in such a case, retaliation becomes an act of benevolence.

But suppose, Sir, we were willing, still longer, to decline the drudgery of general retaliation; yet Governor Hamilton's conduct has been such as to call for exemplary punishment on him personally. In saying this I have not so much in view his particular cruelties to our to our Citizens, prisoners with him, (which, tho they have been great, were of necessity confined to a small scale) as the general nature of the service he undertook, at Detroit, and the extensive exercise of cruelties which that involved. Those who act together in war are answerable for each other. No distinction can be made between principal and ally by those agnst whom the war is waged. He who employs another to do a deed, makes the Deed his own. If he calls in the hand of the assassin, or murderer, himself becomes the assassin or murderer. The known rule of warfare with the Indian Savages is an indiscriminate butchery of men Women & children. These Savages, under this well-known Character, are employed by the British nation as allies in the war against the Americans. Governor Hamilton undertakes to be the conductor of the war. In the execution of that undertaking, he associates small parties of the whites under his immediate command with large parties of the Savages, & sends them to act, sometimes jointly, sometimes separately, not agst our forts, or armies in the field but the farming settlements on our frontiers. Governor Hamilton then is himself the butcher of men women & children. I will not say to what length the fair rules of war would extend the right of punishment against him; but I am sure that confinement, under its strictest circumstances, as a retaliation for Indian devastation & massacre, must be deemed Lenity. I apprehend you had not sufficiently adverted to the expression in the advice of the Council, when you suppose the proclamation there

alluded to, to be the one addressed to the Inhabitants of the Illinois afterwards printed in the public papers, & to be affirmed [*MS. torn*] Proclamation, there alluded to, contained nothing more than an invitation to our officers and Soldiers to join the British Arms against those whom he is pleased to call Rebels and Traitors—In order to introduce these among our people, they were put into the hands of the Indians; and in every house, where they murdered or carried away the family, they left one of these proclamations. Some of them were found sticking on the breasts of the persons murdered, one under the hand and Seal of Governor Hamilton came to our hands. The Indians being the Bearers of proclamations, under the hand and Seal of Governor Hamilton (no matter what was the Subject of them) there can be no doubt they were acting under his direction; and, as, including this proof, the fact was cited in the advice of the Council. But if you will be so good as to recur to the address of the Illinois, which you refer to, you will find that, tho' it does not in express terms threaten vengeance, blood & Massacre, yet it proves that the Governor had made for us the most ample provision of all these Calamities. He there gives in detail the horrid Catalogue of savage nations, extending from South to North, whom he had leag'd with himself to wage combined war on our frontiers: and it is well known that that war would of course be made up of blood, and general Massacres of men Women & Children. Other papers of Governor Hamiltons have come to our hands, containing instructions to officers going out with Scalping parties of Indians and Whites, & proving that that kind of war was waged under his express orders further proofs in abundance might be adduced, but I suppose [*MS. torn*] the fact too notorious to need them.

Your letter seems to admit an inference that, whatever may have been the general conduct of our Enemies towards the prisoners, or whatever the personal conduct of Governor Hamilton, yet, as a prisoner by capitulation, you consider him as privileged from strict confinement. I do not pretend to an intimate knowledge of this Subject. my Idea is that the term 'prisoners of war' is a generic one, the specification of which is 1st Prisoners at discretion: & 2^{d} prisoners on convention, or Capitulation. Thus, in the

debate in the house of Commons of the 27th November last, on the address, the minister, speaking of General Burgoyne (and in his presence) says he is 'a prisoner' and General Burgoyne calls himself 'a prisoner under the terms of the Convention of Saratoga.' intimating that, tho' a prisoner, he was a prisoner of a particular Species entitled to certain terms. The treatment of the first class ought to be such as is approved by the usage of polished nations; gentle & humane, unless a contrary conduct in an Enemy, or individual, renders a stricter treatment necessary. The prisoners of the 2d Class have nothing to exempt them from a like treatment with those of the 1st except so far as they shall have been able to make better terms by Articles of Capitulation So far then as these shall have provided for an exemption from strict treatment to prisoners on [capitulation have] a right to be distinguished [*MS. torn*] certain causes antecedent thereto, tho' such instances might be produced, from English history too, and in one case where the King himself commanded in person. Marshal Boufflers after the taking of the Castle of Namur, was arrested and detained prisoner of War by King William tho by an article in the Capitulation it was stipulated that the Officers & Soldiers of the Garrison in general, and Marshal Boufflers by name, shold be at liberty. However we waive reasoning on this head, because no article in the Capitulation of Governor Hamilton is violated by his confinement. perhaps not having seen the Capitulation, you were led to suppose it a thing of course, that, being able to obtain terms of surrender, they would first provide for their own treatment. I inclose you a Copy of the Capitulation, by which you will see that the 2d article declares them prisoners of War, and nothing is said as to the treatment they were to be entitled to. When Governor Hamilton signs indeed, he adds a flourish, containing the motives inducing him to capitulate, one of which was confidence in a generous Enemy. He should have reflected that generosity on a large scale would take side against him. However these were only his private motives, & did not enter into the contract of Colo Clarke. Being prisoners of War then, with only such privileges as their Capitulation has provided, & that having provided nothing on the Subject of their treatment, they are liable to be treated as other prisoners. We

have not extended our order, as we might justifiably have done, to the whole of this Corps. Governor Hamilton, & Captⁿ Lamothe alone, as leading officers, are in confinement. The other officers & men are treated as if they had been taken in justifiable War; the officers being at large on their parole, and the men also having their liberty to a certain extent. (Dejean was not included in the Capitulation being taken 8 Days after, on the Wabache 150 Miles from Sᵗ Vincennes)

I hope Sir, that, being made more fully acquainted with the facts on which the advice of Council was grounded, and exercising your own good sense in cool & candid deliberation on these facts, & the consequences deducible from them, according to the usage & Sentiments of civilized nations, you will see the transaction in a very different light from that in which it appeared at the time of writing your Letter, and ascribe the advice of the Council, not to want of attention to the sacred nature of public Conventions, of which I hope we shall never, in any circumstances, lose sight but to a desire of stopping the effusion of ye unoffending blood of women & Children, and the unjustifiable severities exercised on our captive officers & soldiers in general, by proper severities on our part.

I have the honor to be with much personal respect Sir Your most obedᵗ & mo. hble Servant.

Daniel Brodhead to Clark, August 2, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J63.—A. L. S.]

Head Quarters Pitsburgh Augᵗ 2ⁿᵈ 1779

Dear Sir

Although I have not the Honor of a Personal acquaintance with you I take the liberty to congratulate you on your repeated Successes against the Enemy.

I have 'till very lately been tied to a Defensive Plan by repeated Instructions but as I am now at liberty to act offensively against the Seneca's I shall set out on an Expedition against their Towns within a few Days.

Captⁿ George of late Captⁿ Willings Compʸ has herewith my orders to March the Company with all the Deserters he can collect

to this place & I shall be much obliged to you for affording him every possible assistance for that purpose.

It is highly probable my next Expedition will be down the River when I expect to apprehend a great number of Deserters from the regular army.

I have heard you had in contemplation an enterprize against the Shawnese, but this report is doubted by some. In future should it prove agreeable to you I should be glad to Correspond, & as much as possible cooperate with you in our Military Movements.

I have the Honor to be with great regard your most obed^{t}

DANIEL BRODHEAD
Col^{o} commandg W. D.

COL^{O} G. R. CLARK

[*Addressed:*] On public Service To George R. Clarke near the falls of Ohio—P^{r} M^{r} Garney

[*Endorsed:*] Col. Brodhead Augst 2^{d} 1779

OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS BATTALION, August 5, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 46J33.—Transcript.]

Copy from Genl Clarks a/c as settled

FORT PATRICK HENRY 5th Aug 1779

Return of the Officers belonging to the Illinois Battallion and their Rank, Vizt.

Col^{o} George Rogers Clark
Lieut Col^{o} John Montgomery
Major Joseph Bowman

Captains	John Williams	Lieut Roberts, resigned	Ensigns
	Quirk	Brashear	Montgomery
Resg^{d}	Evans	Girault	Williams
Do	Shelby	Crocket, resigned	Slaughter
	Jha. M^{c}Cartey	Wilson, Suspended	kiled
	Todd	Perault	
	Taylor	Bailey	
Resg^{d}	Worthington	Ramsay, Resigned	
	Kallar	Calvit	
		Clark	
		Chaplin	

Artillery
Capt Robert George
Capt Lt Harrison
first Lt Robertson
2 Lt Dollon, [Dalton?] resigned

CLARK'S GENERAL ORDERS, August 5, 1779.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT P. HENRY 5th Augt 1779

G. O.

Lieut Colo John Montgomery of the Illinois Battalion to proceed with the following Detachments under his Command to the Illinois

Detachment for Fort Clark—

Capt John Williams, to be joined by Capt Worthington's Compy
Lieut Brashear
Lieut Gerault
Capt Lieut Harrison, of Artilery, now at F. Clark—

Detachment for Cohos.—

Capt Richard McCarty, to be joined by Capt Quirks Company.
Lieut Perrault
Lieut Clark

The Garrison of Fort Patrick Henry—

Capt Shelby to be Joined by Capt Taylor's & Capt Kellars Companies
Lieut Wilson—
Ensign Williams
Capt Robert Todd to be joined by Capt Evans's Company
Lieut Dalton, of Artillery
Ensign Slaughter

[1] This has previously been printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 324, and, in part, in English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 372.

The Officers of the Artillery at
the different posts and Garrisons, are to take Charge of the Artillery Stores &c belonging to that Department

Major Joseph Bowman to
proceed with the recruiting Parties, and to have the direction thereof—The Gen[l] Officers out recruiting are to make reports to him, & receive orders and instructions from him

Officers for the recruiting service

Cap[t]	Quirk	Lieu[t]	Roberts
	Evans		Crocket
	Taylor		Ramsay
	Worthington		Calvit
	Kellar	Ens[r]	Montgomery

Cap[t] Robert George, of the Artillery, Lieu[t]
Robertson of the same, with their Company to go to the falls of Ohio with the Commander in Chief, where Head Quarters are to be Established

Cap[t] Leonard Helm, Indian—
Agent for Fort Patrick Henry & the Dep[t] of Wabache

Mons[r] Gamelian of Ouyas, to
fall under his Dep[t] to make report to Head Quarters at the Falls of Ohio, or to Kaskaskias to Lieu[t] Col[o] Montgomery or other Officer Commanding for the time being and follow such instructions as he shall receive from myself or any other his Superior Officer

Cap[t] Linetot, Indian Agent
for the Illinois River & all the western side of said River to the East of the Mississippi to make his report to, and receive orders from Col[o] Montgomery Commanding the Illinois &c. at Kaskaskias, or other Officer for the time being, Commanding there

Cap[t] Linetot will appoint an
Assistant for the upper part of the Mississippi in the Indian Department, near the Dogs plains,[1] provided the appointment be approved of by Col[o] Montgomery, or the Commanding Officer for the time being.

Signed GEO. R. CLARK

[1] Prairie du Chien.

JOHN TODD TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, August 18, 1779.[1]

[C. A., Ser. B., Vol. 122, p. 250.—Copy.][2]

KASKASKIA, 18th Augt. 1779

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY—[3]

By letters which I had the honour of writing to you by Col. Slaughter dated early in July, I gave Your Excellency a full account of the situations of this Country, since which nothing important has happened here. Col. Clark I suppose is by this time at the Falls of Ohio and as the expedition against Detroit is declined he will probably wait upon you in Person. Col. Rogers has arrived from Orleans and will be the Bearer hereof or send it by the Earliest opportunity. I am uneasy in knowing that the accounts he will render concerning the quantity as well as the bad condition of the goods cannot be satisfactory—Who is to blame in it? The Batteau Masters who brought it up—the person in whose care it was left at St. Louis—or the Conductor of our Stores or all of them. I cannot determine—The taking and disposing of them was (perhaps necessarily) planned, and in part executed, before my arrival. The Conductors powers and Instructions were in no part derived from me, now was he answerable to me for any malfeazance in office—Col. Clark will, I doubt not, satisfy you in this matter.

I wish the opportunity by Col. Rogers were safer. I have 15 or 20 thousand Dollars to send down on public account. I have required that all the money of the called-in emissions be sealed up, & stopped from Circulating of which I expect we have in the Country 20 to 30 thousand Dollars more. I have recommended that the People wait some future opportunity more safe for sending it down. The Resolns of Congress bears hard upon Illinois where the risque is so great. If Congress have not yet made provision for the Redpton of the Money, I hope your Excellency will apply to Congress—I shall be cautious that none of the called-in emissions be brought into the Country or [*not legible*] which may come

[1] This has been published in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, XIX., 456 *et seq.*, and Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 317.

[2] Captured letter.

[3] Thomas Jefferson was then governor of Virginia.

from any part of the States where the owner had an opportunity of Exchanging it.

The uniting the different Districts of my charge has so engaged me that I have not had time to prepare Answers to the Queries delivered me by some gentle[m] of your Honb. Board. As to Indian grants it may be necessary immediately to inform you, that they are almost numberless, only four of them are very considerable, the smallest of which will be near a 1,000,000 acres, and the whole between 7 & 8 millions of Acres. The grantees all reside in Philadelphia, London, Pennsylvania, & Virginia and are between 40 & 50, Merchants chiefly. How far it may be proper to make such contracts binding upon the Indians I cannot say. I submit it to your Excellency, whether it is not necessary to prevent Indian grants by other methods than making void the purchase; I mean by fines, and at the same time to prevent underfines, &c. the making of any settlements within the charter Bounds of the State, except under certain Permission & Reservations. This I apprehend to be necessary immediately as some Land jobbers from the South side of Ohio have been making improvements (as they call them) upon the unpurchased Land on this side of the River, and are beyond the reach of punishment from me—with the arrival of new adventurers this Summer the same spirit of Land jobbing begins to breathe here.

I expected to have been prepared to present to your excellency some amendments upon the Form of government for Illinois, but the present will be attended with no great inconveniences till the Spring Session, when I beg your Permission to attend and get a Discharge from an Office, which an unwholesome air, & Distance from my Connexions, & Language not familiar to me, and an impossibility of procuring many of the conveniences of life suitable: all tend to render uncomfortable.

As to military affairs Col. Clark will offer your Excellency Observations on that Head, which I wish to defer being more his province.

Perhaps an additional Agent for supplying the Indians with foods may be neccssary. Mr. Lindsay's Commissions was for

no more than 10,000 Dollars, which he will soon dispose of to the Indians & our Soldiers; who I suppose will expect their Cloathing from him.

I have given a letter of Recommendation as an agent to a gentleman lately from New Orleans, who set off with Col. Rogers, Mon. Perrault.

If an expedition should be ordered against the Natchez, There cannot be any great dependence placed on the Illinois furnishing more than 100,000 lbs of Flour, & supporting the Troops now here and Scarcely any Beef.

I have not heard from Williamsburg since January. I am, with y^e^ Greatest respect &ct.

J^NO^ TODD J^R^

[*Addressed:*] His Excellency the Governor of Virginia.
[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from J^no^ Todd, Jr. to the Governor of Virginia. Dated Kaskaskias 18^th^ Augt. 1779.

JOHN PAGE TO JOHN TODD, JR., August 20, 1779.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

WMSBURG IN COUNCIL August y^e^ 20^th^ 1779.

SIR

Your several Letters of the 1^st^ & 2^d^ Ultimo by Colonel Slaughter this day were handed to me in the Governors absence—I laid them before the Board who were pleased with their Contents & expressed their approbation of your Conduct, & of your plan for supporting the Credit of the paper Money, but this must be submitted to the Consideration of the Assembly who alone can determine on or give Efficacy to that measure—The eight Draughts you mentioned have not yet been presented, but shall be duly attended to as the Gentlemen they are payable to are highly deserving of the grateful attention of Government.

It is to be wished that more Troops had been sent into the Illinois at first, however so much has been done by the few there, as to redound greatly to their Credit, & that of their gallant Commander. We hope that the favourable Disposition of the

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 326; and Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 320.

Canadians & our late Successes to the Northward & Southward will pave the way for Col° Clarke to Detroit & make the acquisition of it easy, and that the Battalion which we are now raising to be marched into your County will enable him to surmount any obstacle which may be thrown into his way.

The Board approve of your erecting the small Fort you propose, & giving the Command to Col° Slaughter. Being in haste I can only add that I am

Y^r^ Mo. obed^t^ hble Serv^t^
JOHN PAGE L^t^ Gov^r^

THOMAS QUIRK TO CLARK, August 22, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J66.—A. L. S.]

SANT VINSENT FORT PATRICK August the 22^d^ 1779

DEAR COL

A few days after your departer from this place, there came an Express for you, from Cap^t^ Linctot at Ouios, myself and the Rest of the Officers thinking that there might be somthing Necessary to be known, for the Safty of this garrison, thought proper to brake it Open, And After Seeing the Contents, I Cal^d^ A Counsal of All the Officers belong to this Garrison and also the Officers of this Villiage, and we fell on the following Resolution

As the Orders Sent to Cap^t^ Linctot, And what I give to Maj^r^ Busron and Cap^t^ Shelby will make you scensable of the plan we fell on To W^t^

the Coppy of the Orders sent to Cap^t^ Linctot.

SANT VINSENT the 20^th^ August 1779

SIR

I took the liberty of opening your letter Derected to Col. G. R. Clark, thinking it might Contain somthing Regarding the wellfair of our Country in General, and more Espeically the Frunteer Inhabitants, as the Expedition against detroit, is postpon'd at present, and the Col: Gon to the Falls of Ohio, to Consult the plan for Another, Which I Cannot Flatter Myself will be this Season, As I understand by your letter, you are in a Distress'd scituation in regard to provisions, in Consequence of which I have

Send you Some Corn and Grease, which is the onley provisions that are in store at preasant that I Could Transport to you with Expedition;—in regard of what you mention Conserning the Indians Being Uneasy, provided no Troops Should procead to your assistance I have though proper to order Majr Busron & Capt Shelby to Reinforce you with about 50 or 60 men and provisions &ca, at their Joining of you, if you and they should think it advisable to proceed to the English post you mentioned in your letter, I hope you will loos no time in Executing the plan you may fall upon; securing all the English you may find in Arms Against you as prisoners, what stors may fall into your hands Apply to the Use of the party, (excepting the Military stors) which you will apply to the Use of the State;—You may Expect Further instructions by Majr Busron, But your Knowledge of the Country, and Experiance in a Military life along with your Prudence will Teach You much better how to derect an Expedition against any of the posts in the Country where you are, then I or any other person whatsoever possable Could Being Strangers both to the Scituation and Circumstances of the Country.

Sir I Conclud with Wishing you A Happy Issue of your Undertaking And Believe me to be with Profound Respect Sir

Your most Obdt Humbl Servt

THOs: QUIRK

P: S: Col Montgomery is Stationed at Kaskaskias, Capt Mc-Carty at the Cahokias, and we are now lamenting the loss of the Worthy Majr Bowman who Departed this life the 19th Instt

T. Q.

To CAPT LINCTOT

PROVISIONS FURNISHED BY THE PEOPLE OF KASKASKIA FOR THE ARMY, August 31, 1779.[1]

[Draper MSS., 46J17.—A. D. S.]

List of the Different Inhabitants that Consented to furnish the Troops Belonging to the State of Virginia, agreeable to a Calculation made by the Magistrats 31st Augst 1779.

[1] Printed also in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 116.

Names of the Persons &ca	who Paid	Flower	£
Sieur Janist	6000		
Ditto Plasy	4000	10000	
Ditto Charle Charleville		6000	
Ditto Vital Beauvaix	Paid	5000	
Ditto Antoine Beauvaix	do	5000	
ditto Touranjour	do	2000	
ditto Joseph Brazeau	do	3000	
ditto Madame delisle	do	0200	
ditto Jaque Lasourse	do	100	
ditto Baptist Lasourse	do	200	
ditto Allixi Beauvaix	do	100	
do Rasine	do	500	
do Chale danné	do	500	
do Bapt^{s} Charleville		2000	
do Proveau		200	100
do Lemieux		200	100
do Jermin	do	100	
do Reneaux		500	100
do Bazille Lachapelle		200	200
do Fortin	do	400	
do Quiquête	do	100	
do Toulouse		100	100
do Bienvenue Son		1000	1000
do Charlo Lachapelle	do	500	
do S^{t} Jem Beauvaix	do	7000	
do Lonvall	do	200	
do Madame Brazeaue	do	100	
do Bienvenue Father		6000	
do Cerré	do	4000	
Total Pds Flower		55200	1600
		1600	
Deliv^{d} in Store		54600	

JOHN BECKLEY TO CLARK, September 4, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J69.—A. D. S.]

In the House of Delegates Saturday the 12th of June 79 Resolved that the General Assembly have a high sense of Colo Clarkes important services in the reduction of Fort St Vincents. That the Governor be requested to transmit to him by the hands of Lieut Rogers an elegant Sword[1] in the name of the Genl Assembly & in Testimony of ye merit of his Services and that the Treasurer pay for the same.

Resolved that the Treasurer be directed to pay two hundred pounds to Lieutenant Rogers as an Acknowlegement from the general assembly for ye active & distinguished part he has taken in the expedition against St Vincents

Copy

JNo BECKLEY C. H. d.

[*Addressed:*] Colo George R. Clark Pr Captain Rogers.

[*Endorsed:*] Lt Govr Page Sept 4 1779 1778 and 1st Vote of Thanks & 2d Do with a Sword

CAPTAIN JAMES SHELBY TO CLARK, September 8, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J70.—A. L. S.]

OUIE Septr 8. 1779

Dr Colo

With Pleashure I imbrace the Oppertunity To inform you &c After your departure from Post Vinsten Recd Capt Lantos [Linctot] Letters wherein he Rote Pressingly for a releef of Provisions and Amminition, by the advice of Capt. Helms Col:

[1] See English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 871 *et seq.*, for a discussion on the two swords presented by Virginia to Clark in 1779 and 1812. Still another account is given in the *Draper MSS.*, 10J204. Dr. Draper wrote: "He had drawn on Oliver Pollock of New Orleans, as the agent of Virginia to pay for provisions he had purchased of Charles Gratiot, the father of General Gratiot, & that draft was protested, & the protest & the sword reached Clark about one & the same time. Clark was soured, took the fine sword, walked out on the bank of the river with none present but his servant, thrust the blade deep into the ground, & gave the hilt a kick with his foot, broke it off & sent it into the river, & sent word to the Governor of Virginia, that he would have no such hollow-hearted insignias while they refused his starving soldiers the common necessaries of life."

Legraw [Le Gras] and Major Bursow [Bosseron] it was thought advisable to send all the Releef of Men and other Nessery as he informed that a Quantyty of Indians ware flocking in Every day to Treet, Major Bursoe and sum of Militia Joynd me with thirty of our men & Came to this place whare a large Quantity of Indians ware assembeld and Cuming from from all Quarters. Capt. Lantoe have Settled them with his Good Talks I believe better then any other person Could Considering our Poverty—I hope youl look upon the Capt as a pirticular frend and Settle His Acct^{es} to his sattisfaction as Your Senseble this Jurney has Been Exstravigently Expensive to him. I Refer you to Capt Lantoe for the Nuse as he Can Inform you Bettor then I Cen by Righting

I hope Youl Right Me by Every opertunity as I long to heare from you

I am Sir Your Most Umble Sarvt

JAMES SHELBY

[*Endorsed:*] Cap^{t} Shelby to Col^{o} Clark Sep^{r} 8th 1779.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS REGIMENT, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J88.—A. D. S.][1]

The Referees have had under Consideration the Matters to them referred by the Officers of the Ilinois Regiment & having all the necessary Papers & Vouchers under Examination have agreed upon the following arraingment, towit,

Captains

1. Jn^{o} Williams
2. Tho. Quirk
3. Jesse Evans
4. Ja^{s} Shelby
5. Rich^{d} M^{c}Carty
6. Rob. Todd
7. Isaac Taylor
8. Edw^{d} Worthington
9 Abram Keller

[1] This document was written by John Todd, Jr.; the signatures are all original. It is evidently of earlier date than list on *ante*, 353.

Lieutenants
Brachiers & Roberts to settle their rank at St Vincenes
3 John Girault
4 Antho. Crockett
5. Tho Willson
6. Michael Perrault
7. Joseph Ramsey
8. Joseph Calvert
9. Richard Clark

Ensigns
1. Jn° Bailey
2. Abram Chaplain
3. James Montgomery
4th. Ja^{s} Kinkead
5th Jarrett Williams
Jn° Todd jr
George Slaughter
Robt George
W^{m} Shannon
Henry Crutcher [?]

[*Addressed:*] To Geo. R Clark Esq Command^{r} in Chief of the Virginia Forces in the Western Department

Clark to Thomas Jefferson, September 23, 1779.[1]

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.844, f. 115.]

Louisville Sept^{m} 23^{d} 1779.

D^{r} Sir

I am happy to find that your Sentiments Respecting a fortification at or near the Mouth of Ohio is so agreable to the Ideas of Every Man of any Judgment in this Department it is the Spot that ought to be strongly Fortified and all other garisons in the Western Cuntrey depend^{t} on it if the Ground would admit of it but the Misfortune is their is not a Acre of Ground near the point than four Miles up the Ohio but what is often Ten Feet under Water About twelve Miles below the point their is a beautifull Situation as if by nature designed for a fortification (by every observation that has been taken lays a Quarter of a degree within

[1] Printed in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, xix., 465.

the State of Virginia) its Ellevation is such that a Small Expence would Render it very Strong and of greater advantage than one four Miles up the Ohio in Case you have one built a few years will prove the Propriety of it it would Amediately become the key of the whole Trade of the Western Cuntrey and well Situated for the Indian department in General Besides Many Salutary effects it would Rend^{r} during the War by Awing our Enemies the Chicasaws and the English posts on the Mississippie the Strength of the Garison ought not to be less than two Hundred men after built, A Hundred Families that might Easily be got to Settle in a Town would be of great advantage in promoting the place I am Sensible that the Spaniards would be fond to Settle a post of Correspondence opposite to it if the Ground would admit but the Cuntrey on their Side is so Subject to Inundation that its Impossible—for the want of Such a post I find it absolutely nessesary to Station an armed Boat at the Point So as to Command the Navigation of Both Rivers to defend our Trading Boats and Stop the great Concourse of Toryes and deserters that pass down the River to our Enemies.

The Illinois under its present Circumstances is by no means able to Supply the Troops that you Expect in this department with provitions as the Crops at S^{t} Vincines was so Exceedingly bad that upwards of Five Hundred Souls will have to depend on their neighbours for Bread I Should be exceedingly glad that you would Commission Some person to furnish the Troops in this Quarter with provitions as the greatest part must Come from the Frontiers for the Ensuing year as I cant depend on the Illinois for Greater Supplys than will be Suffitient for two Hundred and fifty Men their is an Easy Conveyance down the Tennessee River and provitions More plenty on holston than the Neighberhood of Pittsburgh—Co^{l} Jn^{o} Campbell who promises to deliver this letter to your Excellency I believe would undertake the task at a Moderate Sallery and a Gen^{t} of undoubted Veracity but pray S^{r} order as much provition down as will Serve the Troops you Intend Sending out at least Six months

I am S^{r} with the Greatest Respect your Servt

G R CLARK

HIS EXCELLENCY TH^{S} JEFFERSON.

NB. by my Letters of the 24th of August youl be made acquainted with my late disappointment in my Intended excurtion up the Ouabach I have now a detachment of about two Hundred and fifty of French Volunteers Indians and a few Regulars on their March to attack a British Post at St Josephs near Lake Mechigan Comd by a Lieutenant and party whare their is very Considerable Stores deposited for the purpose of Imploying Savages the party is Commanded by Captn James Shelby their is no doubt of his Success as their Rout is Such that their is but little probability of the Enemies being apprised of them untill its too late. his orders is to demolish the Fortification and Return with the Stores &c.

I am with Respect

G R C

N. B. Serjeant Chapman reports that when Mr Shellby endeavoured to raise his Volunteers they said they had no Shoes and therefore would not go to St Josephs.

At S: De Payster[1] Major

Clark to Daniel Brodhead, September 24, 1779.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.844, f. 117.]

Head Quarters Falls of Ohio Sepr 24th 1779

Dr Col.

I Received your favour happy to find that you have got your Liberty and a Suffitient Body of Troops to enable you March against the Savages, I dayley expect to hear of your Success which I prey for, Captn George that you ordered to pitsburg has taken a Commission under the State of Virginia it appeared that he was at Liberty to do it and I cant thing [*sic*] but you will be glad of his promotion their is but five Troops in this Department belonging to the Contineltal Redgments I Shall be Carefull that all that Can be taken Shall be sent to Pittsburg by the First opertunity Numbers have passed down the River to our Enemies

[1] This letter fell into Major de Peyster's hands and the note was added by him. For Fort Jefferson, the name of the fort erected the next year, see Introduction, *ante*, cxxi *et seq.*

in Floriday to prevent which and many other Evils I Shall Station a Small Floating Battery at the Mouth of Ohio as soon I Can get it Built

I could wish to keep up a Pistilary Conferance with you as It undoubtedly would be of an advantage to the Publick you Mentioned in your Letter that you had Some Expectation of being ordered down the River if So I hope that youl lay it in my power to be of some Service to you Col Campbell has Seven prisoners with him favour me so far as to furnish him with provitions to send them to Frederick County.

I am Sr with Respect your Very Servt

G R Clark

Comdr I. C V T. Wt Dept

[*Endorsed:*] 1779 Letter from G R Clark to Coll Broadhead. dated Falls of Ohio 24th Septr Recd 24th Novr Copied 29th Octr 1779.

Robert George to Daniel Brodhead, September 25, 1779.

[C. A., Ser. B., Vol. 184, p. 137.—Copy.][1]

Falls of Ohio 25th Sept 1779.

Sir.

Your favour of the 2– Ulto I have been honored with immediately on my arrival at this Place, which happened about ten days ago.

You'll be pleased to consider that when I joined Capt. Willing I was commissioned rather in the Marine than the Land Service. That on my return from New Orleans I had positive written orders to join Col. Clark in the Illinois or the Commanding Officer there who was to give me orders for my future Destination. These orders I received from Mr. Pollock Agent for the United States and also from Capt. Willing. I have consequently complied and Col. Clark has divided the men under my Command into Detachments which he has stationed at Sundry places, so that there is not at this time above ten or twelve with me at this place. Besides since my arrival in this Country I have accepted of a commission under the State of Virginia and consequently conclude myself more immediately under Col. Clark's orders. My orders from

[1] Captured letter.

Capt. Willing was to enlist all my recruits for one year or during the cruize and now their times are chiefly expired, and with Death Desertion &ca. I have but very few of those which were brought from Fort Pitt, and even their times are expired generally and I believe will not go up to join the Regt. or Company they may have originally belonged to. As to Deserters I have had several in my Hands belonging to the 8th Pennª Regiment and the 13th Virgª But the Spanish Territory so convenient to afford them protection has put it out of my power to secure one of them in such a manner as to be of any service, but I shall do all in my power to secure such as may be found and send them to their respective Regiments, with the rest. Severall of those brought from Fort Pitt have engaged on Board the American Vessel stationed at New Orleans and many others left in the hospital at the Apalachias on the Mississippi so that in short the whole are greatly divided— & those in the Spanish Territory cannot be taken without their Consent but I have sent a Lieut. down into that Country who will bring as many as possible out of it.

Col. Clark desires his Compliments may be made acceptable to you.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most obedient & Very Hum. Servt

ROBERT GEORGE.
Capt. Com. the Artillery in the Illinois Country.

COL. DANIEL BRODHEAD, Commandg in the Westt Dep. Fort Pitt.

[*Endorsed:*] 1779 Letter from Cap. George to Col. Broadhead. Dated Falls of the Ohio 25th Octr R. 24th Novr

CLARK TO SILAS MARTIN, September 30, 1779.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—A. L. S.]

By George Rogers Clark Esqr Col of the Illinois Battalion Commander in Chief of the Virginia Forces in the Western Department &c &c &c

Whareas a Fort is Intended amediately to be Built near the

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 331, and English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 667.

Mouth of Ohio and a number of artifitiers wanting to Carry on the Works as well as other Inhabitants.

I do by the Virtue of the power and authority to me Given Authorize you to Raise any number of Persons that you Can get to become Settlers at Said Post the whole to be under pay as Melitia as long as Nessessary you are to Rendezvou, at this place by the First Day of December next given from under my Hand HEAD QUARTER FALLS OF OHIO Sep^{t} 30th 1779

G R CLARK

TO CAP^{TN} SILAS MARTIN Com^{d} Militia

JOHN TODD TO CLARK, October 3, 1779.[1]

[Draper MSS., 49J77.—A. L. S.]

KASKASKIA 3rd Oct. 1779

MY DEAR COL.

I lately took a trip to Kohos where I was seized by a fever which reduced Me to the lowest Condition imiginable—I returnd last night to this place but find myself so week that it is impossible to take full advantage of the present Express by writing to W^{ms}burg.

I lately made a purchase (tho' upon Terms which do not please me) of 21,000 lb Peltry with which I shall always have it in my power to purchase provision here—I think it best at present that the Troops be supplied otherwise—I w^{d} be glad of your advice herein.

Your B^{r} is well—Madame Leyba is dead—Madam^{lle} Terese[2] still a Maid &^{c} &^{c} &^{c}

If I could get an Opp^{y} of sending you some thing good to Toast your Sweet Heart in I would—perhaps I may Shortly—by M^{r} Bowman.

[1] Printed also in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 128.

[2] Refers to Mlle. de Leyba, sister of Governor de Leyba. Colonel Clark is said to have become betrothed to her. She afterwards entered a convent in New Orleans.

Complts to Capt. George My Brother Bob—& all your Officers I am Dr Col. with regard Your mo Obedt & hble Servt

JNo TODD Js

COL CLARK

[*Addressed:*] Geo. R. Clark Esq; Col. of ye Ilinois Regt &c Falls of Ohio Pr Express

[*Endorsed:*] Col. Todd 3 Ocr 1779

JAMES SHELBY TO CLARK, October 10, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J79.—A. L. S.]

POST ST VINSTON Octr 10th 1779

Ds COLO.,

Recd yours by Mr Bealey [Bailey] Which Renderid Much Sattisfaction to the People in Genl have Recd No Late auty from Kiskasky nor no Sepplys [*sic*] of Provisions Sence your departure which Renders Much Confution having no Salt have Rendored at leest Two thirds of the men incapible of duty, the Gentlemen of this Villege have Continued fornishing Beef but now Say it is out of their Power to furnish aney more. We are in an Exceeding Bad Condition at Present & am afeard that Nesessity will oblig avacuation of this Post with out sum Speedy Releif Sence I Returned from Ouia have sent Two Differint Expresses to Colo. Montgumry and have not yet Recd an answer. I Can Send no huntars out for meet by Reeson of haveing no salt I hope when you are Bettor Informed of our Condition by the Gentlemen now Going to the falls which I Refer you to for Pirticalars that you will be kind anough to Send me amediate derections in what Mannor I am to act for which I Shall Wate with the Greatest Impatiant Dr Colo No More But wish all Good fortain to attend you

I am Your Most obt Umbl Servt

JAMES SHELBY Capt

Comd St Vincenes

N B Remember My Best Complyments to all the Gentle & & & &

J S

[*Addressed:*] To Colo. G R Clark falls of Ohio favd by Mr Bealey

[*Endorsed:*] Captn Shelby Ocr 10th 1779

ROBERT TODD TO CLARK, October 16, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J81.—A. L. S.]

ST. ASAPH Oct[r] 16 1779

DR SIR

I have by chance heard of the disaster of Col. Rogers and the supposed loss of two Boats which has roused & alarm'd them here not a little, & the people wish much that you would take the command of them in an expidition against these rapacious murderors of our Country—I believe the majority of the inhabitants of this County would join you, heart & hand

Your affixing and limiting me to a certain price to offer for meat has put it out of my power to procure any, as they give a much higher price for it green at the Garrisons here than I was authoriz'd to offer,

I should have been on my way or at post Vincent before this time had it not been that I wanted to prove my right as a Settler in this County (to the Commissioners who are now sitting,) and have taken the liberty to stay some what longer than I wished

I am Dr Sir with every sentiment of respect Your Most Obet & Hum[le] Serv[t]

ROBT TODD[1]

[*Addressed:*] Col. Geo. R. Clark Ohio Falls P[r] Mr. Martin
[*Endorsed:*] Cap[tn] Todd 1779

BENJAMIN LOGAN TO CLARK, October 17, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J82.—A. L. S.]

October 17th 1779 SAINT ESEPH

DEAR SIR

from the alarming news we have received of the defate of Col[o] Rodgers & Campble I have thought proper with the advice of Col[o] Fleming Col[o] Barbour & Col[o] Lyon [Lyne] to write to you requesting you to give us some intilengence of your designs this

[1] Robert Todd, brother of John Todd, Jr., assisted in the defense of McClelland's Fort against the Indian attack, December 29, 1776. He was one of the wounded in that affair (see Clark's *Diary*, *ante*, 20). He became a captain under Clark and for a time served as acting paymaster. In General Wayne's campaign, he was a brigadier-general.

present fall hoping they may be against our present enemies the Shawnes, as Col° Bowman is not in the County it apears at present I have the Command, at your request I am willing to assist you as far as in my power or as far as the Law will derect if your intention is against the above Mentioned enemy if you think of Carrying on an expedition shortly it apears to me there will be a great number of men in this Country in a very short time tho numbers may return back as the are not Call'd into the Militia servic[e] & provitions are deficult for strangers to get I think men may be ingaged for a short expedition. as for provition we have none only corn men might be marched to Licking Station where meat is plentifull & there be suplied with your assisting them with salt I have not heard of Col° Bowman on his way out or I should not have wrote

I am with much Regard your Very humble servant

BENJAMIN LOGAN

To COL° GEORG R. CLARCK

[*Addressed:*] To Col° Georg R. Clarck in the Country Service by Express

[*Endorsed:*] Letters from Col[s] Fleming Logan Line & Barber

JOHN ROGERS TO CLARK, October 17, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J83.—A. L. S.]

WILLIAMSBURG October 17th ten OClock Evn[g] [1779]

D[r] SIR

I have just Sit of an opertunity to Write to you to Inform you that I am here Waiting on the Governor and Councel for an Order to receive the Men Raised by the Last Act of Assembly which are Intended to Join you but how many of them I shall Get I cannot say as the Counties have been but slow in raising them beside them I shall bring out Men for a Troop of horse which are to be furnished with horses in the Illenois, I saw Capt. Keller here this Evening who Informed me that your Troop[s] have been paid off with the Call[d] in Omissions of Money since the 1st of June for which reason they Cannot git it Changed unless they Could make Oath that it was in their Possession on the said First Day of June,

the Best and only way then is for them to return it to Col Montgomery who had it in his Possn on that Day and Let him send it down Certifiing the same by Oath before the First Day of January when the time for receiveing it is out, I intend to state the Case to the Assembly and Petition them to Do something in the matter if Possible Notwithstanding there has been this Day a petition from the Back Inhabetants some what Similar to this Case Voted out by the Committy of Propositions respecting their Calld In Omissions

I come now to Inform you that I found all friends and Neighbours alive and well Except Mr Wm Rogers Mr Jno Estes and his Wife who were all Dead I left your Father and all Friends well four Days ago and thiss day received A letter from your Brother Jonath dated Camp in New York Sepr 16th when he was well and wishes to heare from you. your Brother John is still a prisoner. the Land Offs was Opend yesterday when there was A Number of people ready to Purchase Kentuckkey Lands which are held in great esteem. one would think from the Discoarse that is Generally heard among the People that half Virgina Intend'd to Kentuk. I am in hopes to set Off this Month to Join you which will give me great satisfaction. Remember me to your Brother Richard and tell him I received his Letter by Fav. of Col Slaughter but have not time to write to him now so hope he will Excuse me I rest and remain

Yours & his Ever wellwisher and Humle Sirvt

JOHN ROGERS

To COL. CLARK

[*Addressed:*] Col. George Rogers Clark Comandt Illenois P'Favour of Mr Henry

[*Endorsed:*] Captn Rogers Dated Williamsburgh Capt Rogers Octobr 17th 1779 Riceived Decr 14th 1779 Jno Rogers to Col Clark

LEVI TODD TO CLARK, October 18, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 49J84.—A. L. S.]

SIR

I understand Lieut. Col. Logan has wrote to you with Regard to carrying an Expedition against the Shawnese Nation. the

Commanding of Militia at Times is disagreeable but I am not a little pleased that you should be Invited to take the Command of those who deem it an Honour to have served under you before & hope you will readily agree to be the Instrument of annoying our Enemies & introducing peace to a Country which has too long suffered by constant Depredations & Murders. Our Number here daily encreases & I believe Men would readily engage on the Exped[n] If you determine agreeable to our requests. Oblige me so far as to write a few lines to me. I am at your Service & proffer the Service of a Company. I can assure you without flattery That you are the Man a Majority of Kentucky Militia would choose to command them.

I desire to be remembered to friends & subscribe myself your Sincere friend & most Obed[t] & Hb[e] Serv[t]

LEVI TODD[1]

HARRODSBURG Octob[r] 18[th] 1779

[*Addressed:*] On publick Service To Col. Geo. R. Clark Falls of Ohio

[*Endorsed:*] Levi Todd 1780

CLARK'S COMMISSION TO JOHN DONNE, October 20, 1779.

[Original in possession of R. T. Durrett, Louisville.]

By George Rogers Clark Esq. Colonel of the Illinois Regiment and Commander in chief of the Western Department Department, etc, etc, etc.

JOHN DONNE, Esq.

By virtue of the power and authority to me given by his Excellency the Governor of Virginia, commander in chief, etc, etc, etc.

I do hereby nominate and appoint you John Donne Deputy conductor of stores, etc, of all stores whatsoever belonging to the Commonwealth of [Virginia] in the Western Department, to bear this commission during the pleasure of the commander in chief, you are carefully to do your duty at all times in the said

[1] Levi Todd was a brother of John Todd, Jr., and served as a lieutenant under Clark at Kaskaskia. He was sent as one of the men to conduct Rocheblave to Virginia. During the remainder of his life, he was prominent in Kentucky affairs.

office of Deputy conductor and you shall be subject to the regulations of the commander in chief or the conductor General of the Department for the time being.

Given under my hand and seal at Headquarters at the Falls of Ohio this twentieth day of October 1779.

G. R. CLARK

COUNCIL OF WAR CALLED BY CLARK, November 16, 1779.[1]

"At a council of war held at the falls of Ohio, this 16th November, 1779, by order of Colonel George Rogers Clark, colonel of the Illinois-Virginia regiment, and commander-in-chief of the western department, viz.:

"Present, Captain Robert George, president; Captain Thomas Quirk, Captain Edward Worthington, Captain Richard Harrison, Captain John Bailey.

"The following propositions being presented from the colonel to the council, to wit: The gentlemen officers of the Illinois regiment present are requested to assemble in council at Bachelor's hall, at twelve o'clock, for the consideration of the following propositions, and give in their opinions thereon, to wit:

"1st. What number of troops would enable us to reduce Detroit or the Floridians on the Mississippi?

"2d. How are those troops to be supported with provisions?

"3d. If those troops are to draw their subsistence from the Illinois, what would it require annually?

"4th. If by tobacco lodged in French or Spanish posts, what quantity would be sufficient?

"5th. What fortifications necessary for the Illinois, and where, their strength, etc.?

"6th. What provisions might be furnished by the inhabitants of the Illinois?

"FALLS, November 16th, 1779.

"(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

"Which propositions being duly considered, the council came to the following resolves thereon, that is to say:

[1] Printed from English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 698 *et seq.* Used by permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"In answer to the 1st proposition, 'what number of troops would enable us to reduce Detroit or the Floridians on the Mississippi?' the council, considering the present state of Detroit and the well-affected dispositions of the adjacent inhabitants, do conceive that that post might be reduced by a few well-disciplined troops, but as these troops have a long, tedious and fatiguing march all the way through a hostile country, exposed to frequent interruptions and attacks from the savages, our natural enemy, as well as many unforeseen accidents, consequently attendant on long marches, they are unanimously of opinion that not less than one thousand troops would be requisite for effecting that purpose—which number they conceive would be amply sufficient, as well as for holding the same. . . . . The reductions of the Floridians on the Mississippi the council conceived to be by no means either of so difficult or dangerous a nature as that of Detroit. When they consider that there are few or no savages to encounter with, the descent speedy and rapid, without fatiguing the troops, the inhabitants being finally well affected towards us; the great probability of the enemy being much weakened for want of the necessary supplies and re-enforcements. Add to all, the certainty of war being declared between Spain and Great Britain, and of the enemy being blocked up or narrowly watched at Mobile and Pensacola, from whence all the supplies and re-enforcements, if on the Mississippi, must come. These considerations induce them to be unanimously of opinion that the Floridians would become a safe and easily conquest with five hundred troops, well disciplined, who would also be sufficient to protect a country, etc.

"In answer to the second proposition, 'how are those troops to be supported in provisions?' the council are of opinion that supplies of bread kind can be furnished from the Illinois country; but as to the meat species, it must come from some part of the Ohio or waters east thereof.

"The council are unable to ascertain the sum it would require annually in case the troops should draw their subsistence from the Illinois as mentioned in the third proposition, because they do not think the Illinois can furnish a sufficiency of the meat species, besides the price of provisions, as well as all other necessaries in that country, is so variable, fluctuating and uncertain.

"The fourth proposition, 'if by tobacco lodged in French or Spanish ports, what quantity would be sufficient?' has been answered by the foregoing, as the council know of no standard price for either tobacco or provisions to make just calculations.

"To the fifth proposition, 'what fortifications for the Illinois and where, their strength, etc.?' the council (say) that 'tis their opinion three fortifications are sufficient, viz.: one at Kahokia, one at Post St. Vincent, one at Auabache, and one at or near the mouth of the Ohio, in the most convenient place on the banks of the Mississippi, each fortification to be one hundred feet square in the clear within the walls, to be built of earth dug out of an entrenchment ten feet deep, with earth thrown upon the inside of said entrenchment, must form a wall of ten feet high and eight feet thick, which with the entrenchment, which will form a wall of twenty feet perpendicular, on the top of which they conceive it necessary there should be a wooden wall of sawed or hewn timber ten feet high, twelve inches thick, with bastions at each corner so proportioned that one shall clear another. The garrison at Kahokia to consist of one hundred and fifty troops, and the garrison at Post St. Vincent of one hundred and fifty troops, and the garrison at or near the mouth of Ohio, two hundred troops.

"The sixth proposition inquires, 'what provisions might be furnished by the inhabitants of the Illinois?' to which the council answer as their unanimous opinion that the Illinois inhabitants might supply five hundred troops in provisions of the bread kind yearly, but as to the meat species they can not conceive that any dependence can be placed on them for that article."

JOHN BALEY Cap^{t}
R^{D} HARRISON Cap^{t}
EDW^{D} WORTHINGTON Cap^{t}
THO^{S} QUIRK Cap^{t}
ROBT. GEORGE C^{pt} Presid^{t}

CLARK TO JOHN GIRAULT, 1779.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

The State of Virginia.....D
to John Girault Cap^{t} Ill^{s} R^{t}

1779	To Bounty of Seventeen Men Inlisted for the war—a 750 Dollars ea.....	12750
	To Ditto of two Men Inlisted for One Year at 50 Dollars ea.....	100
	To premium for enlisting the above 17 Men for the War a 150 D^{rs}.....	2550
	Cr	15400
	By cash receiv'd of Col^{o} George Rogers Clark in part the Above.....	900
	Ballance due J Girault Dollars	14500
	By so much Receiv'd of Co^{l} Montgomery in Bills	5898
	Doll^{s}	8602

G R CLARK

CLARK APPEALS FOR FUNDS, 1779.

[Draper MSS., 46J34.—Copy.]

Whereas the Expences of Government require a far greater qantity of money, than I am at present supplyed with, and persons entitled to the preemption of Land will be obliged to send their Money to the Registry of office, which will be attended with risque —this is there fore to notify all persons that I will Borrow on behalf of Government Such sums as they shall be disposed to Lend, giving the lender such certificate thereof as shall entitle him to

receive the same sum in williamsburg without delay, from the Treasury on application to his Excellency the governor

(Signed) GEO. R CLARK

Borrowed of.....A..... B..... one Thousand Dollars to answer the demands of Government in my department, which is by contract to be repaid him by the Treasurer on demand

Given under my hand and Seal at Head quarters, at the falls of Ohio this.....day 1779

(Signed) G R C

STATE OF DEPRECIATION OF THE CONTINENTAL AND STATE BILLS OF CREDIT IN ILLINOIS, 1779.

[*Journal of the House of Delegates*, May Session, 1783, p. 73.]

	At Kaskaskia	S^{t} Vincenes	Kohokia
From the 1st of May till Col. Montgomery's arrival about the 10th of June, one silver dollar worth in paper.....	from 5 to 6	3½	4 dolls.
From 10th of June, till about 10th July, while the regiment was at Kaskaskia, & on way to S^{t} Vincenes.....	from 6 to 10	4....	5....
From 10th of July to the middle of August—stood at 10. from 4 to 8.....			6....
From 15th of August till 1st October—rose 10 to 15. from 8 to 12.....			8....
From 1st of October to 15th November—rose 15 to 30. from 12 to 15.....			10....

I hereby certify that the above Table of depreciation, made out by Col. Todd, is just, as far as I can recollect; that all bills which were drawn by me on New Orleans were passed at the rate of a hard dollar for every one named in the bill, and all which were drawn on the Governor, or treasurer of Virginia, were for paper dollars, and understood to be at such state of depreciation as prevailed at the time and place of drawing. The draughts in livres were at 5 livres to a dollar, to be paid in silver if on New Orleans or in depreciated dollars as above, if drawn on Virginia

G R CLARK

(A copy) ARCHIBALD BLAIR

CHAPTER X

ESTABLISHMENT OF A POST AT THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO AND DEFENSE OF THE WEST UNTIL AUGUST 1, 1780

A Post to be Established at the Mouth of the Ohio—Jefferson Instructs Clark Relative Thereto—Conflict between the Military and Civil Authorities at the Illinois Posts—Conditions in Kentucky During the Spring of 1780—Petitions to Clark for Relief—Clark Favors an Expedition against Detroit—British Plans to Capture the Illinois Posts and St. Louis—Clark Constructs a Fort at the Mouth of the Ohio—Establishment of a Court at Louisville—Invasion of Kentucky—Colonel de la Balme—Conditions at Fort Jefferson—Conditions at Vincennes.

Clark to William Mayo, January 8, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J1.]

Sir,

I have in my possession an agreement betwixt yourself & Mr Jones of the one part and my Father on the other for 10,000 acres of land which you were to secure him in the back country for which you received part of the money, the rest you have been expected to call for ever since it became due & shall be paid your order at any time. I have expected to see you you here for two or three Sessions past but as I have not shall be obliged to you to write to me by the first express into this part of the country & let me know the situation of this business as my Father has given me up the purchase Be pleased to direct to care of Colo Starke one of the council & the letter will come safe to hand

Yr Mo: Obedt Servt.

Wm Mayo Jn

[*On reverse.*]

Answer to the within Letr

Louisville Jany 8. 1780

I Received you Letr Respecting the Lands Mr Jones was to get for your father and I believe my self named in the Ingagement the

Copy being lost with Jones I am at a loss to know terms exactly, but I think Sir part of your Letr to me very Inconsistant except you conceive the person that became Mr Jones security and my self to be two different persons or other way you are an utter stranger to the part that I have acted since that Ingagement for you could not have Conceived that my principal was so bad as to neglect the Interest I owe my Cuntrey and Indeavour to fulfill a Bargain that was Impossible in time of Indian war (which could be Compleated afterwards) for the Sake of a Triffling personal advantage neither could I have thought that you would have desired it if I am to Jude [*sic*] from the Character you Represent but in order to have done with it I have purchased that Quantity of Improvement on Cumberland and Inclose a memorundum the Best Land in that Cuntrey as they war first Chose I[f] you should hereafter find it nessesary to write to me you can direct to the Illinois

I am

[*Addressed:*] Colo George R. Clarke Kentucky Mr Wm Mayo Virginia

Clark to Jonathan Clark, January 16, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 2L1.—A. L. S.]

Louisville Jany 16th 1780

Dr Brother

I had the Pleasure last Spring of perusing a Letter you favoured me with which being the first and only one I have Recd from you since I saw you last I was at that time allarmed at your displaying the universal loss of publick Virtue on the Continent and since find its too true I am in too Remote a part of the world to make many observations but the few that come under my notice and Common fame Convince me that that Valuable principal only survive in a few, my Greatest happiness will hereafter be to find it shine forth in our Family with double lusture, Merit is not generally Rewarded by a Government that is lost its Virtue Consequently In dangers the Commonwealth as for my part I have no Right to suspect the one I serve from their Treatment to me as they have continued to Confer Honour on me greater than I could

have Expected, Consequently enlivens my ambition to perform services adequate to them. It gives me the greatest pleasure to hear of your being universally esteemed in the Contineltal Army which is Justly due to Virtue. Courage and fortitude will always Command it in the Brests of those whose Interest is only Valuable to us, My Resolutions hath long been fixed on that head that of Conducting my self so as to defy the world to sensure me Justly, by which I shall make undesigned Friends of those that would wish to be my Enemy, for a few such to y^e^ Virtuus Brave, is often of service to him, by Rhe doubling the Lusture of his Charactor by striving to Ruin it which from Common observation will be found often to be the case

I have had great suckcess in the Department I act in Considering the few Troops I had but little Satisfaction for every Conquest Paved my way to a greator and for the want of a few more Troops, with Regret obliged to View the Enemy at a distance without dareing to attact, Du Troit would have been Mine last Spring Could I have disposed of My Valuable prisoners to advantage otherways than being obliged to keep near half my Troops to Guard them (untill the Valuable Moments of action expired) having not a third more Troops than I had prisoners to count the whole that had been in action against me their was but Ten differance but those of them that was wavouring in sentiments I was glad to treat in such a Manner as to win them to our Interest and seemingly not to Consider them as prisoners. Many of them hath been serviceable to me since I am supprized at our superiours suffering those Triffling garisons about Du Troit to exist knowing the Mischief they do by exciting the Indians to war and Runing us to Enormus Expencies but I am too Remote from Government and my Intiligence too seldom to be a proper judge of the propriety, this I know that 500 Men when under the walls is able to take it, untill which we may Continue to Expect depredations from Many Nations of Indians If the orders of the Governor of Virginia Could have been fullfiled in sending supplies to me last spring I should have fell before Du Troit or made it my own in the Fall

The Capture of Governor Hamilton was the greatest Check to the Indians above half of them have since laid down their [arms] But many still persist and will Continue untill that source of

Influance is Removed, Carrying out armies and destroying their Town is little or no use when they Can get four fold for what they loose from the English, Consequently all the advantage that derives to us is the few we kill in Battle (if they chuse [to fight] us) and the Expencies the English are at in Making up their losses, which I doubt is triffling when Compared to Enormous Expence we are at in doing of it, my proposition would be to Make a bold push Reduce those Garisons and no peace with the Indians, only on our own terms, and never after suffer arms or amunition to go among them which would effectually bring them to our Feet but Si^{r} their is few Nations on Earth that's possesed of so Much Virtue as to withstand the temptations the Indians Receive; you may take it for granted that the Custom of giving goods in small portions at Du Troit to Indian Warriors is laid aside; the rule now is for them to go into the Magazines (when they Come with a scalp or prisoner) and take what they Can Cary at one Load, which is the price now given for the Blood of the Innocent women & Children on our Frontiers which one Thousand Men, well conducted, would put a final End to, the probability of your Receiving this Let^{r} is so uncertain that I omit many particulars that I could wish you to know if it should Reach you my prayers is that it find you in the same state of health that I enjoy at present I am, with Esteem, your Lov^{g} Brother

G R CLARK

[*Addressed:*] Jonathan Clark Esq^{r} Maj^{r} in the Continental Army Head Quarters

GEORGE MERIWETHER TO CLARK, January 24, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J2.—A. L. S.]

LOUISA Jan^{y} 24th 1780

D^{r} SIR.

After much fatague of travel and bad weather I reached home two days before Chrismas & had the pleasure of finding my family and concerns well, tho the weather still continues colder than was ever known by the oldest man amongst us. I have Just returned thro^{h} it from W^{ms}burg, there I learnt that Hampton Road & the bay almost to the Capes is Frozend up, many Vessels

are sunk by the Ice & more expect the same fate, a number of people at different places have perished by the Cold & Ice, tho this calamity of our navigation being stopt secures us from a Visit from the English Fleet that we stood much in fear of and expected about the time the frost first put in; I hope you have had better weather & have not had such intense frost in your settlements. I hope to see our paper money rise in its value quickley, for Congress have lately effected a loan of two million of dollars (and may have eight more) in Urope, whch with the asstanse [assistance] of the Taxes which have been increased by the last assembly, I think cannot fail restoring its value in a great degree. I expect that Goverment are cutting out more business for you by what I learnt from the Governor, oh! that peace would wonce more vissit our Country & "let every one sit under his Vine and under his Fig Tree and no one to make him afraid;" happy would it be for this part of the State but more so for that where you are, the Interest of which I assure you I have much at heart—and only want oppertunity to manifest my attachment thereto, and when I was with you I thought my acquaintance M^{r} Randolph was likewise attached to the Interest of the Kentuckey settlements but I am sorry to inform you that I have reason to believe the contrary for on looking over the books in the Land office I found a Certain Mr Bealls had taken out warrants to the amount of 140,000 Acres of Land at least, part of which was enterd assigned to M^{r} N. Randolph now is this consonant with the doctrine he held when I was with you, and is it consistant with the Interest of that Country to assist a man (and a speculator too) in locating such a body of Land (& I suppose to of the Richest sort) when he will never see the Country or if he did, the portion is to large—no man can hesitate a moment to pronounce that it is not the Interest of the back Country. The evil tendancy will so fully appear to you that I will quit the subject & say nothing more about it. I shall move out some of my people with my stocks next fall & the summer after I shall bring my family with eight or ten more families to settle at or near the falls, and I could wish it was in my power to come out sooner, tho am preparing as fast as I can. I could wish that you would patronize a petition to have the town

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ELLIOTT, SMITH PHILA.

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DR. JOHN CONNOLLY

From a crayon portrait in the collection of Colonel R. T. Durrett of Louisville, Kentucky

on Conelleys Land[1] established & have it sent with a plan of the Town to the Assembly in May, for was it established (& I think it would be of advantage to the whole Country by drawing trade) I would build some good houses on lotts as would likewise my friends that I purchased lotts for, & would settle there if the place should not be to sickley. Prosperity attend the Country & health & happiness attend you

D^r^ Col^o^ is the wish of Y^r^ Hble Svt

GEO. MERIWETHER

[*Addressed:*] Col^o^ George Rogers Clark at the falls of the Ohio Kentuckey

[*Endorsed:*] George Meriwether, Jan^y^ 24^th^ 1780.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH MARTIN, January 24, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 46J57.—L. S.]

W^M^SBURG Jany 24, 1780

SIR We are very desirous of having a fort at the mouth of Ohio which together with other posts meant to be established on the Ohio may form a chain of defence for our Western frontier and at ye same time protect our Trade with New Orleans.[2] but the ground at the Mouth of Ohio on the South side belonging to the Cherokees we would not meddle with it without their leave. We wish you therefore to treat with them for as much as will do for this purpose and for a few settlements round it for the support of y^e^ post. indeed if they should show a disposition to part with it you may treat for all their lands between the Mississippi, Ohio, Tanissee & Carolina boundary the whole being of but small extent. I think not exceeding 20 miles square if reduced to that form. If they do not discover a willingness to part with the whole, get ground for a fort & as much as you can round about it to make corn, furnish wood &c Obtain them on as good terms as possible to be paid for in goods, which we will have provided for them the whole when sold at our Land Office price will not bring in more than three thousand pounds Sterling. I think the goods must be got from New Orleans. I am in hopes they will not insist on

[1] John Connolly located land on the site of Louisville.

[2] Major Joseph Martin was at the time Indian agent.

our not beginning the fort till the delivery of y^e^ goods, but if they do we must submit to it. Make your bargain, if you can, subject to our approbation or disapprobation, because this matter having never been proposed to the Assembly we should wish to have it in our power to decline it if they should so advise. Communicate without delay what you do to Colo Geo Rogers Clarke at Kaskaskias or the falls of Ohio & also to Sir

Your very hble Servant

TH JEFFERSON

MAJ^R^ MARTIN

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S INSTRUCTIONS TO CLARK, January 29, 1780.[1]

[Draper MSS., 50J7.—Copy.]

WMSBURG Jan 29th 1780

SIR.

Your letters of October 26th & 28th and Nov^br^ 6th came safely to hand & lastly that of August 24th. I am glad the proposition of establishing a post at or near the Mouth of Ohio is likely to answer as well in practice as to us to us who judged on theory only, it seemed likely to do. I have therefore written to Messrs Walker & Smith as you will see by the enclosed copy of my letter to them, to take observations of the Latitudes thereabouts that we may proceed on the surest grounds. You will please to furnish assistants, Guards, & all necessaries. I expect the description of the cliffs &c will be so minute as that when you see them you will know them in the plat & of course know their Latitude, the choice of the ground for your Fort must be left to yourself. It should be as near the Mouth of Ohio as can be found fit for fortification & within our own lines. Some attention would be proper also to the circumjacent grounds as it will probably become a town of importance. The nature of the defensive works & their extent you will accomodate to your Force. I would recommend your attention to the wood of which you make your stockades, that it be of the most lasting kind. from the best information I have

[1] Printed also in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 144. The copy here printed was made from the original in the hands of General William Clark of St. Louis, on May 2, 1831.

had I take for granted that our line will pass below the Mouth of Ohio. Our purchases of the Cherokees hitherto have not extended Southward or westward of the Tennessee. of course the little Tract of country between the Mississippi Ohio Tennessee & Carolina line (in which your Fort will be) is still to be purchased from them before you can begin your works. To effect this I have written to Maj. Martin our Cherokee Agent of which letter I enclose you a copy

If the new Fort should fall within this teritory & it can be purchased we may grant lands to Settlers who will fix round about the fort provided the Assembly should approve of it, as from its reasonableness I think they will. The manner in which the Lots of Land are laid off about the French Villages I have thought very wise & worthy of imitation perhaps besides guarding your promises of Lands to Settlers with the conditions above mentioned it would be well to add also the mode of laying them off. I send you recruiting instructions for having your Battalion filled up with men to be enlisted for the War as I wish to avoid receiving any on any other terms Your instructions for recruiting which were communicated to us by some of your officers in the fall we took in and gave them such as are now sent you, instead of County money I send you three Hundred Land Warrants, for Five Hundred & Sixty acres of Land each which at Forty pounds the Hundred being the Treasury price amounts to the Bounty allowed by Law. these we think more likely to induce men to enlist than the money itself. I also send you twenty four blank Commissions which will be necessary to Officer eight companies the present plan of the Continental army having that number in a Battalion and a Captain Lieutenant & Ensign only to each company. The officers of your Battalion when commissioned will stand on a footing with the Officers of the other State Batt^{ns} The State of the Public Finances obliged the late Assembly to reduce very much their Military Establishment from what they had proposed at their session in May. they discontinued raising both the additional Eastern Batt^{ns} & one of the Western. So there will be one Battalion only to send to you to which is to be annexed Major Slaughters Hundred men who have already marched as I expect for the falls of the Ohio. I wish that one Battalion may be

raised in time to join you in the Spring, very few returns having been made to me I cannot say what number is raised probably not more than half. However, whatsoever number may be raised by that time shall march as soon as the season will admit. By them we will send such stores as to us occur to be necessary, such as Powder, Lead, Flints, Hoes, Axes, Saws, Gimblets, Nails, Hammers, Augurs, drawing Knives, Froes & camp Kettles. If there be any other articles necessary I must get you to write to me on the Subject also to settle the best route of sending those articles hereafter there being no Guards to be had but Militia for conveying them from the Frontiers & no dependence on collecting Militia. Cannot you point out to us some place on the Frontiers where they may be safely lodged from time to time & from whence you can send for them with a proper escort? I would wish you also to inform me to what post I shall order the Battalion which is to join you. We received letters from Mr Pollock in the fall informing us of our debts at New Orleans & his distresses. We had just taken measures by shipping Tobacco to France to procure necessaries for our army having no other means of releiving M^{r} Pollock we were obliged to give him draughts on France which took the whole of that Fund & has distressed us exceedingly. The demands of Col Legras & Capt Lintot coming on us now & it being impossible to raise hard money to discharge them we are utterly at a loss what to do with them, indeed we shall not be able to determine them absolutely as to the sum we shall pay them till we know from you what proportion of the Dollars for which they have draughts were expended at the depreciated prices or in other words til we know from you what sum in hard money would reimburse their advances for which your draughts on us were made which we should be glad you would inform us by the first opportunity and send a duplicate by some second conveyance the difficulty of answering demands of hard money renders it necessary for us to contract no debts where our paper is not current it throws on us the tedious & perplexing operations of investing paper money in Tobacco, finding transportation for the Tobacco to France repeating this as often as the dangers of capture renders it necessary to insure

the safe arrival of some part & negotiating Bills besides the expensive Train of Agents to do all this & the delay it occasions to the creditor. We must therefore recommend to you to purchase nothing beyond the Ohio which you can do without or which may be obtained from the East side where our paper is current. I am exceedingly glad you are making such timely provision of your next years subsistence. A Commissary for the Western Deptmt: was appointed in the fall with orders to purchase provisions on the Frontier for one Battalion his instructions shall be enlarged & a notification sent him to comply with your requisitions besides this we leave to yourself to Commission Mr Shannon to act as Commisary of purchases Issues Stores, Quarter Master or whatever else you may find him useful in. I suppose you will employ him principally about the Posts while the one acting in the Frontiers will be providing thereabouts. We shall use all our endeavours to furnish your men with necessary clothing but long experience renders it proper to warn you that our Supplies will be precarious You cannot therefore be too attentive to the providing them in your own Quarter as far as Skins will enable you to do it in short I must confide in you to take such care of the men under you as an economical householder would of his own family doing everything within himself as far as he can & calling for as few supplies as possible, the less you depend for supplies from this Quarter the less will you be disappointed by those impediments distance & a precarious foreign Commerce throw in the way for these reasons it will be eligible to withdraw as many of your men as you can from the West side of the Ohio leaving only so many as may be necessary for keeping the Illinois Settlements in Spirits & for their real defence. We must faithfully attend to their protection but we must accomodate our measures for doing this to our means perhaps this idea may render doubtful the expediency of employing your men in building a fort at Kaskaskia such Fort might perhaps be necessary for the Settlers to withdraw into in time of danger but might it not also render a surprise the more dangerous by giving the enemy a means of holding a Settlement which otherwise they could only distress by a sudden visit & be obliged to abandon Of this you must be ultimately the judge We approve very much of a mild conduct towards the

inhabitants of the French Villages It would be well to be introducing our Laws to their knowledge and to impress them strongly with the advantages of a Free Goverment the Training their Militia & getting it into subordination to proper Officers should be particularly attended to We wish them to consider us as Brothers & to participate with us the benefits of our rights & Laws We would have you cultivate peace & cordial friendship with the several tribes of Indians (the Shawanese excepted) endeavour that those who are in friendship with us live in peace also with one another against those who are our Enemies let loose the friendly Tribes The Kickapoos should be encouraged against the hostile Tribes of the Chickasaws and Choctaws and the others against the Shawanese with the latter be cautious of the terms of peace you admit an evacuation of their Country & removal utterly out of interference with us would be the most satisfactory. Amunition should be furnished gratis to those Warriors who go actually on expeditions against the Hostile Tribes As to the English notwithstanding their base example we wish not to expose them to the inhumanities of a savage enemy. Let this reproach remain on them, but for ourselves we would not have our national character tarnished with such a practice. If indeed they strike the Indians these will have a natural right to punish the aggressors and we none to hinder them it will then be no act of ours but to invite them to a participation of the [war] is what we would avoid by all possible means If the English would admit them to trade & by that means get those wants supplied which we cannot supply I should think it right provided they require from them no terms of departing from their neutrality, if they will not permit this I think the Indians might be urged to break off all correspondence with them to forbid their emissaries from coming among them & to send them to you if they disregarded the prohibitions, it would be well to communicate honestly to them our present want of those articles necessary for them & our inability to get them to encourage them to struggle with the difficulties as we do til peace when they may be confidently assured we will spare nothing to put their Trade on a comfortable and just footing in the mean time we must endeavour to furnish them with amunition to provide Skins to clothe themselves, with a disposition to do

them every friendly office & to gain their Love we would yet wish to avoid their visits except those who come with Capt Lintot We have found them very hard to please expensive & troublesome and they are moreover exposed to danger in passing our western counties it will be well therefore (especially during the War) to waive their visits in as inoffensive a way as possible.

In a letter to you of the 1st inst: I supposed you would in the ensuing Summer engage either in the Shawanee war or against Detroit leaving the choice of these & all other objects to yourself I must also refer to you whether it will be best to build the Fort at the Mouth of Ohio before you begin your campaign or after you shall have ended it, perhaps indeed the delays of obtaining leave from the Cherokees or of making a purchase from they may oblige you to postpone it till the fall

I have rec^{d} letters from Captains Shelby & Wortherington the former acquainting me he had rec^{d} your instructions to raise a Troop of Horse the latter that he had raised one from the date of your letter to Shelby I knew you could not have been apprised that the Assembly had authorised us to raise a Troop for you & that we had given a commission to Rogers by whom you sent us information of the capture of St. Vincennes, Rogers accordingly raised his men got all accoutrements & marched to join you in the fall. As to Capt Wotherington who sais he has raised hisn men you must state to us the necessity for your raising two Troops, that we may lay it before the Assembly who alone have a power of giving sanction to the measure the distress of the Public Treasury will be a great obstacle so that it will be well for you to take measures for reserving to yourself the benefit of Capt Wotherington's men in some other capacity if they should be disapproved of as Horsemen

I am Sir Your very humble Serv^{t}

(Signed) TH JEFFERSON

[*Endorsed:*] Letter of Instructions from Thos Jefferson to Genl George Rogers Clark (1780) copy Wm P C

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS WALKER, January 29, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J6.—A. L.]

W^MS^BURG Jany 29th 1780

SIR—

As we propose this spring to take possession of and fortify some post as near the mouth of Ohio as the ground will admit, it becomes very important for us to know the exact latitude thereabouts. I take it for granted that your present Line will be stopped before you get there by unpurchased Lands. We therefore wish extremely that one of you would take a trip to the mouth of the Ohio with your instruments immediately upon finishing your present work. I Suppose it will be best for you to go to the falls of the Ohio where Col° Clarke has orders to furnish you with Assistants, an escort and all necessaries. You will first find the point at which our Line strikes the Missisippi or Ohio, and fix it by some lasting immovable natural mark if there happen to be any on the spot, or if not, then by its course or distance from some such natural mark, noting such course as corrected from the errors of variation, and the distance reduced to horizontal measure. the reason of requiring this accuracy in fixing the point where our Line strikes is, that in future, with common instruments it will be easy to find it which may perhaps be of importance. When you have found this point if it be on the Missisippi run from thence along up the river to the mouth of Ohio, and by protraction fix the point of the forks, or if it be on the Ohio, run up that river to where good Clifts for fortification shall make in and as you go along note the high grounds points or Clifts on the river which appear to you capable of Works of defence and at the same time to command a view of the river. This done I would ask the favor of you to return one plat of your work to Col° Clarke and another to me. Col° Clarke has in his eye a particular Cliff on the Mississippi which he expects is the nearest good ground for fortification. This he will describe to you, and you will please to note it particularly. I am in hopes that it will suit one of you to undertake this business. We think to have the fort begun, which cannot be till we are assured that the ground we should pitch

on is within our own Country. The disappointment will therefore be of the greatest moment should you decline the Service.

I am Gent[l] with the greatest respect Your most obed[t] Hmble Serv[t]

MESSRS THOMAS WALKER & DANIEL SMITH

GRANT OF LAND TO CLARK, January 29, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 46J22.—Certified Copy.]

We the Publick auditors of the Commonwealth of Virginia do certify that George Rodgers Clark hath delivered to us the Treasurers receipt for Sixty-seven thousand two hundred pounds paid into the Treasury of Virginia—and that he the said George Rogers Clark, his heirs or assigns, are entitled to one hundred and Sixty eight thousand acres of waste or unappropriated lands within this Commonwealth pursuant to an act entitled "an act for establishing a Land office, and ascertaining the tearms and manner of granting waste and unappropriated lands." Given under our hands this twenty ninth day of January, 1780

(Signed) THOS EVERARD
JAMES COCKE
EDWARD ARCHER

REGISTRATION OF GRANT OF LAND TO CLARK, January 29, 1780.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Certified Copy.]

VIRG[A] LAND OFFICE.
RICHMOND 25th Jan'y 1820

On the Register, No. 1, of Land Office Treasury Warrants issued at this Office, there are registered three hundred warrants, of five hundred and sixty acres each, numbered from 2087 to 2386, both inclusive, issued on the 29th day of January 1780, in favour of George Rogers Clark. At the foot of the registry of said 300 Warrants is a note in these words, viz:- "The above foregoing "three hundred warrants, five hundred & sixty acres each, were "issued to Colo. George R. Clark for the purpose of recruiting his "Battallions, in lieu of the bounty of seven hundred and fifty "dollars." The document filed in this office as a voucher for said

warrants is in the following words, viz:—"We the Publick Audi-"tors of the Commonwealth of Virginia, do certify that George "Rogers Clarke hath delivered to us the Treasurer's receipt for "sixty seven thousand two hundred Pounds paid into the Treasury "of Virginia, & that he the said George Rogers Clarke, his heirs "or assigns are entitled to one hundred & sixty-eight thousand "acres of waste and unappropriated lands within this common-"wealth pursuant to an act entitled, "an Act for establishing a "Land Office, and ascertaining the terms & manner of granting "waste and unappropriated lands." Given under our hands this "twenty-ninth day of January 1780.

"THOS. EVERARD
"JAMES COCKE
"EDWARD ARCHER."

Which document remains on file in this office

Wm. G. Pendleton, Regr

PIERRE PREVOST TO CLARK, February 20, 1780.[1]

[Draper MSS., 50J14.—A. L. S.]

MONSIEUR

Il convient que Je vous Instruise de ce qui Se passe icy Contra Les Estats d amerique.

Il Est parvenu aux Sacs et aux renards deux Colliers avec deux Chevelures Bastonnoises apportées par les poux Venant du detroit qui disent á ses gens icy que Sils ne frappent pas Sur Vous que la guerre leur Sera déclarée Par touttes les autres nations

[*Translation.*]

Sir:

It is fitting that I should acquaint you with what is happening here against the United States of America.

Two collars and two Bostonian scalps have been brought to the Sauk and Fox by the Potawatomi of Detroit who say to these people that if they do not attack you, war will be declared upon them by all the other nations and by the troops of the king. But

[1] Printed in translation in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XVIII., 404. On Prevost see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), Index.

et La trouppe du Roy, mais Comme ils ne Sont pas ramassés ensemble nont encore rien décidé ont remis cette reponse áfaire á la Riviere des mouines ou'ils Sont demandés par un nommé Calvée, Commercant et employé dans le Service du Roy pour les nations; Cet homme á aussy apporté un Collier de Michilimakinac quil na pas encore developpé par Consequent on ne Scait ce quil Veu dire, cependant Jusques á present il á toujours Esté Contra Vous il y á tout lieu de pensér quil voudroit encore y trainer puis quil Est Vray que depuis que les Sauvages ont Vû cet homme nous ont fait des menaces de nous piller nos marchandises

Vous enpenseras ce qu'il Vous plaira cette Sorte d'employé Pour le Roy pour Parlér aux nations n'est qu'un oiseau de mauvaise augure Je ne Vous en dis pas d'avantage

J'ai L'honneur destre aves Respect Monsieur Votre tres humble et tres ob[t] Serviteur

PREVOST

RIVIÉRE AUX HABAS[1] le 20 fevier 1780

[*Translation.*]

as they are not yet assembled together they have decided nothing as yet and have put off their response until they meet at the river Des Moines, where they are invited by a certain Calvée, a trader and an employee in the service of the king for the tribesmen. This man has also brought a collar from Michillimackinac which he has not yet spoken upon, consequently one does not know what he intends to say. Since, however, until the present he has always been opposed to you, there is every reason to believe that he still designs plotting in the same way, especially as it is true that since the savages have seen this man they have made threats of plundering us of our goods.

Whatever you may think, this sort of an employee for the King to speak to the tribesmen is a bird of bad omen. I have nothing more to say on this matter.

I have the honor to be with respect, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant

PREVOST

SALT RIVER,[1] February 20, 1780.

[1] Pike County, Missouri.

Je viens encore de Scavoir á Lheure presente que ses gens de michilimakinac qui sont á la Riviere des moins disent aux Sauvages quils vous regardent Comme les derniers des miserables détestent contre vous et tous les Gens des Illinois conseillent aux Sauvages de Piller tous ceux qui Viennent de le par Consequent Je ne Suis pas encore sorty dicy, Je ne pourray peut etre me Retirer qu'en perdant de l'argent par rapport au Conseil de ses Canailles

[*Addressed:*] Monsieur Monsieur G. R. Clark, Commandant en Chef des troupes des Estats Unis de l'amerique dans le département des Illinois Aux Kaskaskias

[*Translation.*]

I have just learned at the present moment that the people from Michillimackinac who are at the river Des Moines tell the savages that they regard you as the meanest of wretches, saying everything against you and all the people of the Illinois and they advise the savages to pillage all those who come from there; consequently I have not yet gone from here. I could not probably withdraw without losing money, because of the counsel of these rascals.

[*Addressed:*] To Monsieur G. R. Clark, Commandant in Chief of the Troops of the United States of America in the Department of the Illinois, at Kaskaskia.

Conditions in Kentucky, March 10, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J18.—A. L. S.]

Boones Borough March 10

Sir—

It is with the greatest concern that we find the Indians have again come out against us. They on Wednesday Last kil[led] and scalped Col° Calaway and L^t^ Pemberment Rollins, and Either killed or took two negro's. They are still in our woods, and we fear will do more mischief before they Return. In short, Sir, we think that there will be no Living in this Country without Carrying on an Expedition immediately against them; and to that

End have unanimously come to a Resolution of falling on some method for that Purpose—we think that nothing will so well answer the purpose as to Obtain the Concurrance of Col° George Rogers Clark. If he can be prevailed on to take the command, and Assist us with his guns there is no Doubt of Success, and if he shou'd be otherwise engaged or Can't be prevailed on to go in person, We think of Col° Linn as the next in place who wou'd answer the purpose. Upon the Whole, Sir, we think the necessity so great that no time ought to be Lost. Therefore have Come to a Resolution among ourselves to furnish as many fighting men from this place as posible and in order to Effect it have agreed to give Every able Bodied man who will turn out on this occasion fifteen Bushels of Corn which we think sufficient To bread them the Next season. This bounty with the prospect of plunder and their anxious Desire of Revenging past injuries and preventing future will we Dont Doubt Cause as many of our young men to turn out as can be spared or by any means ought to go. We further propose in this necessary Enterprize that Every man shou'd find his own provision and be under the Command of Col° George Rogers Clarke or some other gentleman to be Choosen by themselves Bound by the solemnity of an oath to observe the Commands of their superior officers and submit to any punishment which may be inflicted by a Court Martial in case of Disobedience. This, Sir, is our plann which we hope you will Divulge to the inhab[itants] of your Station and the other Neighboring Stations Round you Whose concurrence we hope, at least we expect, They will join in an Expedition: And as to the smaller matters Relating to the Business we surely Cant Differ We beg you will Lose no time in communicating this matter on our part nothing shall be wanting with Respect to the settlements on this Side the River as Low as Harrods b'gh and have no Doubt as to Raising the men. A Boat of Col° Henderson's is setting off To morrow or next Day for the falls by which we sha'l send an address to Col° Clarke To superintend this matter and Obtain his answer as soon as possible Mr Henderson's Boat will be at Lees town on Tuesday next and will be Convenient for you to send by; and it will be needful that Col° Clarke should Receive something Like an address from every principal Station. It is surely needless to

urge anything on this Occasion we have all been Too long sensible of the necessity and must be Confident that the well-being of this Country Entirely Depends on this or some similar Exertion and that a few weeks (if not Days) will or may be fatal we are with Esteem D^{r} Sir y^{r} most Obed^{t} Serv^{t}

DAVID GESS

P. S. we Expect that Col^{o} Clarke will give us an answer Speedily by which we will be inform'd whether he will undertake and when and where he will appoint a Rendevouz or meeting of all the soldiers Who can be Raised.

March 10th 1780.

At a full meeting of the inhabitants of Boonsb'gh Collected on the melancholy Occasion of the foregoing Letter it was unanimously agreed that the s^{d} Letter Shou'd be Written which was accordingly Done, and Capt David Gess Direct'd to subscribe his name Thereto for and in Behalf of the Whole. Certified under my hand this 10th of March 1780.

RICH^{D} HENDERSON.

PETITION FROM INHABITANTS OF BOONESBOROUGH TO CLARK, March 10, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J19.—D. S.]

BOONESBOROUGH 10th March 1780.

SIR Nothing less than the preservation of these settlements and to insure from utter ruin the many Families in this Country could have induced us to trouble you with an address of this kind.

The few among us who have long experienced the intolerable hardships of maintaining our Post against the Barbarous savages, Derive very little consolation from the vast addition of Numbers now scattered through the various Parts of this Country The almost incredible number of Distressed and defenceless Families settled through our woods for the sake of sustinance instead of adding to our strength are in fact, so many allurements, and must become a daily sacrifice to the savage brutality of our inhuman enemies; who from their unavoidable success will be encouraged to reitterate their attemps and Render this Country a Mere scene of Carnage and Desolation—These our Apprehensions are by no

means the offspring of Pusillanimous fear or fanciful immagination, our Diffused situation which cannot be altered without a famine render these disasters Practicable, and we have nothing to hope from the fears or clemency of the Indians—This day was Buried in one Grave the Late Colo. Richard Callaway and Lieutenant Pemberton Rawlings both of this Place, who were killed and scalped day before Yesterday almost in sight of Town; the Indians at the same time either killed or took Prisoners, two Negroes, and were seen Yesterday near the same Place—we are also informed that some of them were Discovered about Licking Station on Tuesday last, and that several Horses are already stolen from that Quarter This early and Tragical Scene we think portends very little good to that Settlements and unless something can speedily be done, must be attended with the most serious consequences to the Inhabitants in general—In this Critical and alarming situation we beg leave to implore your Assistance—We are fully persuaded that nothing less than a Vigorous expedition against the Shawanee Towns will Put an end to their Depradations, or secure the Peace and safety of these Settlements.

It is now too late to expect that relief or succour from the state which the nature of the case requires and we must Remain Destitute of every Prospect of success without your immediate Assistance—We are strangers to your secret orders from Government, but hope that they are not such that will Restrain you from taking the command of a sufficient number of Volunteers who will most cheerfully turn out on this interesting Occasion, and could not fail of success under the command of a Gentleman whose experience and abilities Justly entitle him not only to the command, but the entire confidence of a willing and grateful people—In our Plan for Carrying on this expedition, we propose among other things, that the men shall find their own Provisions and be under the solemnity of an Oath to obey their officers (who are to be chosen by themselves) and subject to Martial [*MS. torn*] Disobedience &c. We know the distrest situation of the Inhabitants in general, to whom we have communicated our scheme and make no doubt but you will receive similar Applications from a large majority in a few days—you Sir, can more easily immagine than we describe our anxious concern on this Occasion; Destitute of every other

hope, the Inhabitants of this Country look to you for Protection should your indispensible duty Render your Personal Assistance incompatible with this undertaking, may we not hope that you will so far befriend our enterprize as to Permit the use of such artillery ammunition &c as may be needful to effect the business. Among the many difficulties attending an expedition of this kind the article of salt is very considerable; a small matter would do, as the Different Companies would be Obliged to the woods and Prepare as much Jerk as will answer the Purpose

If you could Assist us in that peticular and Honour our interprize with your Presence and Command you would have the consolation of redeeming from Destruction a Scattered divided & Defenceless People who have no other Probable source of defence but through your means.

We say, through your means, for without your Presence or the use of some artillery there is no prospect of success—In all events we are drove to the Necessity of going to the Towns if Possible, and must beg your interposition with Colo. William Linn to accept the command in case we are so unfortunate as to be deprived of your assistance

From the importance of this address we cannot doubt of your attention and hope you will condescend to give us a Speedy and Favourable Answer We are with the greatest Respect

Sir your most Humble Servtˢ

THE INHABITANTS OF BOONSBOROUGH

As we have no regular officers to attest or certify the Publick doings of this Town, Captⁿ David Gass and Mʳ John South are by unanimous consent Desired to sign their Names for and in behalf of the whole

DAVID GASS

JOHN SOUTH

[*Addressed:*] Colº George Rogers Clark at the falls of Ohio Favr Major Smith

[*Endorsed:*] Petition from the Inhabitants of Kentucky

PETITION FROM BRYAN'S STATION TO CLARK, March 13, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J20.—A. D. S.]

ELKHORN, March 13th 1780.

It is with the greatest concern That we, the Inhabitants of Bryan's Station, inform you that the Indians are again Doing mischief in our Country. Last Thursday William Bryan,[1] a young man Belonging to this Station, was killed and scalped, as he was Coming in from hunt^{g}, and Two horses taken from the Company, and on Fryday the old Station of Licking was attacked fiercely. They Began Early in the morning and Continued till Late at night. Two of our men was wounded in the attack, and The Indians Carried off all the horses belonging to the station, except 2 or 3 which were in the fort, and killed almost all their cattle.

We are sure that we cannot Live in any tolerable degree of satisfaction, unless we Endeavour to carry on an Expedition against them. our Countrymen of every Station will give all the Assistance in their power, we believe; and we shall not be Backward to assist in so necessary an Enterprise. The more to facilitate the undertaking, we find ourselves Constrained to present this our address to you, Reposing special Trust in your patriotism, Courage and good Conduct. Beg you will head our men, and assist us with your great guns, with which we think we shall be able (under God) to Expel them from our Country.

We need not Exagerate on the Cruelty and Devastation with which their foot steps are marked, as you are perfectly acquainted with their savage nature, and Every day almost produces to us fresh instances of their Rapine, and our unhappy Countrymen by them slain, are Irrefrageable proofs of their malicious intentions. Therefore we Entreat you by all the ties of humanity to give us a helping hand, To take the Command of our men and your great guns, and march to the Towns of the Enemy, and Destroy them from the face of the Earth, if possible.

We from this station will send as many men as we can possibly spare, who will find themselves provision &c; and we Believe Every

[1] For a discussion of whether the name was Bryan or Bryant, see R. T. Durrett, *Bryant's Station*, in Filson Club, *Publications*, XII., 20; *Mo. Hist. Review*, V., 150.

station will do the like, and We Believe we shall Be able to raise a Respectable Body in the Whole, which we think, by the Blessing of God, will be able to check their ravages, and we shall live in peace in satisfaction.

We beg you will take this matter into your Consideration, and give us an answer as soon as possible, as much Depends upon the Expedition of this matter, no time ought to be lost in the prosecution of it, as a few weeks, if not days, may prove fatal.

Am, Sir, Your most obed^{t} Serv^{t}

[not signed]

The inhabitants of Lexington having met together to consult on the contents of the above Letter this moment received from the Inhabitants of Bryan's station (situated on the North Fork of Elk-horn) it was unanimously agreed, that Col^{o} Clarke be supplicated to give his kind assistance to head our Men against those savage robbers who are again plundering our Country. You, Sir, are therefore earnestly requested by us to take the Command, to appoint a place of rendezvous, and we on our part will not be backward to give you all the assistance the strength of this garrison can possibly spare.

Signed in behalf of the inhabitants of Lexington.

FRANCIS MCCONNELL,
JOHN MORRISON,
JAMES NOURSE.

P. S. Since we received the above, two men arrived at the fort chased by the Indians, which were plundering within six miles of this garrison, and a company of us are now going to march against them; but we think an expedition against the towns will be the most likely means to prevent further mischief.

[*Endorsed:*] The Inhabitants of Bryans Station Mar. 13th 1780

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO COLONEL PRESTON, March 21, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 5QQ24.—A. L. S.]

WILLIAMSBURG Mar. 21, 1780.

SIR I am sorry to hear that there are persons in your quarter so far discontented with the present government as to combine

with it's enemies to destroy it. I trust they have no grievance but what we all feel in common, as being forced on us by those to whom they would now join themselves. had any such grievances existed complaint & refusal of redress should have preceded violence. the measures they are now taking expose them to the pains of the law, to which it is our business to deliver them. we must therefore avoid any irregularity which might give them legal means of withdrawing themselves from punishment. I approve much of your most active endeavours to apprehend the guilty & put them into a course of trial. the carrying them out of the county before an examining court is had on them, if their safe custody requires it must be yeilded to; but if they can be kept safely without it, I should rather approve it. I suppose this may be done by strong guards of militia, which must be summoned, & subsisted & paid at the public expence. you seem to expect that writings may be found about them which will convict them of treason. should your evidence however not be such as the law requires in cases of treason where the punishment is capital, perhaps it may be sufficient to convict them of a misprison of treason which is punishable by fine & imprisonment at the pleasure of the court. I suggest this to you that you may not suppose them absolutely cleared if the evidence will not support the charge of treason.

I think it necessary that you should take the most immediate measures for protecting the lead mines. for this I know none so likely to be effectual as your calling on a sufficient number of the newly recruited soldiers (no matter for what service engaged) from the counties round about, which you are hereby authorized to do, rendezvousing them at the lead mines and putting into their hands the arms taken from the malcontents. the commissary in that department will subsist them. should you find it necessary a guard of militia must be called on in the meantime. harrassing the militia however is what I should wish to avoid if possible. by the time these new recruits are wanted to join their corps I am in hopes the danger with you will be over.

Nothing which I have heard gives me reason to fear any disturbance in your quarter with the Indians. Colo Clarke will be employed this summer in preserving peace with them. he will aid you if called on either in the case of invasion or insurrection.

should the Indians molest you, your militia must be embodied according to the invasion law, till Colo Clarke can go to your assistance.

I am Sir with great respect Your most obed^{t} humble ser^{t}

TH JEFFERSON

[*Endorsed:*] Government Letter 21st March 1780

CLARK TO JOHN TODD, JR., March, 1780.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—A. L. S.]

LOUISVILLE March 1780

D^{R} COL

By the Act^{s} from Every Post in the Illinois So nearly Corresponding I make no doubt of the English Regaining the Interest of Many Tribes of Indians and their designs agst the Illinois (Perhaps on Gov^{r} Hamiltons plan) and without some speady Check may prove Fatal to Kentucky and the Total loss of the West^{n} Cuntrey on the Mississippi I am not Clear but the Spaniards would fondly Suffer their Settlements in the Illinois to fall with ours for the sake of having the opertunity of Retaking Both I doubt they are too fond Territory to think of Restoring it again. Although there is but few British Troops on the Lakes defitiency is fully Replaced by the Immence Quantities of goods they have the effects of which among the Savages you well know not being aprehensive of a Visit I make no doubt of their having planed Some Expedition of Importance against our Posts which if they gain may be attended with the greatest Consequences than I have Hinted at they have greater opertunities of knowing our Cituation than we have of theirs which you know they Could not deprive us of, you well know the difficulties we have laboured under with our Joint Efforts to Maintain our Ground and Support our Interest among the Savages in that Dep^{t} and the reasons why which is now greater than Ever as the bad Crops and the Severity of the winter hath Rendered it Impossible for the Towns in the Illinois to make any further Suppley untill next Harvest the Troops

[1] This letter, somewhat modified, is printed in the *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 338 *et seq.*; English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 668; and Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 325.

being Intituled to a discharge in a few weaks, Except those that have Reenlisted when Joined by Cap^{tn} Rogers when armed will not amount to more than one hundred and fifty which is too few under our present Circumstances to think of Deffending the different post we now Occupy. Letters from his Excellency and a promising Ac^{t} from our Recruiting officers may perhaps soon alter our Apparent Circumstances but as yet Receiving no advice from Either already meeting with many disappointments in my Expectations much to the disadvantage of the Dep^{t} a few weaks Hesitation may be productive of long future disadvantage. I think it best to act as though we had no Expectation of being assisted Either with men or provitions. Your Councell not only necessary but which you know I prize is what I want. If we ware Tolerably formadable at any one post that we could Subsist at it might have a great and good Effect as I Hinted to lay aside all Expectation of a Reinforcement I see but the one probable Method of Maintan^{g} our Authority in the Illinois which is this by Amediately Evacuating our present posts and let our whole force Center at or near the Mouth of Ohio which will be too Contemtable to answer the good effect proposed without fall upon some Method to draw of a Considerable Reinforce from Kentuck of Militia Families would be of the greatest Service as they are always followed by two or three times their number of young men they would with their Store of provitions be able to Victual great part of our Troops in porportion to their numbers which if only one Hundred by the Ensuing fall would be able to Victual a Redgment besides Establishing a post that his Excellency is very Anctious for (the Reason I amigine we are boat Acq^{td} with) and the Interest of all the western Cuntrey Call for one Hund^{d} Families their followers the Troops we have already Ingaged, those whose time of Service is or Shortly will Expire that would Remain at the place when Joind would be Considerable the Report of which by the time it Reach our Enemies would be Augmented perhaps to Treble our numbers as such Intelligence is always agravated by the Indians and I dont doubt but that it would put a stop for some to their proceedings as I know it would greatly Confuse the Indians they are like to win from us as our force with the French Militia probably Counting the Spaniards would be

too Considerable for them to Temper with our only Chance at present to save that Cuntrey is by Incourageing the Families but I am sensible nothing but land will do it I should be Exceedingly Cautious in doing anything that would displease government but their present Interest in Many Respects obvious to us boath, Call so loud for it that I think S^{r} that you Might even Venture to give a Deed for Forty or fifty Thousand Acres of Land at Said place at the price that government may dem^{d} for it it Interfears with no Claim of our friendly Indians the greatest Barriour to the Inhabitants of the Illinois against the Southern Indians Security of the Gen^{l} Commerce and perhaps the Saving of the Cuntrey to the State and probably in a few Months inable us to act again on the Offensive. I should be against Suffering families to settle promis^{ly} in any part of the Illinois at present but the Establishment of the said post is so necessary and as it cannot be Compleat without the Families I think it your duty to give the afforesaid Incouragement and such Instructions as would confine the people to a fort for sometime before you could Consult Government it might be too late Sustenance for some time will be procured with difficulty but I cannot think of the Consequence of losing possession of the Cuntrey without a more determined Resolution to Risque every point Rather than suffer it (for they the English Cannot execute any Matter of very great Importance Among the Savages without it I know your Concern to be Eaqual to mine if you Concur with me in Sentiment let me know Amediately or Such Amendment as you might think more advantageous

I am S^{r} with Real Esteem your very Humble Servt

G R Clark

Col Jn^{o} Todd

CLARK TO WILLIAM FLEMING, April 4, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 46J54.—A. L. S.]

LOUISVILLE Ap^{l} 4th 1780

DR SIR

your much Esteemed Letter of the 16th Mar^{h} is now before me I am hartily sorry for the great loss of Blood and property Sustained by the Kentuckians. [*MS. torn*] I expected they have sent me Repeated & Spirited Petitions for an Expedition against the Shawonee Towns, let us not Triffle with Matters of Such Moment the one proposed would be so far from giving us Peace that it would only Agravate the war by destroying an Expedition already planed by his Excellency the Success of which depends much on the Kentuckians and which will give them an Amediate and Permanient Peace with the Savages I have Such Confidence in their Resolutions that I count at least one Thousand of them for the Expedition and am Making provition accordingly if they have not peace by the Fall it Shall be their own Faults and not governments as Every step possible to Render them so hath been taken Sinoe my Residence at this place and find by his Excellencies Let^{rs} that I am likely to gain my wishes

A piece of [*MS. torn*] the Best I could possibly Inform you of is that Provition of Bread kind is so plenty at this post that Corn fell from 130 to thirty five Dollars in a few days and now no Market for it. I have appointed a Gentlm^{n} to purchase the whole and Expect to get a suffitiency for one Thousand men for five Months at least without the want of Money should disappoint me, Could not the Court of Commissioners fall on some plan to assist me with Thirty or forty Thousand pounds by taking in the peoples Money and give them a Bill for it which would answer a greater purpose to them as they would Receive double Service by it, workmen is now Ingaging to build one Hundred Boats at this place to be Compleat in two Month for the Transportation of our provition into the Hart of the Indian Cuntrey I am obliged to promise Money and have not a farthing (as yet from the Governor) pray Sir fall on the plan I propose for you to assist me and if you have [*MS. torn*] let Capt^{n} James F More, Dep^{t} Com^{y} G^{l} of Purchases have twenty Thousand pounds taking his Receipt for

it perhaps our future Happiness at Least for a year or two May depend on the above Supply

I am Dr Col with Real Esteem your Very HB Servt

G R CLARK

[*Addressed:*] Col. Wm Fleming Harrodsburg
[*Endorsed:*] General Clark

DANIEL BRODHEAD TO CLARK, April 4, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J24.—A. L. S.]

FORT PITT April 4th 1780.

DEAR SIR I am honored with your oblidging Letter of the 22d December last—The intelligence you have from Detroit is interesting and your proposals very pleasing.

I have wrote to his Excellency the Commander in chief to inform him of the Contents but have not yet received his answer, when I do shall take the earliest opp'y to communicate to you such parts as from our local situation & circumstances may be adviseable. I think it is probable that before next Winter I shall have the pleasure of taking you by the Hand somewhere upon the Waters of Lake Erie.

The Delawares at present continue their professions of Friendship towards us, but I am convinced there are many Villains in that Nation. If I am enabled as I expect to carry on an Expedition against the Shawnese the Delawares may afterwards be ordered as I may find most conducive to the public good.

From the Newspapers it appears that the Spaniards are in possesion of the Natchez & Manchack if this report is true you will have very little to do upon the Missisippi further than establishing a small post or two to hold our possession on this side.

I have given Captn Rogers an order to take into his possession all Water Craft belonging to the United States below Wheeling which may perhaps prove serviceable to you, but I must entreat You to have the best care taken of them that circumstances will admit and send as many to this Place as you can find convenient safe opportunities to forward by.

I am amazed at the return made by Captn George of the men belonging to the Continental Service which were sent down the

River under the Command of Captn Willing it differs much from the return I received from Captn Mc Intire—He alledges that some of those Mens terms are expired & that they do not incline to return to their respective Corps, but admitting their Terms were really expired (which is denied) they ought to have proper Discharges from the Commandg officers of their Corps and must be considered as Deserters untill they obtain them I wish you to inculcate this principle and order those men under some proper officer up to this place that Justice may be done them & the public. Mr Bentley (who has lately made his escape from Canada) accompanies Captain Rogers and intends to bring up some Goods & peltry to Fort Pitt and he I dare say will give the Company a clever compensation for bringing them under Convoy for him—Should it prove inconvenient to spare an officer from your Corps and the Men could be collected at the Falls, I would send an officer from your Corps and the Men could be collected at the Falls, I would send an officer & party to bring them from thence.

Captain Rogers is so oblidging as to take down the names & Description of many Deserters and I hope you will afford him your Countenance & the necessary assistance for apprehending them—Such as return to their Duty voluntarily will be pardoned by authority from the Commander in chief.

I sincerely wish you great success & shall be glad to hear from you by every safe Conveyance I have the Honor to be with great regard Dear Sir

your most Obedt Servt
DANIEL BRODHEAD
Colo commandg W D

COLO GEO ROGERS CLARK

CHARLES MYNN THRUSTON TO CLARK, April 7, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J26.—A. L. S.]

DEAR COLO

I hoped to have seen you before We parted, but going so soon as you do, it will be impossible. My Son tells Me of your politeness to him, & shewn Me his recruiting instructions, but without

the Money has little chance of collecting the Men without your indulgence. This places him in rather an uncertain situation, but I trust in full confidence to your patronage of him. Cap[t] Rogers has between sixty & seventy men enough to make up two troops of horse, which I think the law limits to 30 or thereabouts. A considerable proportion of these were drafts, & not recruits; so that it will be in your power to assign to whom you please the residue, after Capt. Rogers's troop is compleated. But I will add no more, trusting to your Friendship to advise & direct him; and considering that He is but a youth, without parent or adviser. May I, without expecting anything unreasonable hope this from you? If not, then I must beg you will excuse the freedom, by attributing it to the solicitude of a parent about to part with a favourite Son. Dear Sir, farewell! and believe it as a certain truth that I am with great esteem & affection,

Your mo obed[t] Servt
C. M. THRUSTON[1]

FLOYD'S STATION 7° April 80

N. B. My Son resolves to engage in the service during the War, and waits to come down with Cap[t] Rogers

C M T.

[*Endorsed:*] Co[l] Thruston

PETITION TO CLARK FOR THE DEFENSE OF CAHOKIA, April 11, 1780.[2]

[Draper MSS., 50J27.—D. S.]

A L'Honnorable George Rogers Clark Equier Colonel et Commandant en Chef des troupes de l'Etat de Virginie dans le Comté des Illinois et ses dependances &c &c &c

[*Translation.*]

To the Honorable George Rogers Clark, Esquire, Colonel and Commander in Chief of the troops of the State of Virginia in the County of Illinois & its dependencies.

[1] Charles Mynn Thruston, Jr., married Frances Eleanor Clark, the youngest sister of Colonel Clark.

[2] Printed also in Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 530.

MONSIEUR Dans la Situation deplorable ou nous nous trouvons á present, nous vous députons la personne de Monsr Charles Gratiot l'un de nos citoyens, pour vous representer notre detresse, et la Calamité ou les Nations Sauvage de tous cotés nous Reduisent; Nous Sommes a la Veille d'etre attaqué dans notre Village par des Partis considerable de Sauvages, et de ne pouvoir travailler a la Culture de nos terres cy nous N'avons de prompt Secours; C'est pourquoi nous prenons la liberté de nous adresser a vous, par la confiance et l'esperance que nous avons de votre bonté et de l'affection que vous nous avés toujours temoignée, Mais ce qui nous afflige le plus en cas que vous envoyatent icy du Monde, que nous n'eussions pas les provisions qui leur Seroient necessaire; Monsieur Gratiot pouvé facilement vous instruire des facultés de notre village et l'avons chargé de conferer avec vous a cet effet, y ayant mis toute notre confiance et que vous ne travailleres de Concert que pour nous procurer la pax et la tranquilité et ne cesserons de faire des Voeux au Ciel pour votre conservation et prosperité.

[*Translation.*]

SIR, In the deplorable situation in which we find ourselves at present, we have deputized M. Charles Gratiot, one of our citizens, to represent to you our distress and the calamitous situation to which the savage nations on all sides of us reduce us. We are on the eve of being attacked in our village by considerable parties of savages and can not work at the cultivation of our grounds, if we have not prompt assistance. For this reason we take the liberty of addressing you, having confidence in the kindness and affection you have always manifested for us. But that which afflicts us the most is that in case you send us many people we would not have the provisions necessary for them. M. Gratiot can readily inform you of the resources of our village and we have charged him to confer with you on that subject, having entire confidence that you will labor in concert with us to procure us peace and tranquility. And we will never cease our prayers to Heaven for your preservation and prosperity.

Nous avons l'honneur deter Monsieur Vos trés humbles et devoués Serviteurs

Aux Noms des Citoyens du Village des Cahoskias le onzieme d'Avril 1780.

F TROTTIER[1]
ANTOINE GIRARDIN
BEAULIEU·
J. B. SAUCIER
marque de
PIERRE MARTAIN
J. B H LA CROIX.

[*Translation.*]

We have the honor to be, Sir, your humble and devoted servants.

In the name of the citizens of the village of Cahokia, April 11, 1780.

F. TROTTIER
ANTOINE GIRARDIN
BEAULIEU
J. B. SAUCIER
PIERRE MARTIN
J. B. H. LA CROIX

LAND GRANTS TO SOLDIERS, April 11, 1780.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

Rec^{d} of Col: Ge^{o} R^{s} Clark this 11th day of Apr^{l} 1780 Six land Warrants Containing five Hundred & Sixty Acres of Land Each for which Warrants I promise to Delliver Col. Clark one Able Bodeyed Soldier for Each Warrant, p^{r} m^{r}

JN^{o} THRUTON
WILL SHANNON
SULLIVAN

[1] These men constituted the magistrates elected for the court at Cahokia. François Trottier was president at the time. Charles Gratiot was a member of the court at the session of February 18, 1780, and also at the meeting of June 9. For the records of this court and its history, see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 13 *et seq.*

Rec^{d} of Col: Ge^{o} R Clark 12th day of Aprile 1780 four land warrants cont^{g} five Hundred & sixty Acres Each for which I promis to Recruit four Able bodeyded Soldirers Durring the war to serve in Col Clarks Reg^{t}

ABRM KELLARD

WILL SHANNON

Rec^{d} of Col: Ge^{o} R^{s} Clark 12th day of April 1780 twenty land warrants Containg five Hundred & sixty Acres Each for which I promis to return him twenty Able bodey^{d} Soldiers to serve during the war in his battalion

BU^{D} WORTHINGTON

WILL: SHANNON.

WILLIAM SHANNON TO EVAN BAKER, April 12, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J30.—A. L. S.]

FALLS OF OHIO April 12, 1780.

SIR,

Agreeable to orders of this day to me given by the Commander in Chief of the Western Illinois Department I am directed to draw on you for Six Months provisions for one thousand men, to be at the Mouth of Ohio or near that place by the first of next June—at which place there will be a Store fixed, & proper Persons appointed to receive the same, and receipts properly given either by myself or some of my Deputies. I need not caution you that the provisions ought to be sound and wholsom and of a good Quality. We shall probably have occasion to draw on you in August or Sept^{r} next for a large Quantity for which 'twould be well to prepare, & as I expect the Quarter Masters Store will be put under your Direction I beg you to forward them with all possible expedition, as they are much wanted as well as the Provisions.

I expect that proper necessaries of all kinds will be provided and sent for the use of the Officers, such as Liquors, Coffee, Tea, Sugar &ca. as no supplies of the same kind can be had in this Department.

& if you have not already been furnished with Instructions for that purpose I beg you will not fail to apply to Government. I am Sir respectfully

Your mo. Obed^{t} hum^{l} Serv^{t}
WILL: SHANNON
Cond^{r} Gen^{l} W. Depart. Illinois

M^{r} EVAN BAKER

Be pleased to Forward a letter of Col. Clark's to Govern^{t} as it will fall into your Hands

[*Addressed:*] To M^{r} Evan Baker Commissary of Washington County Virginia.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, April 19, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J31.—A. L. S.]

RICHMOND April 19. 1780

SIR,

Your Letter from Louisville of February 22'd—80 came safely to Hand. In answer to your Observations on the Spot proper to take Post on at the Mouth of Ohio we can only give our cordial Sentiments leaving the ultimate Determination to your Prudence on view of the Ground, as we can neither make the particular spot we would elect to be what we should wish nor recommend to you to take Post on it if Nature has rendered it unfit.

The Point of Land at the Mouth of the Ohio on the south side is the precise spot which would have been preferred had nature formed it capable of Fortification but this we were apprised was subject to inundation. How deep the Waters, may occasionally be there, we are quite uninformed and therefore are unable to decide on your Proposition for banking them out as at New Orleans. In general, undertakings of that nature are expensive, and not without great Danger that Floods of unexpected Magnitude may overwhelm the Works and Garrison, or that an enterprising Enemy may find Means to let in the water. Yet if those Lands lie so high as to be very little under Water, those objections become small in proportion, and may perhaps be less than that of taking the Post

at a situation less favorable for vigilance over the Trade of the two rivers. Of this you will judge when you see the Lands and know the height of Inundation they are subject to. If this Place should be rejected, and we were to decide between two Posts one of which should be on the Ohio, the other on the Mississipi below the Mouth of Ohio equally near the Mouth, and equally proper in every other respect, we should prefer the one on the Missisipi because it would command a greater Part of the Trade than the other; for I take for granted more trade will go down the two Rivers to Orleans than down one river to the Mouth and up the other. If the question is between two Situations on the north and south side of the Ohio, equal in other respects, the one on the south side would be greatly preferred. Indeed this circumstance would weigh against a good Degree of other superiority for Reasons which cannot be trusted to a Letter: Yet it would not so far weigh as to prefer a Post which cannot be made tenable to one which can. You describe a high Ground on the north side of the Ohio three or four miles above its mouth, yet the Missisipi, so near in that Part as that a Town might reach from the one to the other and a small river mouthing at the same place and forming a commodious Harbor for Vessels. This indeed is tempting, as in such a case the navigation of both rivers would be under your Eye as effectually as at the Mouth of Ohio, and holds out such advantages as may get the better of the objections to its being on the north side. However you must finally decide on view of the whole. As to the kind of Fortification I imagine you proposed in the first Place to build a Stockade for temporary Purpose. The Post is so important really as to merit Works of the best kind, but on this it would necessary to consult the Legislature who would be to provide for the Expence. In the mean Time I imagine you will think it well first to plan & lay off the good works you would propose, and then build your temporary Fort so as to encourage them and protect those who should be working on them, or, if this would be too large to be manned by your Force, the temporary Work might be built within the Lines laid off for the good. When you shall have determined on your spot we should be glad to receive a minute

description of it with a plan of the good Works you would propose to erect not meaning however thereby to suspend the temporary Works.

I am Sir Your very humble servt

TH. JEFFERSON

[*Addressed:*] Colo. George Rogers Clarke at the Falls of Ohio
[*Endorsed:*] [Jeffer]son April 19th 1780

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, April 19, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J32.—L. S.]

RICHMOND April 19, 1780.

SIR, I have received information of many Murders recently committed by the Indians in Washington, Montgomery, Green-Briar, Kentucky and the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, tho the Nations by whom co[mmi]tted are not specified in the Information, the extent of the mischief [*MS. torn*] extensive combination. Incertain whether you were near enough at Hand to afford relief, and indeed rather expecting from your last Letter received that you are now at the mouth of the Ohio, satisfied at the same time that any Plan of enterprize determined and minutely directed here would prove abortive from want of Information and unforeseen Difficulties and Events, I have directed the Lieutenants of the Counties of Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Rockbridge and Green-Briar to assemble and concert, and immediately with a Portion of their Militia carry an Expedition into the Indian Country. To communicate their determinations to the Lieutents of the Counties Northward of them between the Blue-ridge and Allegany who are also to assemble, concert, and execute similar offensive Measures with their Militia either by concurring in the same, or undertaking a separate Expedition; and those again to call for aids from the Counties West of the Allegany. They are to give Notice of their Plans to yourself, and should the combination of the Enemy appear still formidable for their Force I have desired them to ask such Assistance as you can give them, and in such way as you shall Think most effectual. Since the Conduct of the Indians has precipitated our meditated Chastisement of them, it

seems to have determined on which of the Objects formerly submitted to you the first Efforts of the Campaign are to be directed. Nothing is more desirable than the total suppression of Savage Insolence and Cruelties, and should your Affairs be in a condition to admit your going in Person, and taking command of the whole expedition—The object is of sufficient Importance to require it, yet unacquainted as I am, with the present State of your forces, where they are, and how employed, I am afraid that your distance from the scene of action, or other unknown circumstances might produce a greater Measure of Injury to the Public by interrupting your present operations than they might derive of good from your co-operation. I therefore leave to your Discretion and Zeal for the good of your Country to determine whether, and in what manner to concur in this Expedition, still considering it as so important as to [recommend it] to you, if very great Injury to the public may not attend the cutting you off on that Business. I also write to Major Slaughter (as he is probably so distant from you) to lend his Aid if called on in the Manner I have mentioned to him. I have it not in my Power to give you precise Information of the numbers recruited for Col. Crockett, or time of their March. I experience Mortification on every enquiry by [finding] that every Inquiry lessons my Hope both as to Numbers and dispatch. Nothing shall be left undone to forward them, and I do not Despair all together of their participating in the projected Expedition.

I am Sir Your very humble servt

TH. JEFFERSON

P S inclosed is an answer to your's of Feb. 22.

[*Addressed:*] Colo George Rogers Clark at the Falls of Ohio

[*Endorsed:*] Received at ye Falls July 11th 1780

CLARK TO JOHN DODGE, April 20, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 60J335.]

MOUTH OF OHIO, April 20, 1780.

I yesterday arrived at this place, & wish you immediately to convey all your stores to this post; I hope you have got what little furniture I wanted; I have not any, nor a seed for my garden:

Pray, procure them and convey them in a few days. If you cd. procure me a few of those beans the French plant to make shades with, I shd. prize them much. Capt. Bentley will give you the news.

I am, dr. Captn. yours
G. R. CLARK

BATISST TO CLARK, April 29, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J33.]

FORT CLARK Aprile 29th 1780.

SIR

I am Glad to here of your Safe arivel at The Mouth of the River & take this opertunity To Express My Zele for you informing you that I allways have kept your Counsel and intends To Com and See you as soon as Col° Montgomery is Redey to Com & Wish all the happiness your Station Can aford & am Sir you dutifull son untill deth.

BATISST THE KING[1]

[*Addressed:*] Colo G R Clark Commander of the Virgeney trups the Western depertment

CLARK TO OLIVER POLLOCK, May 11, 1780.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

CAMP JEFFERSON MOUTH OF OHIO May 11th 1780

D^r^ SIR

A few days past I arrived at this place to Execute the orders of my Superiors for the Establishment of a Post, for the Conveniency of Trade and other purposes, I have but little knews worth relating to you we have heard the Spanish forces have taken Pensicola and am Impatient for a Confirmation of it, the Illenois Settlement are much threatned by the British Gentlemen at Detroit they Count S^t^ Lewis their Seat of Government probably they will meet with the fate they have Once Experienced if they attempt it I must confess I am not a Sufficient Statesman to Comprehend the Policy

[1] Batisst was chief of the Kaskaskia tribe. The handwriting is that of John Montgomery.

of the Spanish Gentlemen, Protecting the Deserters of a People so fond to serve them as we are at a time when both Nations are at Warr against the same Enemy it cannot be good Policy at this time for nothing saves both Spanish & American Illenois from the hands of the English but the Troops we have and would keep in that Country if it was not for the aforesaid Protection as we have fallen on the Method of Drawing our supplies from the States thro' the Channell of the [*blank in MS.*] the Deserters by no means add to the strength of the People they fly too but rather to the Contrary for reasons I dare say you are sensible of. I have to request of you Sir to make intercession with his Excellency the Governor Galvez to suffer Lieutenant Roberston whom I expect is at Orleans other ways some person whom you will be pleased to Commission to take the Arms & Cloathing (the Property of the States) from the Deserters at Natches and other settlements in your Quarters a list of them I inclose Print [?] and Party on board of Brashears who has also run off with considerable property of other persons) is exceedingly well cloathed except Shirting I have nothing more to add but remain with esteem

Sir Your very Humb^{l} Serv^{t}

Signed G R CLARK

OLIVER POLLOCK Esq^{r} New Orleans

DANIEL BRODHEAD TO CLARK, May 20, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J39.—A. L. S.]

HEAD QU^{RS} FORT PITT May 20th 1780.

DEAR SIR I have for some time past had in contemplation an Expedition against the Shawnese Towns but I find it is quite impracticable for want of resources. It is some time past since I was honored with a Line from his Excell^{y} the Commander in chief, but I have no reason to expect a reinforcement from him.

I dont know how far it may be in your Power to make an attack upon the Shawnese & their allies but if it can be done with a probability of success I hope you will attempt it, because I am persuaded that they are the most hostile of any Savage Tribe and could they receive a severe chastisement it would probably put an end to the Indian war. The people who pass this way towards

the new Settlements will doubtless give you all the assistance in their Power, they are numerous and well supplied with provisions.

Major Slaughter will do me the Honor to forward this Letter to you. his detachment consists of about one hundred Men which I am persuaded he will join to aid you upon any attempt you may think proper to make against his troublesome Neighbours, the Shawnese.

I will endeavour to write you again after I receive his Excellencies answer to the proposed junction of our Forces and shall be happy to hear from you by every safe conveyance.

I have the honor to be with much respect Dr Sir Your most obedt Servt

DANIEL BRODHEAD
Colo commandg W D

[*Addressed:*] Colo Geo. R. Clark Commandg the Virg State Troops Ilinois (Public Service) Hond by Majer Slaughter.

PIERRE DORION TO CLARK, May 31, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J34.—A. L. S.]

A George Rogers Clark Equier Colonel du Batallion des Illinois Et Commandant en Chef Les troupes de L'état de Virginie de la partie orientale des illinois Et Ses dependances.

MONSIEUR—

Pierre Dorion a L'honneur de vous Exposer tres humblement qu'ayant Prite Serment de Fidelité aux Etat Unis de L'amerique Et desirant aujourd'huy en donner des marques.

[*Translation.*][1]

To George Rogers Clark, Colonel of the Illinois battalion and Commander in Chief of the troops of Virginia and of eastern Illinois and its dependencies.

SIR:

Pierre Dorion has the honor of stating humbly that having taken oath of fealty to the United States of America and wishing

[1] Translation by the editor.

En Consequence il Voudroit traversé tout Ses Effest qui Sont a S^{t} Louis Sur La Partie Espagnol pour Les trensporter au Cahos.

Le Supliant a L'honneur de Vous représenter Monsieur, quil Seroit faché de faire tort a auq'une personne a qui il pouroit devoir Sue L'autre Partie, if Veut Satisfaire tout Ceux a qui il pouroit devoir, Même avant que de rien traverse Sur Cette rive.

Le Supliant a L'honneur de Vous prier Monsieur, de Vouloir Bien Vous interresser auprés de Monsieur Leyba Commandant aux Illinois Sur La partie espagnol, pour quil Luy Permette de trensporter ici tout ce quil pouroit avoir Sur L'autre partie, aprés avoir Satisfait a Ses Dettes Si il Sen trouve

Et Ne Cesseroit de faire des Voeux au Ciel pour Votre Conservation et prosperité

PIERRE DORION

Aux CAHOS le 31 May 1780

[*Endorsed:*] from Pierre Dorion requesting permission to remove from S^{t} Louis to Illinois.

[*Translation.*]

to give a token of it to-day, he desires to remove all his property which is at St. Louis on the Spanish side and to transport it to Cahokia.

The petitioner has the honor of stating that he would be sorry to harm any person to whom he might be in debt on the other side. He wishes to pay all his creditors even before he removes anything to this side.

The petitioner has the honor to beg of you, sir, to be kind enough to intercede with M. de Leyba, commander of Spanish Illinois, so that he may be permitted to remove here all that he possesses on the other side after having paid his debts if he has any. He will continually pray for your preservation and prosperity.

PIERRE DORION.

CAHOKIA May 31, 1780.

[*Endorsed:*] from Pierre Dorion requesting permission to remove from St. Louis to Illinois.

JOHN TODD, JR., TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, June 2, 1780.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—A. L. S.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOU EXCELLENCY

On Consulting with Col° Clark we found it impracticable to maintain so many petty posts in the Ilinois with so few men & concluded it better to draw them all to one post The Land at the Junction of the Ohio & Missisipipi was judged best Situated for the purpose as it would command the Trade of an extensive Country on both sides of each River & might serve as a Check to any Incroachments from our present Allies the Spaniards whose growing power might justly put us upon our guard & whose fondness for engrossing Territory might other wise urge them higher up the River upon our side than we would wish. The Expences in erecting this new post & victualing the men would have been Obstacles unsurmountable without a Settlem[t] Contiguous to the Garrison to support it whose adventurers would assist the Soldiers in the heavy Work of Building their fortifications I therefore granted to a certain Number of Families four Hundred Acres to each family at a price to be Settled by the General Assembly with Commissions for civil & militia—offices & the Necessary Instructions. Copies of the principal of which I herewith send you The Others being agreeable to the printed forms heretofore delivered me by the Governor & Council Lest the withdrawing our troops from S[t] Vincenne might raise suspicions among the Citizens to our disadvantage: I have sent to Maj[r] Bosseron the then district Commandant blank Commissions with powers to raise one Company & put them in possession of the Garrison with assurance that pay & rations sh[d] be allowed them by the Governm[t]

I inclose you also a Return of the Cloths &c. which I sent down by M[r] Clark to Capt. Dodge who I appointed Agent agreeably to your Excellencys Letter as Mr. Lindsay desired to be discontinued. When Col. Clark left the falls his Officers & Men to the Amount perhaps of 120 were well Cloathed except in the article of Linens M[r] Lindsay had not arrived the 8th of May last from Illinois & I have not heard whether the Goods from Orleans were yet arriven. Capt Dodge was also to receive them from Lindsay

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 358, and Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 328.

Mr Isaac Bowman with 7 or 8 men & one family set off from Kaskaskia the 15th Novr. last in a Batteau attended by another Batteau with 12 Men & 3 or 4 families in it bound to the falls of Ohio. I judged it safer to send to the Falls many Articles belonging to the Commonwealth by Bowman than to bring them myself by Land Bowmans Batteau fell into the Hands of the Chickasaw Indians & the other arrived in March or April at the French Lick on Cumberland with the Account that Bowman and all the men except one Riddle were killed & taken I inclose your Excellency a List of such Articles as belonged to the State as well as I can make out from me Detached Memorandums. My Books & many necessary papers being also lost.

Many necessary articles of Intelligence yet remain unmentioned. I will enjoy no Leisure untill I shall have fully acquainted you Excellency with the Situation of Ilinois.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect Your Excellency Most Obedient & humble Servant

JNo TODD JR

RICHMD 2nd June 1780

CALL FOR MEN FROM WESTERN COUNTIES, June 8, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J64.—Contemporary Copy.]

Extract from the Minutes of the advice of Council for calling a certain number of Militia from the Western Counties.

"The Board advise the Governor that posts be taken at the mouth of the little Kanhaway, Great Kanhaway, Sandy & Licking. that the little Kanhaway be Garrisoned with so many of the Militia from the Counties of Yohogania, Monongalia, & Ohio as the County Lieutenants of those Counties shall think proper to be furnished proportionally from their Militia. That great Kanhaway be Garrisoned with 164 Men, Sandy with 100, and Licking with 200. That for these purposes 254 Militia be raised from the following Counties and in the following proportions. Viz. Bottetourt 22. Rockbridge 18. Green Briar 16. Augusta 43. Rockinghan 15. Frederick 30. Hampshire 30, Berkley 30. and Kentucky 50. that the Garrison at Great Kanhaway be composed of Militia from Hampshire, Frederick, Berkley, Rockingham Augusta &

Green Briar. That at Sandy of Militia from Bottatourt, and a Detachment from Colº Crocketts Battalion and that at Licking of the residue of Colo. Crocketts Battalion & the Militia from Kentucky. That a Post be taken at Kelleys [on] the Great Kanhaway to be Garrisoned with 26 Men from the County of Shenandoah. That these Militia remain in Service until releived from their respective Counties. That the whole of these Garrisons be subject to the order of Colo. Clarke, and that it be recommended to him to draw from them from time to time when circumstances shall render it proper so many as are not essentially necessary for the preservation of their Posts with such Volunteers as he may engage, and proceed on such active enterprizes against the Indians & particularly the Shawaness as the force shall be adequate to.

They also advise that a Post be taken at or near Martins Cabbin in Powells Valley to be garrisoned with 30 Militia from the County of Washington and 20 from the County of Montgomery to continue until releived in like manner as the former garrison that so soon as Colº Crocketts Battalion be ready to March he be directed to proceed by the way of the Great Kanhaway."

June 8, 1780.

On the 23d of June the numbers mentioned above from Augusta and Rockingham were altered. Viz.: Augusta to furnish 35 men and Rockingham 23.

Arthur Campbell on the Invasion of Kentucky, June 13, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 5QQ33.—A. L. S.]

Goodwood June 13, 1780

Sir · Every account from Kentucky represents the indecision and consternation there occasioned by the apprehensions of the meditated Invasion. some consoles themselves that if Colº Clarke returns in time matters will take a turn. Beef is much wanted and Ammunition is scarce among the Inhabitants in the upper Forts. Three Companies of the Militia of this County rendezvous at Mr Bakers the 26th Instant principally with a view to escort out a supply, but I am just inform.d that there is but little Lead there, and no Flints. I must therefore request the favour of you to

assist us in furnishing these Articles, I expect you can give an order on the Manager for any quantity you think proper under 2000 lb of that order.d for the Expedition, and to have the Flints (if not in Montgomery) sent from Col° Flemings, at least as far out as Mr M'Gavocks. Cattle are a gathering in, and Pack-Horses enough I believe will be readily got. Our Militia generally turns out without grumbling, so I think the Companies will be full. I anxiously wish that one or two Companies could join us from your County: What would it be to try the head of Reed Creek, it would divert their minds from a worse employ, and I have reason to believe, several of the Germans would engage in this Service.

Butler it is said comes against Kentucky in great wrath, he boasts he will give no Quarter, indeed what can be expected from a Man, that at Wyoming give up his Brother to be tortured, and unfeeling enjoyed the Sight.

I am Sir Your very Humble Ser^{t}

ARTHUR CAMPBELL

P. S. about the last of this Month y^{e} Enemy is expected at y^{e} Falls

PETITION OF TRUSTEES AT FORT JEFFERSON FOR NEW COUNTY, June 13, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J44.—D. S.]

CLARKSVILLE 13th: June 1780.

SIR,

We the Trustees elected for the Borough of Clarksville, convinced of your unbounded friendship & good will towards our young Settlement, beg leave to communicate to you some circumstances, which thro' your Interest we would wish to have laid before Government. Viz.—

That Our present Settlement being form'd by your permission only, causes an anxiety in the Minds of the People lest Governm^{t} should not give it the necessary Sanction.

That Gov^{t} is at present unacquainted with our Situation, Circumstances and Necessities, which 'tis requisite should be made known to them.

That for Want of Proper authority, the regulations made by the Trustees, have not their due weight with the People.

That we conceive it necessary our Settlement should be erected into a Corporation, or Separate County distinct from Kentucky, & proper Magistrates and other Officers Commissioned for executing the Laws, which would be a means of preventing that Confusion likely to take place for want of such authority.

Finally, we beg leave to refer you to Col° Walker whom we have personally made acquainted with our Wishes & wants, & whose Friendship we cannot too much commend. He has promised us all the assistance in his power, & as we make no doubt you will think it advisable to consult him respecting our Affairs, we could wish you to make application for us by that Gentleman. We submit all our wants to you, satisfied that you are as well acquainted with them as ourselves, & request you will lay them before Government in their proper light. We sincerely wish you success in your present as well as every other undertaking, and a Speedy return to our little Settlement of which you are the Patron. & beg leave to Subscribe ourselves with the utmost Respect—Sir

Your most obed & very humⁱ Servᵗˢ:

JAMES PIGOT
EZEKIEL JOHNSON
HENRY SMITH
JOSEPH HUNTER
MARK ILES

To COL° GEORGE ROGERS CLARK &ca

We farther request that in Case Government should be pleased to erect our Settlement into a Corporation or County, you would recommend the officers allready elected among us, and Such other persons for such officers as you may think necessary, in order for their being duly Commissioned.

[*Addressed:*] To Col° George Rogers Clark, Colonel of the Illinois Battalion and Commander in Chief of the Virginia Forces in the Illinois or Western Department now at the Falls of Ohio favoured by Col° Walker.

[*Endorsed:*] Inhabitants of Clarksburg on Mississippi.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, June 14, 1780.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—A. L. S.]

IN COUNCIL June 14th 1780.

SIR,

In a Letter, which I had the Honor of addressing you on the meeting of the present General Assembly, I informed you of the necessities which had led the Executive to withdraw our western troops to the Ohio. since the date of that Letter I have received the inclosed of the second instant from Colo Todd communicating the measures he had adopted in Conjunction with colo Clarke to procure such a Settlement contiguous to the post which shall be taken as may not only strengthen the garrison occasionally, but be able to raise provisions for them. as the confirmation of these measures is beyond the powers of the executive, it is my duty to refer them to the General Assembly, it may be proper to observe that the grant of Lands by colo Todd was made on a supposition that the post woud be taken on the north side of the Ohio whereas I think it more probable it will be on the south side in the Lands lying between the Tanissee Ohio Missisippi and Carolina boundery. These Lands belong to the Chickasaw indians, who from intelligence which we think may be relied on, have entered into war with us.

The expenditures of the Ilinois, have been deemed from some expressions in the act establishing that county not subject to the examination of the board of Auditors As the auditing these accounts is very foreign to the ordinary office of the Council of State, would employ much of that time and attention which at at present [*blank in MS.*] called to objects [*blank in MS.*] general importance and as their powers would not enable them to take into consideration the justice and expediency of indemnifying Colo Todd for his Losses and services as desired in the inclosed

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 360, and Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 329.

Letter from Him of the thirteenth instant they beg leave to submit the whole to the consideration of the General Assembly.

I have the honor to be with great respect & esteem Sir Your most obedient & most humble ser^{t}

TH: JEFFERSON

PROPOSED GRANT OF LAND TO CLARK, June 30, 1780.

[*Journal of Virginia House of Delegates*, Friday, June 30, 1780.]

Mr. Strother reported, from the committee of Propositions and Grievances, that the committee had, according to order, had under their consideration, the petition of Col. George Rogers Clarke, together with an Indian deed to him, for a certain tract of land therein mentioned, to them referred, and had agreed upon a report and come to several resolutions thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same were again read, and are as followeth:

It appears to this committee, that the said Col. George Rogers Clarke, hath rendered great services to this Commonwealth, not only in reducing the British posts at the Kaskaskies and St. Vincent's, and engaging the inhabitants there to become citizens of this Commonwealth; but also in defeating the machinations of our enemies, by attaching to our interest, many heretofore hostile tribes of Indians, and thereby saving the inhabitants of the western frontiers of this and the neighboring States, from a cruel and destructive Indian war, meditated by the British officers against them.

It also appears to this committee, that the said Indian tribes inhabiting the country upon the Obache, and the adjacent waters of the Ohio, as a testimony of their great regard for the said Col. Clarke, and their friendship to Virginia, and the other United States of America, made him a deed of conveyance, bearing date the sixteenth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine, for a certain tract of land at the falls on the northwest side of the Ohio river, of seven miles and a half square, containing about thirty six thousand acres, which is registered in the records of the court of St. Vincent's; that, although this Commonwealth hath the undoubted right of pre-emption from the Indians, of all

lands within its own territory, and the said deed not being valid in law, Col. Clarke disclaims any title under it unless the same shall be confirmed to him by the legislature. Yet this committee, upon considering the allegations in the said petition, are of opinion, that the said tract of land ought to be granted to the said Col. Clarke, for the consideration money of twenty pounds for every hundred acres, reserving for the public use one thousand acres thereof, in the most convenient part, for a fort and town.

Whereupon, your committee came to the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, That the said petition is reasonable; and that the register of the land office, ought to be empowered to grant unto the said Col. George Rogers Clarke, upon the auditor's certificate of the payment of the sum of seven thousand pounds current money, into the treasury; a special warrant directed to the surveyor of Kentucky county, authorising and requiring him, to lay off and survey, for the said Col. Clarke, the said tract of land, to contain thirty-six thousand acres, according to the following bounds, viz: beginning on the northwest side of the Ohio river, opposite to the middle of the first Island below the falls, and extending thence, up the said river, according to the several courses and meanders thereof, so far as upon reducing the same to a straight line, will measure seven miles and a half; thence into the woods by a course at right angles, with the said reduced lines, so far as by running a line parallel with the said reduced line, seven miles and a half; and from thence to the beginning, will include between the back line and the meanders of the river, the aforesaid quantity of thirty six thousand acres; and upon the return of the plat and certificate, of the said survey, into the land office, and payment of the legal fees, that the Governor be empowered and required to make a grant for the same, unto the said Col. George Rogers Clarke, his heirs and assigns, with a clause or clauses therein, expressly excepting and reserving, for the public use and benefit, the quantity of one thousand acres of land, bounded as follows: beginning on the river side, one hundred and sixty poles below the lower part of the falls, or greatest fall of water; and running thence up the river, according to its several meanders, one hundred and sixty poles above the hammock of drift trees, at the upper end of the said falls; and from thence into the woods by a course at right

angles, from the courses of the river, reduced to a straight line, so far as by running a line parallel thereto, and of the same length with the said reduced line; and from thence a line at right angles to the begining, will include between the back line and the meanders of the river, the said quantity of one thousand acres.

RESOLVED, AS THE OPINION OF YOUR COMMITTEE, That the said tract of land ought to be exempted from the payment of taxes, until the adjacent lands on the same side of the Ohio river shall be settled, which is at present prohibited, and taxes imposed on them.

The first resolution was read a second time, and disagreed to by the House.

The second resolution was read a second time, and disagreed to by the House.

PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF VINCENNES TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, June 30, 1781.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

Requette presenté a son Exellence le Gouverneur De Virginie par les habitants de S^{t} Vincenne pais Ilinois.

Les Soussignés ont l'honneur presenter a votre Exellence les plus Interessant Grief qu'ils ont a Exposé depuis Larrive des troupes de Virginie en ce pays et Surtout depuis que Monsieur le Col Clark a quitter cette Ville nous avons Essuyer les traitements les plus affreux d'un peuples qui c'est annoncé amis et que nous

[*Translation.*][2]

Petition of the inhabitants of Vincennes to the Governor of Virginia.

The undersigned have the honor to present to your Excellency, the very serious grievances to which they have been exposed, since the arrival of the Virginia troops in this country; and especially since Colonel Clark left this town have we experienced most horrible treatment from a people who professed to be friends and

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 192.

[2] Translation by the editor. A translation is also given in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 192.

avons Recûe Genereusement en Cette qualitè, mais les Circonstansce on Changé totalement depuis le depart de Cette officier il a Commis en son absence le Col Montgomery qui na pas Suivis Ses principes amity que les officiers de sa Garnison.

Nous avous fournis avec Zéle nos provisions et Marchandise autant qu'il a Eté a notre pouvoir, le Col Clark a payé en Echange tirés sur le trésor de Virginie qui Sont encore a payer les officiers authorise pour les finances et autres ont assure avec célérité queles Monoies Continental Etoit Valeur En Metail, nous avons Eû la Bonne foy [?] de les Recevoir pour tel, Lorsque les Virginiens nous ont Donnes quelques Suspission du descredit de ses Monoie nous avons fait nos Réprésentation au Col Clark et aux officiers de sa Garnison qui ont ne'anmoins soutenu ces Monnoie pour Valeur a celles Despagne Se^{r} Jonk Todd de Concert avec le Cap^{n} Leonard Helm Commandant le fort de Cette ville a fait publier authentiquement de Recevoir Ses Monoie pour Valeur en Métail et Même avec menace de punition a qui' conque les Rufuseroit; Lorsque nous avons Eû fournis pour ces Monoie Toutes nos provisions et marchandise; les Virginians ont Crû de permettre de nous prendre

[*Translation.*]

whom we generously received as such. But conditions have totally changed since the departure of that officer. He left in command Colonel Montgomery who, with his officers, has failed to carry out his friendly policy.

We have zealously furnished provisions and goods as far as was in our power. Colonel Clark has paid by drafts on the treasurer of Virginia which remain unpaid. The accredited officers of finance and others have assured us that continental money was of equal value with coin, and we accepted the same in good faith. When the Virginians gave us cause to be suspicious of their money, we remonstrated with Colonel Clark and the officers of the garrison, who, notwithstanding this fact, claimed for this money its value in Spanish coin. Mr. John Todd with Captain Leonard Helm, commanding the fort at this town, has caused to be published that this money be received as of equal value with specie, threatening with punishment all who refused it. As soon as we had furnished provisions and goods for this money, the Virginians appeared to

derive force nos Biens et nos Vivres et même le peut que nous. Reservions a nous alimenter Votre Exellence saura de plus qu'a prés Ses premieres Vexassion ils en ont commis d'autre plus Viollente en tuant nos Bêtes a Cornes dans les Champs nos pourceaux dans nos Cours prendre nos farinne dans les moulius nos mây dans nos Greniers Les armes a la main et coucher Enjoue ceux des notres qui vouloit y opposer, de'truire un fort que nous avons faite a nos frais et L'ors qu'ils ont partis de cette Ville ont Enporte les artillerie poudre Boulets nous etant tout Moyen de nous Deffendre de la fureur des Sauvages qu'ils nous ont Supite [?] En guerre avec Eux Voila la façon que les Virginiens se sont Comporté En cette contré Voila Exactement la pure Verité que Votre Exellence aura peine a Croire voila ce que chargeons Mr. Vaucheres devous Représenter de notre part et demander a votre Exellence a nous Rendre La Justice qui En dûe au sujet qui'ce Sont crûe amis des Etats et nous faire Restituer le Montant [?] de nos papiers que nous avons Recûe pour le peru.

Nous prions aussi Votre Exellence de donner vos ordres au

[*Translation.*]

think they could take by force our property, our supplies, and even the little we had reserved to keep ourselves alive. Your Excellency must also be informed, that after these first injuries, they have perpetrated others of a more serious character, by killing our cattle in the fields, and our hogs in our yards, taking our flour from the mills, and the corn in our granaries, with arms in their hands threatening all who should resist them and the destruction of the fort we built at our own expense. When they left the town they carried off the artillery, powder and balls, thereby depriving us of the only means of defending ourselves against the fury of the savages whom they have excited against us. This, then, is the manner in which the Virginians have acted in this country. This is the exact truth which your Excellency will hardly believe. This is what we charge M. Vaucheres to lay before you in our behalf and to demand of your Excellency to render us the justice which is due to subjects who believed themselves citizens and friends of the States, and to make adequate return for the money we have received as of the value of specie.

We beseech your Excellency to give your command to the

troupes a fin de faire finir leur Véxassion qui Continûe encore présentement Nous ne voulons plus Souffrir ses Etranges Exactions par ses Revoltant procedé et Son Excllence Voira que les Virginiens nous ont Entierrement Ruinés et c'est que vous traités vos amis quel traitement Reservé vous a vos Ennemis; Nous demandons a votre Exellence de mettre fin a nos malheurs et nous Rendre La Justice que notre patience Merite.

Vous assurant avec quel profond Respect nous avons L'honneur dêtre.

J M Legrass Lieut Col	Isreal Ruland
Godefroy Linetot M^{jr}	p pellebert
f Bosseron Maj^{r}	Pierre Gamelin
Pierre Cournoyer	Pierre Guerier
Legrand	P^{re} mallet
dagenet	Moses Henry
P Barron	L. E. Delisle
F^{re} Barois	jean Batiste Wallaite

A Vincenne 30' Jen 1781

[*Translation.*]

troops in order that they put an end to the injuries which still continue. We are unwilling longer to submit to these strange exactions incident to their lawless proceedings, and his Excellency will see that the Virginians have entirely ruined us already; and if it be thus you treat your friends, what treatment do you reserve for your enemies? We must ask that your Excellency put an end to our misfortunes, and render us the justice our patience deserves.

Assuring you of our profound respect,

We have the honor to be &c

J. M. P. Le Gras Lieut: Colo.	Israel Ruland.
Geoffrey Linctot Mjr.	Phillibert
F. Bosseron Mjr.	Pierre Gamelin
Pierre Cornoyee	Pierre Guerier
Legrand	Pierre Mallet
Dagenet	Moses Henry
P. Barron	L. E. Delisle
François Barrois	Jean Baptiste Wallaite

Vincennes, June 30, 1781.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON, July 3, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 5QQ38.—L. S.]

RICHMOND July 3d 1780

SIR

The measures you have taken for the preservation of the Lead mines by calling in the militia of Montgomery Washington and Botetourt are as wise as could have been advised, and as effectual as in the present State of things can be administered. The distress of the Western Frontier is much too general to confine Crocketts battalion to a single part. It is indispensably necessary that he proceed to aid in taking posts to cover the Western Country & occasionally to join Colo Clarke. as little are we able to send any assistance from below the blue ridge as from that Country 5000 Militia are marched and to be marched to Carolina. It is in our power therefore only to approve of your calling on the militia of the Counties before mentioned; and in order to enforce your calls I write to the Lieutenants of Washington & Botetourt. Colo William Campbell is lately gone up to undertake an expedition of another kind. As it now appears more necessary to turn his arms against our internal enemies, I write to him to do so, former experience having proved him very equal to such a duty. In this as in other cases generally active offensive enterprises are to be preferred. It will probably be better to seek the insurgents & suppress them in their own settlements than to await their coming, as time and Space to move in will perhaps increase their numbers. however at this distance we cannot pretend to give precise orders, but leave the direction of proper measures to the discretion of those who will be in command. Should exigencies require it you will extend your call of Militia to such other Counties as may be necessary.

I am Sir Your very humble servt

TH: JEFFERSON

[*Endorsed:*] Governours letter July 3d 1780 came to hand the 18th July

J. M. P. Le Gras to Clark, August 1, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J54.—A. L. S.]

St Vincenne 1st Augt 1780.

Sir

It seems by Messrs Lajeunesse & Gamelin's reports to me that you have refused to give them a Certificate concerning my bills of exchange. The Governor & Counsel of Virginia have refused to pay me for want of such Certificate. they are in doubt if your intention was to draw for hard Cash or for limber dollars; it is very hard after what trouble I had the quantity of money I have spended to retrieve my own that I must be yet in danger of losing all; I have nevertheless furnished this very day one hundred weight of flour to discharged soldiers going to the Falls of Oyo not knowing who shall pay for it; and I am every day obliged to pay Sums of Money to different people for which I was Security for the State

I have the honor to be with respect Sir Your most obedt and most Humble Servant

J. M. P. Legras

P. S. having advanced all my fortune to the State I will be obliged to go again to Virginia, if not paid, or go and hide myself in Some remoted part of the world, not being able to pay my debts; this I hope you will take into consideration, and be my friend.

Colo G. R. Clark Esqr

[*Addressed:*] To Colo R. Clark Commandant falls of Oyo

[*Endorsed:*] Col Legras Vencennes

John Dodge to Thomas Jefferson, August 1, 1780.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 367.]

Fort Jefferson August 1st 1780.

Sir

I think it my indispensable duty to lay before you a true state of our situation in this Country since my arrival, which probably may throw some lights on the various reports, which may reach

you through channels not so well acquainted with its real wants as I am.

On my arrival at the Falls of the Ohio, Col° John Todd gave me instructions to proceed to Kaskaskies, in order to take charge of the goods when arrived, which were purchased by M^r^ Lindsay for this department, with farther orders to divide them into two parcels, one of which for the troops, and the other to be disposed of to our friendly indian allies: considering it better to sell them on reasonable [terms] than dispose of them in gifts—Horses and ammunition, being articles much wanted for the Troops, I contracted for and received a quantity of lead and some horses, before the arrival of the goods, and having discretionary powers, was constrained to accept of orders drawn on me for provisions which could not otherwise be obtained. Since the goods came into my hands, the troops and Inhabitants at this place not having received the expected supplies from Government, and being well assured that without some timely relief, the post and settlement must be evacuated, I was also constrained at divers times to issue quantities of the goods intended to be disposed of to our indian allies, in order to furnish them with the means of subsistence.

The few troops that are now here are too inconsiderable to guard themselves: nor are the inhabitants much better, notwithstanding they remain in great spirits in expection of relief from Government, and have with great bravery defeated a very large party of Savages who made a regular attack on the village, at day break on the morning of the 17^th^ ult°.

Col° Clark has divided his few men in the best manner possible so as to preserve the Country. the apprehension of a large body of the enemy in motion from detroit towards the falls of Ohio, has called him there with what men he could well spare from this Country, before he had well breathed after the fatigues of an expedition up the Missisippi—and Col° Crockett not arriving with either men or provisions, as was expected, has really involved both the troops and settlers in much distress, and greatly damped the spirits of industry in the latter, which till lately was so conspicuous—I see no other alternative, from the present appearance of our affairs, but that the few goods I have left, after supplying the troops, must all go for the purchase of provisions

to keep this settlement from breaking up: and how I shall ever support my credit, or acquit myself of the obligations I have bound myself under, to those of whom I have made purchases for the troops before the arrival of the Goods, I know not—Our Credit is become so weak among the French inhabitants, our own, and the spaniards on the opposite side of the Mississippi, that one dollars' worth of provision or other supplies cannot be had from them without prompt payment, were it to save the whole Country—by which you will perceive, that without a constant and full supply of Goods in this quarter to answer the exigencies of Government, nothing can ever be well affected but in a very contracted manner.

I observe that the distance the settlers, who come in general, to this Country, have to travel, impoverishes them in a great degree. They come at the expence of their all, in full hopes and expectations of being assisted by Government. Were these hopes cherished and supplies of necessaries of all kinds furnished them in the manner of the neighboring Spaniards, to be paid in produce such as might answer for the troops or for exportation, many good consequences would be attendant. emigrants, on such encouragement, would flock to us in numbers instead of submitting to the Spanish Yoke—the principal part of their new settlements would join us. all those from the Natchez in particular, only wait the encouraging invitation to remove themselves and their properties to our settlement, preferring the mildness of our laws to the rigours of the Spanish, which they detest, notwithstanding their great offers. Such encouragement would be a spur to industry which would never die. The troops would in a little time, be solely furnished in provisions by our settlers, and in process of time, a valuable trade might be opened with the overplus.

These hints I beg leave to offer to your own better judgement conscious, that if they are worthy of notice you will direct their proper uses.

I have got a party of the friendly savages of the Kaskaskie tribe to hunt and scout for us—they are of singular service, as the provisions in store, are totally exhausted, and indeed their hunting tho', it may afford an useful, yet it is a very precarious supply.

As to the general disposition of these indians in alliance with us,

it appears at present to be very peaceable; but as poverty is always subject to temptation, I fear their good intentions may be seduced by those who have it more in their power to supply their wants, being well convinced of the necessity of having proper supplys for them, which will not only keep them in our interest, but even afford us a very beneficial traffic.

The bearer of this travels to the falls of Ohio, thro' the wood. I am uncertain what the fate of my letter will be, as I know he has a dangerous and tedious journey before him—however, by the next opportunity I shall do myself the honor of writing to your Excellency a few more of my observations, begging leave once more, to remark the necessity of keeping at all times, full supplies of goods in this remote quarter, in order to forward the service of Government encourage the settlement of the frontiers, supply our troops with necessaries, provisions &c, and finally open a very profitable and extensive trade in little time.

Forgive the freedom of my remarks, which you will please to do me the honor to correct.

I have the honor to be Your Excellencys' most obedient and most humble servant &c &c.

JOHN DODGE

MEMORIAL OF THE INHABITANTS OF VINCENNES TO THE FRENCH MINISTER, LUZERNE, August 22, 1780.

[C. A., Ser. B., Vol. 184, 421.]

Requête adressée à Son Excellence Monsieur le Chevallier de la Luzerne ministre plenipotentiaire de sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, près des Etats Unis de L'Amérique par des Habitans du poste de Vincenne du 22e aoust 1780.

[*Translation.*][1]

Memorial addressed to his Excellency M. the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Christian Majesty to the United States of America by the inhabitants of the Post Vincennes, August 22, 1780.

[1] Translation by the editor. For the declaration of the people of Cahokia, see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 535 *et seq;* and for a similar declaration from the people of Kaskaskia, see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, V.), 189 *et seq.*, 199 *et seq.*

Du profond de leur coeur et avec la franchise qui caractérise tous bons françois, les Habitans du Poste Vincennes, cy-devant fidels sujets du Roy de France osent protester à Votre Excellence, qu'ils sont prêts à se joindre aux Troupes de ce Monarque Leur ancien et très digne Souverain pour agir sincerement contre ses ennemis quels qu'ils soient. Que rien ne peut etre plus conforme à Leur inclination, aux voeux qu'ils font pour Elle et pour Leur Liberté; enfin qu'ils font serment par tout ce qu'il y a de plus sacré pour les hommes, de vivre et de mourir dans ces principes.

Il est important de faire scavoir à Votre Excellence, que nous sommes en tres bonne intelligence avec les François Etablis au Détroit, et ceux-cy avec les Canadiens nos parents et amis; qu'ils attendent unanimement que nous commencions les hostilités; parce que nous ne sommes plus sous la domination des Anglois, et qu'un grand nombre d'indiens veulent se joindre à nous. C'est à quoy nous sommes bien disposé, mais entierement dénué de munitions de guerre et des Marchandises necessaires pour faire présent aux nations indiennes qui nous sont afidées: notre bonne volonté à cet Egard reste sans Effet.

[*Translation.*]

From the bottom of their hearts and with the frankness which characterizes all good Frenchmen, the inhabitants of the Post Vincennes, formerly faithful subjects of the king of France, dare to avow to your Excellency, that they are ready to join the troops of this monarch their former and most worthy lord to act sincerely against his enemies whoever they may be. Nothing could conform more to their desire, to the vows which they have made for it and for their liberty. Finally they swear by all that is most sacred to men, to live and die with these principles.

It is important to acquaint your Excellency that we are in intercourse with the French established at Detroit, and these with our relatives and friends, the Canadians; that they wait unanimously for us to commence hostilities, because we are no longer under the dominion of the English, and because a large number of Indians wish to join us. That is why we look upon this with favor; but find ourselves entirely without ammunition and the goods necessary for gifts to the Indian nations who are allied to us; our good will in this respect has no effect.

Il est d'autant plus affligeant pour nous de manquer de moyens dans une occurrence aussy favorable à nos desseins et propre à nos intérêts, que nos amis du Detroit esperent chaque jour nous voir arriver chez eux pour les delivrer d'un Esclavage qui leur devient de plus en plus insuportable. Leurs Tirants les accablent de Corvées; ils les forcent sous de griéves peines d'aller en guerre contre les Ameriquains alliés de la France, enfin nous apprenons qu'ils sont tellement excedés, et que la Dureté de leur sorts est tellement desesperante que, des qu'ils appercevront le moindre secours ils prendront incontinent les armes, et avec eux Beaucoup d'indiens que les François ont eu soin de captiver autant qu'il leur a été possible de le faire, en egard à la mediocrité de leur fortune.

Il est bon de prevenir Votre Excellence, que ce n'est point sur l'assistance des Trouppes des Etats Unis que nous comptons pour secouer le joug qui nous opprime outre que les Indiens ne peuvent pas les souffrir et que leur aversion envers eux semble indomptable, nous croyons unanimement qu'il est de saine politique de ne point les recevoir dans nos contrées ou le sang anglois est deja trop abondant.

[*Translation.*]

It is still more unbearable for us to lack means on such a favorable occurrence to our plans and even to our interests, that our friends of Detroit hope each day to see us arrive among them to deliver them from a slavery which is becoming more and more unbearable. Their tyrants crush them with taxes; they force them under severe punishment to go to war against the American allies of France; finally we learn that they are so abused, and their condition is so hopeless, that from the moment they see the least help, they will take up arms at once, and with them many Indians whom the French were careful to win over in as far as their scanty means allowed.

It is well to warn your Excellency, that it is not on the assistance of the United States troops that we count to break the yoke which oppresses us. Besides the fact that the Indians can not bear them and their aversion towards them seems unbreakable, we all believe that the best policy would be not to receive them in our lands, where English blood is already too abundant.

Nous ne voulons n'y indiens qui font cause commune avec nous etre dominé, ceux-cy nous abandonnent la Culture de leurs sols, de notre Côté nous voulons les secourir dans leur besoin, par nos travaux, notre industrie et notre commerce avec eux.

Une fois que nous aurons expulsé nos Tirans et que la France voudra bien reconnaitre notre absolue independance, ses alliés seront les notre; et comme nous n'avons rien de plus à coeur, que de donner des preuves, non equivoques, de la respectueuse et tendre affection que nous avons conservé pour le Roy de France, notre ancien Souverain, que nous nous reposons entierement sur sa Bienveillance, ses volontés seront Constamment notre Règle à cet Egard.

Votre Excellence n'ignore surement pas que les François Etablis sur ce continent, ont déja singulièrement souffert, qu'ils ont eu une foule d'obstacles à surmonter, qu'ils ont été cent fois la proix et les innocentes Victimes des guerres sussités par les Anglois, jaloux de la prosperité de notre Commerce avec les Indiens.

Libres, nous pourons mettre cent mille hommes sous les armes, les indiens deux cent mille pour la même cause; consequemment

[*Translation.*]

We do not wish the Indians who have a common cause with us to be dominated; they abandon the cultivation of their fields to us, and on our side we wish to help them in their need by our works, our industry, and our commerce with them.

When we shall have expelled our tyrants and France shall have recognized our absolute independence, her allies shall be ours; and, since we have nothing more in our hearts than to show proof, not doubtful, of the respectful and tender affection which we have kept for the King of France, our former ruler, and since we place ourselves entirely under his protection, his wishes shall always be our rule.

Your Excellency surely knows that the French established on this continent have suffered extremely, that they have had a large amount of obstacles to surmount, that they have been a hundred times innocent victims and prey of wars undertaken by the English jealous of the prosperity of our trade with the Indians.

Free, we can put one hundred thousand men in the field, the Indians two hundred thousand for the same cause; consequently,

secouru par l'assistance que nous prions instamment le Roy, nôtre pere commun, de Vouloir bien nous donner suivant les occurrences, nous esperons sous peu Le devenir et compter parmy les Nations Européenes qui se sont fixés sur ce vaste continent.

Des lors nous jouirons des travaux et des sacrifices qu'ont fait nos prédécesseurs, nous serons plus dignes du nom françois que nous portons avec orgueil, et pour lequel nous sommes prêts à tout Entreprendre.

Peut etre que Votre Excellence n'a-t-elle pas été bien informé de l'espece de service que les Trouppes des Etats Unis, nous ont rendu dans cette guerre, il sera bien de luy en donner Succinctement une Esquisse.

A la tête d'une petite armée des Etats Unis, Le général Montgomery arrivé affamé en Canada; loin de faire la maoindre résistance les Habitans reçoivent, alimentent officiers et soldats, ils demandent même les armes pour agir unanimement contre les Anglois; mais on leur en refuse, on veut avoir toute la gloire, cueillir tous les Lauriers, on veut conquerir, que fit-on? Une

[*Translation.*]

aided by the assistance which we ask now from the King, our common father, to give to us as the events may require, we hope in a short time to become a power and count among the European nations established on this vast continent.

From that moment we shall enjoy the works and sacrifices which our predecessors made, we shall be more worthy of the name French, which we bear with pride, and for which we are ready to undertake everything.

Perhaps your Excellency has not been well informed concerning the kind of service which the United States troops rendered us in this war; it will be well to give your Excellency a brief outline of it. At the head of a small United States army, General Montgomery arrived starving in Canada; far from making the least resistence the inhabitants received and supported officers and soldiers, and even asked for arms to act unanimously against the English; but this was refused; they wished to have all the glory, to gather all the laurels, and to conquer. What happened?

apparition subite, une retraite trop promte pour n'etre pas appelé fuite, des dettes considerables qui sont encore à payer, le malheur de plusieurs familles qui se sont expatriées, et ont rendit les Bretons beaucoup plus surveillants envers nous.

De son Coté l'Etat de Virginie poussé d'un zele par trop ardent à notre Egard, ce zele qu'on peut legallement appeller indiscret, nous a envoyé environ 200 hommes vetues comme les graces a demy nud. Les guerriers ainsy equippés, marchoient sous les ordres du Col: Clark qui venoient nous affranchir et enlever quelques officiers soutenus d'une très foible division de soldats anglois Votre Excellence verra cy apres le resultat de cette officieuse Démarche.

Ces trouppes venoient, disoient-elles de la part des François du Congrès; dès lors personne ne s'avise de faire resistance, au contraire on se joint à elles, on va du devant on s'enrolle sous leurs Etendarts, on leur aide à prendre les Anglois, on contient les Indiens qui ne vouloient pas les souffrir, on se dépouille enfin en faveur d'une nation qui se dit être alliée de la france.

[*Translation.*]

A sudden appearance, a retreat too prompt not to be called a flight, considerable debts which are not yet paid, the misfortune of several families which exiled themselves, and the British becoming more watchful over us.

On the other side Virginia acting with a zeal too ardent for our interests, this zeal which can legally be called indiscreet, sent us about two hundred men half naked like the graces. The warriors thus equipped, marched under the orders of Colonel Clark, who came to free us and capture a few officers upheld by a small detachment of English soldiers. Your Excellency will see hereafter the result of this officious undertaking.

These troops, said they, came on behalf of the French and of Congress. From that time no one thought it best to resist; on the contrary, all joined them; we met them half way and enrolled under their colors; we helped capture the English; we restrained the Indians who wished to resist; and finally; we gave up all for a people who claimed to be allied with France.

La reconnoissance fut de tout les tems une vertu, votre Excellence va juger combien les Virginiens L'honorent.

Ils n'ont rien eu de plus pressé que d'infecter ce pais cy de leur monoye de papier, qu'ils annonçoient egale en valeur aux especes en métal que nous avons eu la *bonne hommie de* recevoir comme tel.

Ils ont acheté toutes nos marchandises nos chevaux, nos provisions avec le prétendu argent, et quand nous ne pouvions leur en fournir ils ont eu l'audace d'aller armés dans les moulins publics, et dans les greniers des differentes maisons, Enlever de vive force des farines ou les grains destinés à nous alimenter.

Non content de ces violences, ils ont crû devoir s'en permettre d'une autre espece ils ont été dans les prairies tué nos Bêtes à Cornes à coup de mousquets, les pourceaux dans les rues, dans les basse-cours, et de plus menacer et coucher en joue meme ceux des habitants qui vouloient empecher ces etranges Extractions.

Par ces revoltants procédes, il résulte donc, que les Virginiens nous ont entierement ruinés, qu'ils nous attiré la guerre avec quelques nations des Lacs; dont environ vingt infortunés habitans

[*Translation.*]

Gratitude has always been a virtue. Your Excellency will see how the Virginians honor it.

They hastened to flood this country with their paper money, which they said was equal in value to the metal coins and we were good natured enough to accept it as such.

They bought all our goods, our horses, our provisions with the pretended money; and when we could not furnish them with any more, they had the audacity to go armed into the public mills and into the granaries of different houses to take away by force flour or grain destined for our food.

Not satisfied with this violence, they thought they had the privilege of a different sort of abuse. They went and shot our cattle in the fields and our pigs in the streets and in the yards; and what is worse, they menaced and struck on the cheek those inhabitants, who wished to stop these strange extractions.

By these revolting proceedings therefore it has come about that the Virginians have entirely ruined us, and have brought war on us with several lake tribes, from which about twenty unfortunate

sont deja Victimes, qu'ils nous ont laissé sans moyens de defense par l'exportation des armes et des munitions de guerre qu'ils ont envoyé à leurs forts, en sorte que les indiens du Ouabache qui nous sont fidels et qui sont notre Boulevard, nations auxquelles nous ne pouvons plus en fournir sont obligées de chasser avec l'arc, qu'ils nous ont fait évader plus de cent jeunes gens, qui sont allés chercher des ressources ailleur, qu'ils nous ont réduits à abandonner la Culture de nos Terres, en partie, crainte d'y etre egorgé, par les parties qui y viennent nous surprendre en renards, et qu'ils ont été cause de la perte d'un grand et intrépide chef indien qui a été tué en vengeant les notres, perte irréparable pour laquelle nous gémissons avec les nations qui nous sont attachés.

Ho Virginiens! si c'est ainsy que vous en usez avec les anciens et fidels sujets d'un Roy puissant Votre allié, si c'est ainsy que vous voulez nous enrichir, nous affranchir, nous rendre heureux, abandonnez nous à la rigueur de notre sort! Si c'est ainsy enfin que vous en agissez avec vos amis, quel traitement destinez vous a vos ennemis?

[*Translation.*]

inhabitants are already victims. They have left us without means of defense by taking away the arms and ammunition which they sent to their forts, so that the Indians of the Wabash who are faithful to us and are our bulwark, tribes to which we can no longer furnish anything, are obliged to hunt with the bow. They have caused more than one hundred young men to leave us, who have gone to find resources in another place. They have forced us to abandon the cultivation of our fields, partly through fear of being killed by parties who come there to surprise us as a fox, and they have been the cause of the death of a great and intrepid Indian chief who was killed in avenging our people, an irreparable loss which we mourn as well as the tribes attached to us.

Ho Virginians! if it is thus that you treat the former and faithful subjects of the great King, your ally, if it is thus you wish to enrich us, to free us, to make us happy, leave us to the rigor of our fate! If it is thus, finally, that you act with your friends, what treatment do you have for your enemies!

Voila ce qu'au nom des François nos ancêtres nous avons pu endurer jusqu'icy sans murmurer, Voila l'exacte Verité que Votre Excellence aura surement peine à croire, Voila ce que nous ne pouvons n'y ne voulons plus souffrir à l'avenir, et Voila ce que nous chargeons les Virginiens qui partent de ces contrées pour se rendre sur leurs sols, de faire sçavoir de notre part à leur gouverneur.

D'aprés la trop longue, mais indispensable narration que Votre Excellence vient de voir, nous esperons que loin de désaprouver notre Conduite elle voudra bien nous honorer de bons offices, pour que l'Etat de Virginie nous restitute ce que ses trouppes nous ont ravi contre tous Droits; et présenter au Roy de France les respectueux hommages d'anciens sujets molestés qui réclament la justice avec confiance.

Dans l'adresse que M. le comte d'Estaing nous a fait passer, il nous a promis un appui nous le meritons cet appuy par les sentiments dont nous sommes penetrés; mais quand on refuserois en france de secourir d'anciens compatriotes (chose que nous somme bien éloigné de penser) nous oserons observer à Votre

[*Translation.*]

This is what in the name of the French, our ancestors, we have been able to bear till now without a murmur. This is the exact truth which your Excellency will have trouble in believing. This is what we can not and will not suffer in the future, and this is what we ask the Virginians, who depart from this land to go to their own homes, to make known from us to their governor.

After the too long but indispensable narration which your Excellency has just seen, we hope that far from disapproving our conduct, you will honor us with your favor, so that the state of Virginia may give back that which the troops carried off against all right, and present to the king of France the respectful homage of former subjects who ask justice with confidence.

In the address which the Count d'Estaing has sent us, he promised us a support which we merit by the sentiments which we cherish; but when they refused in France to help former countrymen (a thing which we are far from believing) we dare to say

Excellence que de fortes raisons de politique et d'interet l'exigent imperieusement.

On ne sauroit disconvenir sans choquer la pure Vérité, qu'il ne fut très avantageux à la france de pouvoir disposer à son gré d'un peuple nombreux dont la liberté et l'attachement à elle fut audela de toute' attente et toujours prete à se joindre à ses drapeau au moindre signal lorsque la necessité la requerrera.

La grande Consommation de Marchandise que nous faisons avec les indiens, pour lesquelles on auroit en retour les pelteries, les Bois de Construction, les poissons secs, les farines le tabac de beaucoup superieur à celuy qui cueille la Virginie et le Mariland, les' chevaux le charbon de Terre, Les differentes métaux que fourniroient les mines qu'on a nouvellement decouvertes et que nous pourons aisément exploiter, sont des objets de Commerce nous osons l'avancer desquels la France tireroit annuellement un avantage supérieur à ceux que cette puissance pourra retirer de celuy qu'elle doit faire avec les Etats Unis de l'Amerique.

Nous demandons grace à Votre Excellence pour la Longueur de cet ecrit et la Lenteur que nous avons mis à Luy faire Sçavoir

[*Translation.*]

to your Excellency that strong political reasons and reasons of interest demand it.

It can not be denied, without doing violence to truth, that it was not advantageous to France to be able to dispose at pleasure of a numerous people, whose liberty and attachment for her has been beyond expectation and who have always been ready to join her flag on the least signal when the occasion demanded it.

The great trade which we have with the Indians for which we have in return skins, building wood, dried fish, flour, and tobacco superior to that grown in Virginia and Maryland, horses, coal, different metals which the recently discovered mines furnish and which we can easily work. These are articles of commerce from which, we dare say, France would annually derive more profit than she could from the commerce which she will make with United States of America.

We ask pardon of your Excellency for the length of this writing and the slowness with which we made known to you our true

nos veritables sentiments. Dès son arrivée à Vincenne Monsieur le Colonel de la Balme nous a fait avec raison un crime de notre Silence à cet Egard: mais il veut bien se charger de nous justifier auprès de Votre Excellence en luy remettant notre requete. Le zèle ardent de cet officier françois que nous Voudrions bien fixer parmy nous le porte à employer tout son tems en notre faveur pour nous tirer du danger qui nous menace; il a fait promettre à plusieurs nations indienne de se joindre à nous pour combatre les Anglois et elles ont unanimement chargé cet officier de présenter leurs affections comme leur chef supreme, au Roy de france, leur pere d'interceder pour des secours dont ils ont un urgent besoin, ainsy que nous nous joignons aux peines et au sentiment des Vieillards et des chefs indiens qui donnent sur eux un droit à M. de la Balme; nous avons une entière confiance à cet officier, en peu de tems il a sçu scruter nos coeurs: il nous fera connoitre à Votre Excellence: de notre côté nous promettons ne dementir en rien les témoignages qu'il pourra donner de la pure et inaltérable

[*Translation.*]

sentiments. Since his arrival at Vincennes Colonel de la Balme was right in calling our silence on this matter a crime; he wishes to justify us towards your Excellency by bringing you our request. The ardent zeal of this French officer, whom we wish to stay among us, makes him spend all his time in our favor in order to drag us from the danger which meances us; he has made several Indian tribes promise to join us to fight the English and they have all asked him as their supreme chief to present their affections to the King of France, their father, and to intercede for help for which they have urgent need. Therefore we join ourselves to the troubles and sentiments of the old men and Indian chiefs which make them have a claim on M. de la Blame; we have entire confidence in that officer. In a short time he learned to fathom our hearts; he will make us known to your Excellency. As for us we promise not to belie the proofs that he may give concerning the pure and unalterable affection that the former subjects of a

affection que les anciens sujets d'un Roy plein de Bonté ont conservé pour luy, dès l'epoque ou ils ont été forcement abandonné à Leurs Ennemis.

Voila ce que les habitans de Vincenne prient Votre Excellence de Vouloir bien croire, et recevoir pour sincere le profond Respect avec lequel ils sont de Votre Excellence

Le tres humble et tres obeissants Serviteurs

Joseph André	Antoine Lefevre
Dagenet	Joseph St. Marie
Fr. Mallet	Chalbonneau
Etienne St. Marie	Olivier Jautier
Marcot	Phillibert
Legrand	Gabriel Raulon
Louis Mallet	J. M. Legros, fils
Jean S. Miliette	J. Huberdeau
Pierre Gamelin	

Je Etienne Phillibert dit Orleans déclare que toutes les signatures cicontre sont veritables pour avoir été signé par les susdits, je

[*Translation.*]

King full of goodness have kept for him, from the time when they were forcefully abandoned to their enemies.

This is what the inhabitants of Vincennes pray your Excellency to believe, and receive as sincere the profound respect which they feel for your Excellency,

Very humble & obedient servants

Joseph André	Antoine Lefevre
Dagenet	Joseph St. Marie
Fr. Mallet	Chalbonneau
Etienne St. Marie	Olivier Jautier
Marcot	Phillibert
Legrand	Gabriel Raulon
Louis Mallet	J. M. Le Gras, Junior
Jean S. Miliette	J. Huberdeau
Pierre Gamelin	

I, Etienne Phillibert *dit* Orleans declare that all the above signatures are veritable and signed by the aforesaid. I, notary royal

déclare notaire royal au poste Vincenne signé pour et au nom de tous par leurs propres aveux—Phillibert notaire signé pour et au nom de Tous.

[*Endorsed:*] Requete des habitans du Poste Vincennes au Chevalier Luserne Ministre plenipotentiaire aux Etats de l'Amerique, le 22 Aoust 1780. Reçue à Quebec le 4^{em} Decr. 1780.

[*Translation.*]

at the Post Vincennes, declare it signed for and in the name of all by their own will. Phillibert, notary, signed for and in the name of all.

[*Endorsed:*] Petition of the inhabitants of Vincennes to the Chevalier Luzerne, Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, the 22d of August 1780. Received at Quebec the 4th December, 1780.

CHAPTER XI

CLARK'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SHAWNEE AND EVENTS TO THE CLOSE OF 1780

RE-ENFORCEMENTS TO BE SENT FROM VIRGINIA—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SHAWNEE, AUGUST 2, 1780—DISTRESS OF THE INHABITANTS AT FORT JEFFERSON—SIMILAR CONDITIONS AT THE OTHER WESTERN POSTS.

CLARK TO GOVERNOR JEFFERSON, August 22, 1780.

[From the *Maryland Journal*, October 17, 1780, Draper MSS., 8J136.][1]

LOUISVILLE, August 22d, 1780:[2]

"By every possible exertion, and the aid of Col. Slaughter's corps, we completed the number of 1000, with which we crossed the river at the mouth of Licking on the first day of August, and began our march on the 2d. Having a road to cut for the artillery to pass, for 70 miles, it was the 6th before we reached the first town, which we found vacated, and the greatest part of their effects carried off. The general conduct of the Indians, on our march, and many other corroborating circumstances, proved their design of leading us on to their own ground and time of action. After destroying the crops and buildings of Chillecauthy, we began our march for the Picaway settlements, on the waters of the Big Miami, the Indians keeping runners continually before our advanced guards. At half past two in the evening of the 8th, we arrived in sight of the town and forts, a plain of half a mile in width lying between us. I had an opportunity of viewing the situation and motion of the enemy near their works.

[1] This document was published under the title, "Gen. Clark's Campaign, 1780.—Official Letter. Richmond, (Virginia) Oct 4 Extract of a letter from Col George Rogers Clark to his Excellency the Governor, dated Louisville, August 22d, 1780." The present copy is from the transcription by Dr. Draper.

[2] Compare this account of the expedition against the Shawnee with that given by Henry Wilson, *post*, 476.

I had scarcely time to make those dispositions necessary, before the action commenced on our left wing, and in a few minutes became almost general, with a savage fierceness on both sides. The confidence the enemy had of their own strength and certain victory, or the want of generalship, occasioned several neglects, by which those advantages were taken that proved the ruin of their army, being flanked two or three different times, drove from hill to hill in a circuitous direction, for upwards of a mile and a half; at last took shelter in their strongholds and woods adjacent, when the firing ceased for about half an hour, until necessary preparations were made for dislodging them. A heavy firing again commenced, and continued severe until dark, by which time the enemy were totally routed. The cannon playing too briskly on their works they could afford them no shelter. Our loss was about 14 killed and thirteen wounded; theirs at least triple that number. They carried off their dead during the night, except 12 or 14 that lay too near our lines for them to venture. This would have been a decisive stroke to the Indians, if unfortunately the right wing of our army had [not] been rendered useless for some time by an uncommon chain of rocks that they could not pass, by which means part of the enemy escaped through the ground they were ordered to occupy.

By a French prisoner we got the next morning we learn that the Indians had been preparing for our reception ten days, moving their families and effects: That the morning before our arrival, they were 300 warriors, Shawanese, Mingoes, Wyandotts and Delawares. Several reinforcements coming that day, he did not know their numbers; that they were sure of destroying the whole of us; that the greatest part of the prisoners taken by Byrd, were carried to Detroit, where there were only 200 regulars, having no provisions except green corn and vegetables. Our whole store at first setting out being only 300 bushels of corn, and 1500 of flour; having done the Shawanese all the mischief in our power, after destroying Picawey settlements, I returned to this post, having marched in the whole 480 miles in 31 days. We destroyed upwards of 800 acres of corn, besides great quantities of vegetables, a considerable proportion of which appear to have

been cultivated by white men, I suppose for the purpose of supporting war parties from Detroit. I could wish to have had a small store of provisions to have enabled us to have laid waste part of the Delaware settlements, and falling in at Pittsburg, but the excessive heat, and weak diet, shew the impropriety of such a step. Nothing could excel the few regulars and Kentuckyans, that composed this little army, in bravery, and implicit obedience to orders; each company vying with the other who should be the most subordinate."

CLARK TO JOHN CLARK, August 23, 1780.

[Draper MSS, 46J112.—Facsimile.]

DR SIR This will be handed you by Mr James Sutton who has accompanied me on a late succesful Expedition against the Shawanees in which he done himself much honour the particulars of the Expedition he will give you[1] also the fate of poor Joseph Rogers who lost his Life in the Moment it might have been his power to Rendered his C[ount]ry great service—his fate was fixed no p[ossi]bility of saving him[2] the Shawnees have at last got Defeated and their Cuntrey laid waiste I have been so Ingaged in the war this Summer that it has been out of my power to pay any attention to Lands so that I can give you no Inteligence on that head The partizans in these Cuntries are again Soliciting me to head them as [the]ir Governor General as all those from foreign States are for a new Government but my duty obliging me to Suppress all such proceedings I consequently shall loose the Interest of that party. I learn that the scale of fortune has been against us to the Southward but we are so Inperfectly Informed that we hardly know what to credit. I Refer you to Mr [*MS. torn*] news, after my Compl[iments to] all Friends I beg leave to subscribe my self

Yr Dutifull Son
G R CLARK

LOUISVILLE Augst 23d 1780

[*Addressed:*] Mr. John Clark Caroline Co. Va.

[1] For the expedition against the Shawnee see Introduction, cxxxvii; also *post*, 476.

[2] See *post* 482; also English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 683.

PAY ROLL OF CAPTAIN BOONE'S COMPANY, July 17—August 17, 1780.

[Clark MSS.—Va. State Archives.]

	Entered July 17th 1780	Discharged	In Service	pay per day		Totall - - -		
Squire Boone Capt	Ensign	17th August	31 days	5/	8/	7	15	0
John Stapleton- Sergt	do	do	31 do	Killed lately		3	2	
John Hinton- - Do -	do	do	31 do	Removed		2	1	
Adam Wheekerham Private	do	do	31 do	at 16d	1/4	2	1	4
Charles Doleman	do	do	31 do		do	2	1	4
Abraham Holt	do	do	31 do		do	2	1	4
Peter Wickesham	do	do	31 do		do	2	1	4
Abram Vanmeter	do	do	31 do		do	2	1	4
Jeremiah Harras	do	do	22 do		do	2	1	4
Richd Cates	do	killed August 8th	31 do		do	1	9	4
John McCadden	do	ent. 17th Augt	31 do		do	2	1	4
Joseph Eastwood	do	do	31 do	Newriver	do	2	1	4
James Kirkpatrick	do	do	31 do		do	2	1	4
George Yunt	do	do	31 do		do	2	1	4
	SQUIRE BOONE					£39	1	*[torn out]*

31 days Serj ..... £ 3.2.0
do Serjeant 3.2.0
do private 2.1.4

Amt £35.1.0

This day came before me Capt Squire Boone and made Oath that the above pay role is truly made out and the pay arising thereon is justly due to the within name Meliti men given under my hand this 28 day of January *[torn out]*

MORRIS HANSBROUGH

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, September 8, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J56.—L. S.]

RICHMOND Sep 8th 1780.

SIR Your Letters of July by Mr Randolph came safe to hand. In a former letter to you on the Subject of this summer's operations (which I hear you never received) I informed you that the County Lieutenants to whom I had referred to determine on a plan of co-operating with their militia had estimated the expence at 1,995,000 pounds a greater sum that we had in our treasury, could every other demand of money for government have been suspended. this of course negatived the attempt on a large scale for this season: and indeed no wealth of which we have a prospect will enable us to undertake an expedition on their estimate, while the war continues to the Eastward. I have no doubt whatever but this estimate might by a judicious hand be greatly abridged. Thus disappointed of our first wish, we determined to order 280 militia out, with Colo Crockets men, who tho' principally intended to be stationed at posts, were yet made subject to your orders & expected to be employed by you in active enterprises as long as the season would admit. Colo Crocket will now march within a few days. in order that you might be supplied with provisions from the inhabited country between the blue ridge & Ohio a Commissary & Quarter master (Mr Boush) was appointed at Winchester and another (Evan Baker) in Washington with orders to forward their provision to you. from the former I have heard nothing. the latter is preparing necessaries for Colo Crocket's march. Our late misfortunes to the Southward will be related to you by Mr Randolph. they occasion great calls on our militia & will compleatly disable us from further strengthening you this season. I am to ask the favor of you to countersign all demands for money which arise under you. We have been obliged to decline many, which very possibly might be just, because they were drawn by persons unknown to us, & for services perhaps not authorized by you. The Militia accounts incurred in the expedition you are now engaged in must come to the auditors authenticated in the same way. Some Draughts brought by Mr Randolph have been rejected for this reason. Yours & Major Slaughter's are duly

honoured: there happened an unlucky circumstance for the owners of the latter. the Assembly had raised the price of land by a law which was not to take place but on my receiving a certain matter of information & then proclaiming it. I happened to be from this place a fortnight. during my absence this information came, as did M^r^ Randolph. he had occasion to leave town. I returned & withheld the proclamation two days waiting for his return that the peoples orders might be paid off and their money laid out as they had directed in lands at the old price. Unluckily he did not come for several days, & we were obliged to proclaim the law, which put it out of our power to relieve them.

As to the choice of the situation on the Mississippi we leave it still, as before, to yourself altogether. I wish it were possible to engage the Piankishaws in war against the British Indians. Should the ammunition sent and to be sent this year to the Westward be insufficient, we will send a further quantity if desired by you.

I am Sir with great esteem & respect Your most obed^t^ hble Servant

TH JEFFERSON

COL° CLARKE

JOHN MONTGOMERY TO CLARK, September 22, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J58.—A. L.]

FORT CLARK, Sept 22^th^ 1780

DEAR COLO^L^

SIR—I had the pleasure of Receving your Letter By M^r^ Glen & Exceeding hapey to hear of your Sucses & Espeshiley of your safe ARivel and now By Express send you Cap^t^ Georges Letter Which will Give the nues as Nothing Elce has hapened Elce Where in this part of the Cuntrey But at his post.[1] The second nite after the atact Begun, he sent Me an Express By Jack Ash & an indian Came To Me in four dayes at Kaskaskia Where I had Just arived from kohos. I had no Trupes With Me But three officers that Came to ascort Me down I aplied to the Militia to Goin Me to Go to the Assistance of That distresed post But there answer Was they thot it thier dutey to Stay and Take Care of their Wives and

[1] Captain Robert George was in charge at Fort Jefferson.

Children: I then had No Other Shift But to Aply To the kaskaskia indians to Go With Me as I thot it imprudent to Wate until The Trupes Could Come from kahoe I then Amediately imberked With som provision ten White Men & Sixtey five indians With a determination to fite our way into The fort But Expected to lose our provision as the thorrowfair is Dried up and not adraup of Mesepie [Mississippi] With in half Amile of the fort but When We Got there the Enemye had Quite their Atact The inhabitunts semed Much discurraged and Were all prepering their Botes to start of But I preveled on them to Wate untill next Morning When I Assemleld them to Gether Telling them the Bad Consequence of Going to a strange please With out aney Thing to purchase provision & Living under a despotick Goverment as Liberty wos What the had Contended For telling them that Evey promis you had Mead them that I then wos Redey To proform in your Absence the Answer they Maide Me Wos, how Cold I Expect them or Request them to stay When their Stockes Wos intirely Lost Theire Cropes destroyed & worst of all A great part of there Fameleys Gone To the Grave of all Silance With Sickelyness; &, Sir knowing that to be a truth as Everey day I Remeaned there one two or Three Wos Buried Which threw Humanity I Could not Compell them To stay But prevelled on som of the principal inhabitents to Remean & som others to take the Rout up to this post and the Remender went Down. as soone as I Got Matters alittle Setled I Came up to purchase a Quantity of provision as I had the The Oppertunity of purchasing a Quantitey of Goods that M^{r} Pollock Offered us the Refusel of at A most Exorbetent prise But you know Needs Must When the devel drives As We Could not Git one Mouthful on the Credit of the state the Goods I have deposited in Capt Dodges hands With in structions to purchase Alarge Quantitey of Corn flower & Salt But I Much despair in his Giting The Quantitey desired as theire Cropes Wos Mean, I Expect to start in a few Dayes with the Ballance of the trupes From Kaho to Campt Gefferson Except Capt Rogers Companey ho I have orderd To Remean untill furder orders Sir it is imposible to Geve you a full deteall as it Would take a Quire of peaper But hope soone to have the favour of seeing you at

[*Second sheet missing.*]

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, September 27, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J59.—L. S.]

RICHMOND Sep 27. 1780

SIR

Mr Randolph having been prevented by sickness from setting out for the Westward, gives me an opportunity of sending you by him my last orders to Col Crocket. I am with great respect

Sir Your most Obedt Servt

TH: JEFFERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH CROCKETT, September 27, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J60.—L. S.]

RICHMOND Septr 27th 1780.

SIR,

I suppose Mr Baker must by this time be in readiness to do his part towards moving your battalion to the Westward, as soon as he is so, you will please to proceed with them. let your pay rolls be made up to the day of your march, as so far they will be chargeable to the continent. The inclos'd advice of council pointing out your destination & that of the quotas of militia call'd from the Western counties, with Genl Lewis's letter also inclos'd, containing his sentiments as to the best manner of executing the intention of the Executive, renders it unnecessary for me to take up that part of the subject. You know that our dependance is on you to direct the march & route of those Militia, and their mode of proceeding to establish themselves. I have further to add, that as soon as you have an opportunity you are to give notice to Colo Clarke of your movements, numbers of regulars, success in collecting the militia, progress in making your establishments & general prospects, and afterwards from time to time whenever opportunities occur to give him like information. The purpose of this is to put it in his power to leave you to pursue the plan chalked out by the Executive, or to take up any other, or call you on any different enterprize which he shall think better, our intention being to submit the disposal of this force perfectly to the will of Colo Clark whose knowledge of the Country to be defended,

of its weeknesses & resources, enables him to form the best plans for preserving it under its actual circumstances, and whom we do not mean to tramınel in the execution of his plans by any positive instructions to you. those therefore which have been & now are given, you are only to pursue till you receive contrary directions from him. I wish you to be speedy in your departure & subsequent movements, & health and success in your undertakings & am with great esteem Sir,

Your most obed^{t} hum Serv^{t}

TH J

COLO CROCKETT

[*Endorsed:*] From Government to Col. Crocket

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, October 12, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J65.—L. S.]

RICHMOND October 12, 1780

SIR

We have this moment learnt that there is in possession of Col^{o} Gibson at Fort Pitt or his Pay-master a quantity of Clothing fit for Soldiers: As Maj^{r} Slaughter's Corps we know is in want, and yours may possibly be I have given Maj^{r} Moore an Order to receive it, and deliver it to your order

I am with great respect Sir Your most obed^{t} humble serv^{t}

TH: JEFFERSON

COL^{o} GEO. R. CLARKE

[*Addressed:*] Colo George Rogers Clarke Louisville.

[*Endorsed:*] Tho^{s} Jefferson Oct^{r} 1780

RICHARD McCARTY TO JOHN TODD, JR., October 14, 1780.[1]

[Executive Papers, July to October, Va. State Archives.]

CASCAKIA, 14th Oct'r 1780

SIR:

Where shall I begin to Appologize for the Different light and Oppinion, I saw, and had of you when hear last Year, and now; the spirit of a free subject that you inculcated thro' your Better

[1] Printed also in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 379; Chi. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 336.

knowledge of things was hid to me; In short, Honnor requires of me to render you the Justice you deserve, and at the same time to inform you that the reason of altering my notions of things.[1]

I then thought the Troops hear would be duely Supported by the State and the Legal Expence for them paid to the people Justly;

I then thought the Duty of an Officer who had any Command was to see Justice done his soldiers and that they had their Rights without wronging his Country; I then thought it was also his Duty to foresee and use all manner of Occonomie in Laying up Provisions for the Soldiers, to carry on any Opperation that his Suppiriours should judge Expedient to order him on without any regard to any Private or Particular Interest Whatever but for the Good and General Interest of the State he served, I then never Immagined that an Agent would be sent hear to Trade in Connection with a Private Person to Purchase the Certificates from the People at such rates which must appear Scandalous & Dishonorable to the State.[2] to the Conterary of all which I am now Convinced by Occular Demonstration; in Short we are become the Hated Beasts of a whole people by pressing horses, Boats, &c, &c, &c, Killing Cattle, &c, &c, &c, for which no valuable Consideration is given; even many not a Certificate; which is hear looked on as next to nothing.

I have Sent Colo Clarke in an Extract from my Journal,[3] the proceedings as far as I kno' of One Colo. Dela Balme and his raising a party to go against Detroit,[4] not being a Commander I can not say whither he has proper Authority to do so or not, or by whom authorized so to do; the people have sent by him memorials to Congress or the french Envoy at Philadelphia setting forth all the Evil we have done. I think Government should be informed of this as the people are now entirely Ag'st us; he has told Indians french Troops will be hear in the Spring; I have no Right to find

[1] For his opinion of Colonel Todd, September 19, 1780, see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 615.

[2] He accused John Dodge and Thomas Bentley of purchasing these certificates. *Ibid.*, 621.

[3] Printed in *ibid.*, 618 *et seq.*

[4] For a history of De la Balme, see *ibid.*, Index; also C. M. Burton, "Augustin Motin de la Balme," in Ill. Hist. Soc., *Transactions*, *1909*, p. 104.

fault or Blame My Suppiriours, yet I have a right to see plaine, and wish for the credit of the State that Government had Eyes to see hear as Plaine as I do.

I am Sir With Esteme & Consideration Your most obedient & Humble Servant

RICH'D MCCARTY.

To JNO. TODD, Esq'.

ROBERT GEORGE TO CLARK, October 28, 1780.[1]

[Executive Papers, July to October, Va. State Archives.]

FORT JEFFERSON, 28th of October, 1780.

DR. COL°:

Our present distress puts me under the necessity of informing you by Express the absolute necessity of your presence at this place we are Reduced to a Very small Number at present occasioned by Famine, Desertion and Numbers daly Dying; we have but a Very Small Quantity of provisions at present Col'o Montgomery on his way to New Orleans call'd on us, he says that Capt. Dodge has purchased one thousand Bushells of Corn and Ten Thousand Lb. of Flower which is all that is to Shew from a a Cargoe of Eleven Thousand hard dollars worth of goods Sent by Mr. Pollock to You together with about five or six thousand Dollars worth from this place. We are informed they are Intirely Expended I Expect Capt. Philip Barbour up Every day with a Quantity of Goods for this State and Should be glad of Directions from you that they may not be Exhausted in the manner we have reason to doubt the rest was Its rather tedious to mention the Conduct at the Illinois since your departure as nothing but your presence can Rectify it If necessity detains you from us pray send and express as soon as possible, The Inhabitants is chiefly gone down the River and what there is left is Very much distressed Lieut. Clarke Sett off to Kaskaskias this morning to know the Certainty of the provisions being purchased, It appears there was a parogue Sent down Sometime ago loaded with Corn and Fower with Eight Men who deserted with it Down the River. I doubt the greatest part of this Batallion will soon Turn Merchants all for the want of your

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 382.

Presence here. If there is not Some Step taken to prevent it Lieut. Daltin is gowin down the river with Col. Montgomery in order if possible to [*MS. torn*] Capt. Williams has arrived here with Col. John Montgomery and assum'd the command which I Refused to give up without further orders from you, Major. Harlin is out hunting but is at a loss for want of Horses. I have sent for all the State Horses at Kaskaskias but it appears there is but few, what is gone with them God knows but I believe there will be a Very disagreeable Accompt Rendered to you of them as well as many other things when called for The poor distressed remains of this little Borough Joins in prayers for Your presence once more at this place

I am Sir Your most Obe. & Very Humble Servant,

ROBERT GEORGE,

Capt. Command'r of Fort Jefferson.

I have letters from Mr. Pollock to you which I omit sending for fear of Miscarriage.

To COLO. GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE. Falls of Ohio.

ROBERT GEORGE TO JOHN ROGERS, October 27, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J72.—A. L. S.]

FORT JEFFERSON 27th Oct^{r} 1780.

SIR

Lieu^{t} Clark goes up in order to bring us down some provision, I hope you will be of as much Assistance to him as possible; our Craft lies on Dry Ground, & we are not able to put any in the River. I have wrote to Capt. Dodge to hire a Boat (if can do no better) which if he does, You will send down as many Men as will Take her back again— & hope you will see that Good & holdsome provision is sent You may be Assured that we are in great Distress, You will therefore Assist us all you can. M^{r} Clark will give You all the News that we have. hope therefore You will Excuse the shortness of my Letter

& am Sir Your Ob^{dt} Serv^{t}

ROB^{T} GEORGE

NB. Mr W. Clark presents his Compliments to Capt Rogers & hopes, that the want of paper will appoligize for not sending a Letter

[*Addressed:*] Capt John Rogers at Kaskaskias favd by Lt Clark

[*Endorsed:*] Capt. Robert George to Rogers 27th Octo. 80

JOHN WILLIAMS TO CLARK, October 28, 1780.[1]

[Executive Papers, July to October, 1780, Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

CAMP JEFFERSON 28th of Oct. 1780.

SIR:

On the 23d of this Instant I arived at this poast by order of Colo. John Montgomery to take the Command but from the Carrector he at present bares Capt. George did not think proper to give him or any other person the command at this poast untill he being properly Releav'd by your order, I for my part, Seeing times so precarious and what might Insue from the least contest or Umbridge between Capt. Robt. George and myself Am determined to Remain as Retired as possible untill your arrival here. I commanded at Cahokias Since the Expedition up the Mississippi till ordered to this post and here I found both the Soldiers as well as the Inhabitants in the most dissolate Situation Immaginable not So much by Reason of Sickness as for the want of good provisions. there is a quantity of provisions purchased at present but the difficulty we Labour under now is Sickness and lowness of water prevents us getting any provisions down at this time by which Reason we are kept Constantly Starveing, As I am Convinced before the reception of this you are satisfied from Government in Regard to my Majority I would be glad you'd Give me Instructions by the first oppertunity in what Manner to Act. I Expect to see you shortly at this place for other News. I refer you to Capt. Robert George's letter, and Remain with the greatest esteem, Your very Humble Servant,

(Signed) JOHN WILLIAMS, Capt.
In Illinois Battalion.

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 383.

Pay Abstract of a Company of Militia Commanded by Captain George Oins of the district of Clarksville in the State of Virginia Commencing the first day of May 1780 and ending the 21st of December following

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

Names—	Rank	Commencing	Ending	In Service		No. of days	pay for day	L	S	D
				Months	Days					
George Oins	Capt	May 1st	Decr 21st	7	21	230	10/	92	.....	....
Mark Ker	1st Lieut	Do	killed 7th June	1	7	x 37	6/4	10	14	4
Edward Wilson	Ensign	Do	killed 5th Octr	5	5	x155	5/1	.....	.....	.....
John Wilson	Sergeant	Do	Decr 21st	7	21	=230	.....	.....	.....	.....
Joseph Hunter	Do	Do	Do	7	21	=230	.....	.....	.....	.....
Enoch Springer	Do	Do	Septr 13th	4	13	=133	.....	.....	.....	.....
Joseph Ford	Private	Do	Moved 12 Sept	4	12	=132	1/4	8	16	.....
Robert Ford	Do	Do	Do	4	12	=132	1/4	8	16	.....
John Ford	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....	.....	8	16	.....
Andrew McMeans	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....	.....	8	16	.....
James McMeans	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....	.....	8	16	.....
Jonas Ker	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....	.....	8	16	.....
Henry Ker	Do	Do	killed 7th June	1	7	x37	This pay abstract justly due G R CLARK	2	9	4
Conrad Ker	Do	Do	killed 7 June	1	7	x37		2	9	4
James Young	Do	Do	Moved 12 Sept	4	12	=132		8	16	...
John Young	Do	Do	Do	4	12	=132		8	16	.....
Samuel Cooper	Do	Do	Advanc'd 7th June	1	7	= 37		2	9	4
Michael Wolf	Do	Do	Moved 12 Septr	4	12	=132		8	16	.....
John Phister	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....		8	16	.....
Nicholas Nedinger	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....		8	16	.....
Moses McCan	Do	Do	Do	4	12			8	16	.....
Henry Steward	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....		8	16	.....
James Barnet	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....		8	16	.....
Francis Cimblet	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....		8	16	.....
Daniel Graffen	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....		8	16	.....
James Wiley	Do	Do	Moved 13 Sept	4	13	=133		8	17	4
								£335	12	0

Edmund Smith	Private	May 1st	Moved 13th Sept	4	13	=133	1/4	8	17	4
Jacob Groats	Do	Do	Do	4	13	=--	1/4	8	17	4
Jacob Shilling	Do	Do	Do	4	13	=--	.....	8	17	4
John Aldar	Do	Do	killed 17th July	2	17	+77	1/4	5	2	8
Daniel Merridith	Do	June 20th	killed 17th July	-	27	+27	.....	1	16	.....
John Hutsill	Do	May 1st	killed 27th Aug	3	27	47	1/4	7	16	.....
William Hutsill	Do	Do	Moved 12th Sept	4	12	.....	.....	8	16	.....
John Burk	Do	Do	Decemr 25th	7	21	230	1/4	15	6	8
Joshua Archer	Do	Do	Do	7	21	.....	.....	15	6	[*torn*]
George Phelps	Do	Do	Do	7	21	.....	.....	15	6	8
Anthony Phelps	Do	Do	Do	7	21	.....	.....	15	6	8
Peter Hellebrant	Do	Do	Do	7	21	.....	.....	15	6	8
John M Cormack	Do	Do	Do	7	21	.....	.....	15	6	8
Robert Craten	Do	June 1st	Do	6	21	.....	.....	13	8	.....
Samuel Cooper	Lieut	June 8th	Moved 12th Sept	5	4	=154	.....	.....	.....	.....
Charles King	Private	May 1st	Do	4	12	.....	1/4	8	16	.....
James King	Do	Do	Do	4	12	.....	.....	8	16	.....
John Johnston	Do	Do	Moved 25th Oct	6	25	=205	1/4	13	13	4
William Reid	Do	Do	Decr 25th	7	21	=230	1/4	15	6	8
								£243	5	0
							Bro	335	12	
								578	17	

Sworn to by George Oins before
CALEB WALLACE
amt £578.17.0

GEO. OINS, Capt
I do Certify this to be a True Payrole
SILAS HARLAN G R CLARK

LEONARD HELM TO GEORGE SLAUGHTER, October 29, 1780.[1]

[Executive Papers, July—October, 1780, Va. State Archives.]

FORT JEFFERSON, Oct. 29th, 1780.

DR. COL. Siting by Capt. Georges fire with a piece of Light wood and two Ribs of an old Bufloe which is all the meat We have Seen this many days, I congratulate your Success Against The Shawanahs but their never doubts when that brave Col. Clarke Commands, we will know the Loss of him at the Ilinois, I expect he is well aquainted with the Conduct of some Gen't at that place by Capt. Georges Letter, our situation is malancholy but has not time at present to acquaint. I rec^{d} the Agreable Balsom you sent by Maj. Harling which all that I have had this Summer the Gen't at Keskais Could not spare us about 8 or 10 Gal. Out of about 6 or 7 Hogsheads sent by Mr. Pollock to Col. Clark, the Use it was apl'd to with many other things Expect Col. Clarke will be made acquainted with if we have the hapiness to see him once more at this place, I wanted badly to Come to your parts but at Capt. Georges request waits the return of Express Excuse hast as the Lightwoods just out and mouth watering for part of the two Ribs, tell Capt. Todd Henry Croucher produced Accts. against him for more than he had against him. With compliments to Madam Slaughter and all Aquaintances am with Esteem Yr. Obeident & Humble Servant,

LE^{OD} HELM.

N. B. Capt. George gives his compliments but has neither Ligh nor paper

TO COLO. GEORGE SLAUGHTER.

JOHN TODD, JR., TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, November 30, 1780.[2]

[Clark Papers, Va. State Archives.]

LEXINGTON, Nov. 30, 1780.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

We have been for sometime past & are still dreading an Invasion from the neighbouring Northern Indians. Intelligence by

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 383.

[2] Printed in *ibid.*, 393.

the way of St. Vincent informs us that late in Oct° a great number of Indians and English were at the late-destroy'd Shawnese Towns waiting the rise of the waters to make a Descent either against the Falls or this place. I have order'd upon duty part of the Militia of this County (Fayette) at three of the most exposed forts and I am purchasing up a quantity of Corn. The people seem fond at Present to sell to the Country and Corn will be almost the only article which Government may expect from the Quarter. I expect to procure between one and two thousand Bushels by giving certificates to be settled by the Auditors or agreed upon by the Commissary for 40 or 50 Barrel or 2-6 hard money. I hope I have not acted amiss in this Respect Altho' I have no Instructions As the Assembly at Session recommended the plan laid by the several County Lieutenants there is a certainty of a vigorous attack next Spring I conclude that a Delay for Orders is unnecessary.

The Indians are annoying us every week in small parties. Two small detachments of Militia are now in pursuit of Some who stole Horses two nights ago from McConnells Station.

A cargo of Goods I have heard is arrived at Fort Jefferson for the Use of the State said to be consigned by Mr. Pollock to myself as Co. Lieut. of Illinois. I purpose writing to Capt. Dodge to store them up until further Orders from your Excellency as soon as I shall an Oppertunity & the Report shall be authenticated.

I hope to be excused in expressing my Desires that your Excellency may have in Contemplation an Early Expedition next Spring against our savage neighbors. I will venture to assure you that any Orders which ma tend to that purpose will be executed with the greatest alacrity by Officers and Men.

Capt. Quirk I hear is on the way with 30 or 40 men and I can hear nothing from Col. Crockett. I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect your Excellency mo. Obedient & humble Servant,

JOHN TODD, JR.

P. S. Dec. 4th. Since writing the above I hear that a Lieut. Montgomery with 24 Men the whole of Quirk Co. have arrived the other side of the River. J. TODD.

RICHARD HARRISON TO CLARK, December 7, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J78.—A. L. S.]

FALLS OF OHIO 7th of December 1780

Dr Colo

From the accounts we have had from Fort Jefferson, that place Being allmoast destitute of Men and Officers, occasioned by the Chief of them turning Merchants, and others Going down the River, I have thought it my duty to Repair to that poast Immediately. I propose leaveing this place the day after Tomorrow with my artillery and her Stoares. Capt Shannon is Likewise Takeing down a Quantity of Corn with him I hope we Shall Soon Releave them there of their distresses. I am Informed by the Express from there of Capt Phil. Barbours Comeing Up with a Very Large Cargoe for this State I Expect he is at the Mouth of the River by this time. The Indians are Still Troublesome to us here. Takeing of horses Killing and Takeing off prisoners from this and other adjasent Stations, we have had No arrivals as Yet from above Mr Randolph and Capt More are not Yet Come we are as You Left us Capt Worthington is Still at Harrodsburgh. I am of oppinion he do Not Intend Going down this winter, If there is No Great Necessity for my Remaining at Fort Jefferson I propose being here again in the Month of February in order to Receive any Instructions You may Send forward to this place. I am Informd what few of the Inhabitants that are left at Charksville are desireous of Your Moving them down to the Iron banks or Your Order for So doing as in time of low water it is Intirely dry Between the forts and Island which makes that place Very Inconvenient what few that is there when I go down I will do all in my power to Incourage them in order to Keep up the place for I Shall always be of the Oppinion that Some where about there will be one of the first places in this State in a very few Years

I am Dr Colo Your Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant

RD HARRISON

PS Pensacola is not as yet Taking by Reason of the Despute Between Governor Galvez and admiral of the Spanish fleat Governor Galvez had orders from the Court of Spain to have the

Command of the Army against Pensacola the admiral would not Give it up therefore Galvez Is Returnd again to mobeal with his army

Col° George Rogers Clark Richmond

[*Addressed:*] Col° George Rogers Clark Richmond or Elsewhere.

J. M. P. Le Gras to Clark, December 1, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J75.—A. L. S.]

S^t^ Vincenne Le 1^e^ X^bre^ 1780

Monsieur

Je vous informe avec douleur le triste Echec, que nos françois ont Eut au Misamis, Monsieur le Colonel de la balme, Etant parti avec Environ quatre Vingt hommes pour aller prendre le nommé Baubin, n'ayant point trouvé cette infame Nos françois ont pillié les Marchandises qu'il luy appartenoit En Sen Retournant; ils ont Eté attaqué par les Nations Misamis, ont tué les plus Braves et ont Repris ce qu'il avoit Enlevé qui appartenoit au Roy

Le Colonel de la Balme y a Resté le S^r^ Duplacy, Milliet Cardinal Joseph André Et quantites d'autres Volontaire, le docteur Ray Est prisonier, Cette affaire nous mets assés dans la Consternation Car nous Sommes dans une grande dizette de Vivres et de

[*Translation.*][1]

Vincennes, December 1, 1780.

Sir,

It is with regret I inform you of the melancholy defeat that our Frenchmen encountered at the Miami, Colonel de la Balme having started with about eighty men in order to take Baubin; and not having found this infamous scoundrel, our Frenchmen plundered the goods belonging to him. In returning they were attacked by the Miami nations who killed the bravest of them and retook the goods which belonged to the king.

Colonel de la Balme was killed as well as M. Duplasy, Milliet, Cardinal, Joseph André and a number of other volunteers. Doctor Ray is a prisoner. This affair has thrown us into a good deal of consternation, for there is a great scarcity of provisions and

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 50J77, but with a few changes.

Munition Je vous prie Monsieur cy vous pouvés nous faire part de quelque Baril depoudre afin de pouvoir Soutenir L'honneur de L'etat Comme nous avons fait Jusqu'a present; J'arrive des Ilinois il y a peu de jours; ou J'ai Eû toute les disgraces possible, Javois Consenti Plusieurs Billiets pour les provisions que vous aves Reçue des habitants Ses Messieurs n'ont point prix de part au Sacrifice que Je faisoit pour les Etats Unis; ils ont tombé Sur Moy Ce qui ma oté mes dernieres Ressourse; J'ay offert de vos lettres d'echanges ainsy que le Major Bosseron que L'on nous a Refusé Je les avoit Envoyé a la Nouvelle Orleans Comme elle sont tiré Sur Monsieur olivier polok elle me sont Revenû Sans Etre payé; Je vous prie Monsieur cy vous pouve Menvoyer pour cette meme Lêttre D'echange Une de la même somme de ceux qui Vous Sont Envoyé par le trésore de la Virginie de 1762 piastres afin de me procurer quelque Moyen de Subvenir a mes pressant Besoin, En attendant la Réception de Ceux qui J'ai Laissé a Williambourg.

[*Translation.*]

ammunition. I pray you, if you can, to send us a barrel of powder in order to be able to sustain the honor of the state as we have done until now. I arrived from Illinois a few days since where I suffered every possible disgrace. I had accepted several notes for the provisions that you received from the inhabitants—those gentlemen took no share in the sacrifices I was making for the United States. They fell upon me, which has taken away my last resources. I as well as Major Bosseron offered your bills of exchange which they refused. I had sent them to New Orleans as they are drawn upon Mr. Oliver Pollock. They returned unpaid. I beg you if you can to send me in place of this same bill of exchange, one of the same amount as those which are sent you from the treasury of Virginia for seventeen hundred and sixty-two dollars in order to procure me some means of ministering to my pressing wants, whilst waiting the reception of those I left at Williamsburg.

Soyés assurés de ma Sincérité pour L'interest des Etats Et que Je serés toute Ma Vie; avec Consideration
Monsieur

Votre tres humble Et tres obeissant Serviteur

J. M. P. LEGRAS

Mr Le major Bosseron ce joint avec Moy il vous assure de Ses Respects; Comme il Entendû dire que vous aviés des Lettres déchange toute faite sur letresore de la Virginie Comme il Est dans le Besoin pour payer ses dêttes; il vous priray, de luy En Envoyer pour 12000 Mil piastres pour Remplir ses obligations, dont il C'est Rendû Caution pour les Etats, et vous Renvoyra la même quantités et mêmes Sommes pour Remplir le montant des dittes Lettres déchange que vous luy Envirés

[*Endorsed:*] Mentions the Defeat of Col. De la balme who went in pursuit of Baubin—The Col. on his Return took possession of his Goods but afterwards lost them being defeated by a party of Miamis & the Col. & others named herein fell in the action—he entreats Genl Clark to send a supply of powder & money to purchase necessaries—Mr Pollock at new Orleans sent back Gen. Clark's Bills unpayed

[*Translation.*]

Be assured of my sincerity for the interest of the States, and that I will be for life

Your very humble and very obedient servant

J. M. P. LE GRAS.

Major Bosseron joins me in respects to you. As he has heard that you have some bills of exchange ready made on the treasury of Virginia and as he is in want in order to pay his debts, he would beg you to send him to the amount of twelve thousand [?] *piastres* in order to fulfil the obligations he has become security for the States—and he will return to you the same quantity to make up the amount of the said bills of exchange that you may send him.

J. M. P. LE GRAS.

GEORGE SLAUGHTER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, December 8, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J79.—Contemporary Copy.]

LOUISVILLE 8th Decr 1780

SIR

Inclosed are Copies of Letters from Capt George the Commanding officer at Fort Jefferson & Capt. Williams from the same place to Col. Clark, also an original letter sent by Capt Helm, by which you will learn the situation of the Officers in that Quarter. Such a number of Officers leaving their Posts, & so many of the Men Deserting together with the Conduct of the Commertial Agent & the scarcity of provisions the Crews of the Boats loaded therewith having deserted & Carry'd them off that there is too much reason to fear that the post will be evacuated I have therefore taken the Liberty of ordering the remains of the Country Store together with a large Cargo which is now on its way from Orleans for the use of this State to be brought hither. these reasons will I hope Justify me but when I inform Your Excellency of the number of Complaints against Capt. Dodge both from Officers and Men of the shameful Misapplication of the Goods in his care, and of the Abuses Commited by him in his Department you will think it prudent to prevent this, as there is too much reason to believe he did the former Cargoes. My Men have never drawn any thing from the State but Cloth & thirty Blankets at Willamsburg are all the necessaries they have drawn since their Inlistment they [have] now no Shirts, Hats, Blankets or Breeches not having drawn Cloth for that purpose, Shoes, Stockings or Mocasons. so that they are totally unfit for duty. The Indians still are Troublesome to us having Visited us four or five times since Colo Clark left this place, & have killed and taken 5 or 6 Men and Wounded 3 others.

I am Sir Your humⁱ Servant

Signed GEORGE SLAUGHTER.

HIS EXCELLENCY THOS JEFFERSON GOVERNOUR OF VIRGA

Copy

WILLIAM SHANNON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, December 11, 1780.[1]

[Executive Papers, December 1780, Va. State Archives.]

LOUISVILLE, 11TH DECEM. 1780.

SIR:

As things are at present circumstanced in this Country & being so remote from the Seat of Government, must beg leave to intrude so far on your Excellencies good nature as to give satisfactory answers to the doubts I am at present in and such other Instructions you may Judge best. I would therefore be glad to know the nature of my Commission from Col'o G. Rogers Clarke on my return from Government last Spring, & must inform you that it is very difficult to execute the business I am entrusted with for want of money owing to a report prevalent that our Bills on the Treasurer have been protested which renders the Credit of the State very Trifling.

The Army in this quarter destitute of all kind of Military stores and none to be purchased; no provisions to be had except Beef, Corn & Salt and all those at most extravagant prices.

Inclosed you have the Amount of the Bills Drawn on the Treasurer this Spring & Summer.

Money is much wanting to discharge the present contracts which are payable this first day of March next as also to pay the expences of the late expedition.

I have as far as in my power supply'd Col° Slaughter's Troops and shall still continue to do so, untill further orders.

I am much at a loss how to act relative to purchasing and Issuing provisions not knowing the proper allowances

Accounts from the mouth of the River say they have been distress'd in a most extraordinary manner for want of the common necessaries of life which has occasioned many desertions

From Orleans we have Accounts that the Spaniards have not taken Pensacola owing to a dispute wch arose between Governor Galvis and the Spanish Admiral relative to the Command of the Forces and neither giving up the point the Siege was laid aside and the Land Force are now at Mobille under the Command of Galvis.

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 396.

I expect Boats down the River dayly and intend purchasing Flour for the Troops at Fort Jefferson, Corn & Salt have sent, Shall continue to draw bills for provisions till ordered to the contrary. Your Excellencys Instructions by the earliest opportunity will much oblige Your Excellences Mo. Obt. & Humble Servant.

WILL SHANNON.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

COLONEL JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, December 17, 1780.

[Draper MSS.. 50J64.]

FORT PITT, December 17, 1780

COL° GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE, Commanding the Troops Virginia on the Ohio.

SIR

I received a Letter from his Excellency the Governor of Virginia wherein he informed me that Col° Campbell had told him that I had a quantity of Cloathing which I received last summer for the men of my Regm^t^ and that I had no immediate use for it as he expected we should be supplied by the Continental Store, upon which his Excellency wrote me and ordered me to deliver it to Cap^t^ Moore for the use of the Troops on the Ohio. I am extremely sorry I am reduced to the necessity of not complying with the order, as my men are quite naked, and there is now one hundred & odd drafts on their road to join my Reg^t^. I have not the least prospect of getting a single stitch from the Continent. I intend setting off in a few days for Richmond, should the Governor and Council adopt any method of furnishing Cloathing for you I shall use my utmost endeavours to have it Transported to you; Permit me to refer you to Cap Moore for the news in this Quarter.

I have the Honour to be your most Ob^t^ and very Humble Servant

JN° GIBSON Col°
9th Vir. Reg^t^

FORT PITT Dec^r^ 17, 1780.
COL° CLARKE.

JOHN DODGE TO OLIVER POLLOCK, December 23, 1780.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

KASKASKIAS, 23 Decem[r] 1780

SIR

Altho I have had not the honor of Receiving Answers to my three last Letters which I wrote you & our Credit being so weak Amongst the Inhabitants here that we cannot get any thing without prompt Payment which we have not our Soldiers dying every day for want of the means of Subsistance and Medicine which occasions me to Inclose you the Memorandums which if you have any regard for the Troops in this Departments you will exert yourself to procure them for us, if it should happen that you could not procure the whole try to send part By the bearer of this and I will settle with him for his trouble no news but what the bearer can inform you of. I have no more to add only your Compliance with the above will render the State a Singular service and much oblige

Sir Your humb[l] Serv[t]
(Signed) JOHN DODGE

OLIVER POLLOCK Esq[r]

THOMAS WALKER TO CLARK, December 25, 1780.

[Draper MSS., 50J82.—A. L. S.]

DEAR SIR

Your favour of July y[e] 15 came to hand & merrits my warmest thanks.

I most cordially congratulate you on your success against the Shawneese & hope it will keep that nest of hornets quiet for some time

When I was at Richmond our finances & foreign credit appeared in such a state that no plan occured to me practicable for supplying you & your Troops in the manner wished by me; therefore, nothing was in my power but describing the merits of your Case & I flatter my self that I was not wanting in that so far as my abilitys enabled me. I hope you may have been able to do something in that way

On your return hope for the pleasure of seeing you at this place, it is possible I may wait on you at your respectable Fathers house next month, if I do & you go out in a short time we may contrive to travel as far as Washington County together. Pleas to tender my compliments to your yor Father & Mrs. Clark. that Providence may protect & grant you success is is the ardent prayer of

D^{r}: S^{r}: Your most Humble Serv^{t}

THOMAS WALKER

CASTLE HILL December y^{e} 25th 1780

P: S: A happy Xmas to you all

[*Addressed:*] Col^{o} George Rogers Clark To the care of M^{r} John Clark in Caroline

[*Endorsed:*] Doc^{r} Walker

THE ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SHAWNEE INDIANS BY HENRY WILSON.[1]

[Draper MSS., 9J21.]

There were 200 men in Col. James Harrod's reg^{t}, mostly dressed in hunting shirts & breech clouts, some linen & others buckskin. The mouth of Licking was the place of rendevouz. Harrod's men went via the Falls of Ohio, where they were detained a week or two for the boats to get in readiness, & then take them to the mouth of Licking with which for the army to cross the Ohio. While waiting & getting pretty close for provisions, the men had permission to make a two days hunt at the mouth of Kentucky—game was getting scarce there—killed but 2 buffaloes & 6 or 7 deer, scarcely enough to supply their wants while out. Two or three old keel boats & several skiffs & perogues were finally collected together & the troops proceeded up the rivers to the mouth of Ky. & there united with Harrod's men, who had been hunting. With Gen. Clark & the boats were Col^{s} Floyd's & Linn's reg^{ts}

[1] Henry Wilson was in John Allison's company which constituted a part of Colonel James Harrod's regiment. He was born in Virginia, and in 1779 came to Kentucky. After the attack on the Shawnee, he served as a spy and in the militia for the remainder of the war. He took part in the Battle of the Blue Licks in 1782.

Every man was to furnish his own provisions. In Harrod's regt every six men formed a mess, & had a pack horse, to carry blankets, kettle, the axe, parched corn meal and salt. The boats proceeded up from the Falls along the Kentucky shore, made such a noise that all the game was scared away. A portion of McGary's & Ellison's companies, some 30 in all, with McGary at their head, agreed to cross over upon the northern shore & hunt along up. They crossed near the mouth of Ky. They had proceeded some four or five miles when they discovered a large Indian camp upon the bank of the river, the Indians immediately fled before McGary's party had a sight of them, leaving a couple of bark canoes at the margin of the river, & some half grained deer-skins & jerked meat in camp. As four fires were burning it was evident that the Indians had but just left, & were perhaps waiting in the bushes for the approach of the whites. McGary from the smallness of his party, thought it best to return to the southern shore & join the main force, & ordered Wilson[1] who was already in possession of the smaller canoe—the larger one having been scuttled by some of the men—to cross & get several boats to convey his men over. Two large pirogues were brought over and while the men were putting in their guns & in the act of getting in themselves, without a sentinel on bank, the Indians finding they were not pursued ran up & fired on McGary's men. 9 were killed & wounded. Some of the men, whose guns were at hand, returned the fire. When fired on, some of the men jumped into the pirogues—some behind prostrate timber or logs on the bank. One man was seen to jump out on one of the pirogues, wade ashore & take down the river, & was pursued by an Indian with a spantoon or spear elevated & aimed in hand. After following some 20 or 30 yards, the Indian stopped & cast the spear which entered the man's back between the shoulders & penetrated through, the point sticking out of his breast—he fell forward, when the spear dropped from the wound. He soon scrambled up & crawled to & crept under some driftwood, which had been cast ashore by some preceding flood. He was shortly afterwards conveyed to the boats. The Indian, who wounded him, made his escape.

[1] In MS. is written, "my informant, L. C. D.

One Byrn had his thigh broken, and swam to Wilson's frail pirogue some 30 yards from the northern shore—Wilson held him up, until a larger boat came & took him from the water. This was all the work of a moment—the Indians fled. The dead were brought over and buried. The man wounded with the spear, died just before night, & was buried on shore. Byrn & others wounded, were at evening sent back to the Falls. Byrn subsequently died; another struck or wounded in the head afterwards died.

This little check put a stop to hunting on shore. The men were now on half allowance of parched meal, & almost despaired of continuing the campaign. Near the mouth of Licking, a flat bottomed boat was met, loaded with corn, & destined for the Falls of Ohio for market. This was impressed & divided among the men, according to their necessities, some getting but three quarts each while others got as many as seven. This was used thus. The big ax was taken from the pack horse by some one of each mess, a small white oak sapling about 6 or 7 inches through was cut down, and a stick secured about two feet in length, the butt end was cut off square, & then tapered down like a cone to a point. This was the hominy block. While this was making, another with his tomahawk would make a wooden pestle two or three feet long. The hominy-block was driven into the ground, and a strip deer skin, dried while green, would now be wound around the top of the block, extending some 8 or 10 inches above its top, & made fast with a strong string or tug below — the flesh side of the skin within. Here a pint of corn wd be beaten into coarse meal at a time — three pints of this, cooked into a broth & salted, would suffice for a meal for a mess. A little parched meal would answer for dinner eaten as they marched along. No jerk either going or returning.

Logan's regt from Boonesboro, his own & Whitely's stations, went across the country to the mouth of Licking, & reached the day after the other troops. Logan's was the largest reg^{t}, Boone was with him. There were some 1200 men altogether. Crossed & built a cabin 16 ft square & roof, opposite mouth of Licking & near the old stone mill, left a guard to watch boats—cabin was subsequently burned by Indians. Marched on up the valley

of the Lit. Miami, nothing occurred, until within five miles of Old Chillicothe, when the spies returned, gave information that the Indians appeared to be moving off from the town. The army now commenced a run, kept a good smart trot, but when they reached the town about mid-day, they found the Indians had all gone & burnt their own town. Some pots were found over the fires, boiling green corn & snaps. The troops found a great relief in green roasting ears & string (snap) beans. That afternoon was spent in feasting & recruiting themselves. The next day the corn was all cut up, except five or six acres reserved for roasting ears on their return. Marched on to the Piqua town on the Big Miami, reached there about 8 o'clock in the morning, crossed half a mile below the town, water but knee deep. (It sh^{d} be remarked, that 18 days before, that a fellow stole a horse at Bryan's Station & fled to the Indians & gave them due notice. At the mouth of Licking, unable to get his horse over, rafted himself over leading his horse behind. The troops found the horse there, & the place where the traitor had camped.) Soon after had crossed, passing through a prairie, there met a large body of Indians chiefly behind a fence and in a piece of woods. Came second to the woods, the Indians fired, the whites returned it, & then the former broke & run 200 yards and again rallied & formed on a hill covered with timber. To the right along the stream & just before reaching the woods, was a large corn-field, along the margin of this field & parallel with the river ran a pole fence, behind which were the main body of the Indians — they fired upon the troops but fifty yards as they ran along through the prairie, a little before the party fired in the woods, then fled through the corn, and took a circuitous rout & gained their position with the others on the elevation. Clark halted the troops in the woods for a few minutes, got the men in order, who had in crossing the river & running through the prairie, become disarranged, and ordered the men in attacking the Indians to press upon them & not suffer them to fire twice from behind the same tree. Thus far none, as was known, were killed on either side, one white had a ball pass thro' his hat & graze the skin on the top of his head. (Capt Haskins) Then marched on up the elevation & attacked the Indians, took trees, pressed warmly upon them, &

after a few fires the Indians found themselves so closely pressed, that they would detach some of their warriors to attack the rear, these would have to be met by simply wheeling upon, & a fire or two w^d drive them off. The Indians finally retreated a hundred yards off, to a couple of large oak trees wh. lay prostrate in a parallel line, on the top of these were placed chunks and poles stretched along lengthwise on their top forming a very good breast work with something like port holes between the pole & main body of the tree. Here some fifty Indians posted themselves undiscovered to fire upon the advancing whites. Capt Joseph M^cMultry, when within thirty steps of the Indian breast work, without knowing that Indians were there, seeing some Indians quite a distance ahead, rested his rifle against a sapling & tumbled over his Indian, who however immediately arose & ran on. M^c-Multry had his horn up filling his charger, when the Indians behind the oak trees all fired nearly at the same time, & though the large body of the men were not more than 200 feet off, but a single man was hurt, & that was Capt M^cMultry. A ball completely cut off his right hand fore finger, passing on through the top of his powder horn, shivering it to pieces, & entered his left breast. Four men—Henry Wilson among the number—remained with him. McMultry expecting he was mortally wounded began giving some directions about his affairs & some word for his wife. Wilson wished to mount him on a horse they had with them, fearing the Indians might gain their rear. The wounded Captain desired not to be moved, as he shd not live long, "about as long as a deer shot through the lights." Wilson thought they had better examine the wound & not take it for granted, without knowing, that the wound was mortal—felt the bullet lodged against the breast-bone. M^cMultry inserted his thumb & finger in the wound & flirted out the ball, which has been flattened in passing through the horn, & before entering the breast, making a large wound, it had nearly spent its force. His finger was done up with a handkerchief & then all dashed on & overtook the troops a quarter of a mile off. Wilson, being thirsty, & seeing a spot where he thought might be water, & near the troops ran there, but found none, he then saw three Indians dodging through the bushes —one with a cocked hat on, at whom he aimed & shot through the

belly & fell, skulked through the bushes to a tree top nearby, leaving his military hat where he fell. As Wilson was picking up his booty, Capt W^m^ M^c^Afee came running to his aid, & both ran up to the tree top, & looking for the Indian, who drew up & shot M^c^Afee through the body less than ten feet off. A soldier now ran up, When the Indian was pouring powder into his rifle without measuring it—& shot him under the arm. The other two Indians were also shot, & all scalped. M^c^Afee lived to be carried to the mouth of Licking on a litter, & thence by water to a friends on Bear grass near the Falls of Ohio, his wife was sent for & reached him two days before his death.

The Indians were driven from tree to tree, and stand to stand, first in one direction two miles from town, & then in another till finally, about 3 o'clock P. M., they retreated gradually to their fort in the lower part of their town. It was a triangular stockade, covering perhaps half an acre—a new one, just made for the expected invasion of Clarke. Their women & children had all been sent off some twenty in all, & all the warriors collected in from far & near. By this time the brass Six-pounder, taken by Clarke at Vincennes, was brought up & first put into requision. The men were formed on an elevation above the fort into a hollow-square, excepting Logan & his reg^t^, who were despatched over the river, to prevent their escape in that direction, or over a ford at the upper end of the horse-shoe. The cannon was fired a dozen or 15 times from the hollow-square, the balls shivered the stockade wherever they struck. This hot work, & Clarke's being beyond the reach of their rifles, induced the Indians to divide their men—altogether about 1500—one half secretly left the fort, entered the cornfield which came up close, undiscovered, & thus gained the woods in Clarke's rear. The other half opened the only gate of the fort which fronted Clark & marched out & took position on the flat below, & formed into a single line. It was a novel movement & Clarke ordered the cannon to cease firing, thinking they had got tired of fighting & were about to propose to treat. A few minutes dissipated this delusion—a heavy fire upon the rear now opened from the woods along the whole Indian line, this was briskly returned. The Indians on the flat came running in line, & fired when within gun shot. Clark gave strict orders for the

men to reserve theirs until the Indians should come close—some of the soldiers along the line, hollered "let them come near enough before we fire that we can singe their eye-brows." When within forty steps Clark's front some few treed, when near a tree—showered a volly upon the Indians, which mowed them down terribly, & which checked their advancing, & the second fire caused them to retreat. In this action a cousin of Clark's on his mother's side, named Rogers, was mortally wounded, & crept behind a stump. Some of Clark's men were shooting at some of the wounded Indians crawling off, when Rogers hollered out to them not to shoot him for he was a white man. Some 3 or 4 ran down to him, said he was own cousin to Gen. Clark, & wanted to see the General. Clark soon rode up, & remarked he was sorry to see him in that situation, & expressed an opinion that as he knew that army was coming in time to have escaped & joined his countrymen, he shd have done it. He said he had no opportunity, & couldnt. He was taken into the rear & died in an hour or two after. He had been taken prisoner two years before at the mouth of Big Miami.

Logan, hearing the heavy fire, crossed at the upper ford & came quickly to their aid. Thus the chief pass was left unguarded, & the Indians availed themselves of it & escaped. Logan, having nothing to do, & hearing so obstinate a firing, was not at all blamed for re-crossing under the circumstances. The Indians in the woods in the rear, protected by trees—and so were Clark's party—stood about four rounds before they scampered to the woods.

A few Indians fled to the fort & showed themselves to divert attention, while the main body escaped through a corn field on the flat to the upper ford & crossed. The cannon played upon the fort 4 or 5 shots — the men then rushed to the fort, but the few Indians there, having gained their purpose, scud away through the corn & sought safety in the woods. It was now dark; the army camped in & around the fort—nearly one half were on duty—no countersign given—with orders to shoot at every noise or suspicious object.

The next morning a council of officers, decided not to pursue the Indians—they had already a large number of wounded that required their attention; not men enough to leave to protect wounded, it wouldnt do to take them along. Concluded to

destroy the town & corn, & return. The previous day had been one continued fight from 8 o'clock till night—had lost 20 killed, double that number wounded—had taken 73 scalps from the enemy—some of their dead & many wounded, were doubtless carried off. The greatest loss on both sides was in the action in the town above the fort. Two days were now spent in destroying corn & village—it was estimated that 1000 acres were destroyed. Some thirty or 40 horses were taken, sold at auction at the mouth of Licking where Covington now is; there, too, the army disbanded, & the men scattered to hunt—the roasting ears got on their return at Chillicothe had given out. Camped no supper that night—left next morning. Some of them well nigh starved before reaching the settlements. No commissaries, no baggage waggons to convey regular rations, &, but too often, day after day without a particle of food, or if any but a sorry pittance of jerk, parched meal, or green corn, snaps or pumpkins—never all these luxuries at once—these were the conquerors of the West, these the protectors & saviors of the country.

At Chillicothe on return the corn was found scanty & was apportioned. Some few ears of corn to each & some fortunate ones perhaps a small pumpkin or two, went some half dozen miles & camped. As usual, half the army was on sentry, & so every night until they reached Licking & disbanded. There was only a common sentry on the outward march until they camped at Old Chillicothe, then commenced the half army sentrys, one half of each company one night, & the other half the next and thus alternately.

Prior to burning Piqua, the dead were buried in the cabins, & then the houses burned over the graves to avoid their discovery by the Indians—but even this precaution was not sufficient, for the Indians found, disinterred, & scalped them.

It was subsequently ascertained from whites returned from captivity, that the Indians after their defeat in town, made a stand the next day about half way beween Piqua and where their squaws & children were, & if beaten there, then to sue for peace and save their squaws & children from captivity.

No prisoners were taken that campaign. Thinks no Indians could have been killed, as represented by Col. Jef. Patterson,

tho' he dont recollect the horse-adventure of an Indian, yet thinks it may have occurred.

ADDENDA: After cutting down the corn at Chillicothe, marched towards night & had proceeded about a mile when a heavy shower suddenly came up, all got all wet, though sheltered under trees—lasted near an hour, when near dusk it ceased raining —the men were formed in a hollow-square, & ordered a company at a time to fire off their guns—the men had taken better care of their guns during the rain than Clark had expected, & not over one fourth but went off. Reloaded, & ordered to camp for the night—marched all next day, & the subsequent morning reached Piqua. The story of the white woman, as told by Col. John Johnston, being the first discover the whites at Piqua, must be erroneous—it may apply to Chillicothe—for the Indians abandoned & burned the latter, & fled & gave notice to the other towns, & even then, the women must have adressed one of Clarke's spies.

Such of the wounded as could rode; the others were carried on litters.

CHAPTER XII

JEFFERSON AND WASHINGTON AGREE TO CO-OPERATE IN SENDING AN EXPEDITION AGAINST DETROIT TO BE LED BY CLARK.

CLARK IN VIRGINIA AND PLANS FOR A FORMIDABLE EXPEDITION AGAINST DETROIT—JEFFERSON PROMOTES THE PLAN—CLARK SERVES IN THE EASTERN ARMY UNDER BARON STEUBEN—WASHINGTON IN FAVOR OF AN EXPEDITION AGAINST DETROIT—CLARK MADE BRIGADIER-GENERAL—DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN SECURING MEN FOR THE EXPEDITION—COLONEL BRODHEAD UNWILLING TO CO-OPERATE WITH CLARK—PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED OF PENNSYLVANIA READY TO GIVE ALL POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE—CLARK APPEALS TO WASHINGTON—WASHINGTON'S REPLY.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, DECEMBER 25, 1780.[1]

[Letter Book of Thomas Jefferson, 1781, p. 10, Va. State Archives.]

TO COLO GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE,

RICHMOND december 25th. 1780

SIR.

A powerful army forming by our enemies in the south renders it necessary for us to reserve as much of our militia as possible free to act in that quarter. at the same time we have reason to believe that a very extensive combination of british and indian savages is preparing to invest our western frontier to prevent the cruel murders and devastations which attend the latter species of war and at the same time to prevent its producing a powerful diversion of our force from the southern quarter in which they mean to make their principal effort and where alone success can be decisive of their ultimate object. it becomes necessary that we aim the first stroke in the western country and throw the enemy under the embarrassments of a defensive war rather than labour under them ourselves. we have therefore determined that an expedition shall be under taken under your command in a very early season of the approaching year into the hostile country

[1] Printed also in Jefferson, *Works* (fed. ed.), III., 383.

beyond the Ohio, the principal object of which is to be the reduction of the British post at Detroit, and incidental to it the acquir[g] possession of Lake Erie. the force destined for this enterprise is the Ilinois battalion. Colo. Crocket's battalion, major Slaughter's corps, with detachments of militia from the counties of Fayette, Lincoln, Jefferson, Ohio, Monongalia, Hampshire, Berkeley Frederic and Greenbrier making in the whole 2000 men. necessary garrisons only to be deducted our desire is that the execution of this may be so timed as that you may have the advantage of that interval of time, which intervenes between the breaking up of the ice in the wabache, and in the lake so as that you may avail yourself of the navigation of the former the moment it is open for the transportation of your Men and baggage and still find the latter blocked up and the vessels of the Enemy therein of course liable to be destroyed. That you may be fully possessed of the means which are to be in your hands for the purposes before mentioned, you are furnished with Copies of the orders given to the Lieutenants Commissaries & Quarter Masters in the Counties before enumerated; the substance of them is as follows—M[r] Rowland Madison is employed to carry 1000[lb] of Rifle powder from New London & 1500 lbs. of lead from the lead Mines to Montgomery Court house, to purchase 300 pack horses with pack Saddles Halters and Bells ready and to lay in subsistence for them and for 137 Militia from Greenbriar County, who, by orders given to the Lieutenant of that County are to rendezvous, at Montgomery Court House by the 20[th] day of February there to take under their escort the ammunition and packhorses before mentioned and to be with them at the Falls of Ohio by the 15[th] day of March M[r] Madison is furnished with Money to purchase the horses and furniture and to lay in subsistence and forage from Montgomery Court House to the Falls of Ohio, where his duties cease.

Forty bell tents, 40 common tents, a Chest of Medicine, some Summer clothing will be sent from this place; 1000[lb] of Rifle powder from Staunton 400 Camp kettles from Fredericksburg to the County Lieutenant of Frederick who is ordered to send them with 285 of his Militia to Pittsburg at which place they are to be the first day of March.

The County Lieutenants of Berkley and Hampshire are ordered to send the former 275 and the latter 255 of their respective Militias to be at Pittsburg by the first day of March.

Proper instructions are prepared for such persons as each of the County Lieutenants of Frederick Berkley and Hampshire shall appoint to act in the joint offices of Commissary and Quarter Master to Pittsburg where their Offices determine and Money is sent to each for the purpose of subsistence and transportation.

The County Lieutenants of Monongalia and Ohio are ordered to rendezvous one fourth of their Militia at Pittsburg by the first day of March. All these Militia are ordered to go under proper Officers well armed with Arms suitable to western service and to serve during the continuance of the expedition as herein described. Colo. Crocket is ordered to be with his battalion at Pittsburg by the same day, and Money to enable him to proceed is sent to him.

An Agent is sent to Baltimore and Philadelphia to purchase four tons of Canon powder and to send it to Pittsburg by the 1st day of March.

Application is made to Genl Washington to lend us of the Continental Stores at Pittsburg, 4 Cannon, six pounders mounted on field Carriages with ball suitable, a mortar with Shells, 2 Howitz, grape shot and other necessary furnitures, 1000 Spades, 200 pick axes, 500 axes, a travelling Forge, Ship Carpenter's tools, and Boats for transportation down the river should we fail in having a sufficient number in readiness and to send us skilful persons to manage the Mortars.

John Francis Moore who was sometime ago sent to purchase in the vicinities of Fort Pitt provisions for the Western Posts, is now ordered to extend his purchases to 200000 rations of Beef & Flour, and to provide 100 light Barges fit for transporting Men and Stores either down or up stream. These to be all in readiness by the 1st of March as we are not certain whether he may not be gone down the river, these powers were directed to himself, or in case of his absence to any Agent he should have appointed and if he appointed none, then to Mr William Harrison of Monongalia.

At Pittsburg we depend on orders to be given by you for the removal of Men and Stores to the Falls of Ohio by the 15 of March.

The County Lieutenants of Fayette, Lincoln and Jefferson are ordered to rendezvous at the Falls of Ohio by the 15 March 500 of their Militia, to be furnished between those Counties in proportion to their numbers, & to have ready at the same place and by the same day 50 Canoes each: Money is sent to pay for these. In those Counties you inform us you expect 100000 rations will be provided for you, you will of course order them to the falls of Ohio.

All the preceeding orders (except as to the numbers of Men from each County) are submitted to any alterations you may think necessary, and you are authorized to supply any deficiencies in them. The Staff Officers are submitted absolutely to you, and on removal of any of them by you or their death, resignation or declining to act you are to appoint others. The County Lieutenants are desired to keep up a constant correspondence with you, & the Staff Officers to inform you from time to time of their progress and to receive your orders. Thus you will perceive that we expect all to be in readiness at the Falls of Ohio by the 15. of March.

What number of Men and whether of Regulars or Militia you shall leave to garrison the Posts at the falls & Mouth of the Ohio, is left to yourself. As the latter however is exposed to attack from an Enemy against whom this expedition will be no diversion of force, and as it is distant from succour, it is recommended to you to leave it surely garrisoned, and to take measures for its being supported from the Spanish side of the Missisipi should it be necessary.

You will then with such part of your force as you shall not leave in garrison proceed down the Ohio and up the Wabache or along such other route as you shall think best against Detroit.— By the construction of a fort or forts for retreat at such place or places as you shall think best, and by such other cautions as you find necessary, you will provide for the ultimate safety of your men in case of a repulse. Should you succeed in the reduction of fort Detroit, and a hopeful prospect open to you of acquiring possession of Lake Erie, or should such prospect open during the investiture of the fort you are to pursue it. As soon as you shall have accomplished both Objects of the fort and Lake, or

shall have accomplished the one and find the other impracticable; or as soon as you shall find that neither is practicable you are to consider your expedition as ended, and to withdraw your whole force if you attain neither Object, or, if you acquire one or both of them, to retain for a Garrison at Detroit so many of the Illinois & Crockets battalions as you may think necessary and to send the rest back accross the Ohio; in the event indeed of declining to attempt the reduction of Detroit you are at liberty to consider whether some enterprize against the hostile Nations of Indians may not be undertaken with your force, and if you think it can, and that it will be expedient for the public good and eligible on view of all circumstances you will undertake it and detain your force 'till you shall have finished it. In every event, the Militia on their return are to be marched back to their Counties under their own Officers and there to be discharged.

Should you succeed in the reduction of the Post, you are to promise protection to the Persons and property of the French and American Inhabitants, or of such at least as shall not on tender refuse to take the Oath of fidelity to this Commonwealth. You are to permit them to continue under the laws and form of Goverment under which they at present live, only substituting the authority of this Commonwealth in all instances in lieu of that of his Britannic Majesty, and exercising yourself under that authority till further order those powers which the British Commandant of the post, or his Principal in Canada hath used regularly to exercise: To the Indian Neighbors you will hold out either fear or friendship as their disposition and your actual situation may render most expedient.

Finally, our distance from the scene of action, the impossibility of foreseeing the many circumstances which may render proper a change of plan or direliction of object, and above all our full confidence in your bravery, discretion, and abilities induce us to submit the whole of our instructions to your own Judgment, to be altered or abandoned whenever any event shall turn up which may appear to you to render such alteration or abandonment necessary; remembering that we confide to you the persons of our Troops and Citizens which we think it a duty to risque as long as no longer than the object and prospect of attaining it

may seem worthy of risque. If that Post be reduced we shall be quiet in future on our frontiers, and thereby immense Treasures fo blood and Money be saved, we shall be at leisure to know our whole force to the rescue of our eastern Country from subjugation, we shall divert through our own Country a branch of commerce which the European States have thought worthy of the most important struggles and sacrifices, and in the event of peace on terms which have been contemplated by some powers we shall form to the American union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the Empire of liberty an extensive and fertile Country, thereby converting dangerous Enemies into valuable Friends.

(Signed) T. J.

GEOFFREY LINCTOT TO GEORGE SLAUGHTER, January 11, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 428.—Abstract.]

"OPOST" January 11th, 1781.

Godefroy Linitot, to Col° Slaughter at Falls of Ohio. Setting forth the "good Disposition" of the Indians in that region, and the manner in which they had conducted themselves: on which account begs they be furnished with as much powder and lead as they need, to enable them to live, this is due them for having risked their lives in defence of the Americans, and for having refused to receive presents from the British on account of their attachment to the State. had they chosen, their towns might have been full of merchandise and ammunition. concludes "I just heard the news that is certain, that the British is making great preparations to take the Different Stations at the falls and Opost Vincent. I believe the only method to Stop them if they have a minde to do, is to go against Detroit before they could come to you.

I beg of you to Send me as Sone as posible you can what i ask you for, for those Indians being the only fence we have to stop the Ennemy.

Sir when I arrived i was told the news that Col° La balme was gone to take the Artillery that the British had left at the lick on

the River demie to take the opost and the falls, and he was killed and thirty men with him, witch gives us and the Indians a great deal of trouble."

Sir, i am your most humble and obedient Servant.

GENERAL STEUBEN TO CLARK, January 12, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J6.—L. S.]

BATTERSEA 12th Jany 1781
7 oClock P. M.

DEAR SIR

I have not heard a Sylable from you since our parting I am exceeding axious to hear what has become of the Enemy—and have to desire you that you'l send me the best account of them possible, as soon as you can obtain it.

I can inform you that the Pennsylvania Line is on their way to the Southward, the first Brigade arrived at Fredericksburg the 8th Inst the 2d Brigade was escorting a Train of artillery Destined for the Southern Army, and was expected at Frederickburgh in two Days after the first Brigade's arrival there

I am Dear Colo. your most Obiedt

STEUBEN
Maj. Genl.

[*Addressed:*] Colo Clarke Cabbin Point

[*Endorsed:*] Steuban M. G. 12 Jany 1781

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, January 13, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J7.—A. L. S.]

RICHMOND Jan 13 1781

SIR

I received last night from General Washington a letter on your subject in which he has complied with my request. as every movement will depend so much on yourself in the Western quarter I leave to yourself to determine whether you should not as soon

as possible repair hither & take the ultimate measures which are necessary.[1]

I am Sir Your most obed^{t} serv^{t}

TH JEFFERSON

COLO CLARKE

[*Addressed:*] Col^{o} George Rogers Clarke on command under Baron Steuben

GEOFFREY LINCTOT TO GEORGE SLAUGHTER, January 13, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J9.—Copy.]

OPOST VICENT Janu^{y} 13th 1781.

SIR Just as the Pilot was on his way to return to the falls news came that about one hundred and thirty Brittish came to Omei with Cannon Mortars and other ammunition it now is high time if possible to go before them. The Brittish have burnt fort Viya all the French men that was at Miame is gone back to Detroit: twenty french men that went from the Illinois to go to war against St Joseph was killed by the Indians this news is confirmed for certain[2]

Sir I am y^{r} m^{o} hum^{b} Servant

(copy signed) GODFREY LINCTOT l^{t} g^{n}

TO COMMANDING OFFICER AT LOUISVILLE

J. M. P. LE GRAS TO GEORGE SLAUGHTER, January 13, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J9.—Contemporary Copy.]

SIR I received with pleasure your Compliments by Major Linctot, I thank you kindly, and yours will remember to shake hands together, I beg of you as I proffit by the same occasion to pass a few Letters to Philadelphia. I hope that your complesence will be so good as to send them by the first opportunity that is safe by

[1] See Introduction, *ante*, cxlvi. See Jefferson, *Writings* (Washington ed.), I., 257, 259.

[2] Refers to the defeat of De la Balme; see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), lxxix *et seq.*

their directions, I hope that you will be persuaded that anything that lyes in my power I will do it for you with great pleasure.

I am Sir Y^r m^o hum^b Servant

J. M. P. LEGRAW Col^o

SIR As I have sent to Col^o Clarke for ammunition I beg of you if he did not receive my letter if it is in your power to send me some I have a great occasion for itt

To COL^o SLAUGHTER Falls of Ohio

GEORGE SLAUGHTER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, January 14, 1781.[1]

[Draper MSS., 51J12.—A. L. S.]

LOUISVILLE Jan^y 14^th 1781.

SIR

I have the Honour to inclose to your Excellency letters from two Gentlemen at Auposte and copys of several others from Kaskaskias directed to Col^o Clark & Col^o Todd. I have taken the Depositions of three persons which coroborates with the copies of these letters & have inclosed them also, for the consideration of your Board.

The contents of the letters from the two French Gentlemen being a request for ammunition & understanding they apprehended an attack'd upon that post, I gave orders for Cap^t George to send to Kaskaskias one hundred weight of powder & four hundred w^t of Lead, with directions for Cap^t Rogers to lend what aid he can in getting across the country to Auposte & shall endeavour to send a small supply to that place immediately from here. That I thought it necessary to do as I consider it of very great importance to this place the keeping the Auposte in our favour.

With respect to Cap^t Dodge the complaints against him are so general & have so good authority for his having misapplied the publick goods, and apprehending that he may possibly be collecting a cargo of Peltry for the New Orleans market that I have given Cap^t George Orders to make enquiry as to his conduct & if any thing of this sort appears, to seize his person & what goods he may be possessed of & secure them 'till further Orders.

[1] Printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 215.

The letters now inclosed with those sent some time ago will so fully inform you of the state of Affairs in the Illinois that I shall not enlarge on the disagreeable subject.

I now beg leave to mention the mismanagement of the person appointed to superintend the making salt with the countrys Kettles. [*Word illegible*] here about 50 or 60 bushels is all that has been rec^{d} from the persons who has work'd them, when private adventurers has been making near 10 times the Quantity with Kettles not boiling more than one fourth as much Water, owing principally to the indolence of the man who is appointed to carry on the business.

If Sir your Board should think proper to appoint Col^{o} Floy'd or myself to take the directions of the Kettles I am persuaded a sufficiency would be made for the Troops in this department. I am with much respect

Your Excellencys Most obd^{t} & very Hble Serv^{t}

GEORGE SLAUGHTER

The two letters from the French Gent. of the Auposte was by a Mistake inclosed to Col^{o} Clarke who will no doubt lay them before you.

I cannot Omit Mentioning two you the three Bills which I drew late in October last in fav^{r} of John Williams Province one for 2205 Dollars one other for 286 Dollars & another for £2120. which I hope will be paid

Y^{rs} as before

G. S.

[*Addressed:*] To His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esq^{r} at Richmond

[*Endorsed:*] Maj^{r} Slaughter to Gov^{r} Jefferson

DANIEL BRODHEAD TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, January 17, 1781.[1]

[Executive Papers, February 10 to 19, 1781, Va. State Archives.]

FORT PITT Jany 17th 1781

SIR

I am honored with your favor of the 12th of October last and am thankfull for the Contents.

[1] Printed as an abstract in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 439.

I have received information from Detroit that the Indians are in a grand Council there, and it is expected that they are meditating with the British to attack these frontier posts, as soon as the Season will permit.

Your Excellencies Instructions to Mr. James Francis Moore, to make so large a purchase on this side the mountain as 200,000 Rations if actually made, will effectually distress the Troops under my command, and probably, greatly disappoint his Excell'y the Commander-in-chief, if he has not been consulted respecting the measure

It is with great sincerety I profess to entertain the greatest respect towards your Excellency, but circumstanced as I am it appears to me, that I can by no means be justified in suffering the Provisions which are designed for the Troops under my command, to be transported down the river, unless I am instructed so to do by the Commander in chief.

Colo Gibson takes down the arrangement & Return of his Reg^{t} and will have the honor of waiting upon your Excellency with this Letter. He can inform you particularly of the circumstances of this District, wherefore I beg leave to refer to him,

I have the honor to be with the utmost Respect & esteem
your Excellencies most obedt Servant
DANIEL BRODHEAD.

HIS EXCELLENCY T JEFFERSON Eqr

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, January 18, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

RICHMOND Jan^{y} 18th 81

D^{R} S^{R}

I have examined your proposed Instructions I dont Recollect of anything more that is Necessary Except the Mode of paying the Expences of the Garison of Dutroit, in Case of Success, as supporting our Credit among strangers may be attended with great and good Consequences and my former Experience Induce me to wish it to be the Case whare I have the Honour to Comm^{d} I would also observe to your Excellency that I could wish to set out on this Expedition free from any Reluctance which I doubt I cannot do

without a Satisfactory Explination of the treatment of the Virginia Delegates in Congress to me in objecting to an appointment designed for me, which your Excellency Cannot be a Stranger to I could wish not to be thought to solicit promotion and that my Duty to myself did not oblige me to transmit these Sentiments to you The Treatment I have Generaly met with from this State hath prejudicd me as far as Consistant in her Interest and wish not to be disturbed in the Execution of her orders by an Continental Cor that may be in the Cuntries that I have Business in, which I doubt will be the Case although the Orders of the Commander in Chef is very positive[1]

I am Sir with the Greatest Esttem Yr Excellencies Very Hbl Servt

G R CLARK

P S I hope to be Honoured by a line from your Excellencie, as before G R C

ROBERT GEORGE TO OLIVER POLLOCK, January 1, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

FORT JEFFERSON 1st January 1781

SIR

I herewith send you this As a Letter of Advice, with two Sets of Exchange for two hundred and thirty seven thousand three hundred And twenty Dollars in favour of Captain Philip Barbour, who has furnished us with a Large Cargoe of Licours and Dry goods which have been the Saveing of this Poast, Otherwise we Could not have Supported it for want of Necessaries, the Sum may appear to you to be large, but I Called a Council of my Officers And Consulted them upon the matter After haveing Receiv'd An Invoise of the Cargoe And they with myself thought it a Reasonable Sum Considering the Deficulties he had to surmount in geting up to us when heard of Our Distresses the season was far spent and the Enemy (Indians and English) surrounded us on Every Quarter but Notwithstanding he broke through fire and Ice and Came to our assistance, the Necessaries he has brought

[1] On January 22, Clark was made brigadier-general upon the advice of Governor Jefferson and the consent of the Virginia Council. See *post*, 500.

us supply our Immediate wants And Articles to purchase provisions for sometime which Our paper Currency would by no means do. therefore most Earnestly beg you may pay the above in Gold or Silver Coin this being done it will Inable him to supply us in future, Capt Barbour will give you all the News we have in this Remote hole, hope these few Lines will suffice till we shall have something of more Importance or Clever to write You, And am sir your Obedient Humble Servant

(Signed) ROBERT GEORGE Cap[n]
Commandant Fort Jefferson

TO OLAVER POLLOCK Esq[r] Ag[t] to the Independant States of America at New Orleans

JOHN MONTGOMERY TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, January 8, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

NEW ORLEANS January 8[th] 1781

SIR

This is to Represent the distressed situation of Fort Jefferson and the impossibility of mentaining said Post without some Speedy Relief

First the Inhabitants in Gen[l] are leaving the Settlement for want of Subsistance and continually Harrassed by an Unmerciful Enemy the Loss of their Corn and Stock and we not being able to suport those Adventurers by reason of our Credit being so far Reduced for want of Funds

Secondly the certainty of our Soldiers deserting as numbers has already for want of provisions &c. &c

Thirdly Experience fully Shews me that if the late Attack had held a few days longer, all our Stores and Ammunition must fall into the hands of the Enemy, by reason we had nothing but Corn in the Garrison & no more then what would support us for Six days longer, it was impossible for us to Repulse the Enemy, their Force being Superior to Ours if they were certain of our Situation, we being above half a mile from the Missisippi and that thorough a Thick Wood Except where the Channel Run when the Missisippi

was high, it's well known the impossibility of Transporting provisions that way to the Fort in time of an Invasion all these Reasons are Evidence to Every person the different advices Received of this place Minaced with Attacks from diff^{t} Quarters and Nations and the long time we have had no advice from Governm^{t} makes me represent to You the inavoidable Loss that must happen to this place if continued as it now is and the great loss to Government not only of this place with the Stores but all the Illenois Country was this Post to Fall, I further think it highly necessary that this Post may be removed to some place where an Open Communication may be kept up with the Missisippi or to remove all the State Stores Amunition &c. with the Troops where they can be provided for, They Establishing a Settlement agreeable to their intention as the Situation of this can no ways answer having no Communication with the Missisippi for better then half a Mile for one half the Year, The Bearer hereof Cap^{t} Robison can inform You the Particulars, and had it not been for the Assistance Of M^{r} Oliver Pollock with whom I am now present, we must undoubtedly evacuate that Post, He well knowing that Govern^{t} having to heart the Setling a place of so much Consequence and from those good principles he hath always Shewn Sent us Relief from time to time both Amunition and Goods in our Greatest distresses until he has Sent his All & is Still Striving to send Us further Supplies I am fully Convinced it will not be in his Power to Send further Supplies without Relief I am in hopes You will take the Speediest Method of Sending him Remittances or Providing a Fund for our future Relief, as I can See No other Method for the Preservation of the Illenois Country Pray Excuse me for takeing Such Libertys it being the true State of our Situation and in Colonel Clarks absence I think it my duty

I am Sir With Respect Your Excellencies most Obed^{t} Humble Servant

JN^{o} MONTGOMERY

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, January 20, 1781.[1]

[Draper MSS., 51J17.—L. S.]

COLO GEO: R. CLARKE

IN COUNCIL January 20 1781

SIR

Having cause to entertain doubts from several Letters transmitted me whether M[r] John Dodge who was appointed to conduct a commerce with the Indians on behalf of this state has not been guilty of gross misapplication or mismanagement of what has been confided to him and the distance between him and us rendering it impracticable to call the examination before ourselves you are hereby authorised and desired either by yourself or such persons as you shall appoint to enquire into any part of his conduct which you may have reason to suppose unjustifiable and if it be found so to remove him from his office and take such measures as may be most effectual for bringing him to account and indemnyfying the public against such malversations. Should he be removed we think it unnecessary to appoint another in his [S]tead.

I am Sir your most ob[t] humble servant

TH. JEFFERSON

COLO G. R. CLARKE

[*Addressed:*] Colo George Rogers Clarke

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, January 21, 1781

[Va. State Papers, I., 451.]

RICHMOND, January 21st, 1781.

"SIR,

There is some probability of my demands on the Treasury being answer'd so as to Inable me to set out to morrow if the necessary papers from your Excellency do not detain me, which I should be glad to know, as the Days are pretious.

I am with Esteem, Your very Hbl[e] Servant.

G. R. CLARK

Printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, v.), 219.

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, January 21, 1781.

[Va. State Papers, I., 452.]

RICHMOND, January 21st, 1781.

"D^R SIR,

Excuse y^e liberty I take in writing to you on a subject that you might think would not concern me so much as it Really does, as great part of my forces will be from Kentucky, the appointment of the County Lieutenants is an object worthy my attention. I this day Learnt that Col: Christy hath resigned the Lieutenancy of Jefferson County I would beg leave to recommend to you Col^o Jn^o Floyd an Inhabitant of the County, as a Gen^tlen that I am convinced will do Honour to the appointment and known to be the most capable in the County. a Soldier, Gentleman, and a scholar whom the Inhabitants, from his actions have the greatest confidence in. I hope S^r that you will not put any unfavourable Construction on this Let^r, and beg leave to subscribe myself,

your very Hbl servant."

G. R. CLARK

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, January 22, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J18.—A. L. S.]

IN COUNCIL Jan 22, 1781.

SIR

I do myself the pleasure of inclosing you a Brigadier General's commission the laws having given us power to appoint a general officer only for special purposes and not a perpetual one, has obliged us to express the particular occasion of the appointment. besides this I thought it necessary to give you an exemplification of your former commission which was perpetuel.[1]

I wish you in every circumstance all possible success & felicity, and to beleive me to be with very sincere esteem Sir

Your most obed^t & most humble serv^t

TH JEFFERSON

[*Addressed:*] Brigadier General Clarke Richmond

[1] See Introduction, *ante*, cxlv

The Commonwealth of VIRGINIA

To George Rogers Clark Gentleman, greeting:

Know you that our GOVERNOUR, with the advice of the Council of State, doth constitute and appoint you a Brigadier General of the forces to be embodied on an expedition westward of the Ohio.

In Testimony whereof, these our Letters are sealed, with the Seal of the Commonwealth, and made Patent.

Witness THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esquire, our said Governour, at Richmond, the twenty second Day of January in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty one.

TH JEFFERSON

(Seal)

PETITION TO THOMAS JEFFERSON FROM THE OFFICERS OF BERKELEY COUNTY, January 25, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 461.]

BERKELEY Co., January 25th, 1781.

Phil: Pendleton Col: 1st B. Militia, John Morrow Colo 2d Militia, Robert Carter Willis L: Col: B. M.—William Morgans Lt: Colo B. M—Go Scott Major 1st B. B. M—to the Governor of Va:

"SIR,

Col: Swearingen the Lieut: of this County laid before us some time ago, your Excellency's Orders of the 24th December Directing Two Hundred & Seventy five of the Militia of this County under proper Officers, to march Immediately to the Falls of the Ohio, to join Col: Clarke in an Expedition from thence. We beg leave to represent to your Excellency, that we have seventy men now on duty from this County, now in the Southern Army, which with the 68, we are to raise for the Army and the 275 now ordered into service will make near one half of the Militia of this County fit for duty—from these circumstances and the immense distance from here to the falls of the Ohio, being by the way of Fort Pitt, little less than a thousand miles, we are sorry to inform your Excellency that we have the greatest reason to believe that those whose Turn it now is from this County will suffer any punishment rather than obey our orders for their march. So general an Opposition to orders of Government from such a number we think

of too much consequence at this crisis, for us to proceed without informing your Excellency of the difficulties with which the execution of those orders will be attended. We beg leave further to inform your Excellency that notwithstanding the great reluctance the People in general discover in complying with this order of Government, yet there are many young men in this county who having connections in the Kentucky Country, would turn out as Volunteers in such an Expedition, were they assured that they have no prospect of enriching themselves with the substance of a number now called as militia, who will give everything they have to Substitute, rather than undertake such a Tour. Would your Excellency, therefore dispense with the militia on this occasion, and empower us to raise Volunteers, we think it would be in our power to procure such a number of men as would render their Country greater service on such an Expedition, than the Two Hundred and seventy five taken from the classes of the militia. We wish your Excellency to believe, that it is exceedingly disagreeable to us to delay for a moment, the Execution of your Orders, but we flatter ourselves, your Excellency will upon examining the Gentleman, who will deliver you this, fully Justify us"

We have the Honour to be Yr: Excellency's mo: Obt Hbl servants.

Petition from the Officers of Greenbrier County to Thomas Jefferson, January 29, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 468.]

Greenbrier Co. January 29th, 1781.

Andrew Donnally, Saml: Brown, and And^{w} Hamilton to Gov: Jefferson:

"Sir,

A Letter from your Excellency of the 24th of December, directing that 137 Men of the Militia of this County shou'd forthwith be raised & sent to the County of Kentucky to join Col^{o} Clarke, and serve under him this ensuing Summer, on an Expedition against the Indians; in Consequence of which, we have given orders to Draft that number together with proper Officers to Command them, amounting to 146 effective men. So large a

number out of a Militia scarcely 550 strong, lying in a County exposed to the daily inroads of the Indians, fill us with much uneasiness about the dangers we are like to suffer, from this weakening of our Militia: especially at a time when we cannot expect to be reinforced from any of the interior Counties, should any such danger arise. how much more then, must our apprehensions of Danger increase, when we find that by an Act of Assembly we are to furnish 34 Men more for the Continental Army. It is with the utmost reluctance we address ourselves to your Excellency on this occasion (at a time when the necessities of the State require the utmost exertion of its members in its defence) to request that you will prolong the Term in which we are to furnish s^{d} recruits, 'til the return of our Militia from Col^{o} Clarke, or at least 'til such time as they have got into the Indian Country, & may have drawn their attention to his operations. Assure yourself Sir, we wou'd not have made this request, but in consequence of the entreaties of the inhabitants here & the imminent danger to which we think these frontiers exposed, by drawing away the Militia We shall continue to use all means to have the Militia ready as speedily as possible, shou'd you think it improper to grant us our request.

We are sir, your most Obed^{t} Hble Servants."

JOHN TODD, JR., TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, February 1, 1781.[1]

[Executive Papers, February 1–9, Va. State Archives.]

LEXINGTON 1st Feb 1781.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

Accounts from all Quarters lead us to expect vigorous Measures from our Enemies the next Campain. I have just received Duplicates of Letters sent from our officers of Illinois to others at Louisville which inform that the Spanish & American Ilinois Settlements are preparing defensively for heavy attacks. The Original Letters I hear are sent forward to your Excellency On Conferring with Colo Bowmans & Trigg we concluded it expedient to send 150 Men to Garrison the Mouth of Licking

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 481, and Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 341.

until Crockett shall arrive which we shall expect weekly. We apprehended the Expence w'd be less to Government than to wait until the enemy arrive at our settlements & better conduce to the security of the people.

Inclosed are Recommendations for certain Officers in this County. Would there be any Impropriety in sending out some blank Commissions as formerly? I w'd engage that no abuses be commented. There are many vacancies for other Officers than those recommended whose Ranks are as yet unsettled.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Humble Servant,

JN. TODD, JR.

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, February 10, 1781.[1]

Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

WINCHESTER Feby 10th 1781

Dr Sr

Before my arrival at this Post I met with Mr Randolph from Pittsburg Col W. Harrison is Exerting himself to Compleat the Purchase ordered, Great Incouragement given by Most Persons of Note N of the Allegany Pensylvaneans, as well as Virginians Col Crawford now with me says their is no danger of their not turning out or a failiour of provitions but no possibility of its being Ready by ye time appointed I am Extreamly Anstious to get to Pittsburg but doubt it will be Some Days before I can leave this place am Sorry that some of the officers of Berkely Cty appear to be backward in furnishing men before this Reaches you you must have Received a Petition from them I guess the purport by Letters from their Lieutenant they want arms men they have the officers of Frederick appear Rather desirous to Incouraging the Expedition but I doubt Cannot arm their men I have Learnt that a number of Rifles lay in Philiadelphia If they Could be procured they might be brought to this place in a few weaks by the Cty Lieut Receiving orders in Consequence Its Truly surprising to

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 504.

me that those Gent[n] Should undertake to dictate for Government or Remonstrate against her orders I wish we may not hereafter feel the fatal effects of such Conduct Col Crawford who will hand you this is Capable and hath already been of great service to us in the Dep[t] of Pittsburg whare we have a pleasing Prospect at present I wish it was the Case here there would but little doubt of Suckcess I begin to fear the want of men but the Idea of a disappointment is so disagreable to me that if the Authority and Influence that I have with every Exertion that can be made will Carry my point I shall Certainly do it without your orders for the Enterprise is Countermand[d] or a failiour in the supplies I am to Receive which I hope will not be the Case

I am S[r] your Very Hbl Servant

G R CLARK

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, February 13, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.][1]

IN COUNCIL Feb. 13, 1781.

SIR

Still having at heart the success of the expedition at the head of which you are placed, we have obtained leave from Baron Steuben for Colo J. Gibson to attend you as next in command, and of course to succeed to your offices in the event of your deeth or capture which however disagreeable in contemplation yet as being possible it is our duty to provide against. I have further added my most pressing request to Colo Broadhead that he permit Colo Gibson' regiment to be added to your force for the expedition, a request which I hope will be successful as coinciding with the spirit of Gen[l] Washington's recommendations. Colo Gibson is to go by Baltimore to see the powder conveyed to Fort Pitt. The articles which were to be sent from this place to Frederic county were duly forwarded a few days after you left us.

I wish you laurels & health & am with esteem & respect Sir

Your mo—ob. hble serv[t]

TH. JEFFERSON

[1] Printed also in Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), II., 450; English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II., 709; and *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 511.

ROBERT GEORGE TO GEORGE SLAUGHTER, February 15, 1781.[1]

[Executive Papers, February 1–9, Va. State Archives.]

FORT JEFFERSON, 15th Febʸ 1781.

DR. SIR:-

I have the Honor to acknowledge the rec't of yours of the 23rd January last, & am happy to find that you are so abundant as you express—as out of your great abundance I shall expect to receive frequent and large Supplies—more especially in the Commissary way. The Small Supplies you have sent us, have been of infinite Service, & if you frequently repeat them they will be of singular advantage as we look to you for it, but the supplies I beg may be of a better Quality than what is yet come to hand. The Beef is really of the poorest kind—ill-cured, and not half salted—the Barrels being bad, the pickle became wasted, if ever any had been put in, and tho' the Meat does not absolutely stink, it wants little of it. The approaching Season being warm more especially require that the Troops should be victualled with the wholesomest diet. You well know the ill Consequences of bad Provisions in an Army. I shall therefor only request you w'd not put the State to the Expence of transporting any more provisions to us, as I shall not suffer such for the future to be recieved. 'Twere well if all that you send was first inspected.

Major Harlan will give you the News of the place I As have to purchase Supplies in the Illinois it draws away the Liquor from me fast, besides I have to send a Supply to the Opost, & Major Linetot has made a heavy Draft on me for 6 Hogsheads & the half of my Amunition for use of the Indian Department and three Hogshead more to purchase Eight Months Provisions for 25 Men which I have sent for the protection of the Opost and under the command of Capt. Bayly—The Credit of the State is so bad that nothing can be had either there or at Kaskaskia without prompt payment, & when our little Stock is exhausted I know not what we shall do, except you take some Care of us. Send us as much Whisky as you please as we are forced to expend our Taffia for Provisions. The Enemy are approaching the Opost, & fortifying themselves at Miamis, so that the Inhabitants of the

[1] Printed also in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 521.

Opost have Petitioned me for an Officer & Men to uphold the Honor of the State there, which I have complied with In the Month of January I have the pleasure to inform you we were able to drink brandy, Taffia & Wine—with your good assistance Whisky too; but it has not made us so saucy, but we can drink all the Whisky you can send us.

I send under the care of Major Harlan for the use of Mr. Slaughter & Mr. Roberts one hundred wt. of sugar 12 lb soap and fifty weight of coffee &c agreeable to the enclosed bill.

I have the Pleasure to drink your Health in a bumper of your good Whisky and the Honor to be your most obed. & very humble Servant,

ROBT. GEORGE.

I have taken notice of your Song and learned it. It is so good I wish you had sent more of it.

COL. GEORGE SLAUGHTER.

I am under the necessity of putting a Stop to the Mens Rations of Liquor in order purchase provisions. Please send us a little paper by the first oppertunity as we can hardly carry on business for want of that Article.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, February 19, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J21.—L. S.][1]

RICHMOND Feby. 19. 1781

SIR

I received your letter on the subject of the backwardness of the Militia of Berkely & Frederic to proceed Westwardly and had before received representations from the Counties. This circumstance was the more mortifying as we were informed from various quarters that should we persist in the order it would produce an open disobedience. Many circumstances concurred to render it prudent to avoid this. the presence of two armies of the enemy within the State induced us to wish to prevent anything like commotion or opposition to Government in every part of it. As therefore the representations were accompanied with hopes held out of raising a respectable number of volunteers, the board

[1] Printed also in Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), II., 460.

thought it prudent to accept of that offer. these two Counties were relied on for 560 men; on view of this disappointment we obtained an order from Baron Steuben for Col° John Gibson with his regiment & Heth's company (about 200 regulars) to be added to your command: an addition of more worth of itself perhaps than those Militia, more especially if any number of volunteers should go. I hope too you will receive greater numbers from Kentucky than we counted on, & aids from the french settlements; we are apt to hope what we much wish, & perhaps this is my case.

The inclosed papers give us real concern as they hold out reason to apprehend great abuses in the Western quarter. I transmit them to you to have strict enquiry made (not by yourself for your time is otherwise better engaged, but) by such persons of known integrity & Character as you shall appoint. We do not know what to do with the bills of which Major Slaughter speaks, indeed I wish such an enquiry could take place and that the persons you appoint would give their sanction to every bill.

The suggestions against the Gentleman who went to Kaskaskias under promise of availing you of it's resources & strength are of such a nature as to merit attention & delicate enquiry. I am sure you will keep your attention alive as to everything of this kind and will use decision where decision is found necessary.

I am with much esteem & respect Sir Your most obed^{t} & mo: hble serv^{t}

TH. JEFFERSON.

Endorsed:] From Government, Gov^{r} Jefferson Feb^{y} 19, 1781.

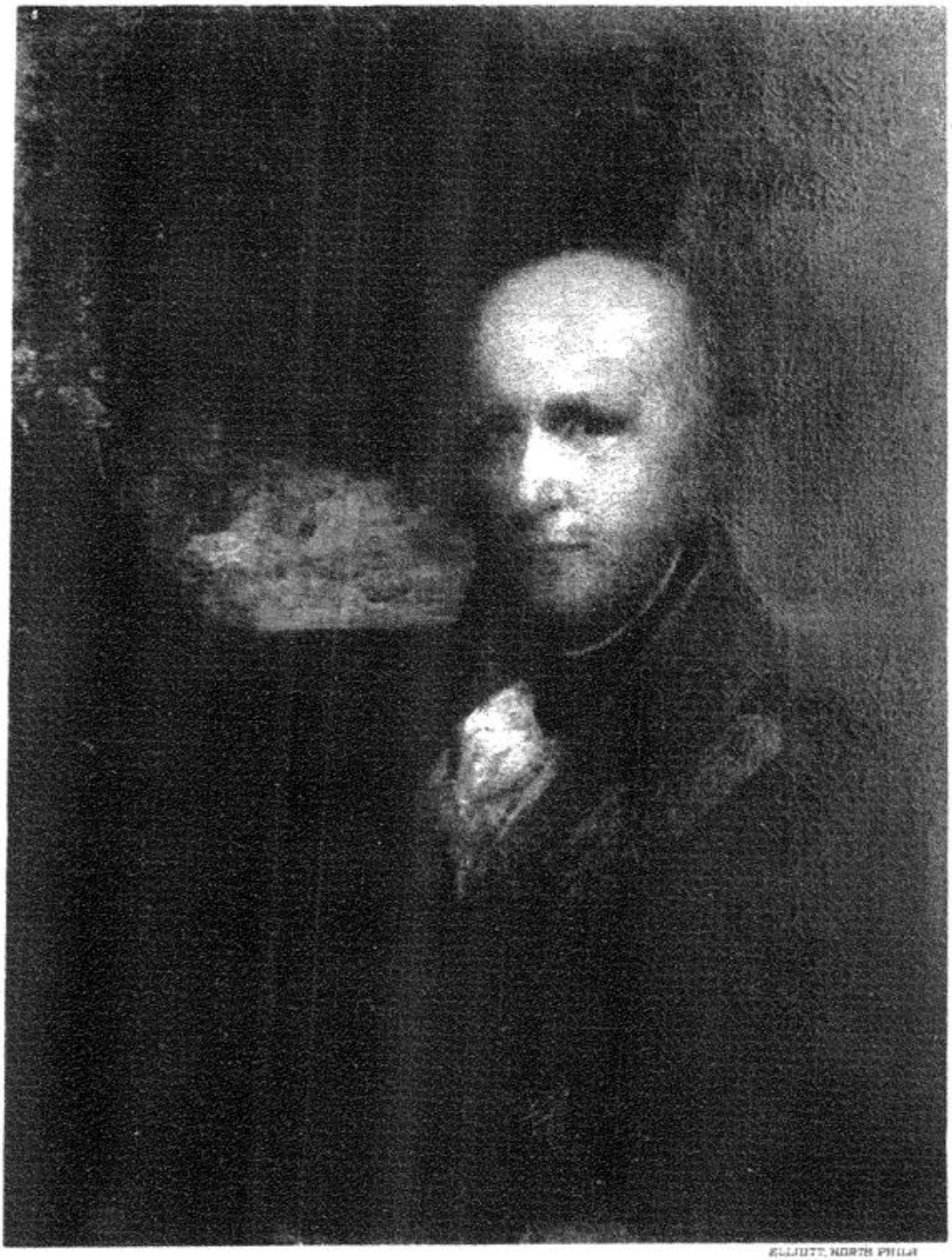
COLONEL JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, February 23, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J22.—A. L. S.]

DEAR SIR,

By the letters which I now transmit you from his Excellency Governor Jefferson, By Cap^{t} Sullivan, you will Be informed that I with the men of my Reg^{t} now at Fort pitt am ordered to join you on the intended Expedition to the Westward. I am now on my way to Baltimore in order to forward four tons powder for your depar^{t} and shall delay no time in repairing to Fort pitt as soon as

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ELLIOTT, NORTH PHILA

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GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

From a portrait in the possession of Mr. John O'Fallon Clark of St. Louis, Missouri

I can send of the Same. as I woud wish to Remain some time at Fort pitt in order to regulate my affairs, should be happy if my Regt coud be the rear of the whole that goes down the river.

Permit me to refer you to Capt Sullivan for the News in this quarter. I am, with sincere regard your most Obdt humble Servant

JNO GIBSON Colo
7th Virt Regt

FALMOUTH Febv 23d 1781
BRIGADIER GENL CLARKE
[*Addressed:*] Public Service Brigadier General Clarke Fort Pitt honoured by Capt Sullivan
[*Endorsed:*] Col Jno Gibson

DANIEL BRODHEAD TO CLARK, February 24, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J23.]

FORT PITT Febv 24th 1781.

DEAR SIR I am honored with your favor of the 18th instant, together with instructions from his Excellv the Commander in chief relative to an Expedition which you have the Honor to Command.

I sincerely wish you may be properly supplied & supported, in any operation you undertake; and you may rely on every "supply" I am authorized to afford, to facilitate your Expedition.

When you can make it convenient to come to Pitt, I beg you will consider my quarters as your Home except only for a bed, which I have not to give you.

I have the honor to be with great respect Dear Sir your most Obedt Servt

DANIEL BRODHEAD

COLo G. R. CLARK.
[*Addressed:*] (on public service) Colo George R. Clark Stewarts Crossings
[*Endorsed:*] Col Brodhead

DANIEL BRODHEAD TO CLARK, March, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J27.—A. L. S.]

FORT PITT March —th 1781.

DEAR SIR I have just received two letters by Capn Montour from the Moravian Towns. Inclosed are Copies of them, and I believe the intelligence communicated by them to be authentic.

The revolt of the Cooshocking Delawares induces me to believe that we may now expect a general Indian war.

I have wrote the County Lieutenants &c to meet at my quarters on the 15th instant to consult on means to protect our Settlements & annoy the Enemy. If it may be agreeable to you, to be here at the Same time, I should be happy to have your advice & assistance.

With perfect respect & esteem I am Dear Sir your most Obedt Servt

DANIEL BRODHEAD

P. S. will it not be proper to send copies of the inclosures to the Govr of Virga?

BRIGR GEO ROGERS CLARK

JOSEPH CROCKETT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, March 14, 1781.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

SHEPHARDS TOWN 14th March 1781

SIR

By Orders received from Col Clarke we have just return'd from Frederick Town, to this place in hopes to get the Regiment equip'd for the western expedition.

I must beg leave once more to mention to your Excellency, the great distress the Regiment is in for want of cloathing, the Soldiers being almost naked for want of Linen, and intirely without Shoes. Col Clark informs me he expects a Considerable quantity of linen at Winchester, of which we shall have a part as for Shoes, I know not where to apply.

This will be handed your Excellency by Capt Cherry, pay-master to the western Battalion, who will wait on the Treasurer

[1] This has been previously printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 573.

for a Sum of Money due the Officers, agreeable to a late act of Assembly, and also will with Cheerfulness obay any Command your Excellency may please to lay on him, in order to serve the Regiment, in forwarding Cloathing Money &C

I Have the Honour to be your Excell^{y} most obt & very Hble Serv^{t}

JOSEPH CROCKETT

ISAAC CRAIG TO CLARK, March 18, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J30.—A. L. S.]

FORT PITT 18th March 1781

SIR Having the Honour to be Put under your Command as Commanding Officer of Artillery[1] it becomes my Duty to Enquier into the State of the Ordnance & Stores—and as no Suplys can be Obtain'd from any Magezine or Founderey after the Troops have left this Place, it is therefore Necessary that Propper Provision be now made—this Consideration has led me to take the Liberty of Adressing A Line or two to You Sir on that Subject. the Ordnance Ordered for your Intended Expedition Naturealy Points out to an Artillery Officer the Necessary Apparatus—in Shells & fixed Ammunition I have Adheard to the Number and Quantity Required by Governor Jefferson—and from a General Estimate of Ordnance Stores &c that are Absolutely Necessary I have Deducted every Article that Can be furnished at this Place—the Inclosed Indent will Show what is Still wanting—as it is of the utmost Importance that these things be Precured as Soon as Possible, and least the Publick Service or My Caracter Should Suffer by a Want of Timely Attention. If you Sir Aprove I will take the Trubl of Going down and having them Brought

[1] Isaac Craig was born in Ireland, and came to America with his parents in 1765. The family settled in Philadelphia, Isaac becoming a carpenter. At the outbreak of the Revolution he entered the navy, but after ten months' service, joined the army and was present at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. In 1777, he was made captain of artillery. Early in 1781, he was ordered to Fort Pitt with artillery and military stores. He accompanied Clark down the Ohio to the falls, but towards the close of the year returned to Fort Pitt, where he remained in active service until the close of the war. On account of his bravery and ability he was advanced to the office of major. After the war, he continued to reside at Pittsburg and for a number of years was in the employ of the government in a military capacity.

up—the Weak State of My Company and A Necessity of Aplying for two or three Artillery Officers is an Inducement to my going to Philadelphia as I Shall there have it in my Power Bring up a Part of my Company that is at Present there and two Officers—if this Proposal Sir meets Your Approbation Please to give me Your Instructions as Soon as Possible—it will also be necessary to aply for nine or ten Artillery Artificers and as Bringing over the Mountain Such heavy Articles as fixed Ammunition is attended with Some Expence A Part of which can be Saved by Bringing Tin Solder flannell Cartriges &c and One Tin Plate Worker from the Laboratory, in order to fix the Ammunition here as A Considerable Number of unfixed Rond Shot and Grape Can be found here which may be Spaered from this Post—I have Mentioned my Proposal of going down for the above Purposes to Col Broadhead and his Opinion is that it is Absolutely Necessary.

I Am Sir with Esteem Your Obedient Hbl Servt

I Craig
Capt Artillery

Gorge R Clarke B. General

Isaac Craig to Clark, March 18, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J31.—A. D. S.]

Fort Pitt 18th March 1781

Ammunition & Apparatus Necessary for the following Ordnance in Addition to that already Here viz

One	Eight Inch Howitzer	4	Shell Tunnells
202	Eight Inch Shells	12	lb of Kitt
220	Eight Inch Fuzes	4	Kitt Brushes
400	Eight Inch Tubes	3	Copper Drudging Boxes
400	Empty flannell Cartriges	6	Fuz Wrasps
13	lb of Mealed Powder	1	Pair of Limbers
8	lb of Quick Match	2	Setts of Drage Ropes

	Three Six Pounders
610	Pound Shot fixed with Flannell Cartriges
340	Case Shott fixed with Do
200	Empty Flannell Cartriges
800	Six P^{d} Tubes
	One Three Pounder
44	Round Shot fixed with Flannell Cartriges
150	Case Shott fixed with Do
100	Empty Flannell Cartriges
400	three Pound Tubes
	Two Royal Howitzers
140	Case Shot 5½ inches
30	Royal Tubes
6	Setts of Drage Ropes
400	Empty Flannell Cartriges

6	Tube Boxes
10	Guners Belts & Horns Compleat
2	Guners Quadrants
1	Perpendicular
4	Darke Lantherons
4	Light Do.
200	lbs of Slow Match
12	Dozen of Port Fiers
60	lb of Salt Petter
40	lb of Sulpher
2000	Spunge Tacks
6	Sheep Skins Dressed with Wooll on
6	Tannd Hides
10	Setts of Mens Harness
2	Coils of 2½ inch Tarred Rope
10	Hanks Marline
25	lb. of Pack Thread

Indent of Ordnance Stores

I. CRAIG Capt Artillery

[*Addressed:*] George R Clarke Esq^{r} B. General

DANIEL BRODHEAD TO CLARK, March 19, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J32.—A. L. S.]

FORT PITT March 19th 1781.

DEAR SIR I am honored with your favor of the 8th instant and am glad your Sentiments & my own coincide, respecting the minds of the Indians, and the mode of defending the Settlements.

I should be happy to see Colo Crockets Regt on this side the Mountain, as it might be very usefully employed in covering the frontiers of Ohio & Monongalia Countys from Fort Henry. But I cannot promise a full supply of Provisions, with certainty.

An Indian Man has just brought in a letter which was sent by some of the inhabitants to the Enemy at Detroit with information that about one hundred of them were ready to join them so soon as they could be informed that they should be received by the Commanding officer there.

Captain Craig has made out an indent of ordnance & Stores which he conceives will be essentially necessary upon your enterprize and he alledges that he hath not half Men enough to work his pieces. I conceive that neither will be obtained until he is permitted to make a personal application And therefore if you approve he may have leave of absence untill such time as you expect to proceed down the River.

I am with perfect respect & esteem your most Obedt Servt

DANIEL BRODHEAD
Colo commandg W D

BRIGR GENL CLARKE At Stewarts Crossing

JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, March 21, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J33.—A L. S.]

DEAR SIR I arrived here a fortnight ago, and notwithstanding every exertion have not Been able as yet to send off the powder. the kaggs in which it was sent from Philada to this place were so Bad, that I was obliged to have new ones made, that with difficulty of providing waggons has detained me so long here. I am to set off on Monday next at farthest.

The English have taken all the [*MS. torn and illegible*] French vessels at Statia, [*MS. torn*] from the Southward are that Cornwallis had retreated as far as Hills Bourough, that Genl Greene was pursuing him, Being joined by Co[l] Campble and two thousand of the Militia from the Back Counties of Virg[a], Gen[l] Sumpter and the Militia of the Carolinas are in the front, so that his fate is looked on as inevitable, and that it is impossible for him to Escape. A french fleet it is said is arrived in Chesepeake Bay, which if true, must determine the fate of the infamous Arnold. this place does not afford a single newspaper or I should have sent you them.

For news permit me to refer you to the Bearer Cap[t] Elliot and Believe me to Be with utmost respect Dear Sir, your most Obedt Humble Serv[t]

JN° GIBSON

CARLISLE March 21[st] 1781

[*Addressed:*] Brigadier General Clark Fort Pitt Honored by Cap[t] Elliot

CLARK TO I. CRAIG, March 23, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 27CC30. Printed slip from *Pittsburgh American*, December 3, 1845.]

CROSINGS,[1] March 23d, 1781.

DR. CAP'TN: Yours of the 18th came safe to hand. I much approve of your going down in order to take measures to Compleat yourself in stores wanting for your Dept., not only nessessary for the interprise, but to enable you to gain those Laurels I could wish to put in your power. I am sorry to find by the indent you Honored me with the great defitiency of stores at Fort Pitt but am in hopes it will be in your power to procure them in time. you may Rely upon all nessessary assistance from his Excellency Genl. Washington if you should be obliged to make application to him. It would be advisable to get what artillery men and artificers You could below; we must indeavour to make up the defitiency (if any) otherways; there is a few pretty well trained in the Illinois thats on their way to Join you. I could wish you to be as Compleat as

[1] On the Yohogheny River.

possible and am in hopes you will meet with no difficulty in procuring what you want. I am happy you have Consulted Col. Brodhead on the subject, by a Letter he honoured me with; he approves of the plan as Highly advisable. I hope that you will have sufficient length of time between this and the first of May to compleat your Business. I hertily wish you success.

Am with much erteem y'r very Obt Serv't

G. R. CLARK.

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, March 27, 1781.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

YOUGH, 27th March 1781

SIR

I Received your dispatches by Captn Sullivan, that part Respecting the Bills Countnd by Majr Slaughter and Letters of advice is something curious its supprising to me that Majr Slaughter as an officer of the State would suffer those persons to persevear in their Villany was he as he hints truly sensible of ye principal that actuated them you know my sentiments Respecting Sevrl persons in our Imploy. those he accuses are genlv men of fair Characters. I have long Since determined to Conduct myself with a particular Regour towards every person under me, they Shall feel the Stings of Remorce (if Capable) or the Sweats of publick applause either as they demean themselves, but to Reflect on the steps I have been obliged to make use of to prosecute a war for these several years there is an indignity in it that often Hurt me, but a zeal that is unaccountable to me Carry me to length that I sometimes Regret, those gentlemen Majr Slaughter points at with himself may Expect to undergo the Strictest scrutiny in a short time as orders are prepared for that purpose, Mr Jno Dodge & others of the Illinois also, the whole proceedings shall be Transmitd to your Excellency, the Bills Signed by Majo Slaughter I think out to be paid those poor persons may otherways suffer the Estates of those alluded to if guilty is a Sufficient security I have Received Inteligence that Col Montgomery hath gone of to New

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I., 597.

Orleans on some pretence or other.[1] I have dispatched of Letters to that post desiring him to Return to a tryal for his Conduct and desiring no person to Credit him on Ac^{t} of the State if he should Return by the way of Richmond I hope S^{r} you will put him under an arrest and order him to the Western Dep^{t} to answer for those accusations that may be laid to his Charge its a very allarming circumstance to me that of the Frederick Berkely and hampshire Militia being excused from the Western Service I make no doubt that good policy might Require it I suspected it, but 6 or 7 Hundred men deducted from two Thousand is very Considerable, I shall never think otherways than that the Militia of those Counties would have marched with chearfullness had they not been incouraged to ye Contrary Co^{l} Gibsons Regiment will make some amends but far from filling up the Blank perhaps we may do it by Voluntiers from this Quarter, I feel the distresses of my Cuntrey and shall devote myself to its interest but S^{r} if any misfortune should happen I have the Consolation to hope the cause will not be misplaced my situation is truly disagreable the most daring, attempt would be agreable to me was their nothing but Death to fear. but more I conceive to be Depending at present, to be flung into my Situation by a Set of Men that are not Honoured with the Sentiments of a Soldier is truly disagreable I hope those Gen^{t} alluded to will live to Repent of their Conduct contious of the Rectitude of the orders of Government agravate the Guilt of those persons in my Ideas and Cannot Refrain from giving those my Sentiments though it may Refflect no honour to me I am flattered by the purchasers in Gen^{l} to believe that their will be a suffitiency of Flower and Boats prepaired though much later than could be wished for Co^{l} Gibsons Regiment is of great worth to us I am happy in his appointment

If its in your power to Honour Maj^{r} Harrisons Draft for money I hope you will do it the greater our Supplies the greater probability of suckcess the money I brought with me I have yet and would wish to keep it as the last Resource I hope Sir there will be no disappointment in the Stores ordered for the dep^{t} as it may be attended with the worst of Consequences

I have the Honour to be with Esteem your very Hbl Serv^{t}

G. R. CLARK

[1] Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), xcix.

GEOFFREY LINCTOT TO GEORGE SLAUGHTER, April 2, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 5.—Abstract.]

ST. VINCENNES April 2nd, 1781.

He feels compelled, for the good of the State, to send Sergeant Simon Fletcher, express, to inform him of the condition of that Country, and the disposition of the Indians, in order that some remedy may be applied. The expedition to Detroit was a failure, and aid is now needed to keep their Indians faithful. He must rely upon Col: Slaughter's known generosity and friendship, to interest himself in behalf of a people and Country threatened with dire calamity unless promptly succoured. He trusts his Express will meet with due compensation at his hands for the service he renders. He awaits with anxiety an answer; and begs leave to add his grateful remembrances to Mrs. Slaughter, and to the gentlemen at the Falls, as he can never forget the kind offices done him, &c.

GEOFFREY LINCTOT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 2, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 6 —Abstract.]

VINCENNES April 2nd, 1781.

The Commission granted him on account of his sincere attachment to the cause of the United States by his Excellency, has enabled him to carry out the policy of maintaining friendly relations with the "Orebache" Indians and other tribes; but for the future maintenance of this state of things the transmission of goods, powder and other articles will be necessary. These Allies now remain true and faithful, but unless their wants are supplied, the English, who may afford them relief will succeed in engaging them on their side—The attachment of his Excellency to Virginia and her honour and interests should not permit those people to remain daily exposed to massacre on account of their fidelity to the State, for want of the necessaries of life, arms, powder &c:—On this account he earnestly prays, in behalf of them, and the honor of the State, that they may not be left to a cruel and uncertain fate.

Commissioners' Report on an Examination of William Shannon, April 13, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

At a Meeting of the Commissioners appointed by Brigadier General Clark the 13 day of April 1781 for the purpose of inquiring into the Conduct of Capt. William Shannon & Cap. Ja. Francis Moore purchasing Commissaries in the Western department on the complaint of Major George Slaughter.

Present John Floyd Isaac Cox William Oldham and Robert Todd Gent—The said Slaughter being Called appeared & Exhibited a Charge against the said Moore for purchasing several Articles of Commerce last Spring in partnership with a certain James Sullivan & in payment passed a bill on the Treasury of Virginia setting forth therein that the same was drawn for a Quantity of Corn furnished by the said Sullivan for the use of the State. The said Jaˢ Francis Moore denying the Charge the Board proceeded to Examine the Witnesses that were called on for & against the said Moore whereupon it appears that Colº George Rogers Clarke purchased a quantity of Corn from the said James Sullivan and directed the said Moore to receive the same & give Bills on the Treasury for payment that sometime after the said Moore purchased a quantity of pott metal in partnership with a certain Andrew Hinds and borrowed one of the bills given in payment as aforesaid in Order to pay for the Pott Metal.

The said William Shannon being Charged by the said Major Slaughter with having refused to purchase whiskey of a certain Richard Masterson at the price of 45£ p Gallon & afterwards gives Sixty pounds p Gallon to the said James Sullivan for the same Whiskey Denyed the Charge upon Examination of the Witnesses for & against the said Shannon it appears to the Board that the said Shannon had Offered to purchase the whiskey of the said Masterson & proffered Bills on the Treasury in payment the said Masterson not Chosing to take Bills of the said Shannon sold the said whiskey to a certain Daniel Sullivan in partnership with the said James Sullivan and they afterwards sold the same to the said Shannon for Sixty pounds p Gallon it also appears to the Board that Sixty pounds p Gallon was the Current price of Whiskey at that time

The said William Shannon being also Charged by the said Slaughter with having refused to purchase corn at 40 Dollars p Bush. afterward giving 60 Dollars to the said James Sullivan for the same Corn upon Examination of the Evidence for & against the s^{d} Shannon it appears that the said Shannon had Offered to purchase the said Corn of a Certain Wm. Pope at the price of Thirty dollars p Bushell and thought that he had Engaged it at that price but sometime after when the said pope applyed for bills in payment he insisted that the price agreed upon by him was Fifty Doll—p Bushell & refused to take Less that the said Shannon give this as a reason for not purchasing the Corn of the said pope at the last mentioned price. it also appear^{d} that the said James Sullivan purchased the Corn of the s^{d} Pope at Forty five Dollars p Bushell and gave in payment his Obligation for the Money payable in a short time at the falls of Ohio & that the said Shannon purchased the said Corn of the said Sullivan at Sixty Dollars p Bushell

J FLOYD
ISAAC COX
WILL OLDHAM
ROBT. TODD

JOHN TODD, JR., TO CLARK, April 13, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J37.—A. L. S.]

LEXINGTON 13th April 1781

D^{r} SIR. Your much esteemed letter of Jan^{y} arrived safe with orders from his Excellency the Gov^{r} for drafting my proportional p^{t} of 500 men which amounts to between 70 & 80, He informs me you have liberty to make any alterations you chuse in this matter The Smallness of our strength pleads strongly for us on the N^{o} [North] side beside above One Hundred of our Militia have fled from this side to the South Side New Garrisons have been made from such refugees & others much strengthened. At a time when our distress called for their Assistance they withdrew the aids sent us on Account of a few scattering Cherokees. I have again made application for men in vain. We have about 20,000 lb dryd Beef & 2000 Bus^{ls} nearly of Corn publick to guard here & at

Bryants. The Corn I expect you'll not want this spring. My drift in mention this is to induce you to permit my Militia to join you at the Mouth of Licking or sh[d] you take any other Rout to adopt some plan by which we may not be exposed in the meantime.

We have here an excellent new fort which 20 men may defend against any number almost in a Healthy Situation. I purpose to reposit therein what Corn you will not want & will engage for find comfortable Nourishm[t] for any Invalids you may choose to leave with me during the Exped[n]

I wish to hear from you immediately

I am with respect your mo obed Hble Ser[t]

JNO TODD J[r]

[*Addressed:*] publick Service Brigadier Gen Geo R. Clark at the Falls of Ohio Mr Welsh Express

EXPENSE IN BUILDING FORT AT LEXINGTON, April 13, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

The Commonwealth of Virginia to John Morrisson on account of Expenditures for Work done at the New fort, D[r]

March & April 1781		Days	Doll		
	David Mitchell	11	50	550	
	W[m] Mitchell	15	D[o]	750	
	Levy Todd	14	D[o]	700	
	W[m] Hayden	11	D[o]	550	
	Benjamin Hayden	14	D[o]	700	
	James W Genty	13	D[o]	650	
	John Todd	14	D[o]	700	
	W[m] Neblick	8	D[o]	400	
	Benjamin Brigg	1	D[o]	050	
	John Williams	5	D[o]	250	
	Sam'l M[c]Mullen	9	D[o]	350	
	Charles Seamon	6	D[o]	300	
	Caleb Masterson	8	D[o]	400	
	John Clarke	4	D[o]	200	
	John Neil	3	D[o]	150	Doll
		134			6700
	Joseph Turner & team	10	100	1000	
		144			

Robert Patterson Acoumpt of work at Newfort				
David Vance	14½	50	725	
Francis McDurmed	14½	Do	725	
Francis McDurmed Jur	13½	Do	675	
John Borrance	6	Do	300	
Henny McDonald	10	Do	500	
Robert Stanhope	13½	Do	675	
Archer Dikerson	6	Do	300	
Stephen Collins	10	Do	500	
John Wymere	5	Do	250	
Nicolas Brobston	8	Do	400	
James Hayden	3	Do	150	
John Stephenson	2	Do	100	
James Masterson	6	Do	300	
James Wason	9½	Do	475	
Paw Owens	2	Do	100	
Francis Patterson	1	Do	50	
	124½			6225
Horse Highere—				
Wm Hayden, Team			100	
Wm Robertson 1 Horse	2	25	50	
John Wymer 1 Horse	2	Do	50	
Jas Wason 1 Do	3	25	75	
Wm Mc Conal 1 Do	1	Do	25	
Peter January 1 Do	1	Do	25	
			325	325
Wm McConals Act of Work N fourt				
Mitchel Warwick	15	50	750	
Francis McDonal	8	Do	400	
John Nappirs	14	Do	700	
Ratty Boom	5	Do	250	
James Boom	5	Do	250	
James Morrow	9	Do	450	
John Fitzgaral	10	Do	500	
Wm Shannon	10	Do	500	
John Casey	10	Do	500	
James Wittch	5	Do	250	
James Haden	8	Do	400	
Francis Harper	5	Do	250	
Josiah Collins	3	Do	150	
James M Conals	8	Do	400	
Saml January and Team	10	100	1000	
	115			6750
	383½			21000
		Caried Over.		
			Dollars	
	383½		21000	

Wm Martin in Act of work on the New Fort				
Saml Martin	14	50	700	
Wm Martin	15	Do	750	
John Martin	13	Do	650	
John McDonal	9	Do	450	
Hugh McDonal	11	Do	550	
James McDonal	11½	Do	575	
Danil McClean	6	Do	300	
Levy Todd	3	Do	150	
Alexander McClean	7½	Do	375	
John Clarke	4	Do	200	
Hugh Martin	9	Do	450	
Caleb Masterson	1	Do	50	
Hugh Thompson	10	Do	500	
Wm Dearmon & Son	2	Do	100	
Robt Stanhop	1	Do	50	
John Todd	1	Do	50	
	198			5900
	501½ @ 50			
Horse Hire				125
Sundry Men	8	50	400	
To 4 Over lookers			4000	
Morrison Patterson McConnel & Martain				
				4400
				31425 Doll

Gate Expences

Wood work			
McBride Torrence & M Conall		1200	
for Iron 80 D. Smith work 100 D		180	
Magazine Expence			
To 3 Men 2 Days Cutting Timer	50	300	
To 2 Men 3 Days Riving & Cutting	Do	300	
4 Square flooring a 200 D		800	
To Team for Hauling timber 10	100	1000	
Liquor given to the men at sundry times			
21 Quarts a 100 D		2100	
John Little for Drum		400	6280
			37:700
Doors for Magazine			11311.10
			30
			£ 11341.10

The above Acc Examined & approved

Jn Todd

April 15th 1781

GEORGE SLAUGHTER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 13, 1781.[1]

[Executive Papers, April, 1781, Va. State Archives.]

LOUISVILLE April 13th 1781

SIR

As the inclosed copy of the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to examine into the conduct of Captain James Francis Moore purchasing Commissary for this department by which you will observe that I have not proved the charge against that Gentleman I have nothing to say in justification of my conduct more than that I have put too much confidence in the information whom I before thought were men of the strictest varacity and honour but as I have been inadvertently led to make those charges, in Justification to Cap Moore's character am in duty bound to make him all the satisfaction in my power therefore hope that no part of the information recited in my Letter of the 17th January last respecting that Gentleman will injure him in your esteem

I am Yr Excellency's Mo. Obt. Humˡ Servᵗ

GEO: SLAUGHTER

GEORGE SLAUGHTER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 14, 1781.

[Executive Papers, April, 1781, Va. State Archives.]

SALT RIVER 14th April 1781

SIR

From the Copy of the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to examine into the Conduct of Capt. William Shannon Commissary &c. in this Departmᵗ you will see that I have not proved all the charges Exhibitted against him by my Letter to you of the 17th Janʸ last—I have nothing farther to say in Justification of my Conduct than that I had put too much confidence in information received from Gentlemen whom I before thought were men of strict veracity & Honor, and as I have been inadvertently led to make those Charges I am in duty bound to do that Justice to Capᵗ Shannons Character which appears to be due

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 38.

from the proceedings above referred to, & hope that no part of the information formerly given by me will further injure him in your esteem. I am

Sir with the utmost respect Your Excellencys M. Ob Servt

GEO. SLAUGHTER

GARRET VAN METER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 14, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 40.—Abstract.]

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY April 14th 1781.

Enclosing "Return" of Two Battalions in that county—Instructions had come from Genl: Clarke not to march the militia until further Orders—He has issued the order for the full number required by the Draft, but, adds, "I am afraid they will not be complyed with, by Reason of the disaffected people amongst us. (A Collector of one of the Divisions for making up the Cloathes and Beef was Interrupted in the execution of his office). A certain John Claypole said if all the men were of his mind, they would not make up any Cloathes, Beef or Men, and all that would join him shuld turn out. Upon which he got all the men present, to five or six and Got Liquor and Drank King George the third's health, and Damnation to Congress,) upon which Complaint was made to three Magistrates. Upon which there was a warrant Issued for several of them, and Guard of Fifty men with the Sheriff. When they came to the place they found sixty or seventy men embodied, with arms—After some time they capitulated. the Sheriff served the precept on the said John Claypole, but he refused to come with him or give up his arms; but agreed to come such a time, which time is Passt—Inclosed you have a Copy of a Letter they sent me, and the answer I sent them—I was Informed there was one hundred and fifty of them to Gether the next Day. I am informed there are several Deserters amongst those people, Some from the English Prisoners. Some Eighteen Months men, and some Eight Months men, which they support and conceal." Refers his Excellency to Mr. Woodson the bearer for further particulars.

[*The letter enclosed, with reply.*]

"SIR,

Having consulted the Majority, it is the Desire of the, that their Conduct that has past Lately may be forgiven, as a great part of it was occasioned by Liquor, and as there is things that is Laid to the Charge of Sum, that is clear of the Charge. but moreover we acknowledge our behaviour was not Discreet. if you would Please to pass it by, we will submit to pay our Tax as the Law directs; and are willing to pay our District tax of Beef & Clothing if they can be purchased, and likewise to be Complyable to the Laws of the State, as far as our ability will allow. At the Request of the majority I have hereunto set my hand.

From Sir, yr: humble Servant

JOSIAH OSBURN."

TO COLO. VAN METER—April 3d 1781.

[*Reply.*]

April 4th 1781.

"SIR,

I rec'd yours dated the third Inst: and am very Glad to hear the Mutineers Begin to see their Folly. they may Depend I shall shew them all the Lenity the circumstance of the Case will admit of, but those chargable with breaking the Law I cannot clear, as I am but an Individual, unless they who are in the warrant Comes in and Clears themselves—from your friend, while you are friends to yourselves and the United States.

GARRET VAN METER."

TO JOSIAH OSBURN.

JOHN TODD, JR., TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 15, 1781.[1]

[Executive Papers, April, 1781, Va. State Archives.]

LEXINGTON 15th April 1781

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Your letter of the 24 Dec. as also that of the 19th Jan^{y} last inclosing sundry papers came safe to hand a few days ago. By the

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 44, and Chicago Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV., 342.

best Accounts I can procure from Jefferson & Lincoln the Militia of the whole three Counties at present amount about 1050—Fayette 156 Lincoln 600 & Jefferson 300. I have just made a Draft of 78 from this County for Col Clarke & if the other Counties draft proportionally your Demand will be fully satisfied. I hear nothing as yet of Col. Clark but I concieve I have just cause of expostulating with him on account of this County its true state being probably unknown to your Excellency when the Draft was required to be proportioned to the Militia Exposed at every Fort & weakened by daily Removals of its Strength to the South side of Kentucky we are scarcely able to keep our Forts. Should Col Clark take his Rout by the Shawnese Nation all cause of Complaint must cease as the Enemy will thereby be drawn off from our Forts

Being unable just now to spare Labourers & Guards at a distance from our Forts for making Canoes I have sent M^{r} Lindsay to Lincoln for Assistance which I make no doubt of procuring I fear I shall meet with some difficulties in conveying the Stores at Lexington & Bryants to the Canoes for want of Horses ours being nearly all taken by the Indians & Col. Bowman does not prove so friendly as I think he ought to be in giving me necessary Assistance.

Our Circumstances have received so material a Change within twelve months that a Draft of 18 Militia for the Continental Army at present w^{d} be singularly oppressive upon Fayette or Jefferson Happy sh^{d} we be & readily wuld we spare them if our Situation were but as the Legislature expected There is scarce one fort in the County but once a month seems upon the Eve of breaking for want of men to defend it Such Residents as had most property & Horses to remove their Effects have retreated to Lincoln one half of the Remainder are unable to Remove, We have no Tax Commissioners in the County & almost nothing to tax All which Circumstances plead I hope in Excuse sufficiently for the Militia at present. Whenever our Circumstances will admit of it the people will Im satisfied inlist voluntarily in to the Continental Army from a Genius they possess for war as well as the Greatness of the Bounty.

A Letter sent to your Excellency this Winter mentioned the Strenth of the County perhaps it never reached you neither did the Requisition mentd in yours ever reach me. The inclosed Draught of the County may better Serve to give you an Idea of our Situation & position with regard to each other than any Description.

I also inclose you a letter from Mr Pollock. I still receive Complaints from the Ilinois that Department suffers I fear through the Avarice & prodigality of our Officers they all vent Complaints against each other. I believe our French Friends have the justest grounds of Dissatisfaction.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect

Your Excellency's Most Obedient & very humble Servant

JN TODD JR

JAMES SULLIVAN TO CLARK, April 15, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J38.—A. L. S.]

BEARGRASS April 15th 1781

SIR

I have an Opportunity by Express of writing you Concerning the business in my Hands. The Boats I were to have built for you is so difficult a task for the hands that can be had in this Country that I fear the Quantity cannot possibly be had but shall leave nothing in my power that can be done towards Accomplishing them. The Letters you gave me for fort Jefferson I have sent by Express. I have the Disagreeable news to tell you that through Neglect (but of whom I know not) One Hundred thousand Weight of meat is Spoiled. A repetition of Bad news is not desirable but I have to inform you that Mr William Pope is recommended as Lieutenant Colonel for this County by the Court of which Court he himself made one three others Only being present his appointment to that Commission will greatly injure this County as the Generality of the people is much averse to serving under him No more at present from Your Most Ob Hb Servt

JAMES SULLIVAN

N B. I inclose you a copy of the Articles Between me & Shannon which would be glad you'd transmit to Government with a Copy of Slaughters Letters
[*Addressed:*] To Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark at Stewards Crossings
[*Endorsed:*] Cap^{tn} Sullivan Beargrass 15th April 1781

JOHN FLOYD TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 16, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 47.]

JEFFERSON Co., KY. 16th April 1781

SIR,

About the first of January last Commissions were delivered me, one appointing me Colo. of the Militia of this County, one other appointing Isaac Cox Lieutenant Colo., also a Major's Commission for William Lyn; five Capt: Commissions together with the Comm'n of the Peace, &c. directed to four of the said Officers, who are Inhabitants of the County, and to three others, one of them being also appointed Sheriff, the other two being in very distant Countys & who have not been in this since their Appointment—I had sometime before the receipt of these Commissions, heard of the Appointments & foreseeing the Evil which must arise from their not being Magistrates in the County to qualify the Militia Officers, wrote to Your Excellency requesting more Justices to be added to the Commission of the peace & that blank Militia Commissions might be sent me—And I repeated this request soon after the Receipt of the Com'n but have received none others since; nor did I ever receive a single line from you till the 4th Instant when, your two letters, one of the 24th of December & the other of the 19th of Jan: were delivered me. I shall always endeavor to perform the duties of any Office which I undertake, faithfully; and in this particular instance, have done more than my duty required of me. You write me that you had, six months before required of me a proper Return of the Militia of this County; but as the division of Kentucky did not take place 'till November last, your instructions must have been dated before this County took place—But had that not been the case, and had your Letter come to hand, it was out of my Power to comply with it, as we have only four Magistrates in the

County, one of whom was so infirm that he could not attend Court at all 'till March last, and then the Officers could not qualify, they being the Justices also; nor is this inconvenience likely to be remedied in a short time as Capt. Sullivan is just returned from Richmond without any Commissions for this County. And as the recommendations made by this Court have not yet been sent away, I fear we shall not get the Commisns. 'till late in the Summer; and until this happens no regular return can be made for want of Officers; Two of the Captains who had Comns. sent, refused to accept of them; one other I never yet have seen, nor can I get him to Court to Qualify. I have endeavored to collect the number of the Militia and find from the best information I can get, they amount to 354, between the ages of sixteen and fifty including officers.

You require the Act of Assembly for recruiting the States Quota of Troops to serve in the Continental Army to be carried into execution here, but for the reasons before mentioned it must be postponed; and when your Excellency is informed of the true situation of this County, I am persuaded you will think the Law ought not to have extended to it.

We are all obliged to live in Forts in this County, and notwithstanding all the Caution that we use, forty seven of the Inhabitants have been killed & taken by the Savages, Besides a number wounded since Jany. last—Amongst the last is Major William Lyn.

Whole families are destroyed, without regard to Age or Sex—Infants are torn from their mothers Arms & their Brains dashed out against Trees, as they are necessarily removing from one Fort to another for safety or Convenience—Not a week passes & some weeks scarcely a day without some of our distressed inhabitants feeling the fatal effects of the infernal rage and fury of those Execrable Hell hounds.

Our garrisons are dispersed over an Extensive Country, and a large proportion of the Inhabitants, are helpless indigent Widows & Orphans who have lost their Husbands and fathers by Savage Hands, and left among Strangers, without the most common necessaries of Life. Of those who have Escaped, many have lost all their stocks, and have not any Land of their own, nor where withal

to purchase—Our dependance to support our familys is upon getting wild meat & this is procured with great difficulty & danger; and should it fall to the Lott of some in this County who are thus situated to serve as Regular Soldiers according to Law, their familys must inevitably starve.

Our Garrison at the falls is made sufficient to stand an attack with light Cannon, but our numbers which will risk themselves in it, will by no means be sufficient to defend it from an Army which we are frequently threatened with from Detroit—Our Inhabitants being so dispersed that they could not be collected to any one place in the County in less than fifteen days—The Confidence of the People here have in General Clarke's vigilance; his enterprising Spirit & other Military Virtues, together with their inability remove, have been barely sufficient to keep this County from being left entirely desolate—Major Slaughter at the Falls of Ohio, has about 500 pds: of powder & Lead in proportion, which is all the Public Ammunition in this County; none of that delivered to Col: Bowman last Winter, having been sent me, and there is very little in the county of private property.

There is not at this time, I am informed & believe, more than fifty thousand Lbs. of Beef in this County, Fayette & Lincoln; upwards of one hundred thousand Weight of that laid up in this County being entirely rotten & lost—Corn is plenty in Lincoln & Fayette but there is no flour in any of these Counties. The men you order for Genl: Clarke's Expedition will be raised without much difficulty, notwithstanding all the disadvantages the County is under—The Canoes also shall be ready in time, tho' one fourth of the Militia must guard while they are on hand. Salt may be had here sufficient for an army of two thousand men Six months, and perhaps more.

I am Your Excellency's most Obt. Humb Servt.

JNO: FLOYD.

JOHN FLOYD TO CLARK, April 16, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J39.—A. L. S.]

JEFFERSON April 16th 1781.

DEAR GENERAL—Your favour of the 21 Janʸ I received the 14th Inst and the next day htose of the 20th of March came to hand by Capt Sullivan. the contents of which I sincerely thank you for, and to which I shall pay the greatest attention. Those things which make the greatest impression on my mind I shall mention to you first which I fear will embarrass & perplex you exceedingly. All the Beef which was laid in at Squire Boons except about sixteen thousand weight being entirely rotten & thrown away. The quantity I dont exactly know, but it was considerably more than One Hundred thousand. whose fault it was I know not; but as I have given notice to all the Officers & desired them to write by this Express, I hope you will receive proper information. The Beef was to have been pickled at Boons, & poor Evan Hinton who was much engaged about it, was captured by the Indians with two other men as they were going from Lyns with a Waggon Load of Barrells for the purpose of saving the meat. This happened about the 6th of Febʸ

I gave notice to as many of the Commissioners as I could in so short a time to attend for the purpose of enquiring into the charges exhibited by Major Slaughter against the Commissaries, & I herewith enclose you the proceedings; as there was only four met it was with some difficulty that this alone could be done, tho' they both were very desirious that farther enquirys should be made, but Capᵗ Oldham being called upon as a Witness prevented it, he being one of the Board.

Every person seems willing & desirous to forward the Campaign all in their power. Our proportion of the men for your Army will readily be raised although we are constantly invaded, & among the slain is your old acquaintance Major Lynn, a loss I sincerely lament. Our Garrison at the Falls is finished nearly as you advised. The work was done by Chenoweth last winter, & for which Capt Shannon in behalf of the States is to pay him £15000. You are greatly wanted here by all Denominations of people; & the

Expectation of your coming with an army, and the inability of the Inhabitants by losing their Horses, has kept this County from being left entirely waste.

Beargrass can hardly turn out half the number of men it could last year.

What with Boats & Canoes I expect this County will furnish its full proportion or rather more.

Salt is plenty enough, and I hope we shall be able to procure some Beeves from Lincoln, and some Butter & cheese will be got in all the Counties. Corn is tolerably plenty in the upper Counties & it is not scarce here, but this is a poor dependance.

I have been more infortunate in my little hunt last Winter than the rest. I hired seven or eight men, went to Lees Cabbins with Horses Loaded with Salt, gave £1000 for the Building Canoes, killed & saved 54 Buffaloe 4 Elk & 2 large wild Hogs & brought it down safe to between Goose Creek & Beargrass where my Vessells were overset by a Gale of Wind & sunk my whole Cargo to the bottom.

Besides the Meat Tallow &c I lost five Guns, my saddle Bags Surveying affairs Warrants Field Books & all my Memorandums about Land for seven years past. (and as the people say in their Advertisements) & many other articles too tedious to mention— This is my second defeat at Sea; but I am yet alive & hearty.

As I have left the Governors Letter open for your perusal it is needless to inform you any thing it may contain and it being all the intelligance I at present recollect.

A Recommendation of Officers &c will soon be sent down recommending Pope as Lieut Col° of Militia I had a hint from Sullivan that this would be very disagreeable to you if so, I shall be heartily sorry and perhaps a line from you to the Governor may not be amiss. as I know you to be a better Judge of any persons Military abilities than any one of our Court.

I am Dear Sir with sincere affection Your most Ob^{t} & Most Hble Serv^{t}

JN FLOYD

P S please to seal & send the Gov^{r} Letter and use your Interest to

have the Draft for the Continental Army dispensed with in these three Counties.

The three men Cap^{t} Hardy Hill, Peter Coleman & Edw^{d} Welsh whom I send on this Occasion to you, I have made no agreement with but leave the matter to your Judgm^{t}

Yours sincerely
COL J FLOYD

CLARK TO JONATHAN CLARK, April 19, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 2L14.—A. L. S.]

STEWARTS CROSSINGS Ap^{l} 19th 1781

DR SIR A few Days past I was agreeably Supprised by The reception of a Letter from you by which I was informed that you ware in Caroline on parole, pleasures of this nature are only Susceptible to Elevated minds Consequently you must be Judge of those Ideas of Future happiness which must have Occured to me on the supposition that I should one Day or other Injoy in you all the Sotial Virtues a Brother Friend & Companion. I am (unsolicited) Raised by my Cuntry to an Exalted Station with all the powers nessessary to Support me in the Rank I now bear but how long I shall be able to Claim a Continuation of the Lawrels I have already won is quite uncertain. one unlucky stroke may Reduce me in the Eyes of the world, Virtue is lost, pray Sir keep up a Constant Correspondence with me. I have Received a number of Letters from you as often wrote but doubt you never Received my Letters

I am Dr Sir, with Esteem Yours &c
G R CLARK

COL. J. CLARK

[*Addressed:*] Co^{lo} Jonathan Clark Caroline City Virginia Captn. Elliott To the particular Care of M^{r} Jn^{o} Clark of Caroline County.

WASHINGTON TO THE BOARD OF WAR, April 20, 1781.

[Washington MSS., VI., part I., 37, Library of Congress.][1]

HEAD QUARTERS NEW WINDSOR 20th April 1781.

GENTLEMEN

Inclosed is an estimate of Military Stores which will be necessary at Fort Pitt, it is formed partly upon the requisition of the Commanding officer of Artillery there; but chiefly upon a presumption that a considerable quantity of[2] the larger species of Stores will be expended by Colo Clarke in an expedition[3] against Detroit.[4] At the request of the State of Virginia, I gave an order upon the Commandant of Fort Pitt for the Artillery &c. necessary for the undertaking. I would wish the Articles might be forwarded as expeditiously as possible.

The Marquis de la Fayette has informed me, that he had sent Colo Barber to Philada to make application to the Board for light Clothing for his detachment, previous to knowing that I had sent from hence 1200 shirts, 1200 linen Overalls, 1200 pair of shoes, 1200 socks and 100 Hunting shirts purposely for them, and about 900 Hunting shirts and 300 pair of socks for the southern Army in general. The Deputy Cloathier has likewise ordered about 4000 pr. of shoes which were in Jersey to be sent to Philada for the Southern Army. But notwithstanding these supplies I would wish the Board to forward all the light Cloathing and shoes that they can possibly procure, and with the greatest expedition, as by the last accounts from General Greene he was exceedingly distressed for those Articles.

Inclosed you have the returns of the Officers of Rawlins's Corps and Heths independent Company[5] which were reformed by the late arrangement.

Colo Proctor of the 4th Regt of Artillery having resigned the Command of that Regiment by the present mode of promotion will devolve upon the eldest Lieut Colo in the line of Artillery.

[1] This same letter is in Box 46, fol. 69, and the following additions are from this rough draft.

[2] "Ammunition" crossed out in Washington's draft.

[3] "Which" crossed out in original draft.

[4] "Fort Pitt" crossed out in original draft.

[5] "Who" crossed out in original draft.

I think Lieu^{t} Col^{o} Carrington but this you may know by referring to the Register. Col^{o} Proctors Resignation bears date the 18th Ins^{t}.

I have the honour to be &c

G WASHINGTON.[1]

[*Inclosure.*]

Stores necessary to be sent to Fort Pitt, supposing those of the same species now there will be expended in an intended expedition. Viz^{r}

200 — 8 inch Shells.
40 — 8 inch case shot.
250 . . . fuzes for the shells full length.
300 . . . tubes.
250 . . . flannel cartridges. — empty.
400 . . . 5½ Shells.
60 . . . 5½ inch case shot.
500 . . . fuzes full length.
500 . . . flannel cartridges.
500 . . . tubes.
300 round shot for 3 pounders, fixed with flannel Cartridges, paper caps and cylinders.
60 Case shot for d^{o} fixed as d^{o}.
500 . . . tubes.
400 round shot for 6 pounders, fixed with flannel Cartridges &c.
100 . . . case for d^{o} fixed as d^{o}.
600 . . . tubes.
800 . . . 6 pound loose round shot.
200 . . . d^{o} grape d^{o}.
1000 . . . empty paper cartridges.
300 lbs slow match.
10 dozen portfires.

[1] In his letter to Jefferson of December 28, 1780, see Washington, *Writings* (Sparks ed.), VII., 341, Washington says: "I am so well convinced of the general public utility with which the expedition, if successful, will be attended, that I do not hesitate a moment in giving directions to the commandant at Fort Pitt to deliver to Colonel Clark the articles which you request, or so many of them as he may be able to furnish."

20 pounds mealed powder.
600 fuzes for hand grenades.
12 lbs kitt.
4 kitt brushes.
100 lbs sulphur.
20 Skeins Marline.
20 lbs brown thread.
4 Lanthorns.
6 Gunners belts complete.
6 tube boxes and belts.
1 perpendicular.
2 Gunners quadrants.
2000 Sponge tacks.
15,000 musket and Rifle flints.
2000 Screws for bullets.
12 Sheep skins.
6 Tanned hides.
12 Sets men's harness.
24 sets drum cords.
200 Rifle Muskets.

N B A considerable number of the above Stores are requested by the Commandant of Artillery at Fort Pitt, with the approbaton of the commanding Officer at the Post.

also two carpenters
two wheelwrights, and
two Blacksmiths, with their tools, which will be necessary for the repairs of carriages, platforms &ca in that department Park of Artillery 19th April 1781.

H. KNOX.

By a late return from the board of War, there are 15000 lbs powder at Fort Pitt; which will be sufficient to supply what may be wanted for the intended expedition, and for the Articles mentioned in this estimate.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CLARK, April 20, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J40.—L. S.]

RICHMOND April 20th 1781

SIR,

I am happy to find that you are persevering thro' your difficulties and hope it will have a fortunate Issue. I think not only our future quiet to the Westward but Eastern events depend much on your success. The enemy at Portsmouth have received since you were here a reinforcement of 1500 Men under Major General Phillips. They are at this time under way up James river but to what place destined we know not.

The bills mentioned in your Letter are paid on your countersignature. We lately had a great bundle of Draughts from Colo Montgomery; They were rejected and the holder informed that if he would satisfy you they were for articles or services really for the State, you would countersign and we pay them according to their true value at the time of drawing.

You will have received the two hundred thousand pounds sent you by Captain Cherry.

We now send Major Harrison three hundred thousand pounds by L Bradford. All the Stores have gone which were to go for you from this place. A delay was occasioned to the march of the Greenbriar Militia by an error in sending some Articles hence to Frederic which should have gone to Fort Chiswell, however they will be in time I hope for the Movements from Fort Pitt.

I have just received a Letter from the President of Pennsylvania informing me that on learning that Colo Broadhead had restrained some purchases within their Limits for your Troops he had immediately given orders to have the restrictions taken off and that none such should be laid on any future occasion. I hope that an equal liberality on both Sides will facilitate the future operations of both Governments. I wish you every success & happiness & am with great esteem & respect Sir

Your most obedt & mo. hble Servant

TH. JEFFERSON

BRIGDR GENL CLARKE Fort Pitt

JOSEPH HUNTER TO CLARK, April 20, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J41.—A. L. S.]

FORT JEFERSON April 20th 1781

DEAR GENERAL

It gives me the Greatest satisfaction to hear of your Advancment and that your usual Good Fortune hase attended you thro all your Enterprizes since we hade the pleasure of seeing you hear. At the same time that I Recived so much satisfaction; in these particulars I Cannot Avoid Expressing; the uneassness I feel at the prospect of Our Litle Settlement; being Broak up; and that Chiefely for want of the personal presence of its first founder and Benefactor. I doubt not your great Good Will towards us; but since a new Field is now opened for you; wherin to Exercise those Great talents; you are Possessed of; which must Invitable take off your Attention from an object so Inconsiderable; as the Incouragement of this Settlement already Broak; and Labouring under more Impediments thin if it hade never been Attemted—I am far from Reflecting the Least Blaim on you; but with Chearfulness Strugled Against Evrey Vissitude my Lonley Circumstances Exposes me unto hear; I lost almost all my Stock Grain &c—Nevertheless I doe not Repine; hoping through your Influence that Goverment will not Overlook me; as I may say I have born the Burding and heat of the day; what Grain I Reasd the Troops have used—tho I Cannot but in Justice Say that Capn George hath done the part of a Good Offcir; and Likewise all the other oficers hath Treated me with all the possible Marks of Esteem; but if his Excelency General Washington Was to Comand hear; he would not please all the people—its my sincear wish that success may attend you through all your Interprizes and that God by his kind providence may preserve you from your Cruel Enimes and Crown your Endevours—and that I may be so happy to se you Return hear to se a Good settlement at the Ironbanks I am dea General with the Greatest Esteem your most Obedient Humble Svt

JOSEPH HUNTER

[*Addressed:*] The Honble Brigadier Genl Clark Falls of Ohio or Fort Pitt

[*Endorsed:*] Joseph Hunter Ft Jefferson

JOHN TODD, JR., TO CLARK, April 21, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J42.—A. L. S.]

LEXINGTON 21st April 1781

D^r^ SIR,

Your letter with the Dispatches from Government arrived here about three Weeks ago. The Alteration in the State of our provisions makes it necessary to send you an Express Not that I doubt of a Sufficiency being in the Country but being in live Stock whether it may not Make necessary an Alteration in your plan in Marching &^c^ M^r^ Lindsay will herewith transmit you a State of the provision in this Quarter which will prove your greatest Dependance I expect the Whole of Jefferson will not raise perhaps more than 15 thousand lbs Dryed Beef. The whole of our Fayette Stores are laid up here & at Bryants. An Early Attack from our Enemy made the intended removal of those at Bryants to this place exceedingly difficult. But I can mention nothing to discourage you. The Spirit of the people is such that they will, & they must, spare out of their Stock for the Men who are to defend not their Liberty but their Lives I have written to you at the Falls in behalf of the people of this County the Draft is Made & the Men ready to march but our Forts of this County are all Frontiers & reduced by removals to the South Side to 150 Militia scarce enough to defend the Forts or pursue a small party of the Enemy but sh^d^ you take your last years rout you may I expect get 7 or 8 Hundred from these Counties I have built at this place a new fort proof ag^t^ 6 pounders big enough for 200 Men defensible by very small Force sh^d^ you be troubled with invalids, to defend it we could afford them good Nourishm^t^ & Care & Spare the more young men on their Account. We abound more in provisions than any p^ts^ of the Country as you'll experience I Hope Could you not take a Tour by this place &^c^ to the Falls from Limestone run? I have the Honor to be with respect your mo. obed^t^ Servant

JN^o^ TODD JR

[*Addressed:*] Publick Service To Brig^r^ Gen^l^ Geo. R. Clark

[*Endorsed:*] Col. Jno. Todd County Lt. Fayette Dated Lexington 21st april 1781

JOHN FLOYD TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 24, 1781.

[Executive Papers, 1781, Va. State Archives.]

JEFFERSON April 24th 1781

SIR.

I wrote you about eight days ago upon the Subject of our affairs in this County, but as many accidents may happen to prevent the conveyance of Letters such a distance, I have taken the liberty to trouble you with a second.

The want of Militia Officers prevents my getting any kind of duty done by the Militia of this County, and has been the means of many lives being lost. I have but one Captain & not a single Officer below that rank qualified to execute his office as the Law requires. We have but four Magistrates, and three of those are also three Militia Officers which prevents what few we have Commissioned, from qualifying. I have made several applications to you that more Justices might be added to the Commission of the peace, & that blank Militia Com^{ns} might be sent; and untill this is done no regular return of the militia can be made. I have endeavored to collect the number of our militia, and find from the best information I can get, they amount to 354 including what few Officers we have. You require the Act for recruiting this States Quota of Troops to serve in the Continental Army to be put in execution here, but for the reasons above mentioned it must be defered, and when your Excellency is informed of the true situation of this County, I am persuaded you will be of opinion that that Law ought not to have extended to it. The small number of Inhabitants here is one reason that we are obliged to live constantly in Forts and notwithstanding all the Caution that is made use of forty seven of the Inhabitants of this County have been killed & taken by the Savages since the first of January last, and many more wounded; and of those who have escaped many have lost all their Stock. There is no way here to support a Family but by wild meat, and this is procured with very great difficulty and danger.

Indigent Widows and Orphans make up a great part of the Inhabitants of this County who are bereaved of their Husbands and

Fathers by Savages and lef among strangers without the common necessaries of life.

Many have already removed out of the County; and nothing but the dependance the rest have in Gen[l] Clarkes being enabled to defend them; & their own inability to remove; have prevented this County from being left entirely desolate.

The Garrison at the Falls is made sufficient to stand an attack with light Cannon, but those who will risk themselves there will not be able to defend it against any Army from Detroit which we are constantly threatened with, and I think the last report may be true, as not an Indian has made his appearance in thise Counties for ten days past, which is very uncommon, & which our informer observed would happen some Weeks before a General Invasion of our Country. the Inhabitants here are dispersed in small Forts over an extensive County and cou'd not be collected any one place in less than fifteen days; yet I hope General Clarks preparations at Fort Pitt will prevent our little Settlements from being destroyed. Our Store of provisions for an Army will be very inconsiderable here to what was once expected. upwards of one hundred thousand weight of Beef which was laid up being entirely rotten and lost; owing I think in some measure to one of the principal managers being captured by the Indians last February. I cannot understand that there is more than fifty thousand weight of dried Beef left in Fayette, Lincoln & Jefferson. Corn is tolerably plenty in the two upper Counties but we have no Flour in any of them. Salt may be had in this County for 2000 Men half a year & I believe longer

There is no publick Ammunition except about 500 lb. of powder which Major Slaughter has at the Falls, and Lead in proportion.

I expect to furnish Gen[l] Clarke with my proportion of the Militia ordered to join his Army, notwithstanding all the disadvantages the County is under for want of Officers.

The Canoes also shall be ready in time if there is not a general Invasion of our County before any reinforcements can arrive.

The last recommendation made by this Court for Officers & Majestrates being but lately sent away, I fear we shall be in the same situation for several months to come. M[r] Willis Green the

only representative from this County can inform your Excellency how much I am in want of Officers properly authorized to act, and of several other things which I may have omitted.

I have the Honour to be your Excellencys most obed^{t} Hble Serv^{t}

JN FLOYD

JOHN FLOYD TO CLARK, April 26, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J44.—A. L. S.]

JEFFERSON April 26th 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL.

About ten days ago I dispatched Hardy Hill, Peter Coleman, and Edward Welsh to you with some Letters, but as there has scarcely been one fair day since, I hardly believe they can get over the Waters by the way of Licking and Sandy Creeks which is the rout they took, and never did I see such floods in small Watercourses as since they went away. and as an opportunity now offers by M^{r} Jameson it may not be amiss to write again. I have not one word of good news to tell you, but bad as it is I think you ought to know it before you come down.

At a moderate computation I think there was one hundred and fifty thousand weight of Beef laid up in this County last Winter for the use of your Army, out of which quantity I believe not more than sixteen thousand is saved the rest being entirely rotten where it lay in Salt. while every one appeared to be engaged in doing what they could to forward this business, and seemed desirous to lay in a large Store of provisions against you come out, the whole bustle is come to what I mention.

M^{r} Lindsey I hear has saved some very good dried Beef, but by what I can learn there is not more than fifty thousand weight of dry Meat in the three Counties. a good many Cattle will be bought in Fayette and Lincoln, and a plenty of Salt will be laid in here. Some dried Beef, Butter Cheese &^{c} will be furnished by all these Counties, as every one appears willing to spare every species of provision they can from their Families.

I Lately saw a short Letter from Major Lanctot at Saint Vincents by which he seems to express great doubts those Tribes of Indians who have hitherto been friendly to us will soon be our

most inviterate Enemies, unless something is done for them by Government, I apprehend in the way of clothing &c

Every person seems to wait for your arrival with the greatest impatience and anxiety. Not an Indian has made his appearance here for several Weeks a circumstance which is very uncommon, and supposed by some to be a bad Omen. the old Women are all afraid and indeed so are the men two, that a Campaign from Detroit will come against the Falls before you can get down to their relief. If you bring no Men at all it seems your presence will do the business. Forty seven of the Inhabitants of this County have been killed & taken since the first of January last, and among the slain is your friend Major Lynn, a loss I really lament.

The Garrison at the Falls is at last put in a posture of defence as you desired. All the Militia of Jefferson at present amounts to three hundred and fifty four. Great emigrations have been made from Beargrass since you left us for fear of an English Army.

I am Dear Genl with due respect your affectionate & obt Servt

Jno Floyd

P. S. Men, Boats, and Canoes, will be all ready for you.

J F

April 29th 81

I make my draft tomorrow for 130 Men for you from this Coty I had a return from Fayette & Lincoln yesterday. Bowman has drafted 300 & Todd 70

I have just heard that the late deluge has swept away 100 Bushells Salt from Bullets Lick, but I believe there is enough yet left for your Troops. I am about to employ hunters to save Meat at Drinnens Lick which the Canoes from Lincoln & Fayette will take in as they pass by

God Bless you adieu

Jn Floyd

[*Addressed:*] On Publick Service To Brigadier Genl Geo. R. Clarke Yough. or Fort Pitt

JOHN ROGERS TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, April 29, 1781.[1]

[Va. State Papers, II., 76.]

HARODSBURG, 29th April 1781

SIR,

Since my arrival at the Falls of Ohio I have been much surprised to find that some Persons have wrote assertions against my Character during the time of my Comand at the Illinoys last Winter.[2] Rich'd Winston & Rich'd McCarty I am informed are the Persons. in order to give you a proper Idea of those Gentlemens' Characters I must inform you that McCarty has ever since Sept. last been under an Arrest for Treason the former tho Deputy County Lieutenant for the Illinois County opposed me in all my demands for provisions for my Men & encoraged the Inhabitants at all times to refuse my requests notwithstanding my repeated applications for that purpose tho my Men were even dying for want. Colo' Montgomery having left several of his Sick men under my Care some of which died for want of wherewithal to support nature When I found the People so lost to Humanity & that I was likely to see my men starved in a Cuntary abounding in Plenty I was under the Necessity of killing now and then a Beast for their support & that but seldom as Mr. Bentley Merch[t] at Kask's supplied me with the greatest part of meat as well as every other necessary requisite towards reestablishing my Men in Health who were all very sickly when Col'o Montgomery left me the Comand there & as Mr. Bentley is now on his way to Government I should do an injustice to his Character was I not to recomend him to your good Graces for the Essential Service he has rendered me and my Men in behalf of the State as he ever cheirfully furnished everything in his Power to procure—Influencing the Inhabitants at all times as far as in him laid to supply us & offering himself as security for their Payment in Hard Money on allowing him to go into Gov[t] but was always counteracted by the two aforement'd Persons who Spirited the People so

[1] An abstract of this letter is printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 76.

[2] For a discussion of this episode, consult Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), c *et seq.*

against him that they refused him the Benefit of recovering his Debts to put it out of his power to Supply me that I might be obliged to quit the Country.

The Expedition under Brigadier General Clarke being on foot prevents my waiting on you at this time in order to cleare up everything that can have been laid to my charge which I flatter Myself I can do & doubt not but you will anticipate my Innocence as was the case with reguard to Col'o Calloways Charge in 1779. I am informed they Charge me with haveing shot down and barbiqued the Cattle on the Commons—a Charge no less villinous than false in order to convince you of the Malignity & villany of such a Charge I send pr Cap't Dodge my Cornet & Comesaries Affidavits and have all my Letters[2] to Mr. Winston & the Inhabitants with theire answers which I hope to produce to you at a proper time when you will see those people in their proper Colours, I can not conclude without informing you that tis my positive opinion the People of the Illinois & Fort Vincenes have been in an absolute State of Rebellion for these several Months past & ought to have no farther Indulgence shewn them & such is the nature of those People the more they are indulged the more turbulent they grow—& I look upon it that Winston & McCarty have been principle Instruments to bring them to the Pitch they are now at

I request the favour of you to satisfy yourself with reguard to my conduct at the Illinois by every person coming from thence & to omit no opertunity to forward Copies of all Letters to my Prejudice to General Clark that I may have it in my Power to cleare myself as soon as may be as I ever hope to prove myself worthy of my present Trust & any farther favours which Government may hereafter be pleased to Confer on me having the honour to be with the utmost Respect

Your Excellencys Most Obedient and Most Hum[l] Serv't

JN'O ROGERS

[2] These letters are printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*. v.), 206 *et seq.*

Isaac Craig to Clark, May 3, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J46.—A. L. S.]

Philadelphia 3d May 1781.

Dear General—I Arrived here the 14th ult and immediately waited on the Board of War, the Board found it Necessary to State my Business to Congress, who after three days Deliberation, Ordered the Stores Aplyd for to be furnished, but So Ill Suplyed are our Labortory With Men & Money that I have been detained till this time, assisting in fixing the Ammunition—I found it Exceedingly dificualt to Precure Waggons, however the last Setts off tomorrow Morning, & I shall follow next day with two Artillery Officers Six Men of my Company & Order for Eight Artillery Artificers to be taken from Carlisle and if I am not detained there by the Q Mastor in Providing Waggons, I Shall have the Pleasure of Seeing you the 18th Instant. I am Sorrey to Inform you the Money I Recd of You will not Pass here neither can I get one Dollar of it Exchanged—the Pennsylvania Troops Yesterday began their March to the Southward, the Enemy have got Possession of Alexandria and are Fortifying themselves—the States of Holland have Declared Ware against Great Britian—the Confederacey Loaded with Clothing for our Army is taken and Carreyed into New York.

I am Dear General with much Esteem Your Obedt Hble Servt

I Craig
Capt Artillery

George R Clarke Esqr B General

[*Addressed:*] George R Clarke Esqr B. General Stewarts Crossing Hon^rd by Col^l Hays.

Colonel John Gibson to Clark, May 6, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J47.—A. L. S.]

Dear General,

I receᵈ yours of the 23ᵈ ultᵒ not until the 3ᵈ instᵗ which prevented my answering it sooner. since Colᵒ Brodheads return from the Indian Country, I waited on him and Shewed him Govenor Jeffersons letter, and told him that I Expected from that to

join you with my regt down the river.[1] he informed me that his orders from the Commander in Chief was to form a Detachment from his and my Regts not to exceed a Majors or Captns Command to join you. I coud have wished you had Been here to have settled the matter with him, Before he went down the Country, But as he has promised to Call at Colo Crawford's and deliver this I hope you will settle it Before you part.

I am now left here in command until farther orders may arrive,[2] and you may depend on my Exertions in every thing in my power, for promoting the Entended Expedition. I was sorry to find that the plan was made so public, on my arrival at this place, But I have endeavoured since to make them Believe that the Indian towns was the object. No person has yet offered in the way of raising Volunteers. Be assured, Dear Sir, it shall always be my study to render my self worthy of the esteem and good opinion that you and our worthy patron, Governor Jefferson have Concived for me, and shoud be glad to have the pleasure of seeing you here as soon as [possible] as I shoud think, in case Colo Brodhead still refuses to let the regt go with you it woud Be necessary to send an Express immediately to the Commander in chief.

Please present my most respectful Compliments to the Gentlemen and Ladies of Stewarts Crossings.

I am, Dear General, with Singular Esteem and Regard, your most Obedient humble Servant

JNo GIBSON

FORT PITT May 6th 1781.

[*Addressed:*] Brigadier General Clarke at Stewarts Crossing, honoured by Colo Brodhead

[1] Early in the spring, the Ohio Indians began their depredations against the frontier settlements. The Delawares in the region of Coshocton were particularly active for they had declared for the British. Colonel Brodhead organized an expedition in April and proceeded against them. The Indians were surprised and defeated. The troops secured large quantities of stores and then destroyed the town. See Craig, *The Olden Time*, 388 *et seq.*, for the correspondence of Colonel Brodhead on the reasons for this expedition.

[2] Colonel Brodhead returned to Philadelphia May 7, on public business.

ARCHIBALD LOCHRY TO CLARK, May 11, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J48.—A. L. S.]

12 MILE RUN y^e^ 11^th^ May 1781

D^R^ GEN^L^

I Wass honred with your favour of the 8^th^ May By the hands of M^r^ Rice

Nothing Could Give Me Greater Pleashure than assisting you in the Intended Expadition—Contious there is no other way of retaliating On the savages But By Entring their Cuntery. the People On this fruntear is so harraced and Destressed this sumer that there is Very Little to Be Expected from them. Besides I have Got Orders from his Excellancy the Presedent of this State to Rease A Company of Raingers for fore months for Our Protection there is Likewise a Company Raising for the same Purpose During the Ware 20 of which is arived. the officers are Buisey Recruiting—I flatter my self these Companys will soon Be Nearly Compleet this is the first Business I Must attend to But I think an Order might Be obtained from the Presedent for these troops and of Concequence a number of Volentears to join you on the Expadition.

I shall Endeavour to satisfy the PeoPle of their Mistake in your Route and And will Do Every thing in my Power for your assistance

I have the honour With Great Respect And Esteem D^r^ Genl. your Very Humble Sarv^t^

A^D^: LOCHRY L: W: C

TO BRIG^R^ GEN^L^ CLARK

[*Addressed:*] To The honrable Brigadear Genral George Clark favr^d^ By M^r^ Rice

[*Endorsed:*] Dated twelve mile Run 11^th^ May 1781 by Col^o^ Lochry

JOSEPH REED TO CLARK, May 15, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J49.—L. S.]

IN COUNCIL PHILADELPHIA May 15th 1781.

SIR I received your letter of the twenty third of March, a considerable time after its date. The Enterprize you refer to, has never been officially communicated to us, but from common report we learn, that an expedition under your command is destined against detroit. We are very sensible of its importance to this State, as well as Virginia, and there is no Gentleman in whose abilities and good conduct we have more Confidence, on such an occasion. After this it seems unnecessary to add, that it will give us great Satisfaction if the inhabitants of this State chearfully concur in it, and we authorize you to declare, that so far from giving offence to this Government, we shall consider their service with you, as highly meritorious. At the same we must add that from the exhausted state of our Treasury; from the great demends made upon it by the Congress, and General Washington, and other Contingencies, we are no condition to answer any demands of a pecuniary kind, and therefore do not mean by any thing we have said, to raise an expectation which we cannot answer. We have above two Months ago wrote to Colonel Broadhead, most earnestly requesting him to forward your views, informing him that they were highly approved by us. We shall be much concerned if we should be disappointed in this respect.

We have had a correspondence with Governor Jefferson on this subject, and explained our sentiments to him very fully. We have also sent forward by our Member from Westmoreland, encouragement to the people there, to co-operate with you in all respects, and hope it will be attended with good effect. Wishing you success equal to your Merit, and good intentions, I remain Sir

Your obedient and very humble Servant

Jos: REED
President

[*Endorsed:*] Joseph Reed Presed^{t} Pensyl^{a} Dated 15th May 1781. Approving Detroit Expedition. Recd July 3^{d} 1781, Yougheogania C. H.

RICHARD PETERS TO CLARK, May 17, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J50.—A. L. S.]

WAR OFFICE May 17. 1781

SIR

We were honoured with your Letter by Cap^{t} Craig which contained the first official Information we received either of your Expedition or its Objects or Preparatoins. You will receive a Return from Cap^{t} Craig of the Articles furnished which were in our deranged Situation every thing we had in our Power to send. They are near the Amount of your Demands & we hope they will arrive in good Order. We wish you every Degree of Success in your Enterprize

I have the Honour to be very respectfully Your obed Serv^{t}

RICHARD PETERS
By order

BRIG^{R} GEN^{L} GEO. R. CLARKE

[*Addressed:*] On public Service Brig^{r} Gen^{l} George Rogers Clarke Pittsburg (War Office)

[*Endorsed:*] Rich^{d} Peters Sec^{y} Board of war Dated war office 17th May 1781 Bard of war 17 May 1781

CLARK TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, May 20, 1781.

[Letters to Washington, XLIX., f. 236.—Library of Congress.]

FORT PITT 20th May 1781

SIR,

Reduced to the necessity of taking Every step to carry my point the Ensuing campag^{n} I hope your Excellency will Excuse me in taking the liberty of troubling you with this Request, The Invasion in Virg^{a} put it out of the power of the governor to furnish me with the number of men proposed for the Enterprise to the west but informd me he had obtain^{d} leave of the Baron Steuben and agreeable to your Letters for Col^{o} John Gibson and Regiment together with Hirths [Heath's] company to Join my forces, An addition he suposd of more worth than the malitia we were disapointed of. On consulting Col^{o} Broadhead he could not Conceive that he was at liberty to suffer them to go as your

Instructions was pointed Respecting the troops & stores to be furnished by him, From your Excellencies letters to Col° Broadhead I conceived him to be at liberty to furnish what men he pleasd, Convinc'd he did not think as I do or other ways he would have had no objection, as he apeard to wish to give the Enterprise every aid in his power—The hopes of obtaining a grant of those troops has Enducd me to address your Excellency myself as it is too late to consult Governor Jefferson farther on the subject, Wishing to set out on the Expedition Early in June as our Stores of provisions are nearly compleat, If our force should be Equal to the task proposd I cant Conceive that this post with a very small garrison Even of malitia will be in any danger as it is attach'd to a popular country and during our time in the Enemies [country] M°Entosh and weelin [Wheeling] will be useless or might also be garrisond by small parties of malitia, Those I know to be your Excellencies Ideas, If you should aprove of the troops in this department Joining our forces tho they are few the acquisition may be attended with great & good consequences as two Hundred only might turn the Scale in our favour, The advantages that must derive to the States from our proving successfull is of such Importance that I think deservd a greater preparation to Ensure it, But I have not yet lost sight of Detroit, nothing seem to threaten us but the want of men, But Even should we be able to cut our way thro' the Indians and find they have Receivd no Reenforcements at Detroit we may probably have the assurance to attack it thoug^h^ our force may be much less than proposd which was two thousand as defeating the Indians with inconsiderable loss on our side would almost Ensure us success, Should this be the case a valuable piece [*sic*] with them will probably Ensue, But on the contrary should we fall throug^h^ in our present plans and no Expedition take place it is to be feard that the consequences will be fatal to the whole frontiers as Every Exertion will be made by the british party to Harrass them as much as possible and disable them from giving any succours to our Eastern or Southern forces, The Indian war is now more general than Ever, any attempts to appease them Except by the sword will be fruitless, Cap^t^ Randolph waits on your Excellen^y^ for an answer to this letter which I flatter myself you will honour me with Immediately, Col° Gibson

who Commands in the absence of Col° Broadhead will keep the troops ready to move at an hours warning conducting myself as though this Request was granted,—Impatiently waiting for the happy order

It is with gratitude I thank your Excellency for the honour you have done me in your several letters. The greatest Earthly happiness I could possibly Enjoy would be to conduct myself with such propriety as to be Entitled to your Esteem

I have the Hon^r^ to be Your Excellencies most Devoted & Humb^e^ serv^t^

G R CLARK B G

CLARK TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, May 21, 1781.

[Letters to Washington, XLIX.' f. 237.—Library of Congress.

PITTSBURG 21^st^ May 1781

SIR,

I this moment Receivd yours of the 25^th^ of april the Intelligence is by no means alarming to me, it corresponds with my former suspicion,

I have for several years kept up a constant chain of Intelligence from the Lakes through the channell of the Illinoise inhabitants—And a few hours after yours I Receivd dispatches from the missisippi S^t^ Vincent River & the whole a confirmation of your Excellencie^s^ Hint, Except that part of their coming by the way of the allegany River—But Rather through the western pass as more Immediately among the Indian nations whom they would wish to have with them, And what greatly favours the Idea is that upwards of one thousand Ouabash Indians have again declard themselves in our favour and of course will draw their attention that way for some time, for fear that our troops in that Quarter Reinforcd by those Indians should make a diversion on the lakes while they had drawn of their forces to pitsburg, For in part it has been the Influence of our posts in the Illinoise and Ouabash that have savd the frontiers and in a great measure baffled the designs of the Enemy at Detro^it^ If they get possession of them they then Command three times the number of Valuable warriors they do at present and be fully Enabled to carry any point they

aim at Except we should have a formidable force to oppose them

I am well acquainted with Col° Connely and should be happy to meet him on Equal terms, If his dependence is principally on Indians and we should fortunately get into the field before him he will probably meet with a disapointm^t^ But should he be Independent of them our circumstances will be truly deplorable, Excep we had other means of drawing the Inhabitants of this this country to the field besides persuasive arguments which is too much our dependence at present, I wrote to the governor of pensylvania on this Subject but Receivd no answer, I cant think any thing of Importance is to be Expected by the way of the winango but much to be apprehended from the other Quarter, I refer you to Cap^t^ Randolph for the news of this Quarter

I have the Hon^r^ to be y^r^ Excell^s^ Devoted Serv^t^

G R CLARK, B G

[*Endorsed:*][1] Pittsburg 20^h^ 21^st^ May from Brig. Gen^l^ Clarke Ans^d^ 8^h^ June by Cap^t^ Randolph—

WILLIAM SHANNON TO CLARK, May 21, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J52.—A. L. S.]

SULLIVANS STATION, 21^th^ of May. 1781.

SIR.

Your express by Cap^t^ Sullivan, to fort Jefferson, I forwarded as soon as it came to hand, the return of which you have inclosed. I learn by letters from that post, that they are in a starving Condition, & am sorrey to inform you, that it is allmost out of my power, at present to relieve them, Maj^r^ Slaughter having used the provisions purchased for that post, and injured our Credit, so much in this place that I find it allmost impossible to purchase any thing without money. about three weeks ago, I sent a boat to Post S^t^ Vincent with three hundred Gallons of whisky, to purchas the skins you wrote for, & expect the return of them by the time you are here. Yesterday I sent Cap^t^ Moore with two other Gent^lm^ to the Countys of Lincoln, & Fayatte, with instructions to purchase what Beef Cattle, Dry, & pickeled Beef, Butter, Cheese, corn, &c. they possibley could, on the Credit of the state,

[1] As seen above, this endorsement covers also the letter of May 20.

Asuring them that the money woud shortly be paid—I shoud have went myself but Detained in hopes of purchasing One or two hundred bushels of Corn, for the relife of fort Jefferson, which I intend emedetly to send With about eight or ten thousand weight of Beef which Slaughter has not yet got into his hands.—Cap[t] John Rogers of the Light Dragoons, arrived here about six or seven weeks ago, from the Illinois with his whole Compny, in good helth, there ware with him Messars, Dodge. Dejean. & Bently on there way to Goverment, with several Indians, of which Battist the Kaskaskaia Chife wase One. I can procure any quantity of salt you may want for your present expidition, it being the only article that can be purchased here on the Credit of the state. I most sincearly wish that you woud inform Government, that in Case they woud furnish me with money I Could purchase provisions in this Department, at allmost half the sum, I can for Credit, Instance corn & salt, If Cash, corn can be had at forty Dollars p[r] Bushel, & for Credit eighty, or one hundred, If Cash salt, can be had at five or six hundred Dollars P[r] Bushel, and for Credit eight hundred or One thousand, and the same case with every species of provisions, since you left this place. I think If you wase to inform Government of this that they woud remeedy it, as the state is run to Double expence, in not having money to purchase with,—As Col[o] Floyd writes you I shall refer you to his letters for neuws, Cap[t] Sullivan will write you the Difficultys he labours under with regard to being furnished with the Necessary Gaurds & fattaugs [fatigues] for the men he has Imployed to build the state boats.

I am Sir With due respect. Your most, Obed[t] Humb[le] Serv[t]

WILL. SHANNON
Commiss[y] Gen[l] I. D.

P. S. please present my best Compliments to Cap[t] Benj[n] Harrison & inform him that, I should be happy in his showing himself once more in the mess W. S.

N. B. M[r] Veech who is Imployed to convey the present express is refered to you for pay W. S.

[*Addressed:*] On publick service To The Honb[l] Brigadeir Gen[l] Clarke at Pittsburgh or Elsewhere P[r] express

[*Endorsed:*] Cap[tn] Shannon Provisions 1781.

JAMES SULLIVAN TO CLARK, May 22, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J54.—L. S.]

SULLIVANS STATION 22d of May 1781.

DEAR SIR. Since my last by Colo Floyds express, I have engaged a sufficient number of hands, to compleate nearly all the boats you wanted, but I am much Distressed, for want of the necessary Gaurds and fattaiegs [fatigues], Mjr Slaughter refusing, to furnish either which put me under the necessity, of applying to Colo Floyd, for a Guard from the Millitia. I wish you woud Consider us, and send some good man in his place, as you may Depend nothing can be done for the good of the State untill he be removed.

After eating up allmost everything, I furnished he & his Lousey Corps is near starving, & so shall remain for me. I hope you will bring Coarking for the Boats as there is none to be had here, My kind love to Collonells Craford & Harrison, & there good fameleys, I hope you will believe me to be sir,

Your most Obedt Humbl Servt

JAMES SULLIVAN

P. S. please present my Compliments to Capt Ben: Harrison & family J. S.

[*Addressed:*] The Honbl Brigadier Genl Clark at Pittsburg pr express

JOHN FLOYD TO CLARK, May 22, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J53.—A. L. S.]

BEARGRASS May 22d, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL As Mr Veech is going immediately to the neighbourhood of Fort Pitt, I thought it might not be amiss to write you again although I have nothing of much importance to communicate since my last. The Commissaries are gone to Lincoln to purchase Cattle & other Stores for the Campaign.

Mr Lindsay is getting a quantity of Beef dried in Fayette, where the Buffaloe are yet exceedingly numerous. He has also bought some Beeves in that County, and I think one hundred at least will be got in Lincoln, and some few in this County. The old Women seem much engaged in making Butter and Cheese for the Army.

Mrs Floyd tells me to inform you she has about 200 lb of fine cheese for you & desires that you bring her a piece of Linen.

Corn is very plenty in the upper Counties, & although it does not answer for a Campaign, it may do to send down to the Iron Bank Station, where I am informed them poor fellows are in almost a starving condition. I am about hiring some hunters to go to Drinnens Lick to lay up some Beef from whence I expect it can be brought in the Canoes from the upper Counties, as I am informed one hundred are to be furnished from those Counties.

Salt is plenty, and many articles might be purchased with money, & for want of it the price of every article is almost double which is bought for the State, and its Credit here is really at a very low ebb.

Nothing can be purchased for the Troops on Credit at Illinoise where I hear they have plenty. Dodge is gone to Richmond and I hear has all his accounts well authenticated. None of your Troops are yet come out by Land, I had a Letter from Gab[1] Madison in which he says the Greenbrier Men would not march till the middle of April owing to the Tents, Bags, & Linen for the pack saddles being sent to Fort Pitt by mistake.

The Indians have this year suffered us to plant corn on Bear-grass unmolested; the reason of which I expect, is owing to the little Expedition you ordered against some of their Towns early this spring, which has attracted the attention of other Tribes[1] also: not one has made his appearance here for many Weeks till last Friday, they killed one of the Guard near the Falls where they were preparing Timber for the Boats—Ned Mordock was killed some Weeks ago on the West side the Ohio a little below Salt river.

The lower McAfee's Station was attacked a few days since by a about thirty Indians, they were reinforced from the neighbouring Garrisons and Sallied out & attacked the Indians in the Woods: they got three Scalps wounded several, with the loss of Nathan Lynn & one other man whose name I have not heard.

Squire Boon who was badly Wounded at his Station this spring, is likely to get well. It is with much difficulty I can get any thing

[1] This doubtless refers to the expedition sent out by Colonel Brodhead, see Introduction, *ante*, clii.

done by the Militia, and all for want of Officers authorized to sit on a Court Martial. Do endeavour to have some blank Militia Com^ns^ sent me from Governm^t^ if possible, as I am greatly perplexed for want of them. I have several times wrote to Goverment on the Subject to no purpose. Canoes & Boats I believe will be made but not without some cursing and wrangling. I wish I could hear from you as often as possible. When may we look for you here? The Drafts are made in these Counties for the Expedition, and I expect nearly ready to March. The number of Militia in this County is 354 in Lincoln 732 & Fayette 160 This at present is the whole strength of Kentuckey, and our numbers seem to decrease, as I have ordered the Surveying in this County to be stopped till the Expedition is over—I found it impracticable to complete the business of the Draft without making this streach.

May the Heavens bless & preserve you Farewell

JN FLOYD

[*Addressed:*] General Clark

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, May 23, 1781

Va. State Papers, II., 116.]

YOHOGANIA, C. HOUSE May 23^d^ 1781

SIR

A few days past I Receivd dispatches from the Illenois Kantuck &c of a late date, I am sorry to Inform your Excellency that near 100000 lb of Beef at the Kantucky is spoilt by the persons who Engaged to procure it About the same Quantity on hand Excellent good and 250 Head of Cattle promis'd by the inhabitants, The Indians have done considerable damage there, The Enclosd copies are all that is worth your notice from the Illenois but what you already know of by former letters from the country,

You will see the measures that have been taken Respecting Shannon and moore and the Issue, Col^o^ Broadhead would not agree to suffer Col^o^ Gibsons Regiment to go on the Expedition as he said he could not answer for it, I have wrote to Gen^l^ Washington in consequence as p^r^ Enclosd copies. The Continental officers and Soldiers of this Departm^t^ to aman is anxious for the Expedition supposd against the Indians, The country in general

wishing it to take place but too few think of going and so great a Contract between the people of the two states in this Quarter that no method I doubt can be taken to force them to war, We are taking Every step in our power to Raise Volentiers what number we shall get I cant as yet Guess I doubt too few. The dis-apointment of Seven Hundred men from Frederick, Berkly & Hampshire I am afraid is too great a Stroke to recover as in fact the greatest part of this country is in subordination to neither Pensylvania or Virg[a], Gen[l] Washington informs me that he had Recieved information that Col[o] Connely had left new york with a design to make a diversion in these Countries to be Reinforcd by S[r] John Johnson in Kanady, I doubt S[r] we shall as utial be obligd to play a desperate gaim this campaign, If we had the 2,000 men first proposd such Intelligence would give me pleasure, The greatest part of our Stores have come to hand, The Remainder I shortly Expect, By the greatest Exertion and your timely Supplies of money we have the boats and provisions Expected in this Quarter nearly compleat, I propose to leave this about the 15[th] June if we can Imbody a Sufficient numer of men by that time I do not yet despair of seeing the proposd object on tolerable terms although our Circumstances is Rather gloomy, Col[o] Crockett & Reg[t] arivd a few days past who Informed me that a Company or two of Volentiers might be Expected from Frederick & Barkly I am sorry we are so circumstanced as to be glad to Receive them

I have the Hon[r] to be with great Esteem Your Devoted Serv[t]

G R Clark

Colonel John Gibson to Clark, May 30, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J55.—A. L. S.]

Dear General This will be handed to you by En[a] Tannehill now going to Richmond in order to receive the 4 months pay allowed by the Assembly towards the Depreciation of their pay. I must request you woud write in their Behalf, as they have rec[d] no pay for these twenty months. I am much afraid they will even refuse going anywhere until they are paid. I have just heard 3 hundred men have Crossed the Ohio last Saturday at Wheeling and are gone on an Expedition against the Indian towns, I am afraid the

will fall on the Moravians, and dread the Consequences, I think they have gone on this, to avoid going with you. I Expect in a day or two to hear from the party that went to Presquille, and shall then pay you and my friends at Xsings [Crossings] a visit. You will much oblidge me in Lending Ens Tannehill four or five thousand Dollars to Bear his Expences as I have none but Pen^{a} state money. Please present my most respectful Compliments to the Gentlemen and Ladies at the Xsings [I have] the Honour to be Dear Gen^{l} with perfect Esteem and regard your most ob^{t} Hbl^{e} Serv^{t}

JN^{O} GIBSON Col^{o}

F. PITT May 30th 1781
GENERAL CLARKE
[*Addressed:*] Brigadier General Clarke at Stewarts Crossings. Honoured by En^{s} Tannehill.
[*Endorsed:*] Col. Jn^{o} Gibson,

HUGH H. BRACKENRIDGE TO CLARK, June 4, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J56.—A. L. S.]

SIR Agreeably to my intention when I had the honour of seeing you At the Yohogany court house, I have rode down to M^{r} Marshalls on cross-creek and have had some conversation with him. He wishes well to your expedition, Thinks it will be for the particular benefit of this country & would be happy to have it in his power to Serve it. He has it not in his power at present as The line between the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania is not yet determined. He will not have it in his power even when the line is determined without a special order from the council of the state and then it will only be possible to effect a draught for 2 months

If the former officers under the Virginia State effect a draught he thinks it will be well, but does not believe they will find it possible. The people will not submit to it. For his part as a public officer he has nothing to say to it, and as an individual he will acquiesse. He does not find it convenient to wait upon you next Tuesday, but will meet a committee which he understands will convene on Friday next, At Col. Pentecost's and which he

understands are to deliberate some things on the same subject, the ways and means of Assisting your expedition.

It is possible that in a day or two I may ride up to the upper part of the country, And as far as in my power shall very certainly do and say every thing that may facilitate your enterprise which in my opinion will be of Essential Service to the safety of the country. I am Sir yours &c

HUGH H. BRACKENRIDGE

PENTECOSTS MILL Monday June 4th 1781.

[*Addressed:*] General Clark, Yohogany court-house.

COLONEL JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, June 5, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J57.—A. L. S.]

DEAR GENERAL Mr Morrison not having returned from up the river prevents my waiting on you this day at the Court house, as Mr Bentley informs me you intend being there. since my last nothing material has happened at this post. I am sorry to have to inform you that a set of Rascals have Begun to depreciate the Virga money now in Circulation, and some of them have even gone so far as to refuse taking it, in particular Smith the Brewer has refused to take it in payment for Beer, I am much afraid it will reach the Country and of Course retard your proceedings. I sincerely wish some method coud be fell on to punish such rascals, and woud most Chearfully join in Bringing them to justice. I hope the intended Meeting may have a good Effect, But am much afraid the people wish Rather to retard, than forward the Enterprize.

I shoud be happy if you coud spend a few days here Before you return to the Xsings, as I might possibly accompany you there.

I am Dear General with sincerest Esteem and regard, Your most Obt Humble Servant

JNO GIBSON Colo
Comdt F Pitt

FORT PITT June 5th 1781

BRIGADIER GENERAL CLARKE

[*Addressed:*] Public Service Brigadier General Clarke at the New Store honoured by Mr Bentley

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THE BOARD OF WAR, JUNE 8, 1781.

[Papers of the Continental Congress, Reports of Board of War, 147, v., 323.]

HEAD QUARTERS 8th June 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

I am honored with yours of the 1st instant inclosing Col[l] Brodheads representation of the State of Affairs to the Westward, which I make no doubt are in much the same situation as those in every other Quarter.

If the requisition for men and supplies are not in any tolerable degree complied with by the States, it is impossible for me to furnish garrisons for the Frontier posts and support them. I have long foreseen the dangers to which the Western Frontiers would be exposed and have made proper representations to Congress and the State of Pennsylvania. The President and Council assert that Col[l] Brodheads complaints in respect to provisions, flour especially, are not well founded. Why the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment should have been neglected while the others have been so amply furnished with Clothing I cannot say, but I can, under our present circumstances, only recommended [*sic*] it to the State to endeavour to make a provision for them, as the Continental Magazine, after what has gone to the southward, is exhausted of every article fit for the season.

As it seemed the public wish, that the expedition of Col[l] Clarke against Detroit should be supported, I gave orders to Col[l] Brodhead to deliver him a certain quantity of Artillery and Stores and to detach Captain Craig with his company of Artillery, as there were neither officers nor men of the Virginia Militia acquainted with that kind of service.

I recommended also a small detachment of Continental Troops from the 8th Pennsylvania and 9th Virginia Regiments but it was at the discretion of the Commandant and in case they could be safely spared. I mentioned that I did not imagine the command could not exceed that of a Major and perhaps not of a Captain. If therefore Col[l] Brodhead saw that the post could not be defended if such a detachment of Infantry was made, he was justifyable by the spirit of my order in not sending it.

If Col[l] Clarke should be able to prosecute his plan, I am of opinion that he will draw the whole attention of the Enemy to the support of Detroit, and upon that presumption I thought the Artillery and Stores might be spared. If he should not matters remain as they were.

Upon the whole, Gentlemen, you must be convinced from your very intimate knowledge of our Military affairs that it is out of my power to send any reinforcement to the Westward. If the States would fill their Continental Battalions we should be able to oppose a regular and permanent force to the Enemy in every quarter. If they will not, they must certainly take measures to defend themselves by their Militia, however expensive and ruinous the system.

I have the honor to be &c

Copy G° WASHINGTON.

[*Addressed:*] The Hoñble The Board of War

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, June 10, 1781.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

YOHOGANIA COURT HOUSE 10th June 1781

SIR

Cap. Bently of the Illenoise attends on me with a number of bills on government for furnitures made to our troops in that country, Those that I have countersigned appear by the Accounts annex'd and different letters from Gent[n] to be Sufficiently authenticated for payment, He has other Bills drawn by Col° Montgomery that I cannot with propriety Credit untill I am made sensible of the Justness of them, By the acco[ts] of that country but they probably may be Just, your Excellency will do as you please Respecting them, I am Informd that M[r] Charles Gratiot hath also Bills on thier way to you some of them I know must be Just as that Gen[n] as well as Cap[t] Bently have taken great Pains to subsist our troops in that departm[t] Perticularly paying of the Expence of an Expedition up the Illinois River which promised good Consequences—The great Bundle of draughts you mentioned in your last I have not yet seen nor can I learn who has

[1] Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 153.

them, Cap^{t} Bently appears desirous to undertake the Supplying Fort Jefferson with provisions for a garrison of 100 men, If it should be your pleasure to make such Contract—I dont know any person more likely to accomplish such a task He has a universal good Charracter as a gentleman & hath suffer'd much on Acc^{t} of the present Contest

I have the Honor To be your Very Humble & Obed^{t} Serv^{t}

G R CLARK

CHAPTER XIII

PLANS FOR THE EXPEDITION AGAINST DETROIT AGAIN DOOMED TO FAILURE. JUNE 12, 1781 TO OCTOBER 1, 1781

CLARK BEGINS TO FEAR THE OUTCOME—GENERAL OPPOSITION TO THE DRAUGHT—LACK OF FOOD AT FORT PITT—COUNTY-LIEUTENANTS OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA NOT WILLING TO AID CLARK—CLARK RETURNS TO THE FALLS OF THE OHIO—CLARK'S APPEAL TO THE KENTUCKY COMMISSIONERS—CLARK'S OFFICERS ADVISE AGAINST AN EXPEDITION TO DETROIT—HIS DISAPPOINTMENT.

CLARK TO WILLIAM FLEMING, June 12, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 30J91.—A. L. S.]

YOUGHIOGANIA June 12, 1781.

SIR

By this I could wish to introduce to you Cap^{tn} Bently as a gent^{n} of Character and hath suffered much by his zeal for the American Interest

There is but Little good news in this part of the World. The Indians have done Considerable damage this Spring; they have lost about Twenty-five warriors, My Circumstances is not so Flattering as Could be wished for; The inhabitants cry out for an Expedition, but too few I doubt will turn out affraid I believe that they will be led on to something too desperate for their Delicate stomacks. what Volunteers we get will be valuable as their wishes are agreeable to my designs, I am in a fair way of bringing the Pennsylv^{a} Gen^{tn} in this Quarter to tolerable terms if so, a Gen^{l} Draught (already ordered) in all of that part of this Cuntrey formerly under the Jurisdiction of Virginia will take place in a few Days the 20th Ins^{t} is the Day of Gen^{l} Rendevous knowing our force we shall also know what we dare attempt The first object proposed still attracts my Ideas, Could I contrive matters so as to leave no room for Reflection in Case of a Defeat I Shall most Certainly attempt it if I can form a Tolerable force without

they get the Suckers threatened by Co^{l} Connolly[1] in such Case I may probably alter my plans, but too much at present depends on the fickle disposition and ungovernable state of the Cuntry to be on any Certainty

I am Sr with great Esteem Y^{r} very H^{b} Serv^{t}

G. R. CLARK

Co^{L} FLEMING Richmond

PLAN OF DEFENSE OF A COMMITTEE OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY, June 18, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J60.—A. D. S.]

Agreeable to publick notice made by Christoper Hays Esq^{r} to the Principal Inhabitants of the County of Westmoreland to meet at Cap^{t} John M^{c}Clellions on the 10th Day of June 1781, to consult and take into Consideration the distres^{d} situation of the Frontiers and form a plan of defence for their Protection—as we are inform by Ch^{r} Hays Esq^{r} that our proceedings will be approved of by Council—And Whereas there was a number of the Principal persons of the s^{d} County met on s^{d} day and Unanimously appointed Colls John Proctor John Pomroy Cha^{s} Cambell & Ja^{s} Smith Hugh Martain James Barr Isaac Mason Charles Foreman Esq^{rs} and Capt Sam^{l} Moorhead a Commitee to enter to resolves to raise a force as in their Judgment seems mete which is as follows—

1st Resolv^{d} that an Expedition be carried on with Gen^{l} Clark into the Indian Country

2 Resolv^{d} that Gen^{l} Clark be furnished with 300 men to be collected out of Coll^{s} Pomroy Davises & Beards Battalion

3^{dly} Resolv^{d}, that Six pounds be advanced to every Volontier that will March under the command of Gen^{l} Clark on the Campaigns

4^{thly} And for the further incouragement of Voluntiers we recommend to raise by subperscription grain by the different Compinies

[1] See letter of Clark to Washington, May 21. *ante*, 553. For Connolly, see Introduction, *ante*, xix *et seq.*

5thly Resolvd Coll Lochry order the Different Colls to raise their Quoto of the above number of Voluntiers or otherwise by Draught.

6th Resolvd that Coll Lochry confer with Officers of Virginia to make a return of the Persons that refuses to do Duty under the Jurisdiction of Virginia.

7th Resolvd that Coll Lochry meet at Coll Crafords on friday the 22d of this Inst to consult with Genl Clark and other Officers the day of Randivouze

8thly Resolvd that every Voluntier that marches under the command of General Clark shall stand as a Tower of Duty.

Signd by Order of Commitee

JOHN PROCTOR
President

CLARK TO THE INHABITANTS OF MONONGALIA COUNTY, June 18, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J58.—L. S.]

HARDINS MILL June 18th 1781.

GENTLEMEN

The Inhabitants of the Monongahalia County the Bearer hereof Mr Bramfield & Mr Jones at my Request wait on you with those lines, in Order to inform you of my Sentiments, On the present Occation Viz—Suppressing a Mob whome attempted with Success to prevent a Draught being made pursuant to my Order. I wish to see some of you Imediately as I shall wait here for that purpose & be assured of all the protection & Satisfaction in my power to give.

I am with perfect respect, Your Obt Sert

G R CLARK

P S all persons who surrender themselves on the terms proposed alt[ho'] Guilty are hereby acquited in Giving sufficient securities for the Future

G R CLARK

Agreement on the Part of Some of the Inhabitants of Monongalia County to Submit to Future Military Orders.

[Draper MSS., 51J59.—D. S.]

Hardins mill monongalia County
June 19th 1781.

We the subscribers being Accessary to a Riot in Suppressing a draught in this county on the 12th Inst Being Sensible of our Error and as a security of our future good conduct do hereby Engage to Serve Ten months in the continental Service in case we should be guilty of the like misdeminor, Or acting against the Legal Laws of any State or perticular Resolves of congress or saying anything against the Genl Interest of the country as witness our hands the day & date above mentioned.

John Rorkley
his
Jesse × Worthington
mark
William Wade
his
Benjamin × Deane
mark
Daniel Robbens
John Lucas
William Robbens
his
John × Harden
mark
his
Peter × Peekenpaugh
mark
test B. W
Robert Harding
his
William × Murfy
B W mark
Richd Lucas
his
John × Worthington
mark
Benjamin Brooke
Thomas Wade
George Robbens
Hezekiah Wade
his
George × Wade
mark
Isaac Robins
John Wade
his
Wenman × Wade
mark
Samuel Haily

POSTPONEMENT OF THE DETROIT EXPEDITION, June 21, 1781.

[*Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 176.]

GENERAL ASSEMBLY June 21st 1781.

Joint Resolution passed, desiring the Executive to take such steps, by offering a pardon or otherwise, as may effectually suppress certain "Insurgents and their associates in the Western and Northwestern Frontiers &c.

For "reforming Clark's and Crockett's regiments, and Slaughter's Corps."

Calling to account, all Officers, Agents, Commissaries, Quarter Masters and Contractors, or other persons concerned in the disbursements of public monies in the Western Country, belonging to Virginia, for their proceedings, and appointing others to manage their business if necessary.

Authorizing the Executive to put a stop to the Expedition lately ordered to Detroit, and to take steps for disposing of the Stores &c provided for that purpose.

CLARK TO THE OFFICERS OF PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA, JUNE 23, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J62.—D. S.]

XINGS June 23 1781.

At a Conference held between Gen. Clark and Col° Lochry County Lieut of Westmoreland on the 23^{d} Inst in consequence of a Resolve of a Council of Westmoreland held at Cap^{t} M^{c}Clellions on 18th Inst June

Present

Col° Shepherd County Lieut of Ohio, Officers of Pennsylvania & Virg^{a} Gentlemen &c

Resolv^{d} That the forces to Join the army under Gen^{l} Clark be immediately prepared to Rendisvouze at the time & place that the Gen^{l} Shall appoint by his Circular letters.

That it is our oppinions that 300 men from the three Battalions of Westmoreland Equal or more in proportion to one fifth of the militia of formerly West Augusta.

That one fifth of the Militia of Monongalia Yohogania and Ohio Countys be Raised voluntarily or draughted and hold themselves Ready to Rendezvous as above.

That Emigrants not having Enrold themselves as malitia previous to this be treated according to law

That no party disputes ought to be admitted on the present Occasion as the Alarming Situation of this Country call for Every Exertion.

G R CLARK B. G.
ACH LOCHRY L. W. C.

[*Endorsed:*] 1781. Resolves entered into 23 June at Colº Crawfords By Col Lochry Cl Shepherd Genm Virga Pena &c.

COLONEL JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, June 26, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J63.—A. L. S.]

DEAR GENERAL Your favour by Capt Craig came safe to hand as soon as the Boats can be raised, which are now sunk, shall furnish him with them. I am happy to hear that Westmoreland Militia are likely to turn out, But wish they may not disapoint you.

We have heard that the Gentlemen and Ladies of Stewarts Crossing's intend paying us a visit tomorrow, in Consequence of which a grand Bower is erected in the Orchard, a Barbacue is preparing for tomorrow and a Ball in the Evening at Col Gibsons Room. We shall Esteem ourselves happy in Being honoured with your Company and the Gentlemen of your family, and hope you will be so oblidging as to present our respectful Compliments to Col Crocket, Capt Heth, his Lady and Daughter, to Capt Tannehill and Lady, to Mr And Heth, Lady and Sister, Mr and Mrs Farland, and request the favour of their Company at two ºClock tomorrow. as I shall have the pleasure of seeing you so soon shall defer saying anymore than to Assure I am Dear General most sincerely yours

JNº GIBSON

F PITT June 26th 1781.

COLONEL JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, July 2, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J65.—A. L. S.]

DEAR GENERAL,

I Entended waiting on you yesterday But the Gen^{l} Court Martial prevented me, and just as I was preparing to set of this Morning, I rece^{d} the agreeable news, that our worthy friends from the Xsings Entend paying us a visit, and will be here at the Celebration of the Aniversary of our Glorious Independance, this now prevents my going. It will be a great addition to our happiness in having the Company of Gen^{l} Clarke, Col^{o} Crocket and the Gentlemen of the Gen^{ls} family and hope that nothing may intervene to prevent it.

Please present my respectful Complements to the Gentlemen with you.

I have the honour to be, Dear General, with sincere Esteem, Your most obd^{t} Humble Serv^{t}

JN^{o} GIBSON Col^{o}
Com^{d} F. Pitt

PITT July 2^{d} 1781.

Please inform Bob. Bealle I have the fatted Calf still keeping for the Ladies and him &c

GEN^{L} CLARKE "At the Court House of Youghiogany"

JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, July 11, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J68.—A. D.]

Proposals from John Gibson Trader in the Town of Pittsburgh to G B Clark Commander of the Western Expedition Viz^{t}

1st That he will Sell his Goods in the Town of Pittsburgh at a Certain fix't advance upon the original Invoice

2^{d} That the Town of Pittsburgh aforesaid shall be fix't upon as the place of Sale

3^{d} That he will Receive in payment for the said Goods, Merchantable Skins or Furrs at a Certain fix't price; and in Case any of the Skins or Furrs Should be Deemed not of a Sufficient Quality or otherwise not Merchantable—The price to be Determined by the Judgement of Men Chosen by the parties for that purpose

4th That in Case an intire payment Cannot be made in peltry as aforesaid, the Ballance to be paid in Specie or other Currant Lawfull Money Equivalent thereto at the Town of Pittsburgh aforesaid, and in Case the said Gibson should be put to the Trouble & Expence of going to Virginia to Receive his Money, & meat with any uncommon delays in waiting for it, all his Expences, as well as a Compensation for his Loss of time must be made good to him, And the said General Clark shall enter into an Obligation for the full Performance of all these Articles.

JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, July 11, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J67.—A. L. S.]

PITCHBURG Juley the 11th 1781.

SR

I have Inclosed the intentions of my proposels to you there is two things omited that is the time of payment and the Cent upon the Goods but that we Can Settle as soon as you think Convenient and the Sooner the Better Both for you and me Sr I intended to have Gone up this Day my Self but I have taken a turn of the Gout and was not able to Ride and I have sent mr Campbell to you for an answer that I may prepare what I have for you Imedentley which I will Do as soon as in my power Sr this is from your obiedent and umble Servt

JNO GIBSON

[*Addressed:*] B. Genl Clark New Store

COLONEL JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, July 12, 1781.

[Draper MSS.. 51J69.—A. L. S.]

DEAR GENERAL,

This will be handed to you by Mr Duncan who now waits on you, to represent our distressing situation for provisions; I have to request if you can by any means, consistent with your own safety Spare us a little more flour you woud do it. nothing but *shere necessity*, and the dangerous Consequences to be apprehended from the Soldiery coud induce me to make this request at this time.

I am, Dear General with singular Esteem, your most humble Servt

JN. GIBSON Col

FORT PITT July 12th 1781

[*Addressed:*] Brigadier General Clarke Yohioganey honoured by Mr Duncan

[*Endorsed:*] From Colo John Gibson Dated Fort Pitt 12th July 1781 Recd the 12th

JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, July 14, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J70.—A. L. S.]

PITCHBURG Juley 14th 1781[1]

Dr Sr

Colo Jno Gibson Called on me for a parsell of Goods for the Indens and handed an order from you to me upon which I Refused I hope you will not take it amiss I think when you know the treatment I have Red from that Quarter you will be Satisfyed and hope you will not make aney Demand on me for aney of them as the have put it out of my power to Serve one Single Indevduell Sr I would be fond to know as Soon as posable when you would be in town that I may make a Delivery of what you want So this is from your obeident and Umble Sert

JNo GIBSON.

[*Printed Note:*] Invoice of sundry Goods as purchased in Philadelphia, for specie, by John Gibson, and by him delivered to Gen. Clarke, in Pittsburg, July the 19th, 1781

	£	s.	d.	
Spirits, per gallon	0	10	0	
Fine linen, per yard,	0	6	0	
French, do. do	0	4	0	
White Cloth, per yard,	0	8	0	
West India Rum, per gallon,	0	8	0	
Muscavado Sugar, per pound,	0	0	0	[*sic*]
Wine, per gallon,	0	10	0	
Coffee, per pound,	0	0	10	

[1] This letter was published in the Frankfort, Kentucky, *Commonwealth* September 2, 1834, and was secured by Dr. Draper from Mann Butler.

Chocolate, per pound,	0	1	4
Blankets, per pair,	3	15	0
Blue Cloth, per yard,	1	0	0
White Sugar, per pound	0	1	0
Cherry Bounce, per gallon	0	4	6
Barcelona Silk Handkerchiefs,	0	10	0
Thread stockings, per pair,			
Apple Brandy, per gallon,			
Tobacco, per roll,	[*MS. illegible.*]		
Wool Hats, each,			
Worsted Caps do.			

The above is the prime cost in Philadelphia.—One hundred and fifty per centum will be laid on the above goods for carriage to Pittsburg, risk, wastage, trouble, expense, barrels, kegs, &c.

[*Addressed:*] B: Gen[l] Clark New Store

[*Endorsed:*] Fr John Gibson Dated Fort Pitt 14 July 1781

LINCTOT TO CLARK, July 18, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J71.—A. L. S.]

MONSIEUR

Dans La Necessité au Poste Vincennes de faire des depenses pour les nations, de les Engager a s'opposer au Passage de 200 Royalistes et 600 Sauvages confederés en Marche pour aller detruir Les Ilinois, et Les forcer D'abandonne Le parti de nos enemis communs; n'ayant aucune ressource en cet'endroit J'ai êté forcé de me transporter aux Ilinois ou J'ai eû recours de rechefs a des amis qui m'ont de nouveau assisté quoiquils se fussent

[*Translation.*][1]

SIR:

Being obliged at the Post Vincennes to meet some expense for the tribes, to engage them to oppose the passage of two hundred royalists and six hundred savages, their allies, on the way to bring destruction to the Illinois, and also to induce them to abandon our common enemy; and having no resources at this place I have been obliged to go to the Illinois where I have appealed for money to friends who have again helped me, although they had

[1] Translation by the editor.

Dejas Epuisé en ma faveur pour le service des Etat et La gloire de nos armes et cela sans espoir de retour Jusqu'a present. J'ai reçu votre Lettre dans Laquelle vous m'excité a aller promptement vous rejoindre pour être Le temoin des Lauriers que mars vous Prepare; comme ameriquain et Bon français outre Le devoir que J'eusse eû pour Guide, L'envie de Combatre sous votre aile et de m'exposer pour la cause commune m'eut fait voler auprés de vous; mais L'incertitude ou Je suis de savoir si vous accepteries quantité de Braves Jeunes gens tant francois que Sauvages qui ne respire que la gloire et a vous Suivre dans vos expeditions m'ont Determiné a attendre Votre decision a ce sujet, La Crainte que J'ai eû que ce petit renfort ne vous fut a chargé m'a empeché de rien prendre sur moi même, J'attends L'honneur de votre response et vos ordres en consequence. L'extreme fatigue qui J'ai essuie dans mon voyage joint aux persecutions et embaras des differs nations qui m'ont accablé m'a obligé de rester quelques Jours a S^{t} Louis pour me Delasser De mes Travaux et pour avoir Le Secours Des medecins pour retablir ma santé qui est fort alteré. Plusieurs

[*Translation.*]

already made expenses for me for the service of the state and the glory of our arms, and this they did without hope of restitution until now. I have received your letter in which you urge me to join you immediately and witness the laurels which Mars prepares for you. As an American and good Frenchman besides the duty which has been my guide, the desire to fight under your wings and to expose myself for the common cause would have made me hasten to your side; but the uncertainty in which I am to know whether you would accept a number of young men both French and savages whose ambition is glory and following you in your expeditions has made me wait for your decision on this subject. The fear I had that this small reenforcement might prove a burden to you has prevented me from assuming the responsibility. I wait, therefore, for the honor of your answer and orders. The extreme fatigue which I have experienced in the journey together with the persecutions and the trouble caused by the various tribes, which have crowded upon me, have forced me to remain a few days in St. Louis, to rest from my labors and to call the aid of doctors in order to repair my health

chefs pians, outaouas &ca m'ont suivis aux Ilinois; nous avons tout Lieu de nous feliciter de L'acceuil favorable que Leurs a fait et a moi en particulier monsieur De Cruzat Lieutent colonel et commend de St Louis; ce Dernier en tout occasion n'a Cherché qu'a me prouver La part qu'il prenoit aux Succez des ameriqns et n'a rien epargnié pour m'en donner Des preuves incontestable.

J'ai L'honneur D'Etre Monsieur Le Plus humble Et Le Plus Zelé. de vos Serrs

GODEFROY LINCTOT

A MR CLARK Brigadier general
ST LOUIS 18. Juillet 1781.

[*Addressed:*] A Monsieur Monsieur Clark. Brigadier General De l'armée ameriquaine A La Chutte

[*Endorsed:*] N° 2 The first part of this Letter relates to some Supplies for the Indians to engage them to oppose the Entrance of 200 British & 600 Indians (hostile) into the Illinois country. Offers to fight under the wings of Gen Clark & to bring a number of French & Indian warriors to join the General in his Expedition; testifies the good Disposition of Mr Cruzat towards the American cause.[1]

[*Translation.*]

which is greatly impaired. Several Piankashaw, Ottawa and other chiefs have followed me to Illinois. We have all reasons to congratulate ourselves for the reception accorded to them and to me in particular by M. Cruzat, lieutenant-colonel and commandant of St. Louis. He has on all occasions tried to prove to me the part he played for the success of the Americans, and has spared nothing in giving me irrefutable proof.

I have the honor, sir, to be the most humble and zealous of your servants.

GEOFFREY LINCTOT[2]

TO MR. CLARK, Brigadier-General.
ST. LOUIS, July 18, 1781.

[*Addressed:*] To Mr. Clark. Brigadier General of the American Army at the Falls.

[1] The above is a summary made by some one, cognizant of the French language, for the benefit of Clark.

[2] See a letter from Linctot to Clark, dated July 31, 1781, printed in Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I. H. C.*, II.), 553.

FINDINGS OF A COURT MARTIAL, July 23, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J73.—D. S.]

McKEES HOUSE July 23d 1781

at a General Court Martial held at Camp for the Trial of James Thomson on Suspition of horse theft and Desertion

Present

Colo Zacheriah Morgan President

Capt Young	Members	Lieut Cline
Capt Whaley		Lieut Ravenscraft
Capt Ferrell		Lieut Wright
Capt Ashcroft		Ensign Green
Capt Archer		Ensign Wales
Lieut Glenn		

The court being Sworne proceeded to [*MS. torn*] the said James Thomson who pled gilty of the above [*MS. torn*] Court therefore are of opinion that he the said [*MS. torn*] run the gantlet once threw the Bregade.

COLo ZACHERIAH MORGAN Pret
AP G R CLARK

CLARK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, August 4, 1781.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

WEELEN 4th August 1781

SIR

I make it no doubt but it will alarm you to find that I have not left this country Whoever undertakes to Raise an army in this Quarter will find himself disappointed Except the laws was of greater force and not depending on the wills of the populace, This country calls aloud for an Expedition wishing me to put it into Execution but so strangely Infatuated that all the methods I have been able to persue will not draw them into the field, we have made draughts to no purpose, Governor Reed have also wrote to them but to no Effect, From the time I found I was to be disappointed in the Troops orderd by Government began to suspect

[1]This has been previously printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 294.

the want of men which is now the case when Every other necessary is prepared.

I could not get Col° Gibsons Reg^t^ Otherway, I should have been gone long since, but had to make up the deficiency by Voluntiers but finding that no arguments are sufficient I determine to Quit them leaving no stone unturnd by which they might hereafter Excuse themselves,

To save the garrison of Pittsburg from being Evacuated I have been Obligd to spare them a Considerable Quantity of flower but yet have Enough to do something Cleaver had I men—I have Relinquished my Expectations Relative to the plans heretofore laid and shall drop down the River with what men I have amounting to about Four Hundred Consisting of crocketts Reg^t^ Craigs, artillery Voluntiers &c If I find a prospect of Compleating my forces in any other Country I shall do it, and make my strokes according to Circumstances, if I find it out of my power to do anything of Importance Shall dispose of the publick Stores to the greatest advantage and Quit all farther thoughts of Enterprise in this Quarter.

I do not yet Condemn myself for undertaking the Expedition against Dutroit, I yet think had I near the number of men first proposd should have carried it, I may yet make some stroke among the Indians before the Close of the Campayn—but at present Realy to be doubted, I have been at so much pains to Enable us to prosecute the first plan that the Disapointment is doubly mortifying to me and I felt for the dreadfull Consequences that will Ensue throughout the frontier if nothing is done, This Country already begin to suspect it & to Envite me to Execute some plans of their own but I shall no longer trust them, I shall hereafter transmit to your Excellency Coppies of all the publick Letters sent & Receivd Respecting the Expedition, by which you will see the Very great pains that have been taken with the Inhabitants of this Country to little purpose. The unsettled State of the Government is Very hurtfull to publick measures among them, I have spard to Col° Harrison £126581″17 to Enable him to go on with his business, which he is to settle with the auditors,

be pleased to order me Credit for it on their books, I think Col. Harrison has done himself Honour in Conducting his Business, I have the Honour to be your Obed^{t} and Very Humb^{l} Serv^{t}

G R CLARK

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF VIRG^{A}

CLARK TO JOSEPH REED, August 4, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 46J67.—L. S.]

WEELIN 4 August 1781.

SIR

I had the pleasure of Receiving your^{s} of 15th May but not untill the third day of July. I thank you for the favourable sentiments Contain'd and the Requisition to this country to give all possible aid to the Enterprise I am ordered on, Had they have done so, as thieer Interest loudly cald for—I believe there would have been no Reason to doubt but our most sanguine Expectations would have been answer'd—But so far from compleating your wishes that part of them have taken Every step in their power to frustrate the design (at a time when their neighbours were daily massacried) By confusing the Inhabitants and Every other device their abilities would admit of (although small) are too apt to Effect the minds of such persons as Inhabit this frontier, What put it more in their power was the unsettled Territory and no orders of your^{s} appearing, You mention you had sent by one of your members [*blank in MS.*] with Encouragement for the people to Co-opperate with me in all Respects. But he appears to have taken Every step to disapoint the good Intentions of Col^{o} Lochry and many other Gentlemen of westmoreland county who have us'd Every Effort to Raise men, But disappointed by those alluded to, I have Endeavored to make myself acquainted with the different persons who appeard to be busy in Ruining the sentiments of the Inhabitants and think it my duty as a Citizen and officer to acquaint you with the principals, Believing that you are Impos'd on, as those bodies gain their Influence by opposing Every measure proposd for the publick good in the military Department, Strange that such Conduct should have those Effects among any class of people in This Departm^{t}: Every Command-

ing officer has Experiencd—And I think I can Venture to say you never will be able to have anything of Importance done in this Quarter untill many of them are Removd from their Respective offices, The Inhabitants on my arrival was so Buoyed up at the thought of my carrying out an Expedition that promised them peace that it has Requird all their little artifice to disappoint which is too likely to be the case at present.

M^{r} Marshall of washington County, County L^{t} Col^{os} Cook and Davis I believe to be the perpetrators of these Evils I fear this country will feel, after giving you my honour that I am not Influenced by prejudice to point out these Gentlemen, I can assure you that they are persons that will for Ever disgrace this part of the country while in power, As for M^{r} Marshall he has I learn livd in Obscurity untill lately his promotion has so confused him that his Conduct is Contradictory in his own publick writing and as wavering as the minds of that class of mortals he has had the Honour to Influence—I hope you will not suppose this to amount to a Reflection on the Honourable councill in making such appointment from Circumstances I believe them Imposd on but the anxiety I have for Every part of the Community and the probabillity of loosing the fair prospect I had of puting an End to the Indian war Occasion me to View such Charracters in a most Dispickable light and to make this Representation. I do not suppose I shall have anything more to do with them, but should it be the case and had power should take the necessary steps to teach them their duties before I went any farther. I learn that it is generally believd that the Inhabitants of the western country are Disaffectd, I do not think it to be the case, And was a line between the two states Established and the whole well officerd they might in a short time be made valuable Citizens, and any necessary force cald to the field on the shortest notice. But at present scarcely a week passes but you hear of some massacree. Sufficient stores of necessaries provided to Enable them to Reduce the Indians and yet those Inducements are not sufficient to draw them to action, Owing to those principles before Recited

I have the Honour to be Your Devotd & Very Humble Ser^{r}

G R Clark B. G.

His Excellency the President of Pensylvania

JOHN BAILEY TO GEORGE SLAUGHTER, August 6, 1781.

[Executive Papers, August, 1781, Va. State Archives.—Copy.]

POST ST VINCENCE Aug^{t} 6th 1781

DEAR SIR

I am sorry to inform you of the following News the Boat Commanded by Captain Coulson Started from this the 11th July was defeated within 75 Miles of the Falls of Ohio the Captain was killd and three of his men several others wounded the remainder of the Company came back and gave me the unhappy News, the retreated to the mouth of Warbache left the boat & came by Land the Enemy being close in the rear of them—four days ago I receiv'd news from Detroit that they were much annoyd of the Americans comeing against them also that they were weak, about 100 men provisions scarce and dear and goods plenty, the Indians greatly exasperated against them not meeting with the treatment as they had formerly done Sir I must inform you once more that I cannot keep Garrison any longer without some speedy relief from you my Men have been 15 days upon half allowance, there is plenty of provisions here but no credit, I cannot press being the weakest party some of the Gentlemen would help us but their Credit is as bad as ours therefore if you have not provisions send whisky which will answer as good an end, I hope if my Express gets in you will not detain him, pray use the Indian Well having no other to send I expect his return in twelve days from the date and for some one Man to come with him to this post it appears that the communication is Stopt between Cannady and Detroit from the commencement of this year by account from thence

(Signed) JN^{o} BAILEY Capt.

COMMANDENT AT THE FALLS OF OHIO.

DEPOSITION OF JAMES BALLINGER, August 6, 1781.[1]

[Draper MSS., 51J79.—D. S.]

James Ballinger Soldier in Col^{o} Slaughters Corps taken Prisoner on the 9th march Last 1781 by the Tawa Indians

Deposeth and saith that on the day above Mentioned he was Taken prisoner by Tawa Indians at the Falls of Ohio and Carryd to

[1] This has been printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 314.

Detroit & examined by the Comandant Major De Pastor [Peyster] respecting this place, to which he the deponant Replyed that there were at the Falls of the Ohio about one hundred Regulars and plenty of Provisions & Volunteers enough might be had in the Country in case of an Invasion. The Deponant Saith he was frequently within the Stockades that include the principal part of the Town, but was not suffered to go within the Fort, but was often around it & saw the out Side; & saith it appeared to be very Strong, that all the Men Prisoners, or Captives taken from us were Obliged to work hard to Stockade a greater part of the Town and that the Commandant interrogated him concerning an Expedition expected against Detroit, and who was to Command it, & when Col° Clark went to Government to which the Deponant replied, that he Expected an Expedition & that Col° Clark should have the Command & that he went to Government last fall

He further saith that sundry of the Prisoners informed him that an Expedition would have been Carryd on by the Brittish, against Kentucky had it not been that the Enemy expected Col° Clark in their own Country—and further saith that all the Indians Warriors are liberally Rewarded for every Trip they make against us; & that all the Squaws & Children receive plenty of Cloathing from them, & Rations when at Detroit, & that almost every on whome he conversd with, while at Detroit, and with the Indians: Expected that if Col° Clark did not appear in their Country Soon; that a very formidable army of English and Indians would come Quickly into ours, & that every Preparation was making for that purpose & further Saith Not

The s^{d} Ballinger made his Escape from the Tawa's after being at Detroit and made Oath as above, this 6th August 1781. before me.

JN° MONTGOMERY,
Lt Colol of the Ill.[1]

[1] "Of the Ill." is crossed through with the pen.

CLARK TO ARCHIBALD LOCHRY, August 9, 1781.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.845, f. 122.]

MIDDLE ISLAND 9th Augt 1781.

SIR

I this moment Recd your's of 8th Inst. I am heartily sorry that after waiting so long for you I should set out but a day before your arrival; I also learn that you were so kind as to send an Express but he did not arrive, and I of course supposed that you had shared my fate in meeting with every disappointment from the populace, I am exceeding unhappy in our not Joining at weelin, but dont know that either of us are to blame, the militia with us continue to desert, and consiquently I cannot remain long in one place otherways should be happy in forming a Junction here. The following plan is proposed, I have augmented the command of Mr Wallace to eight alert men furnish'd with fifteen days provision for the whole of your troops, and there will be left at the lower point of the third Island below middle Island for your reception one Large Horse Boat and a Sufficiency of small ditto with what you will be able to collect on your passage Camp Kettles &ca &ca under the protection of a few men, I shall move on slowly for the reasons before recited and you will use the greatest industry as you cannot possibly pass us without our knowledge— I have suffer'd much lately but you again encourage me, I have the honour to be with Highest esteem

Your Obedt Servt

G R CLARK

N. B, Capn Wallace will give you every intelligence you wish

(A true Copy from the Original)

DETROIT Septr 1781.

A true Copy Aa S. DE PEYSTER Major

[*Addressed:*] On Publick Service Archibd Lochry, County Lt Westmoreland Esqr per Mr Wallace

Clark's Efforts to Assist Archibald Lochry, August 10, 1781.

[B. M., Add. MSS., 21.842, f. 228.]

Camp Three Islands 10th Augt 1781

Sir

You will take Charge of One large Horse boat and Eight small dittos Together with five Kegs of flower with a Command of Six Choice men for the use of Colo Lochrys Troops, and wait at this place for his arrival which will probably happen in about Six days from this date—Should Colo Lochry fail to arrive in Eight days you are hereby directed to proceed with your command & stores down the River untill you overtake me.

I am your Obdt Servt

G R. Clark.

N. B you will follow in one small boat with the Stores in case you are not overtaken. Observing to have the towline [?] safely secured.

[*Endorsed:*] Majr Cracrafts Orders.

John Floyd to Clark, August 10, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J80.—A. L. S.]

Jefferson 10th Aug. 1781

Dear General

I begin now to be greatly discouraged on account of our defenceless situation especally since I hear the Expedition was set aside: I fear this step will be fatal to the Inhabitants here without your immediate interposition.

The Savages are constantly pecking at us & in a few weeks this handfull of wretched People will be invaded on all sides by them & their Infernal Leaders. nothing has hitherto prevented it but the expectation of a Campaign against them. The reason that the Country is not now left waste is the inability of the Settlers to remove having already lost most of their Horses, and the Ohio only runs one way. The Militia are entirely without Ammunition and I find it impossible to procure any.

I prepared the Canoes ordered by Governmt and am liable for the Price of most of them, having on the faith of the Governors

Letter promised to pay for them long since, & he promised to send me money by the first opportunity to defray the Expense which is about £40000. I have received no money on that Account nor have I any of my own to advance. I should therefore be glad you cou'd contrive to have it sent out if possible People have been so long amused with promises of paying off Expenses long incurred that the credit of the State is very little better here than in Illinois.

As Cap^{t} Rogers will see you I need not go into particulars, which would rather exceed the Bounds of a common Letter.

May Heaven bless & preserve you Adieu

JN^{o} FLOYD

GEN^{L} CLARKE

[*Addressed:*] To General Geo. R. Clark favoured by Cap^{t} Rogers.

JOHN MONTGOMERY TO THOMAS NELSON, August 10, 1781.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

FALLS OF OHIO 10th Aug^{t} 1781.

SIR.

I had the honor of addressing a Letter to Gov^{r} Jefferson dated from New Orleans January 8 1781 to which I beg leave to refer you; since when after a disagreeable & dangerous voyage up the Mississippi I arrived at Fort Jefferson the 1st May last, where I found the Troops in a very low and Starving Condition, nor was any goods or other Property wherewith to purchase. From the Illinois nothing could be expected, the Credit of the State being long since lost there, & no supplies coming from this place, occasioned an Evacuation of that Post, which for want of Provisions, took place on the 8th June last.

Since my arrival here I find things in the same Condition—not a Mouthfull for the Troops to eat nor money to purchase it with, & I have just reason to believe the Credit of Government is wore thread bare, here also—The Counties of Lincoln & Fayette particularly, tho' able to supply us, refuse granting any relief without the cash to purchase with on the Spot. I am constrained

[1] This has been printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 313.

to Billet the Troops thro' the Country in Small parties for want of necessaries, except a small Guard I keep in Garrison, so that unless supplies soon arrive, I fear the Consequences will be fatal.

I am sorry to hear since my Return that Sundry Malicious aspersions have been made to my discredit; but as I am conscious of the Rectitude of my own conduct, I despise the Efforts of such, & only beg leave to request your Excellency would either order me to Government for an Examination, or else appoint a Suitable Number of respectable Gentlemen in this Country to investigate my Conduct, so that such aspersions shall not have further weight with my Country. I have been in hourly expectation of Gen. Clark since my arrival here, else would have had the Honor to address your Excellency before; but my apprehensions are now really become great, seeing no reinforcements nor Supplies; especially as I learn from some prisoners who have got in from D'Troit that they are very Strong & Preparing against us.

The Enclosed copy of a Deposition will explain the matter more fully—I have only further to request your Excellency would be pleased to give me as speedy an Answer as possible with full Instructions how to proceed, as I am at the greatest Loss under my present distress'd circumstances.

I have the Honor to be Your Excellency's mo: obed^{t} Serv^{t}

JN^{o} MONTGOMERY L^{t} C^{l}

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

JOHN MONTGOMERY TO THOMAS NELSON, August 10, 1781.[1]

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

FALLS OF THE OHIO Augst 10th 1781

SIR

As i need not be making So many Repititions of Our Suff[erings] and Grivances, &a which I have wrote to your Excell^{y} in my Letters, I have thought it absolutely Necessarry to send Some [*MS. torn*] to Governm^{t} that was well acquainted with our Situation, [*MS. torn*] Some deliberation, together with the Voices of the Officers Present, We are of Oppinion, that Major Tho^{s} Quirk w[as] Properest Person to Effect it, from his Knowledge of the.

[1] This has been printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 315.

[*MS. torn*] Since its' being Raised [*MS. torn*] its now going on three years [*MS. torn*] have Drawn no pay in these parts, nor only Scarce Clothing for the Troops—which is the reason of many [*MS. torn*] Best of Our men deserting every day, and if there is s[*MS. torn*] Method fallen upon, to put a Stop to it, I know not w[*MS. torn*] be the Consequence—there is No Resource by way of [*MS. torn*] Can be Expected, therefore, if the General should not be [*MS. torn*] Same by way of Fort Pitt, we Shall be in a deplorable [*MS. torn*]

If there was a possability of sending any Cloathing [*MS. torn*] Major Quirk, would be a very fit Person to Entrust—no[*MS. torn*] the Cloath^{s} but the pay of the Regim^{t} if your Excellency think Proper to Send it out—I would not take upon [*MS. torn*] to point out to your Better Judgm^{t}: but our urgent [*MS. torn*] Obliges me to go farther on that head than I would do [*MS. torn*] for the Reasons above Given—Major Quirk will give [*MS. torn*] Excell^{y} an Acc^{t} of any Occurrencies that might hapen [*MS. torn*] Post—to whom I refer—I am your Excell^{cys} Most Ob[*MS. torn*] Hum^{l} Serv^{t}

JN^{o} MONTGOMERY L^{t}

GEORGE SLAUGHTER TO THOMAS NELSON, August 17, 1781.[1]

[Executive Papers, August 1871, Va. State Archives.]

FORT NELSON AT FALLS OF OHIO 17th August 1781.

SIR

Inclosed you'll receive the duplicate of two Letters which just now came to hand by express by which you will be acquainted with the news and situation of the Corps to the Westward, an additional grievance to us, is that we are almost in the same situation as to provisions, and much worse as to Clothing my Corps I can with propriety say intersely naked—I have drawn a Bill on the Treasurer of this date in favor of Cap^{t} Benjamin Price for Four Thousand Three hundred & Seven pounds Ten Shillings which I hope will be duly honord & am Your Excellencys M^{o} Ob^{t} Servant

GEORGE SLAUGHTER Commd^{t}

Printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 337.

WILLIAM CROGHAN TO COLONEL DAVIES, August 18, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

FORT PITT August 18th, 1781

D^r^ COLONEL

This Week I proposd Setting off to Join the Army, being Inform'd a General Exchange of prisoners had taken place, Making no doubt of my being Exchang'd,—but Colonel John Nevill[1] who arrivd here a few days ago Says I am not—I flatter myself no injustice has been done me, but from Every Information I had was Injuc'd to believe there was More Majors of the British and Hessians in our hands than would have Exchang'd me & all the Majors of our Army (prisoners) whose Commissions were older than mine, not taken before the Surrender of Charlestown.—At any reat I propose going to Richmond this Fall, but should I be Exchang'd or it Otherways be Necessary I should go down, by Sending me a line to Fort pitt I will attend

A few days ago General Clarke Settout from this Country by Water, with about four Hundred Men, Including Officers & Colonel Crockets Regiment, flattering himself he would be Join'd by some more from Kentuckey, & the Falls of the Ohio, about half way between this & the Falls. The General Expected 1500 Men from this part of the Country & is much Shagreen'd at his disapointment having provisions, Amunition, Artillary, quarter masters Stores, Boats, &c Sufficient for upwards of 2,000 Men—had the Country people turn' out & went with him I have no doubt the people on this Side the Mountain in particular would be Senciable of of the advantage they must reap, by being able to live at their plantations without the dread of being Scalp'd, which is far from being the Case at present, few days passing without the Indians doing mischief of this kind

I much fear the General will be disapointed in Geting Men down the river from Kentuckey & the Falls, if so the State is thrown into an Infinity of Expence, without any advantage, As the few

[1] Captain John Neville was born in Virginia in 1731. In 1775, he was appointed to the command at Fort Pitt and was in charge at that post until early in 1777, when he was succeeded by Brigadier-General Hand. Captain Neville strove, unsuccessfully, to preserve Indian neutrality. He took part in the battle of Monmouth as colonel in the Fourth Virginia Regiment.

Men the General now has, is not more than might be necessary to Guard the Great Numbers of Boats, Stores, &c he has with him, From Every Account we have the Indians Are preparing to receive him And if they should attack him in his present Situation, either by land or Water, I dread the Consequences The reason so few went with him from this place, is Owing to the dispute that Subsists here between the Virginians & pennsylvanians respecting the true bounds of the Latter, And the General being a Virginian was Oppos'd by the most noted men here of the pennsylvania party. The people here bleam Virginia Very Much for Making them & their lands (which beyond a Shadow of doubt is far out of the true bounds of pennsylvania) over to pennsylvania And I am assur'd never will be Content untill the TRUE bounds of pennsylvania is run—tis true they are going to run what they Call a temporary boundary, but as Much Injustice is done to the State of Virginia & the people who are now in it & by this Scandale Imposition will be forc'd into pennsylvania, that nothing but Disorder will reign untill the bounds is run Agreeable to the *Word* of the *Charter* of *pennsylvania*.

I am happy in being Inform'd the Enemy have left Virginia & hope they will pay no more Visits to any part of the State—I am Inform'd Gen[l] Washington is Troublesome to Sir Henry which is the cause of their leaving you to assist him.

I am your Most Humble & Obedient Servant

W. CROGHAN[1]

[1] William Croghan, nephew of George Croghan, was a native of Ireland. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he was appointed captain of infantry in the Virginia Line. He took part in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth and was captured at Charleston May 12, 1780. Two years earlier he was promoted to the office of major. Although released on parole, his exchange was not brought about and he took no further part in the war. In 1784, he went to Kentucky and shortly afterwards married Lucy, the sister of George Rogers Clark. Clark lived with this sister at Locust Grove, near Louisville, for some time before his death.

COLONEL JOHN GIBSON TO CLARK, August 20, 1781.[1]

[Draper MSS., 51J81.—A. L. S.]

HEAD QUARTERS FORT PITT August the 20th 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

This will be delivered to you by the Kaskaskia Chief who is now on his way home, I therefore take this opportunity to inform that what I proposed to you is likely to take place, and on the 4th day of next month I hope to set off. The news from the Grand army is that Genl Washington is actually in possession of new york; that the Marquis De Lafayette has got Between Cornwallis and his Shipping; that his fate is inevitable; this comes from Difft quarters, and all accts seem to agree. I have many things I woud wish to Communicate to you But am afraid this letter might fall into the hands of the enemy. I will if I am able send another Express Before the time above mentioned which as Col Penticost informed me was the same fixed on by him and you.

I delivered the Chief one of your Boats, he requested that I woud mention his poverty to you and desire you to give him some Cloaths

My best Compliments to the Gentlemen with you, and am wishing you happiness and Success: your most Obedient and humble Servt

JOHN GIBSON Colo

BRIGADIER GENL CLARKE

JOHN GIBSON TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, August 25, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 16S54.]

FT PITT Aug. 25, 1781.

General Clark is gone down the river with about four hundred men, composed of Colo Crocket's regt of Virga State troops, Captn Craig's Company of Artillery, except 1 Capt-Lieut, one Sergt. & six matrosses who remain here, the rest volunteers and militia.

I delivered to him all the articles he demanded of me, agreeably to your Excellency's instructions, and which I thought could

[1] This has been printed in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II., 345.

consistently with the safety of the garrison be spared. As many of the troops in this Department were quite naked, and all of them thro' want of clothing rendered unfit for a long campaign, the General concluded it would be best for them to remain here, and proposed that I should endeavor to call out as many militia or volunteers as would enable me with the regular troops to make a short excursion against the Wyandott Towns, at the same time that he should begin his march from the mouth of the Miami river against the Shawanese, and which was to be about the 4th of September, and would of course attract the attention of the greatest part of the Indians.

Col. Brodhead returned the 11th instant to this place. He informed me that your Excellency had ordered him to return to this post, and that after the depositions were taken relative to the charges exhibited against him, and it would suit his own conveniency, that then he was to repair to Head Quarters to take his trial.[1] I then informed him of General Clark's proposal, and at the same time shewed him a letter which I had received from Col. Cannon, a principal gentleman of Yohiogany County, requesting my attendance on the 14th inst. at Penticost's Mills, as there was to be a general meeting of the county, and that it would be a very proper time to engage the people to turn out, or at least to know their opinion. Previous to this Genl Clark had informed Col. Cannon something of this kind would be attempted.

Col. Brodhead approved much of the plan, and informed me that we would both go, and try what could be done. On the evening preceding the meeting, I asked Col. Brodhead if he should set off the next morning. He then shewed me a letter from Mr Fowler to him, requiring his attendance next day to be present at the taking of the depositions in in support in support of the charges exhibited against him, and said "You see, my friend, these fellows are determined to give me no respite, and that I must have to go down the country soon; I would therefore advise to go and try to

[1] Numerous charges had been brought against Colonel Brodhead of which the chief was speculation with public funds. He persisted, however, in keeping the command until September 17, 1781, when by direct orders from General Washington he surrendered his authority to Colonel Gibson. It was then too late to organize the expeditions which Clark and Gibson had agreed upon. For evidence on this controversy see correspondence of Colonel Brodhead in Craig, *The Olden Time*. II., 398 *et seq.*

engage them to turn out with you: I shall give you every assistance in my power, and as so many reports have been spread to my disadvantage thro' the country, my going might possibly retard the people in turning out; besides I might see a number of the d—d rascals who signed the remonstrance, and their presence would be disagreeable to me—in particular that rascal, Col. Cannon, should I meet him I would spit in his face."

The next morning I went to Pentecost's Mills, where a number of people were collected, the principal of whom I informed of my intention. They asked me if Col. Brodhead was to command. I told them the present situation of his affairs prevented his commanding, that he was obliged to go down the country, but that he had assured me he would give every assistance in his power in furthering the intended excursion. They then asked me to commit my proposals to writing, which I did. The purport of which was, that the 4th day of September should be fixed on as a day of general rendezvous at Fort McIntosh, that from the unsettled dispute respecting territory, they should consider themselves as volunteers, and choose their own officers, that each man should be well mounted on horseback, and bring with him 30 days provision, and that the whole should bring as many spare horses as would mount 150 regular troops, for which number I engaged they should be paid a generous hire, and if killed, or taken by the enemy, that they should also be paid.

They unanimously approved of my proposals, and requested me to go to another meeting the next day, which was to be held a few miles from thence. I went there, and found near six hundred collected, and every one present most heartily agreed to my former proposals, and those fit for service promised to do.

The only thing I dread is, that the expedition will fall through, which must endanger the loss of Gen[l] Clark and his army, should Col. Brodhead persist in re-assuming the command, as the people in general are prejudiced against him, and are determined not to serve under him, tho' with what propriety time must discover.

We have been much distressed for provision, owing to the change of the Executive of the State of Pennsylvania in their commissioners of purchase, and the rapid depreciation of the State money; and had it not been for a supply of twenty seven thousand

w[t] drawn from Gen[l] Clark's Magazine, and for some salt in store which we exchanged for beef, we could not possibly have maintained this post

I have rec[d] since writing the above, two letters from Rev. M[r] Zeisberger, at the Moravian Towns on Muskingum; the intelligence therein contained is very alarming. I have sent to alarm the country, & hope they will turn out. I am apt to believe that the part relative to Johnson is without foundation, as the French Creek is so low that they cannot possibly come down.

DEPOSITION OF WILLIAM SHANNON, August 25, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 29J44.—Copy.]

Received of Brigadier Gen[l] George Rogers Clark at sundry times for the use of purchasing supplies of provisions for the troops under his command and in behalf of the State of Virginia, One Million one hundred and nineteen thousand five hundred and fifty eight dollars, which sum I do hereby promise to account for to the said Brigadier Gen[l] Clark, or the State aforesaid, or to any person having authority for that purpose. Witness my hand at Fort Nelson (Falls of Ohio) this 25[th] August 1781.

I also acknowledged to have received of the said Brigadier Gen[l] Clark, on the 12[th] of April 1780, Thirty nine land warrants, of 360 acres each, for which warrants I stand bound to furnish provisions for the use of troops under his command, in the Illinoise Department, to the amount of eight thousand seven hundred and seventy one pounds two shillings, Virginia Currency, which sum I do hereby promise to be accountable for to him, or the said State, whensoever demanded.

Witness my hand at Fort Nelson (Falls of Ohio) the sixteenth day of January 1782.

WILL: SHANNON
Com'y and Q. M. Gen[l] W. Dept

Attest
JA[s] FRS. MOORE
JAMES BERWICK

Return of Infantry under Colonel Joseph Crockett, August 28, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 46J40.—Transcript.]

	Col°	Major	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Adjutant	Q Master	Sergant	Sergt Major	Q M Sergant	Sargants	Fifer	Drummer	fit for duty	on duty	on Command	Sick present	Sick absent	Employed	Artificers	Officers Servants	C. Colomen		Total	
	1	1				1	1	1																	
Captain Cherrys.....			1	1	1				1		2	1		15	8		3		3		5	1		35	
Capt Youngs.....			1	1	1					1	2		1	11	3	1	1	3		1	4	1		25	
Capt Chapmans.....			1		1						2			13	3					1	2	1		20	
Capt Tiptons.....			1		1						2			5	2		1		1		2	1		12	
Capt Karnies.....			1	1	1						3		2	9	8		1		3	1	3	1		26	
	1	1	5	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	11	1	3	53	24	1	6	3	7	3	16	5		118	

(Signed) Peter Moore
Adjt N. B

ARTHUR CAMPBELL TO CLARK, September 3, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J83.—A. L. S.]

WASHINGTON Sep^{t} 3^{d} 1781

SIR

It gives me no small pleasure to hear of your arrival at the Falls of Ohio. I hope notwithstanding the very untoward incidents that have happened you will be able to do something this Season yet towards chastising our western enemies. A Treaty with the Cherokees and Chickasas were ordered by General Greene. The latter part of July a full representation by Deputies from all the Cherokee Towns met at the Great Island in Holstein and in an humble stile besought Peace which was granted them; but from the late murder of M^{r} Marshal on the Kentuckey path, I suspect the sincerity of the Tribes and whose conduct may merit them further correction before long.

General Washington by the last accounts is carrying on his operations against N. York with vigour. General Greene has nearly recovered the two Southern States that were last Winter occupied by the enemy and I believe Cornwallis's great parade in Virginia, will terminate and properly be called a plundering Expedition.

Pensacola, I suppose you have heard is taken by Governor Galvez. The Comte De Grasse, commander of the French West Indian Fleet, has, from good authority beat that of the British commanded by Rodney, and has taken the Islands of Barbadoes and Tobago. Peace or a general War in Europe, will no doubt be determined on, before the opening of next years Campaign I wish we could carry our arms to the banks of Lake Erie, before a cessation would take place; to attempt it farther, might be risking too much. For Canada confined to its ancient limits may serve our present turn: altho' every true American must acknowledge, the advantages that would accrue, could Canada be added to the Union.

I shall be glad to be favoured with the intelligence of the Western

Country, and that from the Eastward, I shall not fail to transmit to you when opportunity offers.

I am Dear Sir with much Esteem Your very Humble Servant

ARTHUR CAMPBELL

GENERAL CLARKE

[*Addressed:*] For Brigadier General Clarke at Louisville.

CLARK TO THE KENTUCKY COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, September 5, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J84.—D. S.]

The Officers of the Counties in the Departm[t] of Kentuckey in Councill assembled

GENTLEMEN—For a series of years past I have made it my study to support and protect the back Settlements of our States, not from any particular Attachment I had to them, but knowing the very great advantage they were of to the Whole Continent as a Barrier against the Indians more valuable than is Generally Conceived by the Continent at Large. I have taken every measure in my Power to Support them; sparing no Trouble, Fatigues or Dangers to accomplish whatever offered to Advantage. Sensible that nothing would put a Stop to the War so Vigorously prosecuted by the Indians but the Reduction of the British Indian Posts and possession of Lake Erie, which I have had in contemplation upwards to Two Years.

Government fell into those Measures that Promised Success; but from dire necessity recalling Troops they had ordered for the Enterprize Still wishing it to take place encouraging me to persevere in an attempt; the Success of which too much depended on the unsettled sentiments of the Inhabitants of Monongahalia County; Every Effort among them ineffectual (although everything that ought to be Dear to them called for their Assistance) it has been out of my power to Collect a greater force than I have at present with me. The whole Frontier have felt the Salutary affect of the attempt, the Enemy watching our motions, not daring to move, or attempt any thing of Consequence, for fear of our giving them, in their absence, some fatal Stroke where they least

thought of, but, I doubt those advantages will subside if no Expedition should take place. They had many reasons to dread the proposed Enterprize, but if nothing of importance is done they will take it for granted that we are not able to prosecute the War encouraged they will come on with double Vigour; I dread the Issue. The publick Clamour against the Settlement of Your Country, being such, I have never ventured to say much in your defence, as it might have deprived me of the opportunity of doing as much for you as I wished; but I know and always knew that this Departm^{t} was of more real Service to the united States, than half of all their Frontier Posts, and have proved of great importance by engaging the attention of the Enemy that otherwise would have spread Slaughter & Devastation through out the more Interior Frontier, deprived them of giving any assistance to our Eastern Armies, and more than probable, the Allegany would have been our Boundary at this time. But to give you a full detail of my Ideas on this Subject is unnecessary, I wou'd not wish that you should think that I mean to flatter you by what I have said in [favor] of your Settlements: I could never have Condescended to undertake any Enterprize that only promised advantage to a particular part of the Community. The Gen^{l} good was what I aimed at, as only Consistant with my own Sentiments. It was Immaterial to me from what part of the Frontiers I raised my Army, Could I have got one as their was but the one Common Enemy to act against finding myself disappointed on the Monongahalia, I have come to you, & should be glad to know, what you could wish to be done. The forces ordered by Government to be furnished by your Country added to those I have present are not Sufficient to execute anything of moment (owing to the great Desertion that took place on my passage) a greater Number must be Called to the Field; I wait as a Spectator to see what a Country is determined to do for itself when reduced to a State of Desperation; I am ready to lead you on to any Action that has the most distant prospect of Advantage, however daring it may appear to be—Your Situation is truly desperate: The Evacuation of Fort Jefferson has already happened; That of St Vincents will shortly take place—It being out of our power to keep them any longer. Of course the Indians in those Countries

must to a Man embrace the British Interest, and you will have several Thousand Warriors more to Contend with than formerly but a small Distance from you: in Short not half the distance from those Valuable back Countries in Virginia as is generally Supposed. It was our Interest on the Ouabache that has preserved your Settlements; Otherways, Holdston, New River Greenbrier &c must long since have been Depopulated by the Indians or rendered incapable of performing those Services they have done against the British forces in Carolina and elsewhere. But to come to the Point, the whole seems to rest on the following propositions, whether or not, under our present Circumstances; an Expedition Shall take place, if one should be resolved on, what the object shall be: Whether in the Miami Country, or the head of the Ouabache; The propriety of the different Routs and prospect of advantage. All that can be expected from an Enterprize up the Miami would probably be productive of nothing great, it is too late to Destroy the Corn in the Fields, as they will have it secured in secret places as well as their other property, they will fight us, the few we shall kill will be the sum of the Service. If you penetrate to the Head of the Ouabache it might be thought more prudent as it would be acting agreeable to your Circumstances that is desperate. Defeating the Shawnees, Delawares &c is but a Small part of those you will have to Contend with hereafter if you take the latter Route you fall in with the greatest Body of Indians (if some of the Nations did not Join us on our Route) they must fight us as well now as hereafter, if we have Success There is no Route more Convenient to Sandusky, if the Season, and our forces Should admit of our Marching that far.

Some stroke of this sort might probably save your Country Another Season From late Occurrences I am apprehensive this will be the last piece of Service that I shall have in my power to do for you, in the Military line and Could wish it to be as Compleat as possible (My situation being desperate; Similar Conduct would be agreeable. A full Conveyance of Your Ideas I shall expect

I am Gentlemen with Esteem Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t}

G R CLARK

Sept. 5th 1781.

JOHN TODD, JR., TO CLARK, September 6, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J85.—A. D. S.]

At a Meeting of the Field Officers of the Counties of Fayette, Lincoln & Jefferson at Louisville the 6th day of September 1781. Summoned by letter from General Clark.

Present

John Todd — Presdt
Jno Floyd, Ben: Logan — County Lieuts
Step. Trigg, Isc Cox — Cols
Wm Pope — L. Col°

Jn° Thruston appointed Clerk to the Council Order'd

An address from Gen Clark dated yesterday was read and the Council entered upon the subject Proposed for their Consideration Order'd that Cols Floyd & Logan wait upon the General to be Informed Whether in Case an Expedition beyond the Ohio is Judg'd impracticable he is Willing & at Liberty to Garrison the Ohio Upwards. The Generals Intentions if he thinks Proper to disclose them will Greatly Influence us in our opinions—to which he returned the following answer.

The Gen[l] Informs the Council that from the nature of his Instructions he is at Liberty to act as he pleases, Goverment Depending on him, to Conduct their Military Department West of the Allegeny Mountain absolute, he Could Wish it Consistant to disclose his Intentions to the Council—They may be assured the Publick good is his View.

Test JOHN CRITTENDEN B M

A Question was put in General Shall an Expedition be attempted this Fall or not.

There being a great Diversity of Opinion The Officers wish to Set forth their Sentiments separately

Cols Todd & Logan think that it wou'd be best to decline an Expedition this season Altogether & to Erect a strong Garrison at the Mouth of Kentucky thereby to enable Parties of 50, 100 or 200 to Visit the Enemy in the Winter season & have their retreat secured to them & by Distressing them often force them to Offer

terms of Peace if an Expedition be necessary and Practicable next Spring there will be probably considerable Stores left and those stores so much nearer the enemy

Cols Floyd, Trigg, Cox, & Pope all Wish to attempt an Expedition by the Way of the Miami as far as possible this season so as to make good their retreat and in case a retreat be Judged necessary then to build a Garrison at or about the Mouth of Kentucky. They Expect thereby to Oblige the Shawneese an old and Inveterate Enemy to offer terms And thereby Pave the Way for the Other Nations to Come in

They All agree that the Wabache Route will be so Disagreeable to the Militia in General & so tedious, that the Cold Season Will Prevent their effecting anything Considerable: Not to mention public objection to that Route by the West Augusta Draughts and [*MS. torn*] They Conclude that five Hundred Men will be a Draught of two thirds of the Militia of the Counties they have already been required to furnish that Quota for an Expedition Order'd last Spring and notwithstanding the Diversity of Opinion they Willingly offer to Gen[l] Clark the Whole or any part thereof trusting to his Experience and Proved attatchment to the Kentucky Interest to Manage them to the best advantage.

Jn° Todd jr Presd[t]

Attest Jn° Thruston

[*Addressed:*] To the Honbl[e] Brig[r] Gen[l] Geo R. Clark

Thomas Nelson to Leighton Wood,[1] September 6, 1781.

[Clark MSS., Va. State Archives.]

In Council Sep[t] 6[th] 1781

Sir

It is absolutely necessary that a distinct Account be made out and returned to the Executive as soon as it can be done of all Monies which have been charged on the Books of your Office for disbursements in the Kentucky and Illenois Country from the first day of January 1778. The names of the Drawers:—the

[1] Leighton Wood was, at the time, solicitor for Virginia.

Persons names to whom Payment was made; the date of the draft; the time the debt was contracted, as well as the time the Money was paid, must be particularized.

I am Sir Your most obed^{t} Serv^{t}

THOS. NELSON JR.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COUNCIL OF THE KENTUCKY OFFICERS, September 7, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J87.—A. D. S.]

At a Council of Officers held at Louisville in the State of Virginia the seventh day Of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty one by Order and direction of the Hon^{ble} Brig^{r} General Clark

Present

L^{t} Col^{o} Crockett	President
L^{t} Col^{o} Montgomery	
Maj^{r} Slaughter	
Major Walls	
Cap^{t} Craig	
Captain Cherry	
Cap^{t} George	
Cap^{t} Todd	
Cap^{t} Roberts	
Cap^{t} Young	
Cap^{t} Kerney [Carney]	
Cap^{t} Thomas	
Cap^{t} L^{t} Loyd	
Cap^{t} Taylor	
Cap^{t} Helm	

James Berwick is appointed Clerk to the Council

The General transmits to the Board the following papers viz^{t}

Instructions from the hon^{ble} Thomas Jefferson Governor of Virginia dated January 19th 1781 directed to the General.

An address from General Clark to the County Lieutenants in the Department of Kentuckey dated September 5th 1781.

Proceedings of the said Council of Officers of the Kentuckey Department dated September 6th 1781.

An address from General Clark to this Council dated this day.

The said papers being read the Board proceeded to enquire into the Strength of the force that might be raised in Case of an Expedition, and it appearing that not more than Seven hundred Men (Militia included) could be depended upon and the present Situation of the Country being fully debated; the following proposition was put.

"Whether under our present Circunstances we attempt an Expedition"? and if so what Object

the Yeas and Nays being required are inserted and stand as follows viz^{t}

For no Expedition	*For an Expedition to the Wabash*
L^{t} Col^{o} Crockett	L^{t} Col^{o} Montgomery
Major Walls	Major Slaughter
Cap^{t} Craig	Cap^{t} Roberts
Cap^{t} Cherry	Cap^{t} Thomas
Cap^{t} George	Cap^{t} Taylor
Cap^{t} Todd	Cap^{t} Helms
Cap^{t} Young	
Cap^{t} Kerney	
Cap^{t} L^{t} Loyd	

It is therefore the Opinion of the Board that under our present Circumstances, it is impracticable to carry on an Expedition.

The General's first and second Proposition being answered the following was put

"Whether or not the Importance of the Kentuckey Country to the State is such as to make it our duty to defend it if possible"?

Resolved unanimously in the Affirmative

The Board proceeded to take into Consideration the General's 4th proposition viz^{t}

"What Plans would be most likely to secure it this Campaign and the necessary preparations the ensuing"?

The Board recommend to the General to maintain the post of Louisville and to erect a Strong Fort at the Mouth of Kentuckey and if possible to erect another at the mouth of the Big Miamis (if the same can be supported)—that the General will give Instructions to the several County Lieutenants to order out so many of the Militia as may be necessary for this Service and the Protection

of the Country:—and that the General will enable the Officers at this post to reinlist the Troops now engaged in the Service of the State for the Defence of the said posts.

The Board took into Consideration the Generals last proposition viz^{t} "What measures would you recommend to Government to be taken in this Department including that of the Ilonois"

The Board are of Opinion that Application ought to be made to Government for a Strong regular force to be sent out early in the Spring to reduce the British Garrison of Detroit; and maintain the same when reduced; as the Board are of opinion that post ought to be the first Object for the Advantage and Interest of the United States in General, and to the Inhabitants of this State in particular.

JOSEPH CROCKETT Presd^{t}

Attest JAMES BERWICK Clk to the Council

[*Endorsed:*] Proceedings of a Council of Officers convened at Louisville in the State of Virginia 7th Sep^{t} 1781, by order of General Clark.

KENTUCKY COUNTY-LIEUTENANTS TO CLARK, September 8, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J86.—A. D. S.]

The County Lieutenants inform General Clark that they are willing to furnish Corn & Buffaloe Beef as far as is in their power, they expect General Clark's Commissary to purchase the provisions & to call upon them for the Necessary Militia to Assist, Or we are willing to appoint a Commissary who shall furnish the provisions and whose Accounts shall be subject to our Inspection

We wish the General Success in his plan which is quite agrecable to our Wishes

JN^{o} TODD JR
JN^{o} FLOYD
BENJAMIN LOGAN

September 8th 1781.
GEN^{L} CLARKE

JOHN FLOYD TO CLARK, September 14, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J89.—A. L. S.]

Friday 14th ½ past 10 OClock

DEAR GENERAL

I have this minute returned from a little Excurtion against the Enemy & my party 27 in number are all dispersed & cut to pieces except 9 who came off the field with Capt Asturgus mortally Wounded and one other slightly wounded, I dont yet know who are killed Mr Ravenscroft was taken prisoner by [the side of] me —A party was defeated yesterday near the same place & many Women & Children Wounded.[1] I want Satisfaction do send me 100 men which number with what I can raise will do. The Militia have no good powder do send some

I am &c &c &c

JNo FLOYD

I cant write guess at the rest

[*Addressed:*] To Genl Clarke

JOHN MONTGOMERY TO CLARK, September 20, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 51J90.—D. S.]

FALLS OF OHIO the 20th Septr 1781.

A general Anxiety Possessing the minds of the Officers of the Illinois Regiment Respecting their Establishment, and the light they must be looked upon at the End of the War, I have therefore thought proper to call a meeting of the said Officers, whereupon the Board came to the following Determination

JNo MONTGOMERY Lt Col

Resolved, that as it Appears to us that no Act or Resolution hath yet been published, to Our knowledge, by the General Assembly, allowing us any of the Emoluments and privileges after the war, which are allow'd to Other Regiments on Continental and State Establishments, but are cut short with Only pay and Rations while

[1] Squire Boone and a group of settlers who had attempted to make a new settlement were alarmed at the signs of Indians and moving to the Beargrass settlements were attacked. A number of lives were lost. Colonel Floyd in his attempt to relieve this party, met with defeat as indicated. See Butler, ***Hist. of Kentucky***, 115.

in Service—and no certain Rank Assertained to us in the Army,

Therefore to have our Doubts removed and Ourselves Adjusted have unanimously, Appointed and chosen Cap^{t} Robert Todd, to Represent us by Petition in the General Assembly, to superintend and manage matters Satisfactory, to the Officers of said Regiment. We the Officers of the Board hope it will not be disagreeable to the General and wish he may concur with us in the above Appointment

In Behalf of the Board J GIRAULT L^{t}
Clerk Chosen

CLARK TO THOMAS NELSON, October 1, 1781.

[Draper MSS., 14S64.]

FORT NELSON, 1st Oct^{r} 1781.

SIR:

On your recollecting the ideas conveyed to you in my letter dated Weeling 4th August, you will not be much disappointed to find that all hopes of enterprise in the Department are totally laid aside this campaign. However great the disappointment may be to me, I could wish it to center there, and the effects not so generally felt, as I am sure they will, if some speedy and spirited step is not taken, or the war cease with Britain. Such desertion took place among the militia on my passage down, that the forces we had, with what could with propriety be drawn from Kentuckey, could not have amounted to more than seven hundred men—a number although sufficient to defeat the Shawnees, was thought too few to make the attempt proposed, except by the Illinois officers.

An expedition against the Shawnees would avail little, as they are but trifling at present in the balance of Indian affairs, particularly when they suspected us, and the season so far advanced, they would have had all their corn secured in desert places, the few we should have killed would have been the sum of the service, in lieu of which we must have expended a considerable quantity of the stores on hand, that may answer your future operations, and an enterprise against them appears too trifling when compared with the other, in the execution of which my very soul was wrapt,

as leading to others of equal importance, that I have totally neglected it, & shall display to you my general ideas of our situation and future apprehensions in the Western Department. My former letters will greatly shorten this, as many of them touch almost on every subject. If my ideas are right, I should be more happy if I knew my country had a just one of what they may apprehend—of course they would again endeavor to take those measures necessary.

However foreign it may be to most people in power, it is beyond all doubt, that our possessions in the Illinois and Kentucky have been the salvation of all our interior frontiers since the commencement of the war, and have enabled them to give that assistance against the British armies they have done. I know a number of gentlemen dispute this assertion; but if the war should continue two years, and no army should march from some part of the States into the enemies country, they will be convinced of their error, which would have been the case by this day had it not been for the preparations and appearance that have been kept up by us the present year.

You have been already advertised of the evacuation of Fort Jefferson for the want of supplies, and our few troops drawn from the Illinois, except St. Vincennes, where we still support a garrison of about sixty men to remain, if possible, until I receive answers from your Excellency. If no army moves early in the spring from this place or Pittsburg, those troops must be withdrawn, or totally lost, with all the Illinois, and the Indians to a man, except the Kaskaskias, will set on us with inveteracy. Two thirds of those formerly in our interest, have already taken the hatchet this fall—the others wishing to suspend the time as long as possible, anxious for us to march an army through their country, as they have been led to believe would be the case, the English reduced, & peace restored. The principal Chiefs and warriors from Wabash came to me on their hearing of my arrival at this post, in hopes of our marching against the English, offering nine hundred men. Their disappointment was great when they found the speeches given them to be vague, and not informed of our real dezign. They concluded we were making preparations for what they wished, and apparently returned well satisfied, with plenty of

powder, resolved to wait with patience. But necessity will oblige the whole of them to take up the hatchet in a short time to clothe themselves.

The Kentuckey, without succours, with the addition of two or three thousand warriors let loose on them, with all the assistance that can be given by the English, must inevitably fall a sacrifice, except strongly fortified, and the distance and inconveniency of travelling from those nations to any part of the frontiers of Virginia or Pittsburg, altho' difficult in the ideas of people in general, are in fact but trifling, and easy to be accomplished. If the mischief was to center here, the consequences might not be so alarming, but the other part of our country will feel the effects. The English having full sway in those countries would vigorously prosecute the war.

In protecting the back countries for the preservation of the more interior parts, an army in the enemy's is doubtless the most effectual means (as supplies of goods are out of the question.) Immaterial from whence it moves, or who commands it, if sufficiently strong and conducted with propriety, and their object such as promises advantage. Such a one as was proposed last Spring may do the business, although we find that half that number with such reinforcements as might have been had, would have completed it this fall.

If I were to recommend the rout of another expedition, it would be through the same channel as the last, as it would be immediately passing through the greatest body of Indians, either friends or foes, where the English emissaries have now their greatest dependence in Indian services in the execution of any design they may have on our frontiers. Add to this, their regaining the Illinois, both Spanish & American, which is perhaps of more importance to them in the Indian department than we generally conceive—Many other reasons might be offered besides the allusion to the terms of peace.

I suppose if an expedition is undertaken the next season, it will be by Congress. If by your Excellency, or co-operation with Congress, to enable you better to lay your plans, I have sent Major

Crittenden to wait on you. He is able to give you better information of many circumstances you could wish to know, than can be committed to paper.

If any assistance to an enterprise is to be given from this quarter, the sooner its known the better; but I would not wish to trouble your Excellency with my remarks. I have lost the object that was one of the principal inducements to my fatigues & transactions for several years past—my chain appears to have run out. I find myself enclosed with few troops, in a trifling fort, and shortly expect to bear the insults of those who have for several years been in continual dread of me.

I am with much respect. Sir, your very obt hum. servt

G R. CLARK

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

The original of Bowman's *Journal* has not been located. A copy was published in the *Louisville Literary News*, November 24, 1840 and in the *Campaign in the Illinois Country* (Cincinnati, 1869).

A copy of the original document, then in the possession of the Kentucky Historical Society, was also made for Lyman Draper (*Draper MSS.*, 47J131 *et seq.*) by Leonard Bliss, Jr., of Louisville. The following note had been added to the *Journal* by an unknown contemporary of Bowman: "This Journal was taken from Major Bowman and revised by a person who was in the expedition. He has kept it for his own amusement, but it does not come near what might be wrote upon such an extraordinary occasion, had it been handled by a person who chose to enlarge upon it. It afforded matter enough to treat on; the season of the year when undertaken, and the good conduct shews what might be done with an army, let the difficulties be what they will. Persevering and steadiness will surmount them all, as was the case with our brave commander and all his officers, not forgetting his soldiers. Although a handful in comparison to other armies, they have done themselves and the cause they were fighting for, credit and honor, and deserve a place in History for future ages; that their posterity may know the difficulty their forefathers had gone through for their liberty and freedom. Particularly the back Settlers of Virginia

may bless the day they sent out such a Commander, and officers, men, &c., I say, to root out that nest of Vipers, that was every day ravaging on their women and children; which I hope will soon be at an end, as the leaders of these murderers are taken and sent to Congress. God save the Commonwealth, Finis. 1791."

The copy here given was transcribed from the manuscript in the Library of Congress, *Letters to Washington*, 1779, fol. 91 *et seq.* This is probably a contemporary copy of Bowman's *Journal*. In a letter to General Washington from Pittsburgh, May 29, 1779, Colonel Daniel Brodhead wrote: "I have the honor to inclose Col. Clark's Journal containing an account of his success against Governor Hamilton of Detroit & the Garrison of post St. Vincent (or Fort Sackville)."

The following letters omitted from the text are inserted here.

JOSEPH BOWMAN TO JOHN HITE, July 30, 1778.

[Almon, *Remembrancer, 1779*, p. 82.]

[ILLINOIS, KASKASKIAS, July 30, 1778.]

"DEAR SIR,

"I embrace this opportunity to give you some information of our proceedings since our embarkation from Monongahela, till our arrival at this place. We set sail from thence down to the Big Kanahaw, where we found our men had been confined for eight days, in which time there had been an attack made on the fort, by a superior number of Indians, supposed to be about 200; they killed one man in the fort, and wounded one or two more; but finding themselves not likely to succeed in their attempt, they endeavoured to kill all their cattle, and then made towards Green Briar, where I expected they intended to make a fatal blow. From thence we continued down to the falls of the Ohio, where

we erected a small garrison upon an Island, where I left ten or twelve families, with a quanitity of provisions, and a few men to guard them. From thence we continued down the Ohio, moving day and night, with about 170 or 180 men in number, till within sixty miles of the mouth; we ran our boats up a small creek to hide them, not having men enough to leave a sufficient guard. From thence we started for the Illinois, taking four days provisions with us, and in six days arrived at the place in the night, on the fourth inst. having marched two days without any sustenance, in which hungry condition we unanimously determined to take the town, or die in the attempt. About midnight we marched into the town, without being discovered; our object was the fort, which we soon got possession of; the commanding officer (Philip Rocheblave) we made prisoner, and is now on his way to Williamsburg, under a strong guard, with all his instructions, from time to time, from the several Governors at Detroit, Quebec, and Michillimackinack, to set the Indians upon us, with great rewards for our scalps; for which he has a salary of 200l. sterling per year. This town consists of about 250 families, sufficiently fortified to have resisted a thousand men; but coming upon them by surprize, they were obliged to surrender themselves. The next day evening I was ordered by our commanding officer (Colonel Clark) with thirty men mounted on horseback, to attack three other French towns up the Missisippi. The first is called Parraderuski, about fifteen miles from Kaskaskias; the town we had in possession; and before they had any knowledge of my arrival, I was in possession of this place, which was no small surprize to them; in consequence of which they were willing to comply with any terms I should propose.

"From thence I proceeded to St. Philip's, about nine miles higher up the river, which I likewise took possession of: and as it was impossible for them to know my strength, the whole being transacted in the night, they also came to my own terms. From thence I proceeded to Cauhow, about forty or fifty miles above St. Philip's, which contained about one hundred families; we rode immediately to the commander's house, and demanded a surrender of him and the whole town, which was immediately complied

with. I then possessed myself of a large stone house, well fortified for war—I was immediately threatened by a man of the place, that he would call in 150 Indians to his assistance, and cut me off. This fellow I took care to secure, but lay upon our arms the whole night; this being the third night without sleep. In the morning I required them to take the oaths of allegiance to the States, or I should treat them as enemies, which they readily agreed to, and before ten o'clock there were 150 who followed the example, and in less than ten days there were 300 took the oaths, and now appear much attached to our cause. But as this is in so remote a part of the country, and the Indians meeting with daily supplies from the British officers, who offer them large bounties for our scalps, I think it prudent to leave a guard here; and being anxious to do every thing in my power for my country, in order to establish peace and harmony once more amongst us, this will engage my attention the ensuing winter. The inhabitants of this country, upon the Missisippi, have, without any kind of doubt, influenced the several nations of Indians in this quarter, as also upon the Ohio; so that 'ere it be long I flatter myself we shall put a stop to the career of those blood-thirsty savages, who glory in shedding the blood of the innocent. For further particulars I must refer you to my brother, the bearer hereof, and I am, &c.

JOSEPH BOWMAN."

JOSEPH BOWMAN TO GEORGE BRINKER, July 30, 1778.

[English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I., 558.]

ILLINOIS—TOWN OF KASKASKIA, July 30, 1778.

DEAR SIR—

I embrace this opportunity of writing to you by my brother Isaac, by whom I shall endeavor to furnish you with every particular [of our] progress since our embarking from the Monongahail, until our arrival at this place. We set sail with a plentiful stock of provisions, and continued down to the Big Kanawha; there I found the men had been close confined to the fort for eight days past, at which time there had been an attack made at the fort by a superior body of Indians—appearing to be

about two hundred in number. They killed one man of the fort and wounded one or two more, but finding themselves not able to succeed in their attack, they killed all the cattle that they could find, and then made towards Greenbrier, where I expect they intended to make a fatal blow. What has been done I have never heard.

From thence we continued down the river, landing the salt kettles at the mouth of the Kentucky, and proceeded down to the falls of the Ohio, where we built a small garrison on a small island, and stored up a large quantity of flour and some bacon. Left eight or ten families there, with a few men to guard them.

Went thence down the river with about 175 men, until within about fifty miles of the mouth of the Ohio, seeing a great deal of signs of Indians all along the Ohio. We ran our boats, in the night, up a small creek, to hide them, as we had not men enough to leave a guard with the boats. The next morning we started, with about four days' provisions, and steered a northwest course for the Illinois, and in six days' time we arrived there in the night. We traveled two days without any provisions, being very hungry. Our men were all determined to take the town or die in the attempt.

About midnight we marched into the town without ever being discovered. We pitched for the fort and took possession. The commanding officer we caught in bed, and immediately confined him. His name is Philip Rochblave, a Frenchman, who is to be conducted to Williamsburg, with all his instructions which he has had, from time to time, from the governors at Detroit and Quebec, to set the Indians against us and give large rewards for our scalps.

This town consists of about 250 families, and was fortified strong enough to have fought a thousand men; but coming on them by surprise, they were obliged to surrender to us on the 5th day of July.

The same day I was ordered off by Colonel Clark with a detachment of thirty men, mounted on horseback, to proceed up the river Mississippi to three more towns, and lay siege to them. The first I came to was about fifteen miles from Kaskaskia—the town we had possession of—which was called Parraderushi. Before they had any idea of our arrival, we had possession of the

town. They seemed to be a good deal surprised, and were willing to come to any terms that would be required of them.

From thence I proceeded to St. Philips, about nine miles higher up. It being a small town they were forced to comply with my terms, likewise. Being in the dead time of the night, they seemed scared almost out of their wits, as it was impossible that they could know my strength.

From thence went to Cauhou, between forty and fifty miles above St. Philips. This town contained about one hundred families. We rode up to the commander's house and demanded a surrender. He accordingly surrendered himself, likewise all the inhabitants of the place. I then demanded of them to take the oath of fidelity to the states, otherwise I should treat them as enemies. They told me they would give me an answer next morning. I then took possession of a strong stone house, well fortified for war, and soon got word that there was a man in the town who would immediately raise 150 Indians, who were near at hand, and cut me off. I, being much on my guard, happened to find out the person and confined him under a guard, and lay on our arms that night, this being the third night we had not closed our eyes.

The next morning I assembled the inhabitants together, and, before ten o'clock, 105 of them took the oath of fidelity to the states. In less than ten days near 300 took the oath from the several towns, and seem now much attached to the American cause. But as this part of the country lies so remote from any other part, and the Indians being always furnished here with goods by the British officers, and offering large rewards for our scalps [I do not think it prudent to leave] this place without a commander, and being willing to do every thing in my power for the good of my country in order to establish peace and harmony once more amongst us, [it] has engaged my attention for the ensuing winter.

The inhabitants in this country, along the river Mississippi, have had, without any kind of doubt, the whole influence over several nations in this quarter, as well as along the river Ohio. I can assure you that since the commencement of this war, trade up this river has never [*words illegible*] It is evident that the said Philip Rochblave has done everything in his power to set the

Indians against us, and they are only too apt to accept of such offers. I am in hopes that his correspondence with them is entirely at an end, and wish that the executive power of Virginia may deal in the most severe terms with him, as no punishment can be too severe for the barbarity of his former proceedings.

As for any other particulars, I must refer you to my brother Isaac. I am sorry that it is not in my power to hear from you, but as I am now at the distance of about twelve or thirteen hundred miles from home, I can't much expect to hear from you or any other of my friends, but if any opportunity should offer, I should expect to be furnished with every particular with regard to the news from the northward, or our present circumstances in general.

I, therefore, conclude, wishing you all the blessings of God.

Your most affectionate friend and very humble servant,

Jo^{s} BOWMAN

APPENDIX II

This journal of George Rogers Clark gives the earliest known account of events, after February 23, 1779, connected with the capture of Vincennes. William Myers, who was carrying this official message to Governor Henry, was killed by Indians near the Falls of the Ohio.[1] According to the custom of the time, Indian agents, instead of sending the originals of important captured letters to their superior officers forwarded copies of such portions as they chose to select. The copy here given was transcribed from the volume of intercepted letters in the British Museum. A copy of this document from the Canadian Archives was printed in the *American Historical Review*, I., 91 *et seq.* Three weeks after the death of Myers, Clark prepared another account of the capture of Vincennes. One copy was sent to Governor Henry and one to Thomas Jefferson.[2]

[1] See April 10, 1779, *ante*, 309.

[2] Jefferson, *Writings* (Washington ed.), I., 222.

APPENDIX III

The original of the document known as Clark's *Memoir* is in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. It consists of one hundred and twenty-eight pages of manuscript and gives a detailed account of affairs in the West between the years 1775 and 1779 inclusive. Many early writers on this period have accepted this narrative of events by Clark as trustworthy. But numerous authors of more recent date and notably Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning of the West* assert that there is evidence in the *Memoir* of errors and exaggeration due to the desire on the part of the writer "of trying to increase the dramatic effect of the situation." "It was written," wrote Mr. Roosevelt, "at the desire of Presidents Jefferson and Madison; and therefore some thirty or forty years after the events of which it speaks. . . . . It undoubtedly contains some rather serious errors." [1]

While it would be futile to attempt to prove that the *Memoir* is wholly trustworthy, it is regarded as worth the effort to try to determine what portions may be approved. In the correspondence carried on between Clark and John Brown, delegate in Congress from Kentucky, it is shown that at least one hundred pages, the greater part of the *Memoir*, were written in the years 1789 and 1790. The essential portions of these letters are here given.

[1] Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, II., 36, n., 44, 47, n., 55, 57, 63, n.

NEW YORK, July 5th 1789.[1]

DEAR GEN[L],

'* * * * * I must beg that you will pardon the liberty which I am going to take I have a request to make of you and as it is one of consequence, I must premise that I am not only seconded in makeing it but urged to it by some of the most important Characters in the Union—it is—that you will favor the World with a Narrative of your Campaigns in the Western Country. The United States now find themselves in possession of a territory N. W. of the Ohio of vast extent & of immense value to which all turn their Eyes as being the only certain fund for the discharge of the National Debt & although it is confest by all that we owe it to your enterprize & successful exertions, yet the incredible Difficulties & Dangers you incountered, & the gallant exploits which led to & secured the acquisition are but partially & imperfectly known. All wish to know it & you alone are in possession of this Information & should you decline to communicate it the latest Posterity will regret the loss of what would constitute the most interesting Pages in the Annals of the Western World & would be an ornament to the History of the American Revolution. M[r] Madison whose literary and Political Character now attracts the attention of all America is so much engaged in the success of this application that he has desired me to inform you, that to lessen the task, if you will furnish the material & it is agreeable to you he will carefully attend to the arrangement & Style so as to usher it into the world in a Dress suitable to the importance of the Subject.

You cannot be too minute in the details of the Causes & effects, of Views and Measures, of occurrances & transactions during those successful Campaigns. Circumstances & facts which may appear unimportant to you will not be thought so by others. Copies of the Letters which passed between you & the Executive of Virginia of Treaties with & of speeches to & from the

[1] Original in the *Draper MSS.*, 53J80. The significance of this correspondence between Clark and Brown was first called attention to and partially printed by Mrs Minnie S. Cook in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XV., 205.

Indians may be inserted with great propriety, an 'tis important to preserve them & they must necessarily throw great light upon the Subject. * * * *

Sir Yr. Mo Hble Servt.

J. BROWN

GEN[L] G. R. CLARK

LOUISVILLE, Jan. 20th, 1789 [*sic*].[1]

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 5th July, came safe to hand. . . . . The requisition you make, Sir, by your letter, is such, that a compliance will be, in some degree, destroying a resolution that I have long concluded on, that of burying the rise and progress of the War in this quarter in oblivion; which is in my power, as all light cast on it by another person, must be faint indeed. Great part of the most material papers are either lost, or made use of as waste paper, and finding my nature such that it was impossible for me to be void of some affection for the people I had suffered so much for, in the establishment of their interests, that I have frequently destroyed papers that were of such a nature that the reading of them would in some measure cool that spark that still remained, and tend to aggravate the crime of the people—that by having nothing about me that might frequently fall in my way and renew my ideas, and by attempting, if possible, to forget the various transactions that have happened, I might again reconcile myself to live in a country that I was always fond of, and with people whose prosperity I have, until lately, studied with delight. For the want of these helps alluded to, it would require time and recollection to collect materials necessary to compose a true narrative of this department. Some papers I can collect, and will immediately set about this business, and as soon as finished, enclose them to you, probably in four or five months. I shall take no other pains than that of stating facts, and occurrences, &c. If this is to make its appearance in the world, there

[1]This letter, and the two others from Clark which follow, were printed in *The Commonwealth*, Frankfort, Ky., July 25, 1838. *Draper MSS.*, 27CC29.

is no person I could be more happy in their handling the subject than Mr. Madison. You will be pleased to favor me in presenting my most sincere thanks to that gentleman for his expression in my favor. * * * *

Yours, with much esteem,

GEO. R. CLARK.

THE HON. JOHN BROWN.

JEFFERSON, July, 15th, 1790.

DEAR SIR:—

. . . . As to the Narrative; I have been at a great deal of trouble in attempting to recover several copies, that I was in hopes were in the hands of Captains Harrison and Brashears, at the Natchez, and others, but found myself disappointed, and have set about the business without those helps, have tasked myself to spend two days in the week, and have got through about one hundred pages. I wish, before I close this business, to receive every queric of importance on the subject that yourself and Mr. Madison could imagine. The more I enter into this business, the better I am pleased at the undertaking, and frequently, I suppose, experience the same feeling that actuated me at the time of those transactions. I believe, that through myself, every thing past, relative to this country may be known. If this should fortunately meet with a quick passage, I may probably get an answer from you in two months. Judging from the progress I make, to be nearly closing this business by that period.

Please present my respects to Mr. Madison.

Am, Sir, y'r h'ble ser'vt

GEO. R. CLARK.

THE HON. JOHN BROWN.

JEFFERSON, July 29, 1790.

DEAR SIR:

In my last, of this inst., I informed you of the progress I have made in the narrative you wish for. I have advanced but slowly for the want of papers that have been destroyed by one means or other. Of course I require more study and recollection to go

on with this business. The papers relative to the years '78 and '79 are those that I have been at the greatest loss for. Some, I have recovered. In the Winter of 1779, on the request of Col. G. Mason, of Fairfax, I wrote him a pamphlet that contained great part of our proceedings up to that time. I have wrote to him for it, in hopes that he might find it among his old papers, but have got no answer from him. As he is convenient to you, by post, I should thank you to try and recover it for me and send it by the first opportunity. If I get this, I shall be tolerably complete, and correct in what I have done.

I am, Sir, y'r h'ble servant.

GEO. R. CLARK.

THE HON. JOHN BROWN.

NEW YORK 27th April 1790.[1]

DEAR GENERAL

* * * * * * *

Your favor of the 20th August signifying your willingness to favor the World with a Narrative of your Campaigns in the Western Country gave me as well as many of your friends in this quarter great pleasure. I hope you have not relinquished a work which would make so important an addition to the History of the Revolution. Mr Madison will chearfully undertake to revise & arrange the collection of facts should you please to put it into his Hands but begs you to desend in the recital even to minutia.

* * * * * * *

I am with sentiments of esteem Your friend & Hble Sert

J. BROWN

GENL CLARK

PHILAD^A 8th Decr 1790.[2]

DEAR GENERAL

I had not the pleasure to receive your letters of the 15th & 29 of July untill yesterday. They had been detained with all my other letters written from Kentucke since that date by my

[1] The original is in the *Draper MSS.*, 53J88.

[2] The original is in *ibid.*. 53J89.

Brother near Staunton in expectation of my paying him a visit during the late recess of Congress. But a tour which I made through Vermont & the Eastern States prevented me of that pleasure & also of writing to you more frequently. It affords real satisfaction to me as also to M[r] Madison (to whom I have communicated the contents of your letters) to find you have made so great progress in compiling your Narrative of the Western Campaigns. I hope you will persevere to the completion of this interesting work which I am fully persuaded will make an important addition to the History of the American Revolution. Neither Mr Madison nor myself can undertake to propose queries to you not being sufficiently acquainted with the subject, but we fully unite in the request that in collecting materials you will not use a sparing hand. Many things may appear very interesting to others which you might think unimportant & any redundancy which may be thus created can easily be retrenched upon a revisal. By next Post I shall write to Col[o] Mason for the Pamphlet you mention & should it come to hand I shall be carful to forward it to you by the first opportunity. * * * *

I am with great respect Yours &c

J. BROWN

GENERAL GEO. R. CLARK

From the correspondence between Jefferson and Judge Innes of Kentucky it appears probable that the *Memoir* was completed during the year 1791. "Will it not be possible," wrote Jefferson, March 7, 1791, "for you to bring Genl. Clarke forward? I know the greatness of his mind, and am the more mortified at the cause which obscures it. had not this unhappily taken place there was nothing he might not have hoped: could it be surmounted his lost ground might yet be recovered. no man alive rated him higher than I did, and would again were he to become what I knew him. we are made to hope he is engaged in writing the account of his Expedition North West of

Ohio. they will be valuable morsels of History, and will Justify to the world those who have told him how great he was."[1]

Judge Innes replied on May 30, 1791, as follows: "Since the reception of your letter I have seen Genl Clark and find he is writing the History of his Expeditions and will complete the work in the course of this summer."

The period between 1786 and 1789 was, for Clark, one of disappointment and bitterness. He had failed in his expedition against the Indians on the Wabash. The confiscation of the property of some Spanish traders at Vincennes during the same year 1786 subjected him to open criticism by the governor and council of Virginia. His accounts against the state had not been settled and creditors were striving to collect claims for which he had become personally responsible during the course of the Revolution.

That Clark, during these years, at times, drank to excess cannot be doubted, but there is ample evidence to show that he was still in possession of his former physical and mental strength. He gives a glimpse of his own life in a letter to his brother, September 2, 1791, in which he says: "for several years I have lived quite retired reading hunting fishing and fowling hath been my genl amusement and corresponding with a few close friends in different parts of the continent and attention to my private business without concerning myself with that of the Publick, in any point of View."[2]

At that time, he was greatly interested, as he said,

[1] Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), v., 295; *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, xv., 205 *et seq.*

[2] *Draper MSS.*, 2L29.

"in an invention that will give a new turn to the face of things throughout the Western country." His application for governmental protection, in which he included a rough description of the mechanical process for navigating a boat, was sent to John Brown. "Not being able," he wrote, "to discover any defect, and further to satisfy myself, I had the machine actually made on a small scale and proved every conjecture beyond a doubt."[1] For what reason Clark did not complete his application for a patent right as provided in the act of Congress forwarded to him cannot be determined.[2]

It is not surprising that the Indian problem of the period appealed to him and his vigorous nature stood out in the policy which he advocated. There was in his plan the same elements of thoroughness that always characterized his actions in the Indian councils. To him, the policy of the general government, which consisted in inviting the Indians to make treaties, in giving them presents and courting their friendship, was in a large measure a failure. "Excell them," he said, "if possible, in their own policy, treat them with indifference, make war on them, prosecute it with all the vigor and devastation possible, mention nothing of peace to them, and you would soon have them suing for mercy. Turn the scale upon them and oblige them to give up a part of their country to pay for the expense of the war, &c. All other policy in the Indian department, except something similar to this, is the result of the want of judgment or information."[3]

[1] *Draper MSS.*, 27CC29.

[2] This was sent by Brown, April 27, 1790. *Ibid.*, 53J88.

[3] August 20, 1789. *Ibid.*, 27CC29.

The letter relating to the death of Logan's family was written nine years after the time when he was engaged on the *Memoir*.[1] This letter has been accepted as among the most trustworthy evidence on that episode. Referring to Clark at that time, Samuel Brown, through whom the letter was secured, wrote Jefferson: "To those who have the happiness of being acquainted with that truly great man, his statement will bring the fullest conviction. His memory is singularly accurate, his veracity unquestionable. To such a respectable authority I can suppose no one capable of objecting, except Mr. Luther Martin."

John Pope describes an interview with Clark during 1791 as follows: "Arrived at his house under an apprehension that he had forgotten me. He immediately recognised me and, without ceremony, entered into a familiar though desultory conversation, in which I was highly pleased with the Atticism of his wit, the genuine offspring of native genius. On serious and important occasions, he displays a profundity of judgment aided by reflection and matured by experience."[2]

In the further attempt to reach some conclusion on the trustworthiness of the *Memoir*, comparison has been made wherever possible with other documents of the period. The results are, in general, indicated in the notes accompanying the *Memoir*. There is abundant proof that Clark, when entering upon the task, strove to collect all his correspondence which bore on the various phases discussed. That he made use of it is evident from his own annotation, such as:

[1] For the account of this letter, see *ante*, 3 *et seq.*

[2] John Pope, *Tour in the Western and Southern Territories in 1790* (Richmond, 1792), 19.

"See my Letter to him [Governor of Virginia];" "Refer to Major Bowman's *Journal*;" and "This copy is lost." There can be no doubt that he made constant use of the *Diary*, and Bowman's *Journal*. This Journal gives Clark's proceedings between January 29, 1779, and March 20 of the following year and as it was the work of one of his most trusted followers has always been regarded as one of the best records of the period. His efforts to recover the *Mason Letter* were fruitless, and Clark's *Journal*[1] was in the hands of the British authorities.

Interest centers especially in the comparison of the narrative in the *Memoir* and that in these two latter documents. It is seen that numerous incidents are introduced which although they are not mentioned in the *Diary* or Bowman's *Journal* are referred to and at times emphasized in the *Mason Letter* or Clark's *Journal*.

Some of the statements in the *Memoir*, not included in either of the four documents mentioned, are corroborated by other sources, as: the eclipse of the sun at the time of leaving the Falls of the Ohio;[2] the treatment of Cerré;[3] division of the goods captured at Vincennes;[4] disposal of the prisoners;[5] orders to Captain Shelby to re-enforce Captain Linctot;[6] depreciation in the value of paper money;[7] general confusion at Detroit;[8] and the defeat of Colonel David Rogers.[9]

[1] See *ante*, 164.
[2] See *ante*, 224, n. 1.
[3] *Ante*, 48.
[4] *Ante*, 345.
[5] *Ante*, 315.
[6] *Ante*, 360, 362.
[7] *Ante*, 300, n. 1; 300, n. 3.
[8] *Ante*, 324, 345.
[9] *Ante*, 371.

There are other statements made in the *Memoir* which, so far as has been determined have not been made in any other document. Conspicuous among these are the following incidents: the story of the "antic drummer boy;"[1] that Clark on one occasion on the march to Vincennes smeared his face with powder before plunging into the water;[2] that the strong men gave assistance to their weaker companions;[3] and that food was secured from a canoe, being paddled by some squaws, which was overtaken by some of Clark's men.[4]

From these considerations, together with those cited in the notes, the conclusion is warranted that the *Memoir* is not made up of the reminiscences of an old man who strove for the dramatic in his presentation. The language, stilted on occasion, notably in the speeches before Indian councils, is not conspicuously so when compared with that used in the *Mason Letter* and Clark's *Journal* in describing similar events. Granted that it is not as authoritative on a particular point as either of the three other leading documents constantly cited, for the events described had transpired at least ten years before it was written, the *Memoir* must be regarded as the supplement to each of these in turn and to all of them upon a number of points.

[1] *Ante*, 271; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, II., 73.
[2] *Ante*, 274; *ibid.*, 74.
[3] *Ante*, 276; *ibid.*, 76.
[4] *Ibid.*

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