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Conquest of the Northwest

STATES CREATED FROM THE OLD NORTHWEST TERRITORY
OF THE
UNUM
E PLURIBUS
UNITED
STATES
ARMS
DATES
SEALS
OHIO
FEB 19 1803
HELIOREM LAPSA LOCAVIT
JULY 13. 1787.
DEC. 11. 1816
TUEBOR
CIRCUMSPICE
MICHIGAN
JAN. 26. 1837
STATE
NATIONAL
UNION
SOVEREIGNTY
ILLINOIS
DEC 3. 1818.
FORWARD
WISCONSIN
MAY 29 1848
L'ETOILE DU NORD
MINNESOTA (IN PART)
MAY 11TH 1858
"WESTWARD THE COURSE OF EMPIRE TAKES IT'S WAY"

INTRODUCTORY VOLUMES TO ENGLISH'S HISTORY OF INDIANA

CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO 1778—1783

AND

LIFE OF GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

OVER ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH NUMEROUS SKETCHES OF MEN WHO SERVED UNDER CLARK AND FULL LIST OF THOSE ALLOTTED LANDS IN CLARK'S GRANT FOR SERVICE IN THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE BRITISH POSTS, SHOWING EXACT LAND ALLOTTED EACH.

BY

WILLIAM HAYDEN ENGLISH

President Indiana Historical Society

VOLUME I

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., AND KANSAS CITY, MO.

THE BOWEN-MERRILL COMPANY

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INDIANA
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Preface

PREFACE.

In collecting historical matter for a history of Indiana, which the author has been preparing for many years, his material has grown so voluminous on the subjects embraced in these volumes that the best use to make of it has been a grave question. After consultation with discreet and well-informed judges, it has been determined to publish now in a separate form the matter in relation to the conquest of the country northwest of the river Ohio (and this necessarily includes the life of George Rogers Clark) as introductory volumes to the History of Indiana, the events therein relating largely to that country before its organization as a territory. This plan will probably be found more satisfactory to the general public than any other disposition that could be made of the material.

Much of this matter has never before been published, and it is hoped will be found interesting, and worthy of being perpetuated. To that end numerous historical letters, papers, etc., are reproduced in fac-simile, or otherwise.

The author, born and brought up on the borders of Clark's Grant, of a family which furnished Clark three officers in his campaigns against the British, and was allied to his family in early times by marriage, naturally felt an interest in the great historic events of Clark's life, and particularly in those remarkable campaigns against the British posts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, which were so intimately connected with the history of Indiana, and added an empire to the boundaries of the United States.

This interest, beginning in early life, never abated, but finally assumed the form of collecting all available information in relation to the occurrences themselves, and the lives of the men who participated in them, especially of their great leader.

The information was sought, at first, without any fixed intention of publication, but investigation satisfied the author that no account of the life of General Clark, and of the great events with which he was connected, had as yet been published as full as the importance of the subject demanded. This view he found was also entertained by Judge Law, James Parton, Senator Daniel of Virginia, and many others of superior judgment, who had also investigated the subject.

The author, therefore, after waiting many years in expectation that the field would be fully occupied, and finding yet a vacancy and himself in possession of a large amount of unpublished material, determined upon the publication of the present volumes under the circumstances already stated.

He has earnestly endeavored to make it a full and fair history, and trusts that he has brought much that was meager and fragmentary into a more compact and desirable form, besides adding to the aggregate of information heretofore published upon the subject.

If he has succeeded in doing this he has accomplished all he desired, and will feel rewarded for much labor devoted to it at an advanced period of life, when time had become precious, and its value understood and appreciated.

He remembers, with gratitude, the aid and encouragement generously extended to him in his researches by numerous friends, and particularly by members of the Clark and Bowman families.

Thanks are especially due Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson K. Clark of St. Louis, the former being the son of Governor William Clark, George Rogers Clark's youngest brother and of the celebrated Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific ocean, under the auspices of President Jefferson; to Governor Clark's grandsons, William Hancock Clark of Detroit, and Meriwether Lewis Clark of Kentucky; to R. C. Ballard Thruston of Louisville, a descendant of George Rogers Clark's sister Frances; to Mr. and Mrs. August F. Rodgers of California, the latter being a descendant of General Clark's sister, Mrs. Lucy Croghan; also to numerous descendants of his eldest brother General Jonathan Clark, who was himself a distinguished officer of the Revolution, and whose wife was of the same family as the author.

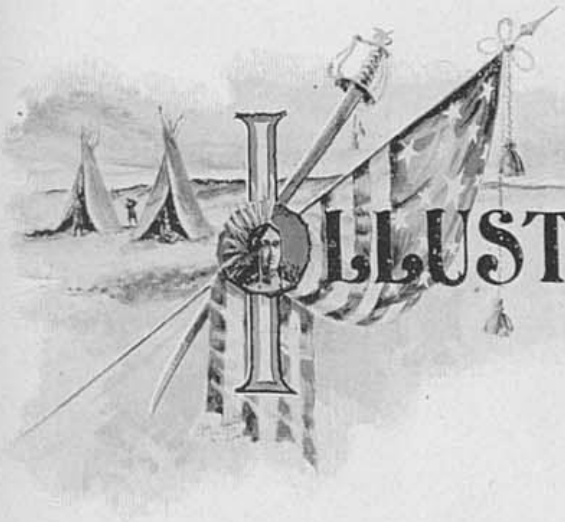
Of the Bowman family thanks are especially due to Mrs. Eleanor B. Bowman of Strasburg, Virginia, widow of Isaac S. Bowman, son of Lieutenant Isaac Bowman of Clark's Command; and to Mrs. Mary D. Bowman of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, whose husband, Prof. John B. Bowman, long and honorably connected with the University of Kentucky, spent many years in collecting historical information of his ancestors of the Revolutionary period, but, unfortunately, died without placing his material in form for publication.

In fact the aid and encouragement extended to the author by representative members of the Clark and Bowman families have been so cordial and useful in furnishing historical information and material, as to make him feel that the work, in a measure, has been prepared under their auspices.

A fair exhibit of the spirit manifested by all will be found in the case of Jefferson K. Clark of St. Louis, the senior representative of the Clark family, who gave the author not only the use of the very large and valuable collection of family historical papers in his possession, but gave him also a letter of general authority to use all Clark historical papers wherever found. A similar letter was received from Mr. Temple Bodly of Louisville, a representative of the Jonathan Clark branch of the family, who also gave unrestricted use of his very large collection of historic material.

Much valuable material was also furnished by Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, whose information about western history is unsurpassed, and his willingness to oblige proverbial.

The writer is also indebted to the Honorable Henry S. Cauthorn, Rev. Edm. J. P. Schmitt, J. V. Southall, Esq., and to many others, who are generally mentioned in appropriate connection in the body of the work; and to all, whether mentioned or not, he feels truly grateful, and tenders his profound acknowledgments.



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CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO NECESSARILY INCLUDES THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

Account of his ancestors—Traditional only, back of his grandparents—Sketch of his grandparents—Will of his paternal grandfather—Sketch of his father and mother—Their removal from King and Queen county to Albemarle—Homestead on the Rivanna river where George Rogers Clark was born—Remove to Caroline county—Sons enter the army—George R. and Richard go West—Fac-simile of letter from the former to his father—Parents removed to Kentucky in 1784—The old homestead at Mulberry Hill, where they settled, died and were buried—The father's will—Fac-simile of the father's and mother's signatures.

THE great central figure in the conquest from the British of the country northwest of the river Ohio during the Revolutionary War was General George Rogers Clark, and any full account of that important and far-reaching event is necessarily an account of the most material part of his life. He was but twenty-five years old when he successfully laid his plans before the governor of Virginia for the reduction of the British posts beyond the Ohio, and what is known of his ancestry and life up to that time can soon be related.

The history of the remote ancestry of George Rogers Clark on the father's side is meager, vague and unsatisfactory. Back of his grandfather is only tradition; but this

tradition seems clear and positive that his paternal ancestor, who first came to this country, emigrated from England, and that his name was John. From what part of England this John Clark came, or who were his ancestors, there is no reliable information. Tradition has it that he settled on the James river, in Virginia, and became a planter; that either on the vessel coming over, or soon after his arrival, he met, and fell in love with, a Scotch girl, who became his wife, and that she was "a red-haired beauty." The prevalence of reddish hair in the Clark family is probably traceable to this lady. There is uncertainty as to the date of this emigration and as to the history of the family for some time afterwards. The date has been vaguely mentioned as "about 1620 or 1630."

It is known that John and Jonathan Clark, descendants of John, the emigrant, and "the red-haired Scotch lady," were living in Drysdale parish, King and Queen county, Virginia, before 1725, as this Jonathan married there in that year. If the date of the emigration mentioned is correct, it would seem conclusive that these were the grandsons, and not, as some have supposed, the sons of John, the emigrant, but there is no certainty that the date mentioned is correct; besides the name of John has been in every generation of this Clark family, and in consequence it is difficult to trace the John branch in very early times. Jonathan was also a favorite name in the early days.

But beginning now with the John and Jonathan of Drysdale, we pass out of the domain of tradition, and can trace their history with a reasonable degree of certainty. This is especially true of Jonathan, who was the grandfather of

George Rogers Clark. Less is known of his brother John, but it is said he died, unmarried, in Caroline county, Virginia, in 1757, leaving his estate to his brother Jonathan's son John, who was the father of George Rogers Clark. As this last named John moved to Caroline county in the same year his Uncle John died there, as will be shown further on, it may be that he moved to look after the estate which his uncle had bequeathed to him.

As already stated, Jonathan Clark was married in King and Queen county, Virginia, in 1725. He died there in 1734, leaving a widow, four very young children, and a considerable estate. The maiden name of his wife was Elizabeth Wilson. She was of Quaker parentage, and said to have been a remote descendant of the celebrated martyr, John Rogers. The children were named John, Ann, Benjamin and Elizabeth, as will be seen by the following copy of their father's will, which was recorded in the county where he died, as shown by Mr. Southall's statement a few pages further on:*

Will of Jonathan Clark, the Grandfather of George Rogers Clark.

In the name of God, amen. The ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four, I, Jonathan Clark, of Drysdale parish, in King and Queen county, being very sick and weak in body, but of perfect mind and memory, thanks be to God, and calling to mind the mortality of my body and knowing that it is

*The will or a copy is also in the Draper collection of historic papers in the Wisconsin Historical Society.

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appointed for all men once to die, do make and ordain this my last will and testament, in manner and form following; that is to say principally, and first of all, I give my soul to God, trusting that through mercy and the merits of Jesus Christ, my Savior, to receive full pardon for all my sins in this life committed and be received into eternal bliss, and my body to the earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my executors, hereafter mentioned, and as touching such worldly estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me, I give and dispose of in manner and form following: It. It is my will and desire that all my just debts and funeral charges be first paid out of my personal estate. It. It is my will and desire that my loving wife, Eliz'h Clark, shall have the use and benefit of the land and plantation whereon I now live, during her natural life.

It. I give and bequeath unto my two sons, John Clark and Benjamin Clark, all that land whereon I now live, to be equally divided between them, after their mother's death, to them and to their heirs and assigns forever. It. I give and bequeath unto my aforesaid two sons, John Clark and Benjamin Clark, all that tract or parcel of land whereon my mother now liveth, to be equally divided between them and to their heirs and assigns forever. It. I give and bequeath likewise unto my aforesaid two sons, John Clark and Benj. Clark, and to their heirs and assigns forever, all that tract of land which I lately took up in Goochland county, on James river, to be equally divided between them. It. I give and bequeath unto my loving wife, Elizabeth Clark, the one-third part of all my personal estate and negroes. It. I give and bequeath all the residue

of my personal estate and negroes to be divided among my four children, John Clark, Ann Clark, Benjamin Clark and Elizabeth Clark, so that my two daughters may have twenty shillings apiece more than my two sons; and, I do hereby appoint my loving wife, Eliza Clark, and my loving friend, John Rogers, executors of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking and disannulling all former wills by me made.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year first above written.

JONATHAN $\overset{\text{his}}{\underset{\text{mark}}{\ddagger}}$ CLARK. [L. S.]

The will seems to have been "signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Jonathan Clark, to be his last will and testament, in presence of" William Bennet, Richard Jones and Samuel Bill, who proved the same in the court of King and Queen county, June 24, 1734.

In view of the general intelligence of the Clark family, and the fact that Jonathan Clark seems to have accumulated a handsome estate, it may appear strange that he made his mark instead of writing his name to his will; but the explanation probably is that at the time of executing the will he was paralyzed, or in such physical condition as to be unable to write his name. If this be so it is a remarkable coincidence that exactly the same thing happened in the case of his great-grandson, George Rogers Clark, whose will was signed by his mark, he being paralyzed at the time it was executed, and unable to write his name, on account of which important litigation ensued, as will be fully shown before the conclusion of this work.

One of the daughters of this Jonathan Clark is said to have married Torquil McLeod, probably a countryman of her grandmother. Of the other daughter the author has no information. All the children were probably born in King and Queen county, Virginia. Benjamin was born there in 1730. His wife was Elizabeth Lee. They finally settled in Lunenburg county, in that state, and he died in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was remarkable in being the father of thirty-one children—two daughters and twenty-nine sons. Seven of these children, however, died in infancy. We can only say here, of those who survived, that two of the sons, William and Marston Greene, removed west and became prominent in early Indiana history, as will be shown later on. The children, however, may not all have been of one mother.

It is probable that Benjamin Clark had two wives, and that one was a Miss Greene. It will be observed that the middle name of one of his sons was Greene. There is a tradition that she was a sister or relative of General Greene of the Revolutionary War. The two marriages would tend to explain the large number of children. Deeds show he had a wife named Elizabeth.

John Clark, the brother of Benjamin, was the oldest of the four children, having been born in Drysdale parish, King and Queen county, Virginia, October 20, 1724. Another account fixes the date of his birth as October 9, 1726. In 1749, he married his second cousin, Ann Rogers, of the same locality, who was then in the sixteenth year of her age.

The Rogers family, like the Clarks, with whom they

were already related, were of English stock. Giles Rogers, Ann's grandfather, emigrated to America from Worcestershire, England, in the early part of the seventeenth century, and settled in King and Queen county, Virginia. It is claimed that he was of a family of high standing. This is said to have been the coat-of-arms of the Rogers family in England. John Rogers, the son of this Giles, married Mary Byrd, also of a distinguished Virginia family, and they had seven sons and four daughters, Ann, the wife of this John Clark, and mother of George Rogers Clark, being the second daughter.

The other children were four daughters—Lucy, Mildred, Mary and Rachel—and four sons, John, George, Giles and Byrd. Lucy married Samuel Redd, Annie married John Clark, Mildred married Reuben George, Mary married Larkin Johnston and Rachel married Donald Robinson. They all left children. Giles died in Albemarle county, Virginia, and John removed to southern Virginia, or across the border to North Carolina. Two of the sons, Byrd and George, removed to Kentucky, and George Rogers Clark was named after the latter. The information here given in relation to the Rogers family was largely derived from Joseph Rogers Underwood, formerly United States senator from Kentucky, and a descendant of this George Rogers.

It is not known exactly how long John Clark, the husband of Annie Rogers, continued to reside in King and Queen county, but a conveyance of real estate executed in 1748 gives that county as the then residence of himself and brother Benjamin. In this deed the name is spelled

"Clerk."* Shortly after that they both removed to Albemarle county, Virginia, which was formed from Goochland county in 1744. Some of the Rogers, and probably Clarks, already resided there, and part of the land, willed to John and Benjamin by their father, was situated in that county. It is probable they moved to Albemarle in 1749. John settled upon the part of the land which fell to his share. It was situated upon the Rivanna river where four of his nine children were born, viz.: Jonathan, August 1, 1750; George Rogers, November 19, 1752; Ann, July 14, 1755, and John, September 15, 1757. The exact location will be more fully described later on. The author has an authentic abstract of title of this land down to its occupancy by the father of George Rogers Clark. It was kindly prepared for him by S. V. Southall, Esq., a prominent attorney of Charlottesville, Virginia. This was certainly the homestead where General Clark was born.†

*At this period in Virginia the word "clerk" was doubtless usually given the English pronunciation of "clark."

†Deed 23d December, 1748, between Edwin Hickman, of Saint Ann's parish, in Albemarle, and Thomas Graves, of Saint George's parish, in Spottsylvania county, and John and Benjamin Clerk, of Drisdale parish, in King and Queen county. Recites patent of May 25, 1734, by Joseph Smith, Edwin Hickman, Thomas Graves and Jonathan Clerk, for 3277 acres in Goochland, now Albemarle, and recites the death of Joseph Smith and Jonathan Clerk; then recites the will of Jonathan Clerk in favor of John and Benjamin Clerk, his sons. Then Hickman and Thomas Graves convey to John and Benjamin Clerk 809¼ acres, giving boundaries. Recorded March Court, 1748, Deed Book No. 1, pages 25, 26, 27.

Deed 13 August, 1752. Deed of partition between John and Benjamin Clark, of Albemarle. Recites that Jonathan Clark, late of King and Queen county, did in his lifetime, together with Joseph Smith, Edwin Hickman and Thomas Graves, take up 3,277 acres in Goochland, now Albemarle, on the Rivanna, by patent dated the 25th May, 1734. Then recites that Jonathan Clark died before the date of patent, and left his part of land to be equally divided between his two sons, John Clark and Benjamin Clark, as shown by his will, recorded in County Court of King and Queen, dated the 9th of April, 1734. Then recites

John Clark continued to reside on this land until about the year 1757, when he removed to the southwest corner of Caroline county. Mrs. Clark's father was a surveyor, and had secured much valuable land in that part of Virginia. John Clark also held an interest in lands there and these interests probably influenced his removal.

He sold his 410 acres of land in Albemarle, where George Rogers Clark was born, to Wm. Tandy, of that county, for £300, as shown by the conveyance of himself and Ann, his wife, which is recorded in Deed Book No. 5, pp. 22–23. There is a blank as to the residence of Clark and wife and as to the date of the deed, but it was recorded November, 1768. Deed Book 3, page 247, shows that Benjamin Clark and Elizabeth, his wife, conveyed his half of the land, 410 acres, to John Fry, October 14, 1762. Both brothers probably sold about the same time, but this may have been some time before the execution of the deeds.

At the homestead in Caroline county the family continued to reside for many years, and during the time six other children were born, viz.: Richard, 6 July, 1760; Edmund, 25 September, 1762; Lucy, 15 September, 1765; Elizabeth, 11 February, 1768; William, 1 August, 1770, and Frances, 20 January, 1773.

Great events occurred during the period of the residence in Caroline. Dunmore's War, and the great War of the Revolution took place, in which several of the sons of

partition by surviving patentees after Jonathan Clark's death, and conveyance unto John and Benjamin Clark to be equally divided between them of 820 acres. Then Benjamin Clark conveys in severalty to John Clark one moiety of 820 acres, giving boundaries, and John Clark conveys in severalty to Benjamin Clark the other moiety of 820 acres, giving boundaries. Recorded Deed Book No. 1, pages 480 to 483.

John Clark and Ann Rogers participated with much distinction. The eldest son, Jonathan, was one of the first to enter the American army, and at the close of the war was a lieutenant-colonel, with a glorious record. His brothers, John and Edmund, were certainly in the same service. Jonathan, John, Edmund, Richard, George Rogers and William Clark are on the list of persons receiving military bounty land warrants from Virginia for "revolutionary services," but this William Clark was the cousin and not the brother of George Rogers Clark. The brother William served with distinction in subsequent wars, but was too young to serve in the Revolutionary War. The others mentioned were brothers.

In the meantime George Rogers Clark was making his imperishable record in the far west, wresting from the British the great country northwest of the Ohio river. His brother Richard and his cousin, William (son of Benjamin), were with him. From time to time glad tidings came to the family at the old homestead of the wonderful success of the son George in the west. One of the letters received by the father from this heroic son has come into the possession of the author. A fac-simile of it is here given, although something out of chronological order. The historic incident mentioned in the letter will be noticed later on when writing of the period when it occurred. It will be seen that the letter was written at Louisville and directed to the father in Caroline county, Virginia, which indicates that to have been his residence in 1780.

FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER FROM GEORGE ROGERS CLARK
TO HIS FATHER, WRITTEN IN 1780.
(In Two Pages. See Opposite Page.)

This will be handed you by Mr. James Sutton
who has accompanied me on a late successful
Expedition against the Shawanees in which
gone himself much honour the particulars
of the Expedition he will give you also the
fate of poor Joseph Rogers who lost his
Life in the Moment it might have been
his power to Rendered his Country great
Service. His fate was fixed, no possibility of
saving him, the Shawnees have at last
got Defeated and their Country laid waste
I have been so Engaged 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 Intelligence on that head
The Partizans in those Countries are again
Situating me to head them as their

FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER FROM GEORGE ROGERS CLARK
TO HIS FATHER, WRITTEN IN 1780.

(Continued from opposite page.)

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 Imperfectly Informed that we hardly know what to credit I Refer you to Mr Sutton for news. after my Compliments to all Friends I beg leave to Subscribe my Self Yr Dutifull Son

G Clark

Louisville Augst 23d
1780

Mr Jno Clark
Caroline Co
Virginia

Mr Sutton

Dear as the old Virginia home was, the hearts of these parents turned to their sons, far away in the Ohio valley, and at last love for the absent, joined to other considerations, influenced them, in October, 1784, to turn their faces towards the wilderness of the west, accompanied by the younger children. John had died in Virginia of disease contracted in the service of his country, and Jonathan and Edmund joined the parents at the falls of the Ohio some time after the conclusion of the war.

It was a long and tedious journey for the old people and they did not arrive at the falls of the Ohio until March, 1785, having been detained by bad weather and various other vexatious but unavoidable causes.

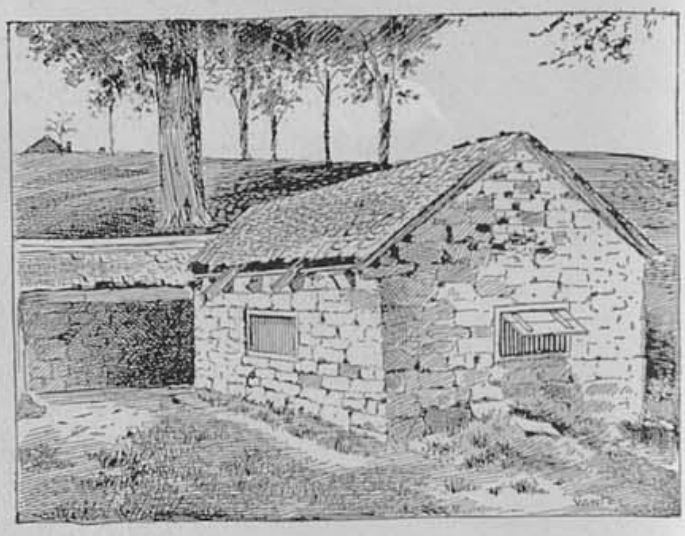
They located at a place a few miles southeast of Louisville, then and still known as "Mulberry Hill," and here they spent the few remaining years of their lives. Here they were buried, and here still the dust of their bodies mingles with the soil. She died December 24, 1798, and he in the next July or August.

THE HOMESTEAD OF GEN. CLARK'S FATHER
At Mulberry Hill, Ky. (Still standing).

Here is a picture from a photograph of the house where they lived and died, which is still standing (1895) but in a sadly dilapidated condition. It is historic in other re-

spects, having been frequently shot into by Indians, the logs showing where the balls were imbedded.

Here also is a picture of the old spring house on this Clark homestead at Mulberry Hill.



OLD SPRING HOUSE AT MULBERRY HILL.
(Still standing.)

The place is now owned by a descendant of General Jonathan Clark, and the title has never been out of the Clark family.

In reply to information asked of Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, a descendant of Frances, the youngest sister of George Rogers Clark, in relation to the graves of John and Ann Clark, he answered, August 26, 1894, that "the parents of George Rogers Clark were buried at Mulberry Hill, and their graves marked by large rectangular slabs of stone with inscriptions which I will copy this week and send to you unless they have been destroyed. It was desired to remove their remains to Cave Hill Cemetery, at the same time that those of General Jonathan, General George Rogers and Captain Edmund Clark were removed, but when the graves were opened even the bones of John Clark and his wife had decayed and nothing was left to

remove, and the large stone slabs were left overturned where I saw them when I photographed the cabin.

"The old cabin is still standing, but in a badly dilapidated condition, and, I hear, now uninhabitable. It was at one time attacked by the Indians and the logs are full of bullet holes as the result. Relic hunters have cut out many of the bullets, so, following their example, I secured some, one of which I will send you."

On the 30th of the same month, he wrote that on "last Tuesday I went out to the old Clark cabin and visited the graveyard where John Clark and his wife, Ann Rogers, were buried. There I found three large flag stones which I was told in my childhood covered the remains of John Clark, his wife, Ann Rogers, and his son, Captain Edmund Clark, but, with the assistance of my brother and a farm hand, was not able to turn them right side up. So this afternoon I again returned, better equipped than before, and succeeded in turning them over, but, alas! they had been used to mark other graves than those I was looking for. . . . I have not, however, given up the hunt, but shall within a few days call on Mr. John Pearce, who lives about half a mile from the old Clark cabin, and is a grandson of General Jonathan Clark, born and reared within sight of the old cabin, and a frequent visitor to the old graveyard. He is a man of about sixty or sixty-five years of age and probably can give me the desired information, since he has devoted his life to farming and probably retained all the old family traditions."

Early in the summer of 1895 the author made a visit with Mr. Thruston to the old Mulberry Hill homestead,

and found the old buildings as represented in this chapter. The little family graveyard is upon an elevation overlooking the southeastern part of Louisville and seems to have contained only a few graves, and many of the bodies from these have been removed to Cave Hill Cemetery. The remains of John Clark and Ann Rogers were not removed with the others for the reason already stated. We failed, however, to identify the location of the graves with certainty, although there was no difficulty in determining about where they were, but no inscriptions or marking stones, referring to either of them, were found.

The following is the will of John Clark, the father of George Rogers Clark:

In the name of God, amen. I, John Clark, of Jefferson county, and state of Kentucky, being at present in a weak and low state of health, but at the same time perfectly in my senses, and, considering the uncertainty of life, do think proper to make my last will and testament, which I do in the following manner:

First. I direct all my just debts to be paid and satisfied as shall be hereafter mentioned, and then dispose of the remainder of my estate in the following manner:

Item. I give and bequeath to my son Jonathan and his heirs and assigns forever all the estate, both real and personal, now in his possession.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son William and to my two grandsons, John O'Fallon and Benjamin O'Fallon, and to their heirs and assigns forever, to be equally divided between them, share and share alike, three thousand acres

of land which I claim under an entry on a treasury warrant, No. 7926, made in the surveyor's office of Fayette county, on the 29th day of March, 1783, which land hath been surveyed and for which a patent hath issued in my own name.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son Edmund and to his heirs and assigns forever one thousand acres of land situate, lying and being on the waters of the east fork of the Miami river; which I claim under an entry on part of a military land warrant, No. 307, made in the office of the surveyor for the continental line on the 16th day of August, 1767; also one thousand acres of land which I claim under an entry on part of the aforesaid warrant No. 307, made in the office of the aforesaid surveyor for the continental line on the 17th day of August, 1767. These entries are made in the name of my son, John Clark, deceased, and my son, Jonathan Clark, the heir at law, hath relinquished in my favor his right thereto. Also three negroes, to wit: Peter (Venius child), and Scipio and Daphny (Rose's children), also the sum of money which my son Jonathan advanced to him agreeable to my request.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son George Rogers and to his heirs and assigns forever, one negro man named Lue, also one negro woman named Venice, with live, present and future increase, except Peter.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son-in-law, Owen Gwathney, and his heirs and assigns forever, all the estate both real and personal now in his possession, also one thousand acres of land situate, lying and being on the waters of Poag's creek, in the county of Logan. For which

land I have a deed made by my son Jonathan, dated the 24th day of October, 1796.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son-in-law, William Croghan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, one negro woman named Christian; also all her children together with her future increase, which negroes are now in the possession of said Croghan.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son-in-law, Richard C. Anderson, and to his heirs and assigns forever, one negro woman named Kate; also one other named Phœbe; also all the children of the said negroes with their future increase; which negroes are now in the possession of said Richard C. Anderson.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son-in-law, Charles M. Thruston, and to his heirs and assigns forever, four hundred acres of land, situate, lying and being in the county of Shelby, on the waters of Clear creek, it being the settlement part of my tract of fourteen hundred acres of land; also one negro woman named Angella, and her two children, together with her future increase, which said negroes are now in the possession of said Thruston. I do give unto said Thruston all moneys due from him unto myself.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son William, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the tract of land whereon I now live, together with all the appurtenances thereto belonging, to wit: My stock of horses, cattle, sheep and hogs; my still and all my plantation utensils; the whole of my household and kitchen furniture; also the whole of the debts due to me on bonds, notes or book account, except

the money due to me from my son-in-law Charles M. Thruston.

I also give unto my son William one negro man named York, also old York and his wife Rose, and their two children, Nancy and Juba; also three old negroes, Tame, Cupid and Harry. I also give to my son William the whole of my lands in Illinois Grant, which said lands are deeded to me by my son, George Rogers Clark. It is my will that my son William shall pay all my just debts; also that he shall pay unto my two grandsons, John and Benjamin O'Fallon, when they shall be of age or nearly of age, the following sums of money, to wit: To John O'Fallon, one hundred pounds, and to Benjamin O'Fallon, fifty pounds. All those debts and payments are to be made by my son William out of the legacy which I have left him.

Item. I give and bequeath to my two grandsons, John O'Fallon and Benjamin O'Fallon, to them and their heirs forever, four negroes, to wit: Ben and Priscilla, with their present and future increase; also Esther and her future increase; which said negroes are to be disposed of at the discretion of my executors to be hereafter named, for the benefit of said John and Benjamin O'Fallon, until they shall come of age, at which time said negroes are to be equally divided between them and delivered into their possession.

Lastly, I do hereby appoint my sons, Jonathan, George Rogers and William Clark, my sons-in-law Richard C. Anderson, William Croghan and Charles M. Thruston, and my friend, Benjamin Sebastian, executors, to this, my last will and testament; and I do hereby revoke all former

wills heretofore made by me, declaring this only to be my last will and testament. I have signed the same and affixed my seal this 24th July, 1799.

JOHN CLARK. [SEAL.]

Signed and sealed and published by the testator John Clark as and for his last will and testament, in presence of us, who signed our names in his presence, and in the presence of each other.

JNO. HUGHS,
ROBT. K. MOORE,
MARSTON G. CLARK.

CODICIL TO THE ABOVE WILL.

Be it known to all men, by these presents, that I, John Clark, of Jefferson county, and state of Kentucky, have made and declared my last will (and) testament in writing. Bearing date the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, I, the said John Clark, do ratify and confirm my said last will and testament in all its parts, one only excepted, which is that part wherein I have bequeathed to my two grandsons, John and Benjamin O'Fallon, the following negroes, to wit: Ben, Priscilla and her present and future increase. Now it is my will, that the said negroes be made use of above directed until my two grandsons aforesaid shall arrive to lawful age, at which time the last mentioned negro, to wit: Esther and her future increase, is to be equally divided between John and Benjamin O'Fallon, which said negro and her increase

from this time I give to them and their heirs forever. The balance of said negroes, to wit: Ben, Priscilla with her present and future increase, I give to my son William and his heirs forever, to be delivered in his possession when John and Benjamin O'Fallon shall arrive to the age of twenty-one years, and my will and meaning is that this codicil be adjudged a part and parcel of my last will and testament, and that all things therein mentioned and contained be faithfully and truly performed, and as fully and amply in every respect as if the same were fully declared and set down in my last will and testament.

Witness my hand this twenty-sixth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

JOHN CLARK. [SEAL.]

(Signed in the presence of us)
SAM GWATHMEY,
JNO. HUGHS.

"At a court held for Jefferson county at the court-house in Louisville, on the 1st day of October, 1799, the within instrument in writing purporting to be the last will and testament of John Clark, deceased, was produced in court and proved by the oaths of John Hughs and Robert K. Moore, and the codicil annexed was also proved by John Hughs and Samuel Gwathmey, subscribing witnesses, and ordered to be recorded, and on the motion of William Clark, one of the executors therein named, who made oath according to law, execution of the said will was granted him and leave given the other executors to join in the probate."

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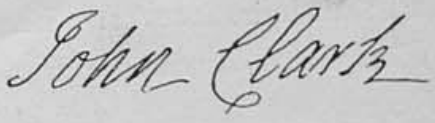
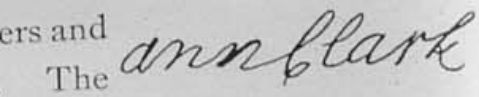


The fac-similes here given of the signatures of John Clark, and Ann Clark, his wife, are reproduced from official papers and are undoubtedly genuine. The



first was written in 1774, and the latter some fifteen years later.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HOME AND BOYHOOD DAYS OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

Doubtful traditions—Life-long friendship between him and Thomas Jefferson—Fac-simile of letter from Jefferson to Clark—Education of latter limited—Most proficient in mathematics—Engages in practical surveying in the upper Ohio valley—His settlement and adventures there—Serves in Dunmore's war—Visits Kentucky—His experiences there—Returns to Virginia as a representative of the Kentucky people—Urges their needs upon the Governor and legislature—Secures a much-needed supply of gunpowder—Incidents while conveying the powder to its destination—Successful termination of his mission, and return to Kentucky.

IT has been shown in the previous chapter that George Rogers Clark was born on his father's farm in Albemarle county, Virginia, November 19, 1752. How the title to that land was acquired has also already been shown. In order to ascertain the exact locality of the homestead, and any traditions that might remain in the neighborhood in relation to it, or the Clark family, the author again had recourse to the gentleman before mentioned, S. V. Southall, Esq., who lives near it, and is entirely familiar with the locality and its history.

To the inquiries made he answered that, "General Clark was born about two miles east of Charlottesville, in a plain house which stood on a knoll near to and overlooking the eastern bank of the Rivanna river. His birth-place is

about one and one-half miles north of Monticello, the home and burial place of Mr. Jefferson. And it is about two and one-half miles northwest from Shadwell, where Mr. Jefferson was born. There is no vestige left of the house in which General Clark was born. Near its site (and I presume on the farm to which it belonged), there stands quite a handsome brick residence, the home of Captain McMurdo, a retired English officer."

In another letter, a few days later Mr. Southall, said: "Before writing you I had some little conversation about George Rogers Clark with Dr. Wilson Cary Nicholas Randolph, of Charlottesville, son of Colonel Thomas Jefferson Randolph, grandson and executor of Mr. Jefferson. Dr. R. told me that his father pointed out to him the site of the house in which Clark was born. It tallies exactly with what I wrote you. I asked Dr. R. if he knew anything about the social position of Clark's family. He said he inferred it was very good from quantity of land patented jointly by Clark's father and a Mr. Graves, running down to land patented by Randolph, who was a brother-in-law of Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas Jefferson, and who induced Peter Jefferson, in poor health, to move up from Chesterfield county, Virginia, to Albemarle, giving him two hundred and fifteen acres of his patented land in exchange for a punch bowl. Thomas Jefferson was born on this tract of two hundred and fifteen acres. Dr. R. says one of Clark's cousins was raised in this county. Dr. R. knew of no traditions here about Clark and presumed none could be found at this late day."

"I am unable, on inquiry," adds Mr. Southall, "to find any descendants of John Clark in this county. . . . About three miles below the Clark place there was formerly in the Rivanna river a dam called 'Jefferson's Dam,' very near to Shadwell, where Mr. Jefferson was born. Whether built by him, or his father, Peter Jefferson, I do not know. Mr. Wirt Henry, in Patrick Henry's Life, speaks of George Rogers Clark going to Jefferson's Mill when a boy, but he speaks of it in a way not to satisfy me of the accuracy of his statement."

As George Rogers Clark was born in 1752, and his parents removed from Albemarle county to Caroline in 1757, it would follow, that if he went to "Jefferson's Mill," on the Rivanna, as a mill boy, it must have been when he was not over five years of age, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Southall thought this improbable.

The question naturally arises as to what intercourse, if any, existed between young Clark and Jefferson, both born in the same neighborhood. Some have spoken of them as playmates in boyhood, but Jefferson was the elder by about nine years. They may have met, but, in view of the inequality of their ages, it is not likely that a vivid recollection of it, if any, was carried into later life by either, and especially by Clark, who, as already stated, was only five when his parents removed to another county.

It is well known, however, that the warmest friendship existed between them to the end of their lives, and it was probably made more intense by the recollection that they were natives of the same locality.

Seldom between men can be found more delicate and touching expressions of regard than those of Jefferson in a letter written near the close of his second Presidential term, when he was comparatively an old man, but in the zenith of his glory, to Clark, who was then resting under a cloud—disappointed, neglected and afflicted, both in mind and body. But Jefferson, in his high place, did not forget him, but wrote him a letter, the original of which is in possession of the writer, and a fac-simile of which is here produced, although greatly out of its chronological order. The reader will, no doubt, realize that it is admirable in its delicacy and tenderness of expression, and reflects honor, not only upon Clark, but upon the head and the heart of its great author.

The brother referred to in the first part of the letter was William Clark, just then returned from the great exploration of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific ocean, made under the auspices of Jefferson, and the "bones" were remarkable specimens in natural history, in which subject it is known Mr. Jefferson took great interest.

Not much is known of the early boyhood of George Rogers Clark. His father had a large family, and the facilities of obtaining a good education in the part of Caroline county where he was raised were then probably not of the best. He, however, for a time, improved such opportunities as he had, and for nine months at least was under the tuition of Donald Robertson, who had the reputation of being a superior teacher. It is said that young James Madison, afterwards President of the United States, was a pupil with Clark, under Robertson's tuition. Mad-

ison and Clark were nearly of the same age. But Clark did not persist in his scholastic studies like Madison, and acquired only a common English education—not very thorough even in some branches of that. In spelling he was certainly deficient, or very careless, but that seems to have been a deficiency quite common in this pioneer period. Mathematics and surveying were his favorite studies, and in the latter he became quite proficient.

At that period there had been no systematic government surveys of land, as at present, consequently the running and establishing of boundaries were of much importance, and the services of surveyors in great demand. It was, in fact, an employment congenial to Clark's tastes, for he had a strong natural intellect which sought practical knowledge of men and material things rather than the rules of the schoolteacher, and he entered upon active duties as a practical surveyor in the field when he was quite young.

George Washington, who was also a young surveyor, had visited the country in the vicinity of the mouth of the Kanawha in 1770, surveying and locating land. About this time public attention was strongly turned in the direction of the Ohio valley, and enterprising men began to take steps to secure desirable locations. To do so the services of surveyors were indispensable. The movement came exactly in time to suit Clark's aspirations. Full of vitality and ambition, he determined at once "to go west" and unite his destiny with a new country. He was only about nineteen years old when he crossed the mountains on an exploring and surveying expedition. One of his objects was to make a location of land for himself.

This first journey was probably in 1771, or it may have been in the spring of 1772, as it is known that he made an extensive tour through the upper Ohio valley in 1772, returning to his father's house again late in August. An account of this journey was graphically written by one of his companions, seemingly the head of the party, the Reverend David Jones, afterwards a chaplain in the War of the Revolution, Wayne's War, and the War of 1812. The following is condensed from his journal, as printed in Cist's Miscellany, it being, probably, the first printed mention of Clark's early history:

"I left Fort Pitt on Tuesday, June 9, 1772, in company with George Rogers Clark, a young gentleman from Virginia, who with several others inclined to make a tour in this new world. We traveled by water in a canoe, and as I labored none, I had an opportunity of making my remarks on the many creeks which empty into the Ohio, as also the courses of the said river." These are omitted. In a few days they arrived opposite Mingo Town, supposed to be the present Steubenville, "where some of that nation reside; but as they have a name of plundering canoes, we passed them quietly as possible, and were so happy as not to be discovered by any of them. From this town the river runs west of south for thirty miles to Grave creek.

"Here I met my interpreter, who came across the country from the waters of the Monongahela, and with some Indians, with whom I conversed. It was in the night when we came; instead of feathers my bed was gravel stones, by the river side. From Fort Pitt to this place we were only in one place where white people live. Our

lodging was on the banks of the river, which at first seemed not to suit me, but afterwards it became more natural.

"Saturday, June 13. We concluded to move down to a creek, called by the Indians, Caapteenin (Captina). This comes from the west side of the Ohio, and is from Newcomerstown, which is the chief town of the Delaware Indians, about 75 E. S. E. We encamped on the east side of the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Caapteenin. . . . This was near seventy miles below, and from Grave creek to the Kanawha the river Ohio may be said to run southwest, but it is very crooked, turning to many points of the compass.

"Tuesday, 16th. Set out for the little Kanawha, and in the evening on Thursday, the 18th, we arrived at the Kanawha; it comes from the east, and is near one hundred and fifty yards wide at the mouth. We went up this stream about ten miles, and out on every side to view the land and to obtain provisions. My interpreter killed several deer, and a stately buffalo bull. The land is good, but not equal to the land nearer to Fort Pitt. It is not well watered about the Kanawha, and consequently not the most promising for health. Here we have pine hills, but they do not appear too poor to raise good wheat. Having satisfied ourselves with a view of this part of the country, we set out for Caapteenin again, and arrived safe Tuesday, June 30th. . . . Being rather unwell, we moved up to Grave creek, and then left our canoes and crossed the country to Ten Mile creek, which empties into the Monongahela. I suppose, the way we traveled, it was between fifty and sixty miles before we came to the house of David Owens.

"Tuesday, July 14. Set out for Fort Pitt on horseback in company with Mr. Clark, Mr. Higgins and Mr. Owens, my interpreter; but as it was some time before the Indians could be at Fort Pitt, we took another tour down to Ohio across the waste wilderness, and on the Sabbath I preached to about fifteen white people, who met in a cabin near a creek called Wheeling.

"Monday, July 20. Set out for Fort Pitt. We had a small path called Catfish's road which led us through the middle of the land between Ohio and Monongahela; so that I had the pleasure of seeing a large extent of good land, but very few inhabitants. The land is uneven, but the greater part can be settled. Wednesday, July 22d, came to Fort Pitt, conversed with several principal Indians of different nations. . . . Parted from my friends here and reached home on the 20th day of August."

The interest that already existed among young Clark's friends at home, in relation to the new country over the mountains, was largely increased by his glowing description of its desirable qualities, and some of them generally returned with him. Upon one occasion his father accompanied him, but only to take a glance at the country. He soon returned home. His son, however, spent much of his time for several years in the upper Ohio valley, chiefly near the mouth of Fish creek, in Grave Creek township, some twenty-five or thirty miles below Wheeling, where he made a location of land, and built a cabin. It is said that the celebrated Michael Cresap subsequently became the owner of this land.

Here Clark devoted himself mainly to surveying, hunting, fishing, and improving the land on which he had located. He wrote to his friends at home that he was making some money surveying; was pleased with his land location, and rather enjoyed his rough frontier life. He was, in fact, unconsciously preparing himself for the trials and hardships he was destined soon to encounter in military campaigns. On the 9th of January, 1773, he wrote a letter, headed "Ohio river, Grave Creek township," to his brother Jonathan, at "Woodstock, Dunmore county, Virginia," in which he said:

"I embrace ye opportunity by Mr. Jarrot to let you know that I am in good health, hoping that this will find you in the same. . . . I am settled 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 country settles very fast, and corn is in some parts 7s. 6d. per bushel, but I have a great plenty. The people are settling as low as ye Sioto river, 366 below Fort Pitt. Land has raised almost as dear here as below. I had an offer of a very considerable sum for my place. I get a good deal of cash by surveying on this river. Pray write to me by ye first opportunity after the receipt of this. Nothing more but your affectionate brother."

He did not remain in Grave Creek township all the time, however, as his restless and adventurous spirit demanded action in a wider field. In the spring of 1773 he made a journey further down the river with a party of Virginians on their way to Kentucky. Exactly how far he went on this

occasion is not known, but it was probably not far, as he was back at his father's in Caroline county in the summer of that year, and at his location again on the Ohio river shortly after. He was there in the spring of 1774, and about that time serious troubles with the Indians began. He was in the region of the first disturbances, and associating, more or less, with the men involved in them. It is possible he may have been a party to some of them himself.*

In Dodge's "Red Men of the Ohio Valley," it is said that . . . "in the spring of 1774 an alarm spread through the border occasioned by the killing of a white man near Wheeling by a band of Cherokees. A party of Virginia surveyors and explorers, under the lead of Captain Cresap, repaired at once to Wheeling. George Rogers Clark was one of this party."

In the latter part of July of the same year four hundred men, under Major Angus McDonald, crossed the Ohio at the mouth of Fish creek, near Clark's cabin, and destroyed some Indian villages on the Muskingum.

There is some reason to believe that Clark, and William Harrod, Leonard Helm and Joseph Bowman, afterwards captains under Clark in the Illinois campaign, went with this expedition.

It is certain that when unfortunate events in the spring of 1774 culminated in what is known as Dunmore's War, Clark was among the first to join the army. He was not in the memorable battle of Point Pleasant, for he happened to be with the wing, led by Dunmore, which was not engaged. It is not necessary here to enter into this well-known campaign, or into the events which immediately

* See important letter of Clark on this subject in appendix.

preceded, and, no doubt, occasioned it. There is some doubt as to Clark's rank, but it is believed that he was either on Dunmore's staff or in command of a company. Whatever his rank may have been, he discharged the duties in such a satisfactory manner that it is said he was offered a permanent position in the English military service, but he did not want it because the trouble between the mother country and the colonies was then approaching a crisis, and besides his thoughts and aspirations were all in the direction of the great west, which he rightfully regarded as the best field for him in which to win success and imperishable renown.

The movement towards the west, which had been slowly gathering strength before Dunmore's War, rapidly increased after it.

Many of the young, the enterprising, the adventurous, as well as the unfortunate, turned their thoughts towards the fair land of Kentucky, and many who had been in Dunmore's army joined in the movement. Some of Clark's friends and acquaintances had already gone there, including Leonard Helm, William Harrod, Simon Kenton, Joseph and John Bowman, Isaac Hite, and others. Clark, no doubt, met some of these persons en route, and may have gone part of the way with them. This probably, increased his desire to go further, and it is certain that he visited the interior of what is now Kentucky in the spring of 1775.

There is no evidence, however, that visions of his future military career had as yet entered his mind. From a letter written his brother Jonathan, dated "Steward's Cross-

ing, Apl. 1, 1775," it appears that he went, mainly, as a surveyor, and to secure desirable locations of land. The letter said: "I take this opportunity to acquaint you that I found all things according to my expectation on my arrival here. This leaves me quite well, hoping that it will find ye in the same state of health. I have engaged as a deputy surveyor under Cap'n Hancock Lee, for to lay out lands on ye Kentuck, for ye Ohio company, at ye rate of 80 £ pr year, and ye privilege of taking what land 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 ye greatest importance to me. I hope that you will write to our friends and let them know that I am well." He adds the following postscript: "Pray get ye patent for my land before June, if you possible can, as delay is dangerous."

About this time, and for some months afterwards, his letters show that he encountered some misfortunes of a character not known, which rather depressed him, but it was of short duration, for by midsummer he was in fine spirits, at the site of "Leestown," seventy miles up the Kentucky river, where he intended, he said, to live, and did not doubt but fifty families would be living there by Christmas. He thought a richer or more beautiful country had never been seen in America. He was sure if his father could see it he would come there to live, and come he did, at last, and his remains are at rest in "the beautiful country," with that of his wife and most of their children, as has already been related.

"Hancock Lee, and others," we are told in Collins's History of Kentucky, settled Leestown, on the east side of

the Kentucky river, about a mile below where Frankfort is now situated. The "and others," probably included Clark, but if it did, the connection was likely of short duration.

"It was the first spot," says Collins, "settled by whites," (in that region) "and as early as 1775 was a kind of stopping-place, or resting-place for the explorers and improvers from the Pitt, or Monongahela country, who came in canoes down the Ohio, and up the Kentucky to look for land." As a town, however, it proved a failure, but that Clark was there is shown by a letter to his brother Jonathan, dated, "Lees Town Kentucke, July 6th, 1775," in which he said:

"I embrace the opportunity of Cap'n E. Taylor to send you this small epistle. I am in a flow of spirits at this time but it has not been ye case long, for I have had nothing but a series of misfortunes this four months past, too tedious to mention; but I hope to get ye better of them yet. A richer and more beautiful country than this I believe has never been seen in America. Colonel Henderson is (here) and claims all ye country below Kentucke. If his claim should be good, land may be got reasonable enough, and as good as any in ye world. My father talked 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 ye country he never will rest until he gets in it to live. I am engrossing all ye land I possibly can, expecting him. We have laid out a town seventy miles up ye Kentucke where I intend to live, and I don't doubt but there will be fifty families living in it by Christmas. I hope that you will

write to me by the first opportunity, letting me know how you all are, and what news, as I expect you will have frequent opportunities. This from your affectionate brother. P. S. My compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Campbell. Let Johney see this as wrote to himself as before."

But Clark did not make himself a fixture at Leestown. He was at Harrodstown, and other stations, as well as Leestown, familiarizing himself with the country and people, organizing, and, for the time, commanding the irregular militia of the scattered and meager settlements. He remained until the fall of 1775, by which time he determined to remove permanently to this beautiful country. He returned to his old home, and devoted the next winter to winding up his affairs with a view to removing west in the spring. It is known that he was at Winchester, Virginia, on the 6th of February, 1776, from a letter from that place, and of that date, to his brother Jonathan, in which he said:

"If you have ye time to spare I should be glad that you'd come here tomorrow, as I have something particular to know of you. I left my father's last Saturday. All was well. He is determined to go to ye Kentuck, but hearing of some disturbances there with ye Indians, he sent me up here to know ye truth, which is ye reason of my being here. I have not time to write particulars, as Maj'r Helvinstone, by whome I send this, is just going. I am yours, etc. P. S. If you can't come yourself I should be glad that

you would send Jonney. I shall stay here three or four days." *

It would be interesting to learn "the something particular" he desired to know of his brother, but it remains with the unknown. His father was deterred by "Indian disturbances," or some other cause, from going to the Kentucky country at that time, as he did not remove there until some years afterwards.

In the spring of 1776 Clark returned to Kentucky, resumed his relations with the settlers, and soon became a leader. He was brave, energetic, bold, prepossessing in appearance, of pleasing manners, and in fact, with all the qualities calculated to win upon a frontier people. The unorganized and chaotic condition of the country needed such a man, and the man had come.

The desire to secure employment and productive land, which first influenced him, soon widened into a desire to promote the security and welfare of the people, and for the creation of a better government. He developed, speedily, not only in military sagacity, but in political sagacity also. He was quick to perceive that the settlers needed organization, and a supply of ammunition, especially gunpowder, of which there was great scarcity. He saw, too, that there was but little connection between this remote country and Virginia, and it is quite likely his views

*The four letters quoted in this chapter, written by young Clark to his brother Jonathan, are now in the Draper collection, Wisconsin Historical Society. The spelling in some instances is corrected and modernized. The author is indebted to Mr. Thwaites, the secretary of the society, for many favors kindly extended.

enlarged in this direction, until he came, at last, to contemplate the possibility of independent states.

This view was probably furthered by the apparent success of Henderson & Company in bringing the country south of the Kentucky river into a political organization known as Transylvania. This was done without the consent of the state of Virginia, under the pretext that the land had been acquired by treaty with the Cherokee Indians. There were seeming conflicts, not only between the Henderson Company and Virginia, but between North Carolina and Virginia also.

It was determined, therefore, that there should be some better understanding about these complicated and unsettled matters, and that, in some way or other, the facts and the interests of these far-off settlers should be made known to the mother government of Virginia. A council of citizens was called to meet at Harrodstown, June 6, 1776, to consider the subject.

This Harrodstown meeting was mainly the work of Clark, and the reasons which influenced him are stated in his memoir, written in the latter part of his life. He says that he commenced thinking of the condition and future of the Kentucky country in 1775, and that he followed it up persistently. When he went back to Virginia in 1776, he was careful to ascertain public sentiment there, as to the character and validity of Henderson & Company's claim to the country south of the Kentucky river. "Many," he said, "thought it was good; others doubted whether or not Virginia could, with propriety, have any pretensions to the country." He wanted to know where he

and his fellow-pioneers stood. Were they citizens of Virginia, entitled to the protection of the state, or were they outside of her jurisdiction, and for that matter outside the jurisdiction of any organized state, and therefore free to create a new government, or attach themselves to any existing government, at will? These were broad and far-reaching questions, showing him to be anything but a superficial thinker in relation to governmental affairs.

He wisely concluded that the best plan to get at facts, and determine the future of this new and beautiful country, was for the people to get together, in their primary and sovereign capacity, and send delegates to the mother country to represent them, with full power to act as circumstances might determine would be best. From some unexplained cause, not now known, but probably accidental, he did not reach the place of meeting until late in the day that it was held, and the proceedings were so far advanced that he and John Gabriel Jones were selected as members of the Virginia Legislature, which was not exactly what Clark had intended. Had he been present he would have recommended that they be selected as the agents of the settlers with general powers, rather than as members of the Virginia Legislature; but he cheerfully acquiesced in what had been done, and determined to proceed at once to Virginia, and do all in his power for the interests of the settlers.

The journey this time was not made by water, as heretofore, but by land over the wilderness road, and proved to be very uncomfortable and vexatious. It was an extremely wet season, with mud or mountains most of the

way, and constant danger from Indians. Having lost one of the horses, Clark walked until his feet became so blistered and sore that he said, long afterwards, that he "suffered more torment than he had ever done before or since." The party was disappointed in not finding any white people at Martin's fort, near Cumberland Gap, as they had expected, for the people had fled from fear of Indians. Clark's party, however, were so foot-sore and exhausted that they remained at this abandoned place some time to recuperate. They pushed on to eastern Virginia after a brief rest, only to find that the legislature, which then met at Williamsburg, had adjourned, and the members gone home, all of which, and much more, is graphically told in a diary of the period written by Clark in which he gives the details of the journey, including many little incidents connected therewith of a personal nature which subsequent events have made interesting. He arrived at his father's house in Virginia on the first of November, and at Williamsburg five days thereafter, having traveled a distance of about seven hundred miles from Harrodstown. He records that he "settled with the auditors, drew the money of the treasurer, £726, bought a piece of cloth for a jacket, price £4 15s, buttons, etc., 3s." He also bought a lottery ticket which he says cost £3, and that it was "in the state lottery, No. 10,693, first class." He does not say whether it drew a blank, as it probably did, but he does record that he went to church on Sunday the 9th, which is more to his credit than the lottery investment. The diary will be found in full in the appendix to this volume.

The fact that the legislature had adjourned was a disappointment indeed. Jones went back to the settlements on the Holston, but Clark determined to persevere, and at least confer with the governor, if he could not with the legislature. The governor was the world renowned Patrick Henry, then ill at his home in Hanover county. Sick as he was, however, he was keenly alive to everything involving the welfare of Virginia. He received Clark graciously, and gave an attentive hearing to his relation of the condition of affairs on the western frontier.

PATRICK HENRY.

As gunpowder seemed to be an immediate necessity, he gave Clark a favorable letter to the executive council of the state on that subject. Clark repaired to them, as soon as possible, and urged a grant of five hundred pounds of powder.

The members of the executive council doubtless fully realized the importance of complying with the request, and were sincerely anxious to do so, but they had the power to do only what the law authorized, and it had made no provision for such a case. If they violated the law by making a disposition of the money or property of the state which they were not authorized to do, their only remedy would be to trust to a future legislature to legalize their action. This they hesitated to do, unless Clark would join in the risk by agreeing to be responsible for the value of the powder if the legislature failed to legalize the trans-

action; besides they expected Clark to be at the expense of transporting it to Kentucky.

This may have appeared to the council, at first, to have been only reasonable, but it was, in fact, very unreasonable. The powder was needed to protect the western frontier of the state, and to defend its unprotected citizens. Clark had no direct personal interest in it. He was acting solely for the public good, and to accomplish that he had sacrificed valuable time, subjected himself to much expense, as well as great exposure and discomfort, and all without any pecuniary compensation whatever, as far as the author has been able to discover. It was most unjust, therefore, to require him to be responsible for the value of the powder in any contingency, or for its transportation to the distant frontier by the dangerous routes by which only the western wilderness could at that time be reached.

He felt keenly the injustice of the requirement, and at the same time realized that it would be a great disappointment and misfortune to fail in securing it. He may have had the sagacity to see that the council could not finally fail to grant his request, without conditions, if he firmly declined to receive it otherwise. At all events he determined to decline it with the conditions imposed, and so wrote the council. He did this very adroitly; pointing out that if Virginia claimed the Kentucky country, then Virginia should aid in its protection from the savages, and that "a country which was not worth defending was not worth claiming." He regretted this abandonment of the Kentucky pioneers by the state, and foreshadowed that necessity would, probably, drive them to look in some

other direction for protection, which he did not doubt they would find. If they could not, in some way or other, get such assistance as would protect them from the enemy, they would be annihilated or driven from the country and the older settlements would then be the points of exposure.

These and other views, forcibly presented by Clark, and his spirited and manly bearing in relation to the matter, impressed the council so favorably that they finally made the following order:

"In Council, Williamsburg, August 23, 1776.

"Mr. George Rogers Clark having represented to this board the defenseless state of the inhabitants of Kentucki; and having requested, on their behalf, that they should be supplied with five hundred weight of gunpowder;

"Ordered, therefore, that the said quantity of gunpowder be forthwith sent to Pittsburg, and delivered to the commanding officer at that station, by him to be safely kept, and delivered to the said George Rogers Clark, or his order, for the use of the said inhabitants of Kentucki."

At this day "five hundred weight of gunpowder" would be considered a small affair, but at that time it was of immense importance to the impoverished and helpless pioneers in the far off wilderness, exposed, as they were, to the assaults of merciless savages.

But there was a still greater value to the grant in this, that it settled one of the questions Clark had been deliberating upon; namely, that it recognized the Kentucky country as a part of Virginia, and that it was to be defended as a part of that state. Apparently Clark regarded this committal as of greater importance than the grant of the

powder, great as that was at this particular crisis. In fact it is a matter of grave consideration even now as to what might have been the effect if Virginia had resisted Clark's appeal for help upon that occasion.

It might have had a serious bearing, indeed, not only upon the future of Virginia and Kentucky, but of the whole of this great country as well. Would the jurisdiction of Virginia have been extended by Clark's prowess over the great territory northwest of the Ohio river, and would this country have been included within the boundary of the United States when the treaty of peace was made with Great Britain? These, it is true, are far-fetched queries, but they are, at least, within the range of possibilities, as to the results which might have followed a refusal of Clark's request.

It will be seen by the order of the Virginia Council, that the powder was to be delivered at Pittsburg. Clark expected that the people in Kentucky would provide means for conveying it to the points in the interior where it was most needed, although he must have realized that it would be a dangerous undertaking. He wrote to them on the subject of his mission, advising them to send a sufficient force to bring the powder home. This letter, unfortunately, never reached its destination, of which fact, however, Clark was not advised until a considerable time afterwards.

In the interval, he was busy consulting influential people about matters of interest to the Kentucky pioneers, and he was present when the Virginia Legislature again met at Williamsburg in the fall, and so was John Gabriel Jones, his colleague, who came on from the Holston country.

They were not admitted as members of the body, but they were admitted to close relations with it, in an advisory way; probably, in some respects, like delegates from the territories are now received by the Congress of the United States. That they were not without commanding influence is shown by the fact that they succeeded in accomplishing the main object of their mission, in spite of the persistent opposition of Colonel Henderson and Colonel Arthur Campbell, both men of high standing; the former the president of the great Transylvania Company, and the latter a prominent member of the legislature who wished the country annexed to the county he represented. The legislation secured over such formidable opposition was the formal recognition of the Kentucky country, and its organization as a county, with the same name and boundaries it now has as a state.

Here was another triumph for Clark, and this time one of magnificent proportions and far-reaching influence. He had, in fact, been chiefly instrumental in laying the foundations of the great commonwealth of Kentucky, which rapidly grew and prospered until it reached a front rank among advanced and enlightened commonwealths.

To have been instrumental in founding such a state was indeed a high honor, and to this was supplemented in after life the winning of a vast territory for his country, out of which has sprung six other states, of like prosperity and grandeur. The history of these great states will last while the country lasts, and the name of Clark deserves honorable mention in them all.

Their mission successfully ended, Clark and Jones turned their faces to the west, and having now learned that the powder was still at Pittsburg, they determined to go home by the river route, and, if possible, take it with them.

This was an exceedingly dangerous undertaking, for the country was swarming with Indians, who were then being instigated to hostility against the Americans by the British. They, however, boldly and bravely took the chances, and selecting seven reliable boatmen, departed by the river on their perilous journey with the powder.

They had the good fortune to arrive at Limestone creek (Maysville, Ky.) without molestation, although sometimes pursued by Indians. Realizing that they had not sufficient force to carry the powder into the interior, they carefully hid it in several different places. It is said, in Collins's History of Kentucky, that the exact places were "the three islands in what is now Lewis county, near Manchester, Ohio, and about eleven miles above Limestone." They intended to go to Harrodstown and organize a sufficient force to return and escort it to the interior stations, but all stopped for a time, at a cabin on Licking creek, except Clark, who went on with two of the men to Harrodstown, to organize a military force.

Soon after Clark left, Colonel John Todd arrived with a small military force, and being advised by Mr. Jones of the situation, they attempted to transport the powder with an escort of only ten men, but before reaching it they were attacked and entirely routed by Indians, several taken prisoners and three killed, among the latter John Gabriel Jones. He had made a long and perilous journey, and discharged

his duties faithfully and efficiently, but was doomed to die when almost at the threshold of his home. He deserved well of his country, and it is to be feared sufficient honor has not been given to this faithful pioneer's memory. In the diary of this period kept by Clark, and which will be found in the appendix of this work, he says, under date of December 25, 1776: "Ten men going to the Ohio for powder—met on the waters of Licking creek by Indians, and (were) defeated—John G. Jones, William Graden and Josiah Dixon were killed." One of the prisoners taken by the Indians was Clark's cousin, Joseph Rogers, whose sad fate is related in a subsequent chapter.

Clark was also followed by Indians, but his usual good fortune attended him, and he managed to reach Harrodstown in safety.

When the news of the defeat of Todd's party reached that place, a company of thirty was raised and sent after the powder January 2, 1777. It was found in good order and successfully conveyed to Harrodstown, to the great gratification and relief of the people. Here are the names of eighteen of the thirty men who went on this perilous expedition, and it is to be regretted that the names of all can not be given:

James Harrod, who was the captain of the company; Simon Kenton, Leonard Helm, Silas Harlan, Isaac Hite, Henry Higgins, Elisha Bathey, Joseph Blackford, James Elliott, David Glenn, Jonathan Ingram, Andrew McConnell, Benjamin Linn, Francis McConnell, Samuel Moore, Nathaniel Randolph, William McConnell and Jacob Sodowsky (or Sandusky).

Several of these distinguished themselves under Clark in the campaign against the British posts northwest of the river Ohio, the organization of which was now near at hand. "The company marched by McClellan's fort (now Georgetown) to the Lower Blue Lick, and May's Lick; then turned to the right a little, and struck the Ohio at or near the mouth of Cabin creek. After securing the powder, it was proposed to return by the war road leading from the mouth of Cabin creek to the Upper Blue Lick; but by the advice of Simon Kenton, who discovered signs of danger, they went down the Ohio several miles, and took through the woods until they struck the buffalo road leading from Limestone to the Lower Blue Lick, and returned to Harrodsburg over the route they had come." *

*Collins's Kentucky, Vol. 2, p. 467.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DELIVERY OF THE GUNPOWDER IN KENTUCKY IN THE WINTER OF 1776–7, TO THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN, JANUARY 2, 1778.

Upon his return to Kentucky, Colonel Clark formulates plans for a campaign against the British posts northwest of the Ohio—Sends spies to ascertain their condition—Is a party to several adventures in Kentucky—A favorite with the people and placed in military command—Visits Virginia to obtain approval and aid of the state for an expedition against the British posts—Lays his plans before Governor Patrick Henry—The governor consults his executive council and Jefferson, Wythe and Mason—Sketches of Wythe and Mason—Order for the campaign issued—Deceptive public instructions issued to Clark—Fac-simile of the governor's private instructions—Also fac-simile of letter of Jefferson, Wythe and Mason.

IT is probable that when Clark reached the interior of Kentucky he made a short stop at "Leestown," and possibly at "McClelland's," as we learn from Collins's History of that state that on "January 30, 1777, the fort at Harrodsburg was strengthened by the arrival of George Rogers Clark, Robert Patterson, the McClellands, Edward Worthington, Robert Todd, and others, and the families of several of them, from McClelland's fort (Georgetown), which was abandoned because of recent Indian attacks and threatened renewal of same." Clark says in his diary that on the 29th of December, 1776, "a large party of Indians attacked McClelland's fort and wounded John McClelland,

Charles White, Robert Todd and Edward Worthington; the two first, mortally." White died the next day, and McClelland on the 6th of January. On the 30th of that month he enters "moved to Harrodsburg from McClelland's fort."

Clark had now secured a regularly organized government for Kentucky, and a supply of ammunition for the several stations. Thus far his line had been one of preparation and defense. He next turned his thoughts to an aggressive warfare against the enemies of his country. He realized that northwest of the Ohio river was the open door by which the hostile Indians raided the white settlements, and that these raids were instigated, planned and prosecuted under the direction of the officers of the British military posts in that country. These were Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, standing in importance in about the order mentioned. In his deliberations upon the subject there is no reason to believe that he did not think of the possible ultimate acquisition of the whole of that great country as well as the present defense of the white settlements.

Like his father he was rather silent and reserved in manner, but evidently a deep thinker. He deliberated long and earnestly upon the subject during his stay in Kentucky, but mainly kept his thoughts to himself. He says, in his memoir that no one in Kentucky knew his destination "until it was ripe for execution," but he was not specific as to when he considered it ripe for execution. During the time he was in Kentucky in 1777, he was much at Harrodstown with friends, who were next year promi-

nently associated with him in the Illinois campaign. It would be remarkable if he did not communicate with some of them, to the extent, at least, of arranging to join with him in some honorable military enterprise in the future.

This would be particularly true as to Joseph Bowman, the cousin of his brother Jonathan's wife, and an old Virginia friend, who became the second in command and his most trusted officer throughout the whole campaign, down to the capture of Vincennes, and who died in the service soon after that memorable event. Bowman was at Harrodstown that summer as shown by Clark's diary, which says that "on September 11, 1777, a company of thirty-seven men went to Joseph Bowman's for corn, while shelling it (the first general corn-shelling in Kentucky), they were fired on; a skirmish ensued; Indians drew off, leaving two dead on the spot. Eli Gerrard was killed and six others wounded."

Leonard Helm, another of Clark's young Virginia acquaintances and original captains, was also there, and William Harrod, still another, making three out of the four of his original captains in the Illinois campaign. Robert Todd, Edward Worthington, Silas Harlan, and others who served under him as officers, were also there, and if they did not then definitely fix upon the "destination" of a military enterprise, contemplated by Clark, it was, no doubt, pretty well understood that an important movement was likely in the future, of which Clark was, by common consent, to be the head, and that they were to have a share in the command. But whether arranged in advance or not,

they were all ready when the time for action arrived, and stood faithfully by him through the campaign.

In Clark's letter to George Mason, he says: "I had since the beginning of the war taken pains to make myself acquainted with the true situation of the British posts on the frontiers." It was of paramount importance to his plans to ascertain whether the capture of these posts were practicable. Their commandants, he knew, were inciting the Indians to hostility against the Kentucky settlements. The reduction of these posts was his first object, expecting it might open a field for other action.

He says, "I sent two young hunters to those places as spies, with proper instructions for their conduct, to prevent suspicion. Neither did they, or any one in Kentucky, ever know my design until it was ripe for execution. They returned to Harrodstown with all the information I could have reasonably expected. I found from them that they (the British) had but little expectation of a visit from us, but that things were kept in good order, the militia trained, etc., that they might, in the case of a visit, be prepared—that the greatest pains was 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 quarter were engaged in the war, etc." There was nothing, therefore, discouraging in the report brought back from over the Ohio by these young hunters.

Their names are given in Clark's diary. Under date of April 20th, he says: "Ben Linn and Samuel Moore sent express to the Illinois." The diary also shows that they

returned to Kentucky on the 22d of June, following. These two scouts probably did not join in the regular campaign and consequently were not entitled to land. At least no such names are on the list of persons allotted lands. Linn, at least, if the next named Linn is the same, had a good excuse for remaining at home for a while after the 9th of July, as under that date Clark enters in his diary, "Lieutenant Linn married—great merriment."

Both Linn and Moore were with the company of thirty men who, under the command of Captain James Harrod, successfully conveyed the gunpowder which Clark had procured in Virginia, through the wilderness, beset by Indians, from the Ohio river, near where Maysville now stands, to Harrodstown.

The whole of Clark's time, during his stay in Kentucky in 1777, was not spent in planning and preparing for a campaign against the British posts the next year. Thus far that enterprise was all prospective, for he was not as yet clothed with power to take any active steps in that direction. He had plenty of time to engage in other things. He was also looking after the defense of the stations in Kentucky.

He was a party to one affair a short time before his return to Virginia, which is worth relating. It was in August or September, 1777, when men were preparing ground to sow seed near the fort at Harrodstown that the strange action of cattle near a part of the field most distant from the fort, and which was full of high weeds, led Clark to suspect that Indians might be concealed there, waiting for the workmen to get sufficiently near to be within gun-shot.

Word was quietly passed to the workmen to keep at work, but near the fort, out of the range of a rifle should one be fired from the weeds. Clark then, with a small party of men, slipped out of the opposite side of the fort, and keeping it between them and where the Indians were concealed, reached far enough into the timber and bushes not to be seen; then they made a detour and came up carefully in the Indians' rear. The savages were thus taken by surprise and four of them killed—one by Clark, and another by James Ray, who became quite prominent and lived to old age in that neighborhood. The Indians who escaped were pursued to a large Indian encampment which had the appearance of having been used for some time as a center of depredations by a considerable number, but they had all now fled, leaving, however, some "plunder." The gun of the Indian killed by Ray was given to him, by order of Clark, as a trophy. The rest of the property captured from the Indians was divided by lottery among Clark's party. This is the substance of the affair as communicated by General Ray to early historians.

Clark, with characteristic modesty and brevity, merely says in his diary, under date of August 5th: "Surrounded ten or twelve Indians near the fort—killed three and wounded others; the plunder was sold for upwards of seventy pounds."

Clark's stay in the Kentucky country in 1777 had still further endeared him to the inhabitants, who now looked upon him as the leader upon whom they could rely with greatest safety. They instinctively felt that his active spirit was not likely to remain quiet in these dangerous times, and,

Clark says, that when he was about to leave for Virginia, in the fall, every eye seemed to be turned on him in expectation that he was going to undertake some enterprise that would benefit them. There were some, however, who thought he contemplated entering service in the Revolutionary Army of Virginia, in the east, and feared he would never return to the Kentucky frontier. "I left them with reluctance," said he, "promising them that I would certainly return to their assistance, which I had predetermined." This was on the 1st of October, 1777.

He had carefully looked over the western field and determined that he could best serve his country by leading a force against the enemy's posts in the Illinois and on the Wabash. The authority to do it, and the men and means necessary to make it a success, could only come from the home government of Virginia. To that he now directed his attention, with his usual caution, good judgment and energy. He went to Williamsburg, still the capital of the state, and there, at first, quietly employed himself in settling the accounts of the Kentucky militia, which shows that he had been in military authority in the Kentucky country, but he was, in fact, all the time feeling his way to the development of his great plan of striking the British posts northwest of the Ohio river. Events in the east about this time proved favorable to the adoption of his plans.

The capture of the British army under Burgoyne had greatly encouraged the Americans, and they were feeling more as if they might be able to carry the war into the enemy's country. Clark talked confidentially upon the subject to a few discreet friends, but it was about two

months after his arrival in Virginia before he ventured to lay his plans before the governor of the state.

The eventful day was the 10th of December, 1777, when he first presented the matter to the great Governor Patrick Henry. They were not strangers to each other, as we have already seen. Henry, the grand old patriot, gave eager attention to the youthful Virginian, but the plans now presented were vastly greater in importance than those he had presented the previous year in relation to giving the settlers in Kentucky a government and the stations gunpowder. In Clark's memoir he says: "At first he seemed to be fond of it; but to detach a party at so great a distance, although the service performed might be of great utility, appeared daring and hazardous, as nothing but *secrecy* could give success to the enterprise. To lay the matter before the assembly, then sitting, would be dangerous, as it would soon be known throughout the frontiers, and probably the first prisoner taken by the Indians would give the alarm, which would end in the certain destruction of the party."

JEFFERSON.

But Henry's great mind, no doubt, grasped not only the danger the invading party might be involved in, but the vast benefit it might be to the future of the country if the campaign should prove successful. He realized that it was a matter of the gravest importance, and required the earnest and careful consideration of the wisest and most discreet men in the state.

He invited as his confidential counselors and advisors upon this memorable occasion three men who fully came up to that requirement, namely Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason.

Seldom in the annals of military affairs has a stronger body of men assembled to consider the expediency of a campaign than was assembled on this occasion.

Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe, George Mason and George Rogers Clark—five men who made an honorable impress upon the age in which they lived, and who may justly be ranked with the first men of their time, if not, indeed, of any time. Their place in history is well established, especially that of Jefferson and Henry, but it may be well to make some mention here of the high esteem in which the others were held by Jefferson.

We have already shown his high regard for General Clark and we now give his tribute to Mason and Wythe. Of the first, he said. "I had many occasional and strenuous co-adjutors in debate, and one, most steadfast, able and zeaious, who was himself a host. This was George Mason, a man of the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theater of the Revolution, of expansive mind, profound judgment, cogent in argument, learned in the lore of our former constitution, and earnest for the republican change on democratic principles. His elocution was neither flowing nor smooth; but his language was strong, his

GEORGE MASON.

manner most impressive, and strengthened by a dash of biting cynicism, when provocation made it seasonable."*

Of Mr. Wythe Mr. Jefferson feelingly and eloquently said: "I became acquainted with Mr. Wythe when he was about thirty-five years of age. He directed my studies in the law, led me into business, and continued until death my most affectionate friend. A close intimacy with him, during that period of forty odd years, the most important of his life, enables me to state its leading facts, which, being of my own knowledge, I vouch their truth. . . . No man ever left behind him a character more venerated than George Wythe. His virtue was of the purest tint; his integrity inflexible, and his justice exact; of warm patriotism, and devoted as he was to liberty, and the natural and equal rights of man, he might truly be called the Cato of his country, without the avarice of the Roman; for a more disinterested person never lived. Temperance and regularity in all his habits gave him general good health, and his unaffected modesty and suavity of manners endeared him to every one. He was of easy elocution, his language chaste, methodical in

GEORGE WYTHE.

*The following was said of Patrick Henry by George Mason: I had an opportunity of conversing with Mr. Henry and knowing his sentiments, as well as hearing him speak in the house on different occasions. He is by far the most powerful speaker I ever heard. Every word he says not only engages, but commands the attention, and your passions are no longer your own when he addresses them. But his eloquence is the smallest part of his merit. He is in my opinion the first man upon this continent, as well in abilities as public virtues, and had he lived in Rome about the time of the first Punic War, when the Roman people had arrived at their meridian glory, and their virtue not tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put him at the head of that glorious commonwealth. (Life of Patrick Henry, Vol. 1.)

the arrangement of his matter, learned and logical in the use of it, and of great urbanity in debate; not quick of apprehension, but with a little time profound in penetration, and sound in conclusion.

"In his philosophy he was firm, and neither troubling nor perhaps trusting any one with his religious creed, he left the world to the conclusion that that religion must be good which could produce a life of such exemplary virtue.

"His stature was of the middle size, well formed and proportioned, and the features of his face were manly, comely, and engaging. Such was George Wythe, the honor of his own, and the mode[illegible] of future times."

Th. Jefferson

These distinguished gentlemen were in consultation upon the subject of the contemplated campaign for several weeks, and Clark records in his memoir that every inquiry was made into his proposed plan of operations, and particularly that of a retreat, in case of misfortune, across the Mississippi into the Spanish territory. It might be inferred that Messrs. Jefferson, Wythe and Mason were regular members of the council of Virginia, but they were not,* as will be seen from the proceedings of that body of "Friday, January 2, 1778," which seems to have been the day the proposed "expedition against Kaskaskia," was formally communi-

*Jefferson and Mason, however, were members of the Virginia General Assembly, and probably Wythe also.

cated by the governor to the council and approved—the same to be set on foot "with as little delay and as much secrecy as possible." For that purpose the governor was "to issue his warrant upon the treasurer for twelve hundred pounds to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who is willing to undertake the service, he giving bond and security faithfully to account for the same." Also approving instructions which the governor had already prepared. Here is the full text of this important order taken from 1st Vol. Life of Patrick Henry, by his grandson, pp. 584–5:

FRIDAY, January 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, and the situation of the post at Kaskasky held by the British king's forces, where there are many pieces of cannon and military stores to a considerable amount, and 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 and as much secrecy as possible, and for the purpose to issue his warrant upon the treasurer for twelve hundred pounds,

payable to Colonel George Rogers Clark, who is willing to undertake the service, he giving bond and 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.

This action of the governor and privy council was under a law of the Virginia Legislature, passed by the General Assembly then in session, authorizing "the governor, with the advice of the privy council," to organize an expedition, "to march against and attack any of our western enemies, and give the necessary orders for the expedition." (9th Vol. Hening's Statutes, p. 375.) Clark says this law was passed to enable the governor to order the Illinois campaign but that when it passed "but few in the house knew the real intent of it."

It will be seen that the members composing the privy council were all gentlemen of the highest character and it is to be presumed they were more or less consulted in determining upon the Kaskaskia campaign, and the plan of conducting it, before the formal action of the 2d of January.

On the same day the order of the council was made, Governor Henry issued two sets of instructions to Colonel Clark; one for the public eye which was intended to divert attention from the real object, and the other private for his guidance in conducting the real campaign into the enemy's

country. The one intended for the public eye will first be given:

(Public)

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL CLARK.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark:

You are to proceed, without loss of time, to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia, under your orders. They are to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them, for three months after their arrival at that place; but to receive pay, etc., 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 Williamsburg, January 2, 1778.

P. HENRY.

The original private letter of instructions of Governor Henry to Colonel Clark came into the possession of the Indiana Historical Society over half a century ago, and a fac-simile was made of it. It is reproduced here, reduced one-third in size, as follows:

PATRICK HENRY'S LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS,
IN TWO PAGES, SEE OPPOSITE PAGE.

Fac-simile, reduced in size.

Virginia Sct. In Council Wmsburg Jan 12d 1778

Lieu 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 Pell for Boots, &c. 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 therefore are given to Captn 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 hand. 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

PATRICK HENRY'S LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS,

(Continued from opposite page.)

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 hitherto distinguished Americans, & which it is expected you will ever consider as the Rule of your Conduct & from which you are to 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 them Commerce beneficial, the fairest Prospects being opened to the Dominions of both Trade & Spain.

It is in Contemplation to establish a Post near the Mouth of Red. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it Part of those at Kaskaskey will be easily brought thither or other wise procured as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to Genral Hand for powder & Lead necessary for this Expedition. If he can't supply it the Person who has that article Capt. Lynn brings from Pittsburgh can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my Orders & that may be demanded of you. Wishing you Success I am

Sir
your Obedt Servt

P. Henry

Clark says, in his memoir, that for the purpose of encouraging those who would engage in the campaign "an instrument of writing" was signed, wherein the gentlemen who had been called in consultation with Governor Henry promised to "use their influence to procure from the assembly three hundred acres of land for each in case of success." This statement is hardly as full and clear as it should have been, as "the instrument of writing," referred to, was no less than an exceedingly interesting letter written to him by Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason, on the 3d of January, 1778, the day after the private instructions were issued to him by Governor Henry.

The letter congratulates Colonel Clark upon his selection to lead the important enterprise of carrying the war into the enemy's country to revenge the injuries inflicted on the inhabitants of the frontiers and expresses the hope that it may prove successful, in which event the distinguished gentlemen have no doubt that, in addition to the usual pay, there will be granted each private soldier three hundred acres of land, and the officers in the usual proportion "out of the lands which may be conquered," thus plainly indicating that conquest of territory was anticipated. They added their belief that in this matter Colonel Clark might "safely confide in the justice and generosity of the Virginia assembly." The assurance given in this letter was subsequently carried into execution in part by the grant of 149,000 acres of land to these privates and officers in what is now Clark, Floyd and Scott counties, Indiana, known as "Clark's Grant," a full account of which will be found in the twentieth chapter of this work.

In Mrs. Rowland's Life of George Mason it is said that search has been made "unavailingly" for the original of this important historic letter. It was supposed to have been at one time in the possession of Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wisconsin, but Mrs. Rowland, who is a descendant of George Mason, investigated this and says that "the letter signed by Wythe, Mason and Jefferson was never seen by Mr. Draper." Mr. Draper supposed it had been used "as a basis for the act of assembly setting apart one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land opposite Louisville, Kentucky, for Clark's men, and to have been retained in the hands of some committeeman who had the matter in charge." She adds that "search has been made for it unavailingly among the Force manuscripts in the Congressional Library." The search, however, was evidently not made in the right direction as the original of this important letter has been in the author's possession for years, and has certainly been in Indiana for over half a century. It was long in the possession of the author's old friend, John Law, the eminent Indiana judge, statesman and historian, and his worthy son, Edward E. Law, turned it over to the author. A full-sized fac-simile of it is here produced for the first time.

JOHN LAW.

Sir, Williamsburg Janry 3. 1778.

As some Indian Tribes to the westward of the Mississippi 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 Soldi

778.

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 Subjects of this Commonwealth: and for this we think You may safely confide in the Justice & Generosity of the Virginia Assembly.

We are Sir Yr most Hble Servts

G. Wythe.
G. Mason
Th. Jefferson

To
George Rogers Clarke Esq.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN TO THE ARRIVAL AT THE FALLS OF THE OHIO.

Colonel Clark gratified at the approval of his plans—Is clothed with all the authority he wished—Receives £1,200, with order for ammunition and military stores—Advances £150 to Major William Smith to recruit troops on the Holston—Only a few obtained from that source—Secures services of Captains Helm and Bowman—Their companies reach Red Stone early in February, 1778—Sketch of Captain Helm—Sketch of the Bowmans—Interference with recruiting—Secures services of Captain William Harrod—Sketch of Harrod—Colonel Clark's officers and men mainly natives of Virginia—The expedition exclusively a Virginia enterprise—Departure from Red Stone early in May with only one-third the troops expected—Events of the voyage—Successfully avoids surprise and interference with his plans—Stops at mouth of Kentucky river—Meditates establishing a post there—Finally decides falls of Ohio a better locality for it—Moves forward to that place—Greatly disappointed in not being joined by the additional troops expected.

COLONEL CLARK was highly gratified to find that the plan which he had so long been maturing and laboring to have adopted was fully indorsed by the governor, the privy council, the legislature, and by other prominent statesmen of his native state. It was, indeed, a great triumph for the young Virginian, and he felt and expressed an entire approval of what had been done, and his warmest gratitude for the kindness and confidence reposed in him.

"The governor and council," said he, "so warmly engaged in the success of this enterprise that I had very little trouble in getting matters adjusted; and on the 2d day of January, 1778, received my instructions, and £1,200 for the use of the expedition, with an order on Pittsburg for boats, ammunition, etc. Finding from the Governor's conversation in general to me, on the subject, that he did not wish an implicit attention to his instructions should prevent my executing anything that would manifestly tend to the good of the public, on the 4th I set forward, clothed with all the authority that I wished.* I advanced to Major William Smith £150 to recruit men on Holston, and to meet me in Kentucky.

"Captain Leonard Helm, of Fauquier, and Captain Joseph Bowman, of Frederick, were to raise each a company, and on the (1st?) February arrive at Redstone." (Now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on the river Monongahela.)

Of the three officers here mentioned by Clark, but little need be said of Major Smith, for, although he was much favored, and excited large expectations as to what he would do for the enterprise, these expectations were not realized, and he had no part in the actual campaign. It was far different, however, as to Captains Helm and Bowman, and it will be appropriate to say something of them here, as it is the intention of the author to give such information as he can of all who participated in the reduction of the British posts northwest of the river Ohio, and Captains

* In his letter to George Mason, he says: "I left Williamsburg January 18th, made as quick dispatch as possible to the frontiers, and by the end of the month had recruiting parties disposed from Pittsburg to Carolina."

Bowman and Helm deserve to stand at the head of the list with their great commander. They were the most conspicuous officers under Clark, and possessed his confidence in the highest degree. The first to enter the field, they stood faithfully by their commander to the end. They were both Virginians, friends and associates of Clark, had been with him in Kentucky in 1777, and before, and had rendered some military service before coming to the West.

CAPTAIN LEONARD HELM.

But little is known of the early life of Captain Helm. He was born and raised in Fauquier county, and his letters indicate that he had a fair education. He was considerably older than either Clark or Joseph Bowman, and was unlike them in being married. They never married, but he married and left three children—a son, named Achilles, and two daughters, Sarah and Mary. He was a bad manager in money matters, and sold part of his land for continental money, under the belief that it would become good, but it proved utterly worthless. His children, however, recovered the land on the ground of lack of consideration, as will be shown later. He died poor, in the spring of 1782, at, or near, Louisville, Ky. The inventory of his personal estate filed in court consisted only of two coats, one waiscoat, one hat, one pair of shoes and a blanket, the total valued at £5 12s. A sad showing for a man who rendered important services to his country. In the conquest of the British Posts he was always a conspicuous and important factor. When a prudent and reliable

man was wanted as commandant of Vincennes after its possession was first acquired, Captain Helm was selected, as he was also chosen to the important position of Indian agent, and after the second and final possession he led the successful expedition up the Wabash which resulted in the capture of seven British boats, forty prisoners, and much valuable property. The highly honorable military career of Captain Helm will be given as this narrative progresses. He was of the same family as John Larue Helm, who died in 1867 while governor of Kentucky.

THE BOWMANS, AND THEIR ANCESTORS.

Of Major Joseph Bowman much could be said, and much deserves to be said, for he undoubtedly stood near to Clark in the Illinois campaign, as he stood next to him in rank when he died in the fort at Vincennes a few months after its capture from the British—the only officer, it is believed, who lost his life in actual service. He left a happy home in Virginia, and numerous wealthy and respected kindred, to go on this campaign, from which it was his destiny never to return.

His body found its last earthly resting place within the soil of Indiana, for he was buried at Vincennes, probably near the fort he a few months before had helped to capture.

There is given here, although much out of its chronological order, a fac-simile of General Clark's certificate of Bowman's death, the original of which is now in the author's possession:

FAC-SIMILE OF THE CERTIFICATE OF THE DEATH OF MAJOR JOSEPH BOWMAN.

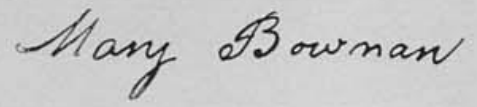
This Certifies That Majr Joseph Bowman
of the Illinois Regt Died in the Service of the
State of Virg.a at Fort Pat. Henry on
the 14th of august 1779

Given in Lincoln County
Feb.y 5th 1782

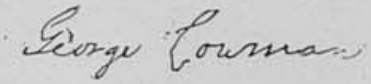
Fac-simile of the Certificate of the Death of
MAJOR JOSEPH BOWMAN.

It may here be said, in explanation of this certificate, that after Fort Sackville at Vincennes was captured, its name was changed to Fort Patrick Henry.

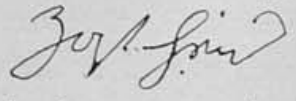
Joseph Bowman's account of the Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes campaigns, which will be found in full in the appendix, has always been regarded as clear, forcible and thrillingly interesting. His brother Isaac was also an officer under Clark, and likewise his brother-in-law, Isaac Ruddell. Another brother, John, was the first county lieutenant of Kentucky (virtually governor); and still another brother, Abram, was colonel of the celebrated Eighth Virginia Regiment during the Revolutionary War. They were the sons of George Bowman and Mary Hite Bowman.



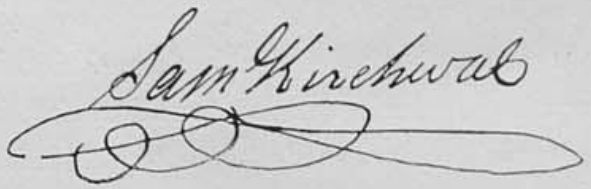
Jost Hite, their maternal grandfather, was a prominent historical character in the early settlement of the Shenandoah Valley, and some mention of him here will be appropriate.



In Kercheval's History of the Valley of Virginia, it is recorded that "in the year 1732, Joist Hite, with his family, and his sons-in-law, George Bowman, Jacob Chrisman and Paul Froman, with their families . . . and several others, amounting in the whole to sixteen families, removed from Pennsylvania, cutting their road from York, and crossing the Cohongoruton (Potomac) about two miles above (what is now called) Harper's Ferry. Hite settled on Opequon (creek) about five miles south of (what is now) Winchester on the great highway from Winchester to Staunton . . . Jacob Chrisman at what is now called Chrisman's Spring . . . Bowman on Cedar, about six miles further south, and



Froman on the same creek eight or nine miles northwest of Bowman." Kercheval also says, "from the most authentic information which the author has been able to obtain, Hite and his party were the first emigrants to settle west of the Blue Ridge." Lewis's History of West Virginia says, "to Joist Hite belongs the honor of having first planted the standard of civilization in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge." He was evidently a man of excellent judgment and much force of character. He held, in his own right, a grant from King George II for forty thousand acres of land in the valley, and was a fourth owner in another grant in the same locality of one hundred thousand acres. The celebrated Lord Fairfax contested Hite's title to a large part of it, but the sturdy old German fought his lordship in the courts as long as he lived, and his heirs continued the fight and won it after all the original parties to the suit were in their graves. The litigation was pending fifty years, and is one of the celebrated cases in Virginia jurisprudence. John Marshall, afterwards chief-justice of the United States, was one of the attorneys for Hite. Marriages occurred between members of his family and other historical Virginia families, notably with the Madisons and Clarks,* and the latter may have had some influence in inducing his Bowman grandsons and Ruddell to go with George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaign.



*The wife of his son Jacob was the sister of Colonel James Madison, father of the president of the United States of that name; and the sister of the president was the wife of Jost Hite's grandson, Major Isaac Hite, of Bell Grove, Virginia; and his granddaughter, Sarah Hite, was the wife of General Jonathan Clark, a colonel in the War of the Revolution, and eldest brother of George Rogers Clark. There were also other marriage connections with the Clarks.

HOMESTEAD OF BOWMAN'S GRANDFATHER AND UNCLE.

Jost Hite built his first house near a spring, whose refreshing waters continue to flow now as when he found it in the wilderness over 160 years ago. This house was of stone, so constructed on the side of a gently-sloping hill, and partially built into it, that one could go directly into the upper story from the high ground, and then, by going down stairs, come out of the lower story on the low ground a few feet from the spring. The lower story was, no doubt, the general utility part, while the upper was used for living purposes. The walls were of stone and thick, but the roof had fallen in, and it was comparatively in ruins when the author visited it in 1891. It was probably built between 1732 and 1735.

It is certain that his son John built a stone mansion a little further up this sloping ground in 1753. The fact that it was erected by him that year is plainly shown by the inscription "J. H., 1753," cut in the bull's eye stone in the gable of the house. Kercheval says "it was built in 1753," and adds that "this building was considered by far the finest dwelling-house west of the Blue Ridge." The Colonel John Hite who built this house was the uncle of Joseph and Isaac Bowman, and it was to him Joseph wrote his narrative of the Kaskaskia campaign, to which reference has already been made. The picture on opposite page is this building. The site and bare walls of the Jost Hite house is in the cluster of low buildings on the right, a window in the gable, just to the left of the tree, being visible. In the foreground runs the Valley turnpike, over which Sheridan made his famous ride during the Civil War.

THE BOWMAN HOMESTEAD.

Kercheval says, "Jacob Chrisman also built a pretty large stone house in the year 1751 . . . George Bowman and Paul Froman each of them built stone houses about the same period."

The house of George Bowman is still standing, and a picture of it, photographed and made for this work, is here given. In this homestead were born the Bowmans who were officers under George Rogers Clark, and the other children of George and Mary Hite Bowman. The house stands upon a part of the land included in Jost Hite's grant as will be seen from the following fac-simile of the original patent, now in the possession of the author, issued in 1734 by "George the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith," and "William Gooch, Esquire, lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of our said Colony and Dominion," with the royal seal annexed.

THE BOWMAN HOMESTEAD.

PATENT OF KING GEORGE II TO GEORGE BOWMAN.

In two pages, see opposite page.

Fac-simile reduced in size.

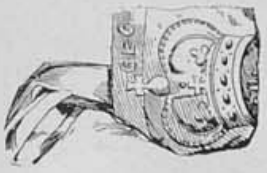
George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King
Know ye that for the Consideration mentioned in an Order of our Trusty and Wellbel
Virginia in our Council of the said Colony the Twelfth Day of June one thousand Seven hund
Heirs and Successors Do Give Grant and Confirm unto George Bowman One Certain Tract or Pa
Shenando River Designed to be included in a County to be called the County of Orange being part
Orders of our said Lieutenant Governor in Council to take up the Same upon certain Conditions
and thirty and bounded as followeth (to wit) Beginning at two double Sycamore Trees
two Degrees East twenty Poles to the Top of the Hills and thence along the same to a Corner white
Oak near Pines Thence South ten Degrees West Ninety Poles to a red and White Oak on the Bran
along the Hills one hundred and fifty eight Poles Thence along the Hills North East Seventy eight
Poles to two white Oaks at the Mouth of the Same Branch Thence up the Several Courses of
below a Beautifull Cave on the East side. Thence North Seventyone and a half Degrees West two
Degrees East two hundred and Eighteen Poles to a white Oak Sapling Thence South twenty eight
Poles to a Hiccory nigh the said Creek. and thence down the same to the first Station With
Mines and Quarries as well discovered as not discovered within the Bounds afore said and being
therein contained together with the Privileges of Hunting Hawking Fishing Fowling and
or in any wise Appertaining To have hold Possess and Enjoy the said Tract or Parcel
their Appurtenances unto the said George Bowman and to his Heirs and Assigns for ever
To be held of us Our Heirs and Successors as of our Manour of East Greenwich in the
and Paying unto us Our Heirs and Successors for every fifty Acres of Land and so
yearly to be paid upon the Feast of Saint Michael the Arch angel and also Cultivating and
Date of these Presents Provided always that if three years of the said Fee Rent
within the Space of three years next coming after the Date of these Presents Cultivate and
shall Cease and be utterly Determined and thereafter it shall and may be Lawful to and for us
other Person or Persons as we our Heirs and Successors shall think fit In Witness
William Gooch Esqr our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of our said Colony
October ——— One thousand seven hundred and thirty four In the Eighth year of our

PATENT OF KING GEORGE II TO GEORGE BOWMAN.

CONTINUED FROM OPPOSITE PAGE.

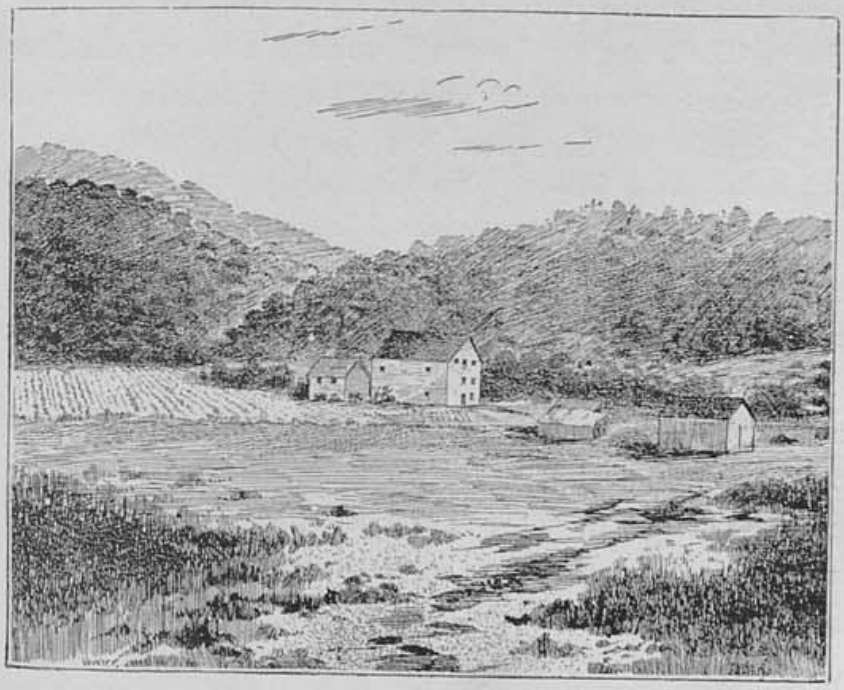
Fac-simile reduced in size.

Defender of the Faith & To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting —
William Gooch Esqr our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of Our Colony and Dominion of
and thirty four We have Given Granted and Confirmed and by these Presents for us Our
of Land Called Cedar Lick Containing One thousand Acres lying and being on the Western Side of
Forty thousand Acres Purchased by Jost Hite from Isaac and John Vanmater who had obtained
Fresin Expressed which Orders were made the Seventeenth Day of June one thousand Seven hundred
the East Side of Cedar Creek about half a Mile above the Mouth of it and runing thence North fifty
a Steep Hill near the said Creek thence North fifty Seven Degrees East one hundred and one Poles to a red
Hill about twenty Poles from the said Creek thence North Seventy Seven and a half Degrees East
to a Corner red Oak by the head of a Small Branch thence North thirty two Degrees West Eighty
Creek two hundred and forty Poles to a Corner Walnut above a Steep Rock on the West side and —
hundred and Sixty Poles thence South forty two Degrees West ninety one Poles thence South thirty Eight
West one hundred and fifty eight Poles to a white Oak Thence South West two hundred and Six
Woods Underwoods Swamps Marshes Low Grounds Meadows Feedings and his due Share of all Veins
of the said Quantity of One thousand Acres of Land and the Rivers Waters and Watercourses
Profitt Comodities and Hereditaments whatsoever to the same or any part thereof belonging
Land and all other the before granted Premises and every part thereof with their and every of
the only use and behoof of him the said George Bowman his Heirs and Assigns forever
of Rent in free and Comon Soccage and not in Capite or by Knights Service Yielding
ionably for a Lesser or greater Quantity than fifty Acres the Fee Rent of one Shilling —
ing three Acres part of every fifty of the Tract abovementioned within three years after the
any time be in Arrear and unpaid or if the said George Bowman his Heirs or Assigns Do not
have three Acres part of every fifty of the Tract abovementioned Then the Estate hereby granted
ers and Successors to grant the same Lands and Premises with the Appurtenances unto such
reof we have Caused these our Letters Patent to be made Witness our Trusty and Welbeloved
Dominion at Williamsburgh under the Seal of our said Colony the Third — — Day of —



William Gooch

Bowman's Mill, which was the scene of several important events during the Civil War, has existed, in some form or other since a period before the Revolution, as it is mentioned in George Bowman's will, a copy of which is now before the author, dated in 1764, and admitted to probate in 1768. It is said to have been the first mill built in the Valley.



BOWMAN'S MILL.

When the conflict with the British arose, which ended in the independence of the colonies, there went out from this old Virginia homestead, to do battle for the American cause, four sons of George Bowman, and, at least, one of his sons-in-law. Of these Joseph and Isaac Bowman and Isaac Ruddell were officers in the campaign against the British posts under Clark as already stated.

But to resume the narrative of that campaign, Captains Joseph Bowman and Leonard Helm, with their companies, were at Red Stone Old Fort, on the Monongahela, early in February, 1778. The latter had encountered some trouble in procuring soldiers. Some persons tried to interfere with his recruiting, on the ground that no such service had been authorized by the Virginia assembly, but he overcame the trouble through the agency of the governor. When Clark arrived in the Pittsburg country, he says: "The whole was divided into violent parties between the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, respecting territory; the idea of men being raised for the state of Virginia affected the vulgar of the one party; and as my real instructions were kept concealed, and only an instrument from the governor, written designedly for deception, was made public, wherein I was authorized to raise men for the defense of Kentucky, many gentlemen of both parties conceived it to be injurious to the public interest to draw off men at so critical a moment for the defense of a few detached inhabitants, who had better be removed, etc. These circumstances caused some confusion in the recruiting service."

Colonel Clark proceeded, however, to contract for flour and other things needed for the campaign, and added another captain to his force. This was

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARROD,

A brother of James Harrod, after whom Harrodstown, Kentucky, had been named. Clark had probably met both the brothers at that place the previous summer. Cap-

tain William Harrod was at Ten Mile, Pennsylvania, the next spring. On the 15th of March Colonel Clark addressed him a letter, calling attention to the fact that the time for starting to Kentucky was drawing near, and that boats should be sent up the river from Wheeling to the Monongahela to take in flour; that he had instructed his recruiting officers to send men to Wheeling for that purpose, and that such men should be subjected to no other fatigue duty until their arrival in Kentucky. Richard Brashear was to take charge of the party, and Captain Harrod was urged to forward men to aid in the work. Clark adds that he was about starting to Pittsburg, to be absent eight days, and that he had intended, as he was returning from court, to visit Harrod, but that the pressure of public business called him another way.

Colonel Clark and Captain Harrod were old acquaintances, having served together in Dunmore's War. Harrod was also a Virginian, born in Big Cove Valley, Franklin county, December 9, 1737. It will thus be seen that he was considerably older than Clark. He had seen some military service before Dunmore's War, as far back, it is said, as Forbes's campaign. He was in Maj. Angus McDonald's expedition, which crossed the Ohio near Clark's cabin and destroyed some Indian villages just before the Dunmore campaign. Harrod was known as an expert scout, and he did much valuable service on the frontier, especially in the region of Grave creek and Fishing creek, where he presumably often met Clark. He was also known as a judicious purchaser of army supplies, and in securing his services Clark had evidently made no mistake. He

could hardly have found three better captains than those he now had, viz: Bowman, Helm and Harrod.

It may be well to add here that Harrod performed important military services after the capture of Vincennes, and commanded a company in the expedition of Col. John Bowman, a brother of Joseph, against the Ohio Indians. His death occurred in 1801, when he was nearly sixty-four years of age. He married in western Pennsylvania in 1765, and probably after that made his home there, more or less, and it is believed part of his company, at least, was raised in that region.

The fact that some of Captain Harrod's company was recruited in Pennsylvania is, no doubt, partly the foundation for Mr. Bancroft's statement that "for men he (Clark) relied solely on volunteer backwoodsmen of southwestern Pennsylvania, and from what we now call east Tennessee and Kentucky."* This assertion is hardly just to Virginia and Virginians, and does not seem, to the author, to be entirely sustained by the facts. Clark and all four of his captains were native Virginians. Bowman's and Helm's companies were composed almost entirely of Virginians; the bulk of the soldiers and officers in the Illinois campaign were Virginians; the Illinois campaign originated with Virginians; it was authorized, prosecuted, and entirely paid for by Virginia, and "the Old Dominion" should have the credit which rightfully belongs to her, and all the more now since, in the changes and mutations of long

* Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. 10, p. 194,—quoted in introduction to Virginia State Papers, p. 28.

years, she has to some extent lost her former leadership of the states in political power and material prosperity.

In speaking of recruits, Clark says: "The officers only got such as had friends in Kentucky, or those induced by their own interest and desire to see the country." Kentucky was then a part of Virginia and very largely occupied by Virginians from the East, looking over the new country, and ready to enter into such an enterprise as Clark's.

There were, of course, some men picked up in the Ohio valley who, it may be, had no particular habitation, for there were then many adventurers in that region, but these, as well as persons who had lived in other countries, became soldiers of Virginia, receiving pay from, and, as her soldiers, owing allegiance to Virginia.

These troops were not on the Continental establishment. The writer has before him an original letter from the United States Commissioner of Pensions of March 16, 1830, which says: "You wish to know whether the regiment commanded by Colonel George R. Clark was considered as on the Continental establishment within the meaning of the act of May 15, 1828. That law embraces none who did not belong to the Continental Army, and Colonel Clark's regiment was not a part of that army. No one, therefore, who served in that regiment is entitled to the provisions of that act, nor is he entitled to a pension under any of the laws for the benefit of Revolutionary officers and soldiers, and no provision is made for widows in such cases." There was some legislation after this, however, of a

more liberal character towards those who had served in this regiment.

It is true that the general government at last reimbursed Virginia for the expenses of the Illinois campaign, but this was in consideration of the cession of the vast territory northwest of the Ohio, claimed by Virginia under the original grant from the crown, and to which she certainly had a claim by virtue of the conquest and occupancy by her troops, if not, indeed, by her charter rights.

If any other government than Virginia had claim to the Illinois and Wabash country at the time of Clark's campaign, it was the British, and as the troops of Virginia captured and held it, and that fact was recognized and acknowledged by the boundaries fixed in the formal treaty of peace with England, there does not seem to be any room to doubt the potential agency of Virginia in the acquisition of this vast and inexpressibly important territory. This, and her generous and patriotic act in ceding it to the general government, to allay irritation and jealousies, and secure the adoption of the Federal Constitution, should ever stand to her credit in the pages of history. Giving Virginia this credit does not in the least weaken the undoubted fact that the triumph of the American arms, and final treaty of peace, was the result of the action of all the colonies in a common cause, and that without such joint action such success would have been impossible; consequently the honor and glory of the ultimate result is alike due to them all.

In maturing his plans Clark had estimated it would require five hundred men to make the campaign a complete success.

With that number he, no doubt, would have captured Detroit, as well as Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, but he did not secure them. In Clark's letter to Mason he says that his plans were interfered with by leading men on the frontiers, who, not knowing his real design, discouraged enlistments and caused some who had enlisted to desert. When Bowman and Helm arrived he found their companies had largely wasted away from this cause. But there was no such word with Clark as fail, and, although he could then muster only "about 150 men," he determined to start on the campaign, in defiance of all discouragements. He was encouraged, however, with the hope of securing the additional force needed in Kentucky, or from troops expected from the Holston, through the agency of Major Smith, who, as already stated, had been sent to that country to recruit. An express had already arrived from Major Smith with information that he had recruited four companies on the Holston, ready to be marched to Kentucky. Clark also received word that the military strength in Kentucky had been largely increased since he left there by new-comers. With the companies of Bowman and Helm already raised, Harrod's company, and the expected additions from Kentucky and the Holston, he felt comparatively easy, but was doomed to bitter disappointment, especially as to the forces promised by Smith, which dwindled to one company, and nearly all of that withdrew or retired without leave when Clark disclosed the objective point of his campaign, as will be seen later.

In his memoir Clark says: "Meeting with several disappointments, it was late in May before I could leave the

Red Stone settlement with those companies and a considerable number of families and private adventurers. Taking in my stores at Pittsburg and Wheeling, I proceeded down the river with caution."

In his letter to Mason he says: "I set out from Red Stone 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 —— of May I arrived at the Kanawha (river), to the joy of the garrison, as they were very weak, and had the day before been attacked by a large body of Indians." He was urged by the commandant of this fort to join in pursuit of the Indians, but that was so much in conflict with his plans as to be inadmissible. Clark continued his voyage down the Ohio river, using, with success, every precaution to prevent a surprise.

Butler's Kentucky says he landed at the mouth of the Kentucky river, "and for some time thought of fortifying a post at this place." That the party landed there is confirmed by an unpublished letter in the author's possession, written by Captain Joseph Bowman to his brother-in-law, George Brinker, which says that, "on leaving the mouth of the Kanawha, we continued down the river, landing the salt kittles at the mouth of the Kentucky," etc. What "the salt kittles" were for, is not stated. It may have been a private venture of the Hites and Bowmans, who at this time had large interests in Kentucky.

Here information was received that of Major Smith's promised four companies only one, Captain Dillard's, had arrived in Kentucky. Clark immediately wrote Colonel

John Bowman, then the county lieutenant of Kentucky, and virtually governor, asking that Dillard's men, and as many others as could be secured, be forwarded to the falls of the Ohio where he intended to establish a fort.

By this time quite a number of families and persons not belonging to Clark's regular force had taken advantage of the protection thus afforded and were journeying with him, at first not altogether to his satisfaction, but it proved a benefit to all as he himself afterwards acknowledged.

In the latter part of May the whole party left the mouth of the Kentucky river for the falls of the Ohio, where they arrived in good condition, and proceeded, under the most discouraging circumstances, to organize for the campaign against the British posts of the northwest.

CHAPTER V.

AT THE FALLS OF THE OHIO.

Colonel Clark selects Corn Island for his camping ground and depot of supplies—Reasons for the selection—Description of the island—Joined by Montgomery's company—Sketch of Montgomery—Dillard's company declines to serve—Some depart without leave—Probable reasons for so doing—Number of Clark's force—Sketches of persons left on Corn Island—A crisis in Clark's undertaking from lack of men—Determines to brave it all and depart at once on the expedition against the British posts.

COLONEL CLARK landed with his forces at the falls of the Ohio near the end of May, 1778. The day is not named in either his or Bowman's letters, but it was probably the 27th of that month. Early in June, after carefully viewing the surroundings, he selected as his camping ground an island in the river, afterwards widely known as "Corn Island," on account, it is said, of the first corn in that region having been raised there. That it was the first, however, is doubtful. It is more likely it was so called because corn was raised on the island about this time, as there had been surveyors and other visitors in the vicinity several years before, and, it is said, corn was raised on Bear Grass creek as early as 1775.

The reason for selecting this island, and the good effect expected to be derived from the selection, Colonel Clark tells in his memoir; this part of the memoir, as far as the

author knows, has never been published. It is as follows: "I moved on to the falls and viewed different situations, but reflecting that my secret instructions were yet (unknown) even to the party with me, and not knowing what would be the consequence when they should be divulged on our being joined by the whole, I wished to have everything (secure) as much as possible. I observed the little island of about seventy (?) acres, opposite where the town of Lewisville now stands, seldom or never was entirely covered by the water. I resolved to take possession and fortify, which I did on —— 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 were of little expense, and, with the invalids, would keep possession of this little post until we should be able to occupy the main shore, which happened in the fall, agreeable to instructions I had sent from the Illinois. The people on the Monongahela hearing by (word) 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."

This extract was omitted in Clark's memoir as published in Dillon's History of Indiana, over fifty years ago, and generally followed since, probably because of the indistinctness of the original manuscript copy used. This manuscript is now in the possession of the author, who, in copying a portion of it here, has added, in parentheses, some evidently omitted words, and deciphered others, so that the extract, as now given, is believed to be substantially correct.

This historic little island, it is said, at the time of Clark's occupancy, lay in a long and narrow tract, pretty close to the Kentucky shore, extending from a little below what is now Fourth street in Louisville to a point opposite Fourteenth street. "It was probably about four-fifths of a mile long by five hundred yards in its greatest breadth. Besides heavy timber, it had a dense undergrowth of cane which the Clark colonists were obliged to clear away for their cabins and their first crop. This done, however, they had access to a rich productive soil, which soon yielded abundant returns for their labor." *

Col. John W. Ray, long a resident of Jeffersonville, informed the author that he distinctly remembered the condition of Corn island from 1836 until it gradually disappeared by the action of the water, in consequence of the removal of the timber and plowing the land. He estimated the quantity in cultivation when he first saw it at seventy acres, but there was yet heavy timber on the island in 1836. He gave many reminiscences connected with it, one of which was of a lady, who, upon the occasion of the river being very low, crossed on horseback from the island to the Indiana side without swimming the horse.

It was long a place of attraction and resort for all sorts of people, for all sorts of purposes, from "grave to gay, from lively to severe"—from religious camp-meetings to political barbecues, fishing and picnic parties—to say nothing of visits from the idle and the vicious, for whom it had many attractions. Had the timber been left alone, the shores lined with willows, or shielded with breakwater

*Ohio Falls Cities, Vol. 1, p. 155.

walls, the soil sodded, and the whole placed under proper protection, management and public surveillance, it could have been made a place of great attraction; not only because of its deeply interesting historical associations, but because of its great natural beauty, its location, surroundings, and the cluster of prosperous cities in its immediate vicinity.

It should have been under the care and protection of the general government, with a grand monument in its center in honor of George Rogers Clark and the men under him, who, from that spot, started on the campaign which secured for it a vast territory, as fair and as fertile as the sun ever shone upon; but it was not thought of in time—and "time and tide wait for no man," as both Corn island and Fort Chartres witnesseth.

As the timber was gradually removed and the soil loosened by the plow, the washing away commenced, and, as not the slightest effort was made to arrest it, the island began rapidly to disappear in the forties, and now, in crossing over the Ohio by the railroad bridge on the Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, passengers pass over what was once the historic Corn island, but the soil and almost every vestige of the island have long since disappeared. The removal of stone from the island for commercial purposes aided its disappearance.

After the foregoing was written some doubts arose in the author's mind as to the correctness of the opinion expressed that Corn island might have been perpetuated with proper attention, and he consequently asked the opinion of Colonel R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, considering him a most

reliable authority upon the subject. He promptly replied on the 1st of July, 1895, as follows:

"You ask my opinion about Corn island. When I first knew this island, half a century ago, it was a beautiful body of land, raised high above the water, with much of the original forest upon it. Many trees had been cut from it, but the trees upon its margins yet stood to hold with their roots the soil and prevent it from being washed away. It was then an island of forty-three acres, just as it had been surveyed by Captain Meredith Price on the 10th of June, 1780. His outlines of the island when he surveyed it were as follows:

" 'Beginning at a rock on the smaller stream at low water mark, marked J. M., n. 71° w. 63 poles from the mouth of Beargrass, running thence at low-water mark n. 27° w. 64 poles. Thence n. 55° w. 30 poles, then n. 44° w. 70 poles, to the lower end of the island. Then with Connolly's line 100 poles s., thence with the same s. 50° e. 20 poles, from thence to the first station, 43 acres.'

"In the course of time, more and more of the trees were cut from the body of the island, and finally it was deprived of the trees that stood upon its margins. Then the island began rapidly to yield to the currents of the Ohio and gradually grew less and less. Then the Louisville Cement Company began getting rock from it for hydraulic cement, and finally there was nothing left of the island but the little bed of rocks and soil seen only when the river is very low.

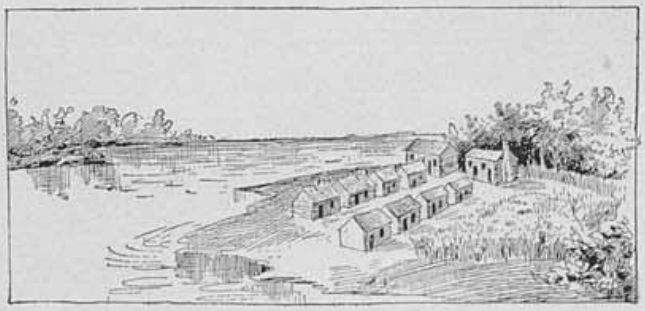
"Many years ago I did all I could to save this island. I made appeals to Mayor Speed and Mayor Tompert, and

to other mayors to protect and save the island, but to no avail. I saw it rapidly going and was much grieved not to be able to arrest its decay. It is a great pity that it had not been preserved with its native forest trees upon it, as a thing of beauty and a sacred memory of the first settlement at the falls of the Ohio. Planting a few willow trees upon its margins would have saved it from being washed away, and not a single wall would have been necessary to preserve it, if it had had the protection of growing willows upon its margins."

It is much to be regretted that Colonel Durrett's appeals in favor of protecting the island were disregarded, as it certainly would have been an object of great historical interest, increasing more and more with the passing years.

What it was in the natural exuberance of its fertility at the time Clark took possession of it in June, 1778, can well be imagined.

It was at that time, no doubt, exceedingly romantic and beautiful, but it had other attractions for Clark. It was a good location, not only for defense, but to hold his force together, as he had already explained, and for which there was much need, as was soon proven.



CORN ISLAND—FALLS OF THE OHIO.

Here on the lower end of the island he built cabins, temporary store-houses and forti-

fications. The banks were comparatively high and steep at this point, which was the highest and narrowest part of the island, and a row of pickets across on the upper side gave some protection in that direction. The buildings were of the roughest kind, made from the timber of the locality. It was a part of the island where the current of water was strong and deep, its spray and roar necessarily unpleasant to permanent residents, and the inhabitants generally abandoned it within a year for the main shore.

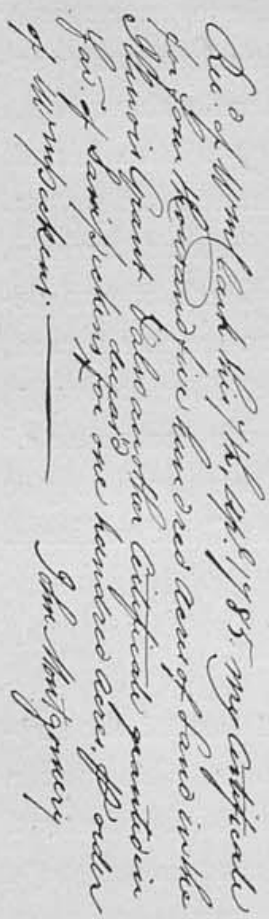
About the time of the first occupancy of the island, Colonel John Bowman, the county lieutenant, and several other prominent Kentuckians from the interior, arrived, and, after full consultation with Colonel Clark, it was decided that Kentucky, at that time, was too much exposed, to send many men with Clark's expedition. One company, however, was added at the falls, under the command of Captain John Montgomery, and it may be as well to give now some account of this new acquisition to Clark's officers.

CAPTAIN JOHN MONTGOMERY.

John Montgomery was the fourth and last of the captains who went with Clark from the falls. He was a native of Bottetourt county, Virginia, but of Irish descent. He was, probably, born in 1748. He was raised on a farm, and his education extended only to the common branches then taught in the country.

He was one of the celebrated party of "long hunters" who spent some time in southwest Kentucky in the fall of 1771, and the ensuing winter. It is also claimed that he was in

Colonel Christian's regiment in the Point Pleasant campaign in Dunmore's War, and performed other services against the Indians. In the spring of 1778, when he was in the Holston country, he was ordered to service in protecting the Kentucky settlements, and to join Clark, which he did at the falls, probably bringing a portion of his company with him from the Holston. After the capture of Kaskaskia, Clark sent him to Virginia with prisoners and dispatches. He returned to the Illinois country in May, 1779, as lieutenant-colonel with some troops he had raised on the Holston. He managed to get somewhat under a cloud "with a woman in it," and to incur thereby the displeasure of John Todd, then the virtual governor of the county of Illinois. He, however, came out of it apparently without injury and rendered distinguished military service both in the Illinois campaign and after the regular campaign was over. He was elected a sheriff in Tennessee, but finally settled in southwestern Kentucky. He was killed by the Indians in Livingston county in that state, the latter part of November, 1794. He was with a party hunting, which was attacked by Indians, several being killed on both sides, among the number the gallant Montgomery. A fac-simile is here given of a receipt he executed for land allotted to him in Clark's Grant for serv-



ices in the Illinois campaign. The numbers were 35, 40, 51, 143, 147, 202, 239, 270, 283, and 351 acres in B, No. 141. Colonel Clark, having now collected all his available force on Corn island, and the time of departure being near at hand, proceeded to communicate to them the real object of the campaign. Doubtless Bowman, Helm and Harrod, at least, had been told about it before starting down the Ohio, if not sooner, and Montgomery on his arrival at the falls. But some of the last arrivals of officers from the Holston and the interior of Kentucky did not know it. Butler's Kentucky says that "here Clark disclosed to the troops his real destination to be Kaskaskia; and honorably to the gallant feelings of the times, the plan was ardently concurred in by all the detachment, except the company of Captain Dillard. The boats were, therefore, ordered to be well secured, and sentries were placed where it was supposed the men might wade across the river to the Kentucky shore. This was the day before Clark intended to start; but a little before light the greater part of Captain Dillard's company, with a lieutenant whose name is generously spared by Colonel Clark, passed the sentinels unperceived, and got to the opposite bank. The disappointment was cruel, its consequences alarming; Clark immediately mounted a party on the horses of Harrodsburg gentlemen and sent after the deserters, with orders to kill all who resisted; the pursuers overtook the fugitives about twenty miles in advance; these soon scattered through the woods, and excepting seven or eight, who were brought back, suffered most severely every species of distress. The people of Harrodstown felt the baseness of the lieutenant's con-

duct so keenly and resented it with such indignation that they would not for some time let him or his companions into the fort."

Why Mr. Butler, who was familiar with the Clarks, and the Clark papers, should have said that the name of this lieutenant "is generously spared by Colonel Clark" is hard to comprehend, as he stated it plainly in his letter to Mason, written in the fall of 1779, and the whole story could not be better told than he there relates it. He says: "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 attack 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 Kentuckians under Colonel Montgomery to stop the desertion I knew would ensue on the 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 Dillard's company, contrived to make his escape with his party after being refused leave to return. Luckily 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 subordination as I could wish for."

Would it not be uncharitable to judge the memory of even Lieutenant Hutchings too harshly, for we have not

heard his side of the story? Clark admits that a great deal of deception had been practiced as to the object of the expedition, and if Hutchings had been deceived, and on that account requested permission to retire, which was refused, he probably thought he had a right to go any way. It is charitable, at least, to suppose that to have been the case, and that his going was a hasty and unfortunate impulse and mistake, not based upon a lack of bravery or patriotism.

Up to this time Clark admits there had not been much discipline, and the indications are that the organization, thus far, had been rather loose and informal, and quite a number declined to go further without at all feeling that they were deserters. But now that the campaign was about to begin in earnest, with a definite object in view, military rules were thereafter rigidly enforced.

As Clark had made this little island a depot for his military stores, and was now about to leave with his main force, it would seem proper to inquire here how many he left in charge of the island, and who they were. What Clark said on the subject in his memoir has already been given. He there speaks of dividing the land for gardens among the families that had come with him down the river, but, unfortunately, without giving the names of the families. In his letter to Mason he does not give their names, but says, "about twenty families that had followed me, much against my inclination, I found now to be of service to me in guarding the block-house that I had erected on the island to secure my provisions."

Captain Bowman's letter to Brinker, given in full in the appendix, says, "we built a small garrison on a small island and stored up a large quantity of flour and some bacon, (we) there left eight or ten families with a few men to guard them." In his letter to Hite, also in the appendix, he says, "ten or twelve families."

It will thus be seen that there are discrepancies among those who were in situations to know, as to the number left on the island, and vexatious silence as to who they were. There is still some uncertainty as to the names and number of the families, but less as to "the few men left to guard them."

CAPTAIN ISAAC RUDDELL.

Captain Isaac Ruddell, who had married Bowman's sister, Elizabeth, was for a time, it is said, in charge of the Corn island party, and of the military stores which had been left there. He was also a native of Virginia having been born in the Shenandoah Valley about the year 1738. He was allotted 3,234 acres of land in Clark's Grant, Indiana, for his services in this campaign, being tracts numbered 14, 34, 77, 110, 153, 179, each for 500 acres, and B 190 for 234 acres.

He did not, however, occupy any part of this land, but located in Kentucky at a place which became famous as "Ruddell's Station." He had been in Kentucky before this campaign of Clark's, rendered military service there, and is known to have lived for a short time at Logan's Station. He had evidently brought his family to Kentucky to live before June 22, 1780, as on that day his station was cap-

tured by a large force of British and Indians, and all his family, except one son, who happened to be absent, were carried off as prisoners, with quite a number of other people. While a prisoner at Detroit he so won the favor of the British officer in charge as to excite the jealousy and ill-will of some of his fellow-prisoners, who did not understand that the kindness was mainly based, it is said, upon the fact that Ruddell and the officer were both members of the Masonic fraternity. He and most of his family succeeded in getting back to the old station in Kentucky at last, where his wife died about 1809, and he a few years later, probably in January, 1812.

Elizabeth Ruddell
Isaac Ruddell

MAJOR WILLIAM LINN.

Major William Linn undoubtedly had much to do with the Clark settlement on Corn island, but this was probably more in connection with its removal to the Kentucky shore in the fall of 1778. In October of that year he left Kaskaskia in charge of certain of Clark's soldiers, whose terms had expired, and brought them through to the falls of the Ohio, where a rude fort was constructed either that or the succeeding year, on the Kentucky side.

He had distinguished himself a year or so before this period in aiding in the successful transportation of a quantity of powder up the river in boats from New Orleans to Pittsburgh, said to be 136 kegs, and that it was carried on the backs of men around the falls. It is claimed that this was the first cargo ever brought up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers from New Orleans to Pittsburgh.

Major Linn was, unfortunately, killed by the Indians in the spring of 1781. Linn's Station on Bear Grass creek near Louisville, was probably established by him.

The two Linn boys, William and Asahel, referred to in the following incident, which occurred in 1784, were the sons of this Major William Linn. They were out hunting a few miles from the falls in company with a boy named William Wells and another named Nicholas Brashear, all celebrated names connected with conflicts with the Indians in the early pioneer period.*

The country was then full of game, and it was not long before the lads killed a young bear—so small they thought they could, by taking turns, carry it home whole. Greatly elated at their success, and not dreaming of the proximity of danger, they laid down their guns and engaged in placing the bear on the back of the stoutest of the boys, with the view of carrying it home. This was the op-

*Col. Durrett in Louisville Centenary, p. 59, and personal letter to the author.

The author agrees with Col. Durrett in presuming that this was the William Wells who subsequently married the daughter of the celebrated Miami chief, Little Turtle, having fallen in love with her while a prisoner. One tradition is that he returned to the Indians, and another that he did not escape with the other boys. Appleton's Encyclopedia says William Wells was born "about 1770," which would make his age about fourteen when captured. He served under Little Turtle at St. Clair's defeat, but repented opposing his "own flesh and blood" and served against the Indians as interpreter, scout and spy in Wayne's campaign of 1793-4, and lost his life in the massacre at Chicago in 1812 in trying to save the garrison of Fort Dearborn. He notified Little Turtle of his intended change, and that after sundown that day they might be considered on opposite sides. A county in Indiana bears his name. He and Little Turtle lived at or near Fort Wayne.

Dear General Washington Dec. 19. 07

As I think it probable your brother will have left you before the inclosed comes to hand I have left it open and request you to read it, and do for me what it asks of him and what he will do should he still be with you: that is to say to have the bones packed & forwarded for me to William Brown, Collector at N. Orleans, who will send them on to me.

I avail myself of this occasion of recalling myself to your memory, & of assuring you that time has not lessened my friendship for you. we are both now grown old, you have been enjoying in retirement the recollection of the services you have rendered your country, and I am about to retire without an equal consciousness that I have not occupied places in which others would have done more good but in all places & times I shall wish you every happiness and salute you with great friendship & esteem

Th: Jefferson

Gen[l] George Rogers Clarke

portunity desired by some Indians, who had been secretly watching, and now rushed forward and made the boys prisoners. They were hurried off to the Indian villages, in what is now the state of Indiana, where they were kindly treated and kept several years.

Finally there came a time when all the Indian men, except a few old ones, were out of the village hunting, and the boys embraced that opportunity to escape. After great exposure and suffering they at last reached the river and their homes, nearly dead from starvation, excitement and fatigue, and of course their unexpected return was greatly to the joy of their relatives and friends. It was a nice bear hunt, in the beginning, but taken altogether one from which the lads derived a romantic and realistic experience never to be forgotten. Lewis F. Linn, the son of Asahel, the youngest of these captured boys, was long a senator of the United States from the state of Missouri. There was allotted to the heirs of Major William Linn four thousand three hundred and twelve acres of land in Clark's Grant for his services in the Illinois regiment, being tracts numbered 12, 93, 105, 132, 181, 217, 218, 291, each for 500 acres, and 312 acres in 216.

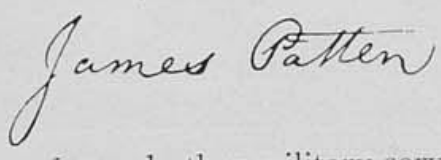
The names of some of these persons, who have been mentioned as having remained on the island after Colonel Clark's departure, are: Richard Chenowith, James Patten, John McManus (Sr. and Jr.), Edward Worthington, William Swan, Neal Dougherty, Samuel Pickens, John Sitzer, John Tuel, William Faith, John Means, Isaac Kimbley, James Graham, J. Galloway, John Donne, Joseph Hunter, Jacob Reager, John Sinclair, Robert Travis.

The first nine named were soldiers under Clark, and were probably guards.

At least the record shows that each received land in Clark's Grant for services in the Illinois campaign. Some of them had families, who remained on the island. The other five were probably of families not represented by a soldier in Clark's army, and there were no doubt other families there in the same situation. It is not entirely certain that all of the last six, named on the list, were on the island; and it is almost certain there were others there, whose names are now unknown. Sandy Stewart, who was on the island long afterwards and operated a ferry, claimed he was there in 1778. In some instances a soldier went with Clark, and the rest of the family remained on the island. This was probably true as to the Swans and some other families.

JAMES PATTEN.

James Patten remained in the region of the falls the rest of his life, and was a useful and respected citizen. He was



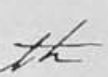
a man of fine personal appearance, tall, well formed, and of great energy. He performed other military services after the close of the Illinois campaign, and is said to have been the first authorized pilot of the falls of the Ohio. The writer is under the impression that Patten's creek, which empties into the Ohio some considerable distance above Louisville, was named after him, but is not certain. He lived to be nearly eighty,

and died December 29, 1815, at the falls, where he landed with Clark so many years before. He was granted one hundred acres of land in Clark's Grant in tract thirty, and eight acres in one hundred and one, on account of his services as a private in the Illinois campaign. He was a man of affairs and one of the early lot-owners in Louisville. His name appears in the following entry of a case tried "at a called court held in Jefferson county, Kentucky, August 10, 1785," which resulted in a sentence which would now justly be considered cruel and wholly unjustifiable. On the 21st day of October, 1786, "negro Tom, a slave, the property of Robert Daniel," was condemned to death for stealing "two and three-fourths yards of cambric and some ribbon and thread, the property of James Patten."* In the old grave-yard in Louisville which is on Jefferson street, between Sixteenth and Eighteeth streets, James Patten was buried and his grave is marked with a stone monument bearing this inscription:

CAPTAIN JAMES PATTEN,
Born Oct. 12, 1748,
Died Dec. 29, 1815.

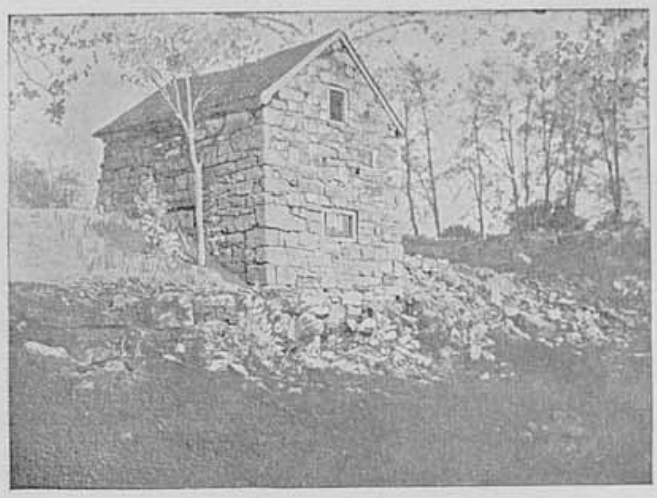
A son and daughter, at least, survived him as shown by the records of their deaths on the same monument.

RICHARD CHENOWITH.

Richard Chenowith, whose name heads the list, is the same who, in the summer of 1782, built a stone 

*Collins's Kentucky, Vol. 2, p. 372.

house some distance above the falls, which was occasionally used as a fort, and is in part still standing. He sometimes lived with his family in a cabin outside of the fort, and at the time the terrible Indian massacre occurred there he had two visitors named Rose and Bayless.



RUINS OF CHENOWITH'S OLD FORT.

"About dusk one evening in midsummer, while this little family were talking over the past at their evening meal, they were suddenly surprised by sixteen Indians, belonging to the tribe of the Shawnees, suddenly opening the door and [illegible] in. Rose, being nearest the entrance-way, jump[illegible] behind the door as soon as it was swung open, and in the dreadful excitement which followed passed out undiscovered and effected an escape. Bayless was not killed outright and was burned at the stake at the spring-house, just a few feet distant. The old man was wounded and his daughter, Millie, tomahawked in the arm, but they escaped to the fort. The old man, however, survived and lived many years, but was afterwards killed by the falling of a log at a house-raising. James, a little fellow, was, with his brothers Eli and Thomas, killed at the wood-pile.

The daughter Millie afterwards married a man named Nash. Naomi, the little girl, crept to the spring-house and took refuge, child-like, under the table. An Indian afterwards came in and placed a fire-brand on it, but it only burned through the leaf. In the morning a party of whites were reconnoitering and supposed the Chenowith family all killed, and upon approaching the scene discovered the little girl, who stood in the doorway, and told them upon coming up that they were all killed. The mother was scalped and at that time was not known to be alive, but she survived the tragedy many years and did much execution after that with her trusty rifle. Her head got well but was always bare after that."*

For his services in the Illinois campaign Richard Chenowith was allotted one hundred and eight acres of land in Clark's Grant, viz.: one hundred acres in tract thirty and eight acres in one hundred and one.

John McManus. The records show that two men of this name received land in Clark's Grant for services in the Illinois campaign as privates, one marked sc r and the other junior, which leaves the inference th. they were father and son. Each was granted one hundred and eight acres—the father in tracts seventy-four and two hundred and eighty-six, and the son in seventy-four and eleven. Will Book No. 1, at Louisville, Ky., page 177, contains the will of John McManus.

William Swan was allotted one hundred and eight acres of land for services in the Illinois campaign as a private soldier.

*History of the Falls Cities.

John Means died in Montgomery county, Kentucky, in 1839, leaving several children; some of the family removed to Indiana. They came to the west from Pennsylvania.

William Faith was from Pennsylvania and probably drifted to what is now McLean, or Davis county, Kentucky, at least he has, or had, descendants in both these counties. There are two traditions as to his death. One that he was killed by the Indians, the other that he was badly wounded but recovered, and was drowned in attempting to cross Green river.

Andrew Kimbly was born in Holland and died in Muhlenburgh county, Kentucky, about 1825, probably eighty-eight years of age. His son Isaac had the distinction of being born on Corn island, in 1779, during its occupancy by Clark's forces. He was living in Orange county, Indiana, in 1852, at or near Orleans, where he died soon after.

James Graham was the father of the distinguished Dr. C. C. Graham, who died in extreme old age at Louisville, where he was long considered an authority upon early historical subjects, and it is upon his statement that his father is named as one of the Corn island inhabitants in 1778.

The names of William Faith, John Means, Isaac Kimbly, James Graham, John Donne, Joseph Hunter, Jacob Reager, John Sinclair and Robert Travis are not found on the roll of persons allotted land in Clark's Grant for services in the Illinois campaign, but they may have been on Corn island with the first settlers as their absence from that

roll indicates only that they were not in service in the Illinois campaign long enough to be entitled to land.*

CAPTAIN EDWARD WORTHINGTON.

Edward Worthington was a man of affairs in Kentucky for a long time; at least a man of that name is frequently mentioned in the history of that state, who is presumably the same who was with Clark. He was engaged in surveying, or marking, land on Bear Grass creek, not far from the falls of the Ohio, and raised a crop of corn there as far back as 1775. He was wounded at McClellan's fort, in what is now Scott county, December 29, 1776, at the time it was attacked by the Indians. He went from there in the next month to Harrodstown with George Rogers Clark. Established Worthington's fort, four miles southeast of Danville, in 1779. There was an "Ed. Worthington" in the legislature from Mercer county in 1818, but whether the same who was with Clark the writer does not know.† He may have been at Corn island in

* Mr. Durrett in the Centenary of Louisville gives the names of the several members of the following families said to have been with the first settlers on Corn island:

James Patton, his wife Mary, and three daughters, Martha, Peggy, and Mary.

Richard Chenowith, his wife Hannah, and their four children, Mildred, Jane, James and Thomas.

John McManus, his wife Mary, and three sons, John, George, and James.

John Tewell, his wife Mary, and three children, Ann, Winnie, and Jessie.

William Faith, his wife Elizabeth, and their son John.

Jacob Reager, his wife Elizabeth, and three children, Sarah, Mariah, Henry.

Edward Worthington, his wife Mary, his son Charles, and his two sisters, Mary (Mrs. James Graham) and Elizabeth (Mrs. Jacob Reager).

James Graham and his wife Mary.

John Donne, his wife Martha, and their son John.

Isaac Kimbly and his wife Mary.

Joseph Hunter, and his children, Joseph, David, James, Martha (Mrs. John Donne), and Ann.

Neal Dougherty, Samuel Perkins, John Sinclair, and Robert Travis.

† Collins's Kentucky, 22, 178, 615, 367, 604.

1778, and was probably at the capture of Vincennes the next year. He was granted three thousand two hundred and thirty-four acres of land for his services as a captain in the Illinois campaign, viz.: tracts 33, 67, 69, 131, 176, 199, and B. 264.

During the time of the occupancy of Corn island by Clark's party, there was some coming and going of families, as there were settlements at that period at several stations and places in Kentucky.

When the news of the establishment of the post spread abroad it brought other families to the island. Clark so states and also says that it was "one of the causes of the rapid settlement of Kentucky." These additions and changes increased the confusion and uncertainty as to the number of families that remained on the island, and who they were.

There is also some uncertainty as to the number of soldiers left as a guard, but there evidently were not many. Captain Bowman speaks of them as "a few men." It is known who some of them were. There were probably not over ten, if that many, as already stated.

It may be well to examine as to how many soldiers were added to Clark's forces after his arrival at the falls, and how many went with him in the campaign. It will be remembered that in Clark's letter to Mason he says, he left Red Stone on the 12th of May, 1778, "with about one hundred and fifty men," and that twenty families followed him, "much against his inclination." It may be taken for granted that this is the best evidence of the number he brought with him to the falls. Now what additions were

made after his arrival there? In the opinion of the writer the number has generally been exaggerated. Butler's Kentucky says, "the forces of the country were found too weak to justify taking many from Kentucky. Clark, therefore, engaged but one company and part of another from this quarter." The "one company" was Montgomery's, and the "part of another" probably Harrod's, but there could not have been many of either. Clark brought with him to the falls one hundred and fifty men; he left "a few men," say ten, as guards at Corn island.

The question arises, how many went with him in his campaign against Kaskaskia? In Captain Bowman's letter to his uncle, Colonel Hite, he says, "from thence (the falls) we continued down the Ohio, moving day and night, with about one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty men." In his letter to his brother-in-law, Brinker, he says, "we left there (at Corn island) eight or ten families with a few men to guard them, thence (we went) down the river, (with) about one hundred and seventy-five men," thus making an average of the number stated in the other letter. It does not seem that Clark, or any one else, in a position to know, ever made a statement as to the number which conflicts with this, twice repeated, statement of Bowman, made at the very time of the campaign. Clark says "we found on examination (at the falls) that we were much weaker than expected." It is probably a fair conclusion, therefore, that Clark brought with him to the falls about one hundred and fifty men; that thirty-five or forty were added to his forces while at the falls; that he left not exceeding ten guards on Corn Island,

and took with him on the Kaskaskia campaign about one hundred and seventy-five men. It is possible that the officers should be added to the number, but it is the author's belief that the effective force with him in the campaign against Kaskaskia did not, at any time, exceed two hundred, which was certainly less than half the number he at one time expected.

A crisis had now arrived in Colonel Clark's affairs. His prospects were anything but encouraging. He had encountered unexpected obstacles and disappointments from the time his recruiting commenced. He had estimated that the complete success of his enterprise required a force of five hundred men. At one time he thought he would secure the number wanted before he left Kentucky, but his expectations were not realized, not because of any fault of his, but from causes which seemed to be unavoidable.

The time for moving forward had arrived, and here he was with less than two hundred men; some had already withdrawn without leave, and he did not know what might ensue now that the nature of the campaign was known, to his men, for the first time.

It was a turning point, not only in his life, but possibly in the destiny of the country, for if the expedition had broken up then who knows what would have been the future of the vast territory northwest of the Ohio river, or where would have been the present boundaries of the United States? If he had hesitated he probably would have failed, but, fortunately, he was equal to the great occasion. His weak and desperate condition inspired him to greater effort, and it even had a charm for him. He

says, as already quoted, "I knew my case was desperate, but the more I reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased with the enterprise."

He realized that inaction was now his greatest danger, and that an immediate movement against the enemy was the best and only way to hold his forces and win success. He had been carefully preparing for the movement and now the important time had arrived. The necessary orders were therefore given for starting on the campaign the next morning.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM CORN ISLAND TO THE CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA.

Time of the departure of the expedition announced—Effect of the announcement—Character of the troops—Exciting scenes of the departure—Voyage down the Ohio—Land on an island at the mouth of the Tennessee—Joined by a party of hunters—March across the country towards Kaskaskia—Unjust distrust of the new-found hunter-guide—Suffer for food—Capture Kaskaskia by surprise—Description of the place, and events connected with the capture—Rochblave, the commandant, a prisoner—Conduct of Rochblave and wife—Alleged incidents connected with taking the fort, and Colonel Clark and Simon Kenton's connection therewith—Sketch of Kenton.

AT the same time that the object of the contemplated campaign of Colonel Clark was disclosed to his soldiers, notice was given that the expedition would start early next morning, and that every man must be ready by the dawn.

The effect of this announcement can better be imagined than described. The rest of that day and most of the ensuing night were occupied in getting ready for departure the following morning. Here was a new scene and a new sensation for the yet unnamed Corn island.

Here on this little island, never before inhabited, except by birds and beasts, or Indians more savage than beasts, were these first white visitors, already far away from home, now summoned still further into a comparatively unknown wilderness upon a dangerous and doubtful mission.

Here, surrounded by gigantic trees, never before vexed by the ax of the woodman; cane brakes, wild flowers,

vines and vegetation, almost tropical in luxuriance; within hearing of the waters of a mighty river flowing on either side, and voicing, in never-ending tones, its roar of displeasure that the impediment of the falls should attempt to retard its flow to the sea; here, with a vast wilderness in every direction, and savage foes within easy reach, was then to be witnessed this heroic little band, in the great stir and excitement of hasty preparation, with all the attendants calculated to arouse the deepest emotions of the human heart. Some of the men were leaving families on the island, and all were leaving friends. Each felt he was going upon a desperate enterprise, from which he might not return, and there were tender last hours, and last words between those who might never meet again.

But there were brave hearts there, longing for active service, and quite ready to win either "glory or the grave." In fact, all the troops remaining were good and true. The weak, the wavering, the faint-hearted, had either backed out, or been weeded out, and every man now of the force was experienced, faithful, and the highest type of a hardy and patriotic citizen-soldier. They were ready for duty, and the day of departure had come.

THE DEPARTURE.

It was a bright morning in June, 1778, the twenty-fourth day, when Clark's forces embarked in the boats which had been prepared to transport them down the river. It was the season of the year immediately after the usual spring rains, and it is probable the river was either at a high or fair stage of water. There was, besides, in these early days,

a greater flow of water in the river, and greater obstructions at the falls, than at present. In fact the drying up of the country and the removal of rock from the bed has since made it a comparatively tame affair. The passage over, however, at any time, is calculated to awaken sensations of deep interest and anxiety. What then must have been the feelings of this little army, at that time already full of the excitement incident to departure?

And, as if this were not enough to excite them to the highest pitch, nature provided for the occasion one of those grand events which has been thrilling and awe-inspiring in all ages of the world. This was a great eclipse of the sun, which occurred in the forenoon of that eventful day. It was very nearly total; four-fifths at least of the sun's disc being obscured at the falls of the Ohio, and "it was one of the recurrences of the great eclipse of 1868" which so many now living well remember. These statements in relation to this eclipse are fully vouched for in a letter written at "Washington, July 22, 1886," by Mr. Silas Newcomb, then chief of the national observatory, and superintendent of the Nautical Almanac, which says:

"I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of July 20th, inquiring whether an eclipse of the sun was visible at Louisville, Kentucky, about the 1st of June, 1778.* I find by reference to the ephemerides that on the morning of June 24, 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.

*This inquiry was made at the request of Colonel R. T. Durrett who kindly furnished the author a copy of the letter.

"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, S. NEWCOMB.

"MR. W. S. BURNHAM."

On the 19th of July, 1778, Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter from Monticello, Virginia, to David Rittenhouse, the celebrated astronomer, in which he said: "We were much disappointed in Virginia generally, on the day of the great eclipse, which proved to be cloudy. In Williamsburg, where it was total, I understood only the beginning was to be seen. At this place, which in lat. 38.8, and longitude west from Williamsburg, about 1.45, as is conjectured, 11 digits only were supposed to be covered. It was not seen at all until the moon had advanced nearly one-third over the sun's disc. Afterwards it was seen at intervals through the whole. The egress particularly was visible." *

If Clark's departure at the very time of the occurrence of this eclipse was accidental the coincidence is very singular, and it may be that he had some information of its expected occurrence, and took advantage of it. At all events the departure was attended with surroundings but seldom, if ever, equaled in awe-inspiring effect. It was a fitting introduction of an event humble in itself, but truly great and far-reaching in its ultimate results.

*Jefferson's Works, Vol. 1, p. 210.

CLARK'S ARMY GOING OVER THE FALLS OF THE OHIO.

"We left our little Island and ran about a mile up the river in order to gain the main channel, and shot the falls at the very moment of the sun being in a great eclipse." Clark's Memoir.

THE VOYAGE DOWN THE RIVER.

It will probably be better to give the passage over the falls and voyage down the river in Clark's own words. In his memoir, he says, that "on the (24th) 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 falls at the very moment of the sun being in a great eclipse, which caused various conjectures among the superstitious. As I knew that spies were kept on the river, below the town of the Illinois, I had resolved to march part of the way by land; and of course left the whole of our baggage, except as much as would equip us in the Indian mode. The whole of our force, after leaving such as was judged not competent to the expected fatigue, consisted only of four companies, commanded by Captains John Montgomery, Joseph Bowman, Leonard Helm and William Herrod. My force being so small to what I expected, owing to the various circumstances already mentioned, I found it necessary to alter my plans of operation. As Post Vincennes, at this time, was a town of considerable force, consisting of near four hundred militia, with an Indian town adjoining, and great numbers continually in the neighborhood, and in the scale of Indian affairs of more importance than any other, I had thought of attacking it first; but now found that I could by no means venture near it. I resolved to begin my career in the Illinois, where there was more inhabitants, but scattered in different villages, and less danger of being immediately overpowered by the Indians. In case of necessity we could, probably, make our retreat

CLARK'S ARMY GOING OVER THE FALLS OF THE OHIO.

"We left our little island and run about a mile up the river in order to gain the main channel, and shot the falls at the very moment of the sun being in a great eclipse."—Clark's Memoir.

to the Spanish side of the Mississippi; but if successful, we might pave our way to the possession of Post Vincennes. I had fully acquainted myself that the French inhabitants in those western settlements had great influence among the Indians in general, and were more beloved by them than any other Europeans—that their commercial intercourse was universal throughout the western and northwestern countries—and that the governing interest on the lakes was mostly in the hands of the English, who were not much beloved by them. These, 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 French inhabitants to our interest, and give us influence at a greater distance than the country we were aiming for. These were the principles that influenced my future conduct; and, fortunately, I had just received a letter from Colonel Campbell, dated Pittsburg, informing me of the contents of the treaties between France and America. As I intended to leave the Ohio at Fort Massac, three leagues below the Tennessee, I landed on a small island in the mouth of that river in order to prepare for the march."

The journey from the falls to this island had been made in four days, the boats having been run day and night with relays of oarsmen. A few hours after their landing on the island a boat appeared having a party of hunters on board. It is not said how many were in the party, but there were probably not over half a dozen, if that many. The boat was required to land and the party proved to be friendly. They had left Kaskaskia eight days before, and communicated much valuable information as to the condi-

tion of affairs at that place. They were anxious to join Clark's expedition, and after examining them particularly, and consulting with his officers, consent was given. It was plainly seen that their familiarity with the country would, of itself, be of great advantage, and there was a feeling, on all hands, that it was a valuable acquisition, still it must be admitted there was considerable risk in adopting these men on such short acquaintance.

Governor John Reynolds, in his very interesting Pioneer History of Illinois, to which there will be occasion to refer frequently, says Clark "engaged John Saunders, one of Duff's hunting party, to be his guide to Kaskaskia. The whole hunting party were willing to return with Clark, but he took only one of them." The author believes he took at least two, and probably more.

John Duff is spoken of as the head of the hunting party, and the official record shows that he was allotted one hundred and eight acres of land in Clark's Grant, Indiana, for services in the Illinois campaign, being tract A, No. 86, one hundred acres, and eight acres in No. 141. No doubt he, as well as Sanders, went with Clark, and others of the hunting party also probably went.

MARCH ACROSS THE WILDERNESS.*

Governor Reynolds is more accurate in describing Clark and his situation when they started across the country from the river. "Clark's warriors," he says, "had no wagons, pack horses, or other means of conveyance of their munitions of war, or baggage, other than their own robust and hardy selves. Colonel Clark himself was nature's favorite,

* Map of this route will be found in Chapter X, this volume.

in his person as well as mind. He was large and athletic, capable of enduring much; yet formed with such noble symmetry and manly beauty that he combined much grace and elegance, together with great firmness of character. He was grave and dignified in his deportment; agreeable and affable with his soldiers, when relaxed from duty; but in a crisis—when the fate of his campaign was at stake, or the lives of his brave warriors were in danger—his deportment became stern and severe. His appearance, in these perils, indicated, without language, to his men, that every soldier must do his duty."

He adds that "the country between Fort Massacre and Kaskaskia, at that day, 1778, was a wilderness of one hundred and twenty miles, and contained, much of it, a swampy and difficult road." In another place he says: "In very ancient times a military road was opened and marked, each mile on a tree, from Massac to Kaskaskia. The numbers of the miles were cut in ciphers with an iron and painted red. Such I saw them in 1800. This road made a great curve to the north to avoid the swamps and rough country on the sources of Cash river, and also to obtain the prairie country as soon as possible. This road was first made by the French when they had the dominion of the country and was called the old Massac road by the Americans." It is not likely, however, that there was much, if any, trace of a road at the time Clark's little army passed across this wilderness in 1778.

From the letters of Captain Joseph Bowman to Hite and Brinker, it is known that the party went down the Ohio river from the falls, moving day and night, and seeing a

great many Indian signs, until within fifty or sixty miles of the mouth, when they ran their boats up a small creek, in the night, and hid them, not having men enough to leave a guard. This hiding of the boats was of course after the stop on the island in the mouth of the Tennessee, as Clark's memoir says, "having everything prepared we moved down to a little gully, a small distance above Massac, in which we concealed our boats, etc." In the letter to Mason, he says, he allowed his forces to repose one night at the river, where the boats had been hid, "and in the morning took a route to the northwest, and had a very fatiguing journey for about fifty miles, until we came into those level plains that are frequent throughout this extensive country. As I knew my success depended on secrecy, I was much afraid of being discovered in these meadows, as we might be seen, in many places, for several miles."

THE BEWILDERED GUIDE.

"On the third day," says the memoir, "John Sanders, our principal guide, appeared confused, and we soon discovered that he was totally lost, without there was some other cause of his present conduct. I asked him various questions, and from his answers I could scarcely determine what to think of him; whether or not that he was lost, or that he wished to deceive us. . . . The cry of the whole detachment was that he was a traitor. He begged 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 go, but that I was suspicious of him from his conduct, that from the first day

of his being employed, he always said he knew the way well, that there was now a different appearance, that I saw the nature of the country was such that a person once acquainted with 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 hunter's road that led from the east into Kaskaskia, which he had frequently described, I would have him immediately put to death, which I was determined to have done; but after a search of an hour or two he came to a place that he knew perfectly; and we discovered that the poor fellow had been, as they call it, bewildered."

So far from being a traitor Sanders proved himself to be a useful and faithful soldier, and was rewarded for his services by an allotment of one hundred and eight acres of land in Clark's Grant.* He seems to have removed to the falls of the Ohio, but retained his fondness for hunting, and went into it as a business a few years after the Illinois campaign, under a contract with his old commander, which is so full of novelty and historic interest that it and a pioneer system of banking on deposits of the skins of animals which Sanders inaugurated about that time will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

ARRIVAL AT KASKASKIA.

"On the evening of the 4th of July," continues Clark, "we got within three miles of the town of Kaskaskia, having a river of the same name to cross to the town. After

*Eight acres in tract No. 74 and one hundred acres in tract A, No. 174.

making ourselves ready for anything that might 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, and found plenty of boats to cross in, and in two hours transported ourselves to the other shore with the greatest silence.

"I learned that they had some suspicion of being attacked, 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 governor, Mr. Rochblave, in fifteen minutes had every street secured, sent runners through the town, ordering the people, on pain of death, to keep close to their houses, which they observed, and before daylight had the whole town disarmed."*

Thus were the British dispossessed, forever, of this important military post, and of the old historic town of Kaskaskia, about which lingers more romantic interest, probably, than any other in the Mississippi Valley. Beginning near the time of La Salle, it was the capital of the Illinois country during the dominion of France, England, and Virginia. It was a leading town of the Northwest territory, from its organization to 1800, and then of Indiana territory to 1809. It was the capital of Illinois during the territorial period, and for some time after the organization of that state. It was then, probably, at its zenith. "In olden times," says Governor John Reynolds somewhat extravagantly, "Kaskaskia was to Illinois what Paris is at this day

*Clark's letter to Mason.

to France. Both were, at their respective days, the great emporiums of fashion, gayety, and, I must say, happiness also. In the year 1721, the Jesuits erected a monastery and college in Kaskaskia, and a few years afterwards it was chartered by the government. Kaskaskia was for many years the largest town west of the Allegheny Mountains. It was a tolerable place before the existence of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or New Orleans." But since Governor Reynolds wrote this Kaskaskia has unfortunately fallen into decay, and its glory has departed. It is no longer even the county seat of the county in which it is situated.

It is marvelous that a military post, well provided with soldiers, cannon, and provisions, in an old town of several hundred families, should have been captured, without the firing of a gun, by less than two hundred tired and hungry backwoodsmen, without cannon, army supplies, transportation, or even food. This little band had been four days on the river, rowing, by turns, day and night, and for the next six days marching across a wild and unknown country, without roads, much of it brush or swamp, and in the range of savage foes, making ten days of continuous strain and labor, and the last two without food.

They were also subjected to constant anxiety for fear of discovery by savage Indians or British scouts. Indians were numerous, and noted for skill in discovering approaching foes. This danger was greatly increased as the Americans approached the town, and especially during the hours they spent at, or near, the public ferry, in its immediate vicinity. Notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers that stood in their way they were "determined," as Cap-

tain Bowman says, "to capture the town or die in the attempt." He also says, "it was so fortified that it might have successfully fought a thousand men;" and yet this foot-sore, hungry, but daring handful of Americans, determined to capture it, by surprise if possible, but to capture it at any cost.

It is almost beyond comprehension that the place was so completely taken by surprise. There must have been the best of good fortune, in addition to the exercise of great prudence and good judgment on the part of the Americans. The slightest mistake, or accident, might have led to their discovery and destruction.

There was evident neglect on the part of the officers of the post in not making sufficient effort to prevent a surprise. Judging by its then unguarded condition, Rochblave, the commandant, was unfit in a military sense for the position he occupied, yet he was not wholly negligent, as he had asked the higher authorities in vain for additional troops. However, greater vigilance and efficiency on the part of those he already had, seems to have been the need, rather than more men.

MRS. ROCHBLAVE'S ARTFUL DECEPTION AND THE ALLEGED GALLANTRY OF THE AMERICANS.

Butler's Kentucky, after stating that Rochblave, the British governor, was taken in his chamber, says that "Very few of his public papers could be secured, as they were secreted or destroyed, it was supposed, by his wife. This lady is represented as presuming a good deal on the gallantry of our countrymen, by imposing upon their deli-

cacy towards herself for the purpose of screening the public property and papers from the hands of the Americans. But better, ten thousand times better, were it so, than that the ancient fame of the sons of Virginia should have been tarnished by insult to a female. Although it was suspected that many important papers might be concealed in the trunks of the governor's lady, they were, however, honorably respected and not examined."

It is doubtful, however, whether there is sufficient evidence on which to base these pretty sentiments of Mr. Butler. These "sons of Virginia" had a duty to perform to their country, and it is not probable that they let any fine-spun sentimentality stand in the way of the effective performance of that duty. These sturdy, excited and toil-worn soldiers were ready enough, no doubt, to show the greatest respect and forbearance to a womanly woman, under all circumstances, but they were not likely to shrink from the performance of even a disagreeable duty towards a woman maintaining the attitude of a public enemy or playing into the hands of a public enemy. That she successfully concealed the public papers of the governor, to any material extent in the artful manner stated, is probably a pleasing fiction emanating from the imagination of some informant of the gallant author. At all events there is a positive statement of Bowman, in his letter to Hite, "that Rochblave was made a 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 Michilimackinac, to set the Indians upon us, with great rewards for our scalps; for which he has a salary of

CAPTURE OF ROCHBLAVE, THE BRITISH COMMANDANT OF KASKASKIA.

£200 sterling per year." Besides, the bearing of the Rochblave family proved so generally offensive that their personal property, the slaves, were taken from them, sold, and the proceeds, about $4,000, divided among the soldiers, which would not seem to be very consistent with the delicate consideration for their feelings as claimed. In fact the treatment of the Rochblave family by Clark was probably considered by Governor Henry as a little too harsh, as he afterwards directed that "the 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." In the meantime Rochblave, who had been sent as a prisoner to Virginia, was released on parole. This he managed to violate, under circumstances, it is said, not creditable to him as a man of honor. Hamilton's narrative says Rochblave "made his escape and after great risks and difficulties got to New York."

CAPTURE OF FORT GAGE AND ITS COMMANDER.

As to the capture of the fort and its commander, Captain Bowman's manuscript letter to Brinker says, "about midnight we marched into the town without (being) discovered. We pitched for the fort and took possession. The commanding officer we catched in bed, and immediately confined him. His name is Philip Rochblave, a Frenchman, who is to be conducted to Williamsburg with all the instructions which he has had from time to time, from the governors of Detroit and Quebec," etc., as already quoted.

Clark merely says, "I broke into the fort (and) secured the governor;" but this simple and direct statement has sometimes been considerably enlarged and adorned. A pretty story is prettily told in that very interesting and valuable work, "The Winning of the West," of Clark's first appearance within the fort of Kaskaskia: "Inside the fort the lights were lit, and through the windows came the sounds of violins. The officers of the fort had given a ball, and the mirth-loving creoles, young men and girls, were dancing and reveling within, while the sentinels had left their posts. One of his captives showed Clark a postern-gate by the river-side, and through this he entered the fort, having placed his men roundabout at the entrance. Advancing to the great hall where the revel was held, he leaned silently with folded arms against the door-post, looking at the dancers. An Indian, lying on the floor of the entry, gazed intently on the stranger's face as the light from the torches within flickered across it, and suddenly sprang to his feet uttering the unearthly war-whoop. Instantly the dancing ceased; the women screamed, while the men ran towards the door. But Clark, standing unmoved and with unchanged face, grimly bade them continue their dancing, but to remember that they now danced under Virginia and not Great Britain. At the same time his men burst into the fort, and seized the French officers, including the Commandant Rochblave."

A foot note informs us that this story is based upon the statement of one Major Denny, and that he claimed to have received it from Clark, but the note significantly adds that "in process of repetition it evidently became twisted.

and, as related by Denny, there are some very manifest inaccuracies, but there seems to be no reason to reject it entirely." Perhaps it will be safest to set this ball incident down as a possibility, but not a probability, as nothing of the kind is related in either the Clark or Bowman letters. Reynold's Pioneer History of Illinois tells the story of the capture in this way: "Clark had no cannon, or means of assaulting the fort, and therefore must use stratagem. He found the garrison unprepared for defense. The brave and sagacious Simon Kenton commanded a detachment to enter the fort; they found a light burning in it. An American, a native of Pennsylvania, was there in the fort and conducted Kenton and his small party into it by a small back gate. This was a perilous situation for Kenton's men, to be housed up in a British strong fortification, if the gate had been shut on them. The noble Pennsylvanian was true to liberty and conducted them to the very bed chamber of the sleeping Governor Rochblave. The first notice Rochblave had that he was a prisoner was Kenton tapping him on the shoulder to awaken him."

SIMON KENTON.

The same authority says: "After the conquest of Kaskaskia, Colonel Clark sent Kenton with dispatches to the 'falls,' and to pass by Vincennes, in his route. Kenton lay concealed during the day, for three days, and reconnoitered the village of Vincennes during the nights. He acquitted himself, as usual, in this service, to the satisfaction of his general. He employed a trusty messenger to convey the

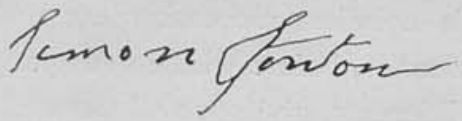
intelligence of the feelings, numbers, etc., of the people of Vincennes to Colonel Clark at Kaskaskia."

Whether these details are all strictly accurate or not, Kenton certainly served with Clark in the Illinois campaign, as he was granted land for that service. It is situated in Indiana, on Fourteen Mile creek, near the line dividing Clark and Scott counties, a few miles from Lexington, in a direction a little east of south. The author was born and reared in that village and has been on the land frequently. When a young man, he spent some time as a surveyor in tracing the lines dividing the original tracts in the northeastern part of the grant in the neighborhood of Kenton's land, and remembers as a fact creditable to the liberality, if not the accuracy, of the original surveyors, that none were found that fell short of the quantity originally designated, but many that exceeded it—some five-hundred-acre tracts having a surplus of nearly a hundred acres. The town of Washington to the northeast is somewhat nearer than Lexington to the Kenton land which is tract "E, No. 198," one hundred acres, and will be readily recognized on the official map of Clark's Grant, which appears elsewhere in this work. It has been the site of a water mill from an early period—called at one time Purviance's mill, and later Walker's mill—but is probably not in operation at this time. Kenton was only a private in the Illinois campaign, likely a scout or spy—at least he received only one hundred and eight acres of land, which was a private's quota. The other eight

SIMON KENTON.

acres are in tract No. 155, a few miles north of Charleston, on or near the Louisville branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

It is but little known even in that neighborhood that the land was served for by Kenton, and it is scarcely known anywhere that Kenton had a son, far above an average man in intelligence, who was at one time a member of the Indiana Legislature, but such is the fact. A sketch of him will appear in a subsequent volume with a great many others connected with Indiana history, some of them now forgotten, but whose names deserve to be rescued from oblivion. Simon Kenton stands with Daniel Boone in the front rank of western pioneers, and is so universally known that but little need be said of him here. He was not a stranger to Clark and his captains, for he was born in Fauquier county, Virginia, in 1755, and was in service with them in Dunmore's War.



Like many others he went into a new country because of an unfortunate violation of the law in the old. In his case, he supposed he had killed, in a fight, a rival for the affections of a woman, but it turned out that the man had only been dangerously wounded. He was long a noted spy and scout on the western frontier.

Shortly after the taking of Kaskaskia he was captured by the Indians and made to suffer almost every cruelty short of death. He was made to run the gauntlet eight times, but, aided by a fur-trader's wife, succeeded in making his escape, in July, 1779. He was again with Clark in cam-

paigns against the Indians in 1781–2; was in Wayne's campaign of 1793–4, as a major, and fought at the battle of the Thames in 1813. He became very poor in his old age, but at the time of his death in 1836, in Logan county, Ohio, had recovered some of his land, and was in receipt of a pension. A county in Kentucky bears his name. A writer who knew him personally has paid the following beautiful tribute to his memory: "Simple, rude, uneducated, and perhaps uncouth, he was yet the magician that changed the song of the wild-bird into the hum of human life. He followed the trail of the buffalo, and civilization followed him. After his noiseless moccasins came the heavy tramp of busy thousands, before whose strong arms disappeared the savage wilderness, giving us all that makes our existence pleasant and our country prosperous."*

*Donn Piatt.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA TO THE VINCENNES CAMPAIGN.

Clark's policy towards inhabitants of Kaskaskia—His own account of his intercourse with them—Meets Father Gibault—Sketch of this patriot priest—Services he rendered the Americans—Captain Joseph Bowman captures Cahokia and other villages—His account of the expedition—Description of the villages—Father Gibault sent to Vincennes in American interest—Secures allegiance of that people to American cause—Captain Helm placed in civil command there and Captain Williams of the military—Colonel William Linn sent with party to Corn Island—That post removed to main land—Captain Montgomery sent to Virginia with prisoners and dispatches—Captain Helm's adventures with Indians—Clark's superior skill in managing them—He visits Cahokia—Sends out spies—Receives vague information of forward movement of enemy from Detroit—His dangerous adventure at Prairie du Rocher—Returns to Kaskaskia—Finds great alarm there at rumored approach of the enemy—Sends for Bowman's company, and resorts to heroic remedies—News arrives of the capture of Vincennes by the British.

LEAVING the pioneer digression at the close of the last chapter, and returning to the events immediately following the capture of Kaskaskia, the substance of what Clark said upon the subject in his letter to George Mason will now be given. Nothing could exceed the confusion existing among the people of Kaskaskia, they having long been taught by the British officers to expect nothing but savage treatment from the Americans. Giving up all else as lost, they begged for their lives with the greatest

fervency. They were willing to be slaves to save their families. "I told them," says Clark, "it did not suit me to give them an answer at that time. They repaired to their houses, trembling as if they were (being) led to execution. My principles would not suffer me to distress such a number of people, except, through policy, it was necessary. A little reflection convinced me that it was my interest to attach them to me, according to my first plan, for the town of Cohos (Cahokia) and St. Vincents (Vincennes) and the numerous tribes of Indians attached to the French, were 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 enough to have defended themselves.

"I told them that I was sorry to find they had been taught to harbor so base an opinion of the Americans and their cause; explained 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 principle was to make those we reduced free, instead of enslaving them, as they imagined; that if I could have surety of their zeal and attachment to the American cause, they should immediately enjoy all the privileges of our government, and their property be secured to them; that it was only to stop the further effusion of innocent blood by the savages under the influence of their governor that made them objects of our attention, etc.

"No sooner had they heard this than (they) fell into transports of joy that really surprised me. As soon as they were little moderated they told me that they had always been kept in the dark as to the dispute between America and Britain; that they had never heard anything before but what was prejudicial and tended to incense 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 opportunity to convince me of their zeal, and think themselves the happiest people in the world if they were united with the Americans, and begged that I would receive what they said as their real sentiments.

"In order to be more certain of their sincerity, I told them that an oath of fidelity 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 except two or three particular persons; that they might repair to their families and conduct themselves as usual, without any dread."

It was about this time that a man appeared before Clark who was destined to be of incalculable service to him in all future operations for the conquest of the Illinois and Wabash country. No one living was more familiar with the inhabitants there, or could exercise so great an influence in moulding their action, as Pierre Gibault, who for ten years had been their loved and honored priest and reverend father. "To him, next to Clark and Vigo," says Judge John Law, in his History of

FATHER GIBAULT.

Vincennes, "the United States are more indebted for the accession of the states comprised in what was the original northwestern territory than to any other man."

Knowing his familiarity with the subject and his excellent judgment, the author requested Reverend Edm. J. P. Schmitt, of St. John's Rectory, Weltes, Ind., to furnish him with the most reliable information and authority available as to the early life and career of Father Gibault. He kindly sent the following:

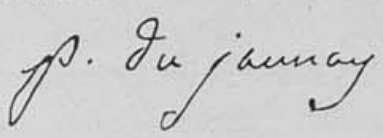
"The first priest sent to assist Father Meurin was the Rev. Peter Gibault, who had been educated at the Seminary of Quebec, on the last remnant of the Cahokia mission property, an annual payment of 333 livres.* He was ordained on the feast of St. Joseph, in the year 1768, and set out at once for the Illinois country, where he was to play a conspicuous part. He went with the full consent of the English authorities, and by General Gage's own desire.† His journey was delayed by constant rains; on reaching Michilimackinac, one of the posts within the district assigned to him, he began to hear confessions, remaining till late every night in order to accommodate all, for many of the voyageurs had not seen a priest for three years, and some

*A "rente" on the Hotel de Ville. In 1768 the seminary transferred all its rights in the Tamarois property to Bishop Briand and the fabrique of the parish of the Holy Family at Cahokia; but the English commanders in Illinois would not allow Rev. Mr. Meurin or Gibault to occupy the seminary estate, although the purchasers set up no claim. Cardinal Taschereau, "Histoire du Seminaire de Québec," inédite, Rev. P. Gibault to Bishop Briand, July 28, 1768, 177, *a*.

†Peter Gibault, son of Peter Gibault and Mary St. Jean, was born at Montreal, April 7, 1737. Tanguay, "Repertoire," p. 124; Mallet, "Very Rev. Pierre Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the West," in "Washington Catholic," September 30, 1882.

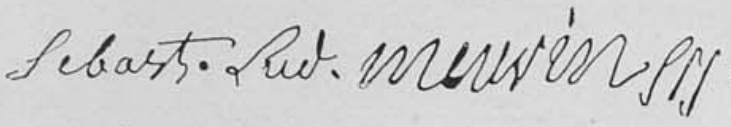
not even for ten. Rev. Mr. Gibault spent a week at the post to effect all the good possible, baptizing the children and blessing one marriage.*

"Some of the Indians whom Father Dujaunay had attended also came, and Reverend Mr. Gibault confessed



all who knew French enough to express themselves. These good Indians still mourned the loss of their missionary as much as they did the day he left them.

"It was apparently intended that Reverend Mr. Gibault should take up his residence at Cahokia, so as to revive the old Tamarois mission, but that settlement had dwindled away; the fine property, orchards, house, mills and barns erected by the seminary priests were crumbling to ruin; the church was little better. † Kaskaskia was the important place, and the inhabitants generally wished him to make it his residence. The disinterested Father Meurin,



to leave to the new missionary the more populous posts and best means of support, withdrew to Cahokia, spending part of his time at Prairie du Rocher, where the twenty settlers offered to build him a house and supply all his needs. In fact they gave him a horse and caleche, as well as a servant. The people of Kaskaskia, influenced by the

*Rev. P. Gibault to Bishop Briand, July 28, 1768; "Registre de Michilimackinac, July 23, 1768."

† Reverend P. Gibault to Bishop Briand, February 15, 1769, "Registre de l'Eglise Paroissale de l'Immaculée Conception de Notre Dame des Kaskaskias."

dominant party in Louisiana, were hostile to Father Meurin as a Jesuit, and many would not recognize him at all; indeed not ten men had been to communion in four years. Reverend Mr. Gibault, accordingly, took up his residence at Kaskaskia, where he was well received by the British commandant, and on the 8th of September, 1768, he records a baptism in the 'Register of the Immaculate Conception,' styling himself 'parish priest at Kaskaskia.' He also visited Saint Genevieve, which Father Meurin could enter only by stealth at night, but that veteran visited Fort Chartres and St. Philippe.

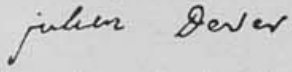
"The young Canadian priest entered on his duties with zeal and energy, but was soon prostrated by the western fever, violent at first, then slow and enervating, but he rallied, and went bravely on with the work before him, the magnitude of which became daily more appalling. At Kaskaskia by having prayers every night in the church, and by catechetical instructions four times every week, he revived faith and devotion. He brought nearly all to their Easter duty in 1769, and a better spirit prevailed, the tithes being promptly paid.* Besides Kaskaskia there were other villages and hamlets; it was only by constant travel that he was able to reach the scattered Catholics, who had long been deprived of the service of a priest. Besides the inhabitants of French origin and the Indians of the former missions, he found the Catholics in the Eighteenth (Royal Irish) regiment, which was stationed at Kaskaskia, the commandant giving the men every facility to attend to their religion.†

*Reverend P. Gibault to Bishop Briand, February 15, 1769.

†Reverend P. Gibault to Bishop Briand, June 15, 1769. "Pennsylvania Packet," October 5, 1772.

"The next year Reverend Mr. Gibault blessed the little wooden chapel which had been erected at Paincourt, our modern St. Louis.*

"Vincennes on the Wabash, although a place of some eighty or ninety families, had not seen a priest since Father Devernai was carried off in 1763; as a natural consequence of this condition, vice and ignorance were becoming dominant; yet the people earnestly solicited a priest. There were two clusters of Catholics at St. Joseph's river, and some at Peoria, Ouiatenon, and other points.†



"Bishop Briand encouraged these isolated priests, and gave them wise and temperate counsels for their conduct in correcting evils that had grown up while the people were left without priest or sacrifice.‡ Evidently at the instance of Father Meurin and to give that missionary greater authority, the bishop of Quebec had made the Rev. Mr. Gibault his vicar-general. That priest succeeded in inducing the people to resume the payment of their tithes, which, though only as in Canada one twenty-sixth of the produce, not one-tenth, amounted in 1769 to two or three hundred bushels of wheat and five or six hundred of Indian corn.

"In the winter of 1769–70, Very Rev. Mr. Gibault set out for Vincennes, although hostile Indians waylaid the

*Doherty, "Address on the Centenary of the Cathedral Church of St. Louis," St. Louis, 1876, p. 6.

†Father S. L. Meurin to Bishop Briand, June 14, 1769. At Ouiatenon there were fourteen French families, and nine or ten at the junction of the St. Joseph's and Mary's. Rev. Mr. Gibault replied to the Catholics of Vincennes, March 27, 1769.

‡Bishop Briand to Father Meurin, March 22, 1770.

roads killing and scalping many. Already he could report that twenty-two of his people had fallen victims to the savage foe since he reached the Illinois country. The frontier priest always, in these days of peril, carried a gun and two pistols.*

"Already in 1788 Father Gibault had requested the bishop of Quebec to recall him from Vincennes, where at the time he had taken up his residence. When his petition addressed to Governor St. Clair for the piece of land in Cahokia was granted, or seems to have been granted, Bishop Carroll immediately protested against this attempt to alienate church property to an individual clergyman. 'Apparently in consequence,' says Shea, 'the Rev. Mr. Gibault left the diocese of Baltimore and retired to the Spanish territory beyond the Mississippi.' He finally settled at New Madrid, where he died early in 1804." †

The petition of Father Gibault to Governor St. Clair, referred to in the foregoing communication from Father Schmitt, humbly asked that a personal concession be made to him of five acres of land near Cahokia, in his name as an individual and not as a priest, on which he proposed to have a dwelling and an orchard where he might quietly spend his few remaining years. He modestly recites, as a basis for his request, that he had risked his life and sacrificed his little property to aid the Americans under Colonel George Rogers Clark. That in order to give them credit with his parishioners he had sold his property for American paper dollars when he could have sold it for an equal amount

*Pp. 124–128, Vol. II, Shea. History of Catholic Church in America.

†Letter of Father Schmitt, October 15, 1895.

of Spanish milled dollars, and now the paper dollars were worthless in his hands, whereby he had lost at least $1,500, which had "obliged him to sell two good slaves, who would now be the support of his old age, and for the want of whom he now finds himself dependent on the public who do not always keep their promises even when well served." These and other reasons are given, in touching language in the memorial, explaining why his request was made and why it should be granted. It was indeed pitiful that he should have been so reduced in his old age as to be driven to ask a concession of a little "patch" of five acres of ground from a government to whose boundaries he had materially aided in adding an empire, as will be shown further on. But he did not receive even the "little garden patch" he so humbly solicited.

General St. Clair forwarded his petition to the secretary of state at Washington, saying: "I believe no injury would be done to any one by his request being granted, but it was not for me to give away the lands of the United States." Before there was further action, the point that the land was church property was raised, as stated in Father Schmitt's communication, and so poor Father Gibault never secured the coveted five acres on which to plant his "vine and fig tree."

There was no reason, however, why his great services should not have been properly recognized, but they never were.* As far as the author is advised, no county, town

*Notwithstanding Governor St. Clair said it was not for him to give away the lands of the United States, Winthrop Sergeant, the secretary of the Northwest territory, and then acting as governor, did make a concession of land at Vincennes to Father Gibault, but of so little consequence, and so vaguely described,

or post-office bears his name; no monument has been erected to his memory and no head-stone even marks his grave, as its location is entirely unknown.

It was well for him that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven where meritorious deeds such as his find reward since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth.

Let us now look further into the part he took in the events which resulted in the acquisition of "the territory northwest of the river Ohio."

During the long period between Father Gibault's arrival in the Illinois country and the capture of Kaskaskia he was a leading character in everything pertaining to the spiritual, social, educational and material prosperity of the ancient French villages. The good priest and these unsophisticated, humble, but honest and loving people, were bound together by the closest and tenderest of ties; and it is not at all surprising that he had great influence with them.

There could not, in the very nature of things, be much sympathy on the part of priest or people with the English, who had so recently supplanted the French as rulers, and this state of feeling undoubtedly goes far to account for the wonderful success of Clark in capturing and holding possession of the rest of the Illinois and Wabash country. In order to bring about harmony and good feeling it was only

as to border on the ridiculous. It was made in July, 1790, only a few months after he had asked for the concession of the five acres at Cahokia and reads as follows: "Rev. Peter Gibault, a lot about fourteen *toises*, one side to Mr. Millet, another to Mr. Vaudray, *and to two streets*." The names of the streets are not even stated.

necessary to remove the idea, which the British authorities had endeavored to instill into their minds, that the Americans were savage and brutal. Clark understood, thoroughly, the importance of securing this unity of good feeling, and he had lent himself to seeming severity against the people, for a time, only to benefit by the great reaction which he knew would immediately follow when they realized that it was the British rulers he regarded as enemies, and not the French inhabitants. The time for showing this had now arrived, and fortunately the representative of the people on this occasion was Father Gibault.

Accompanied by a party of aged citizens, this good priest waited on Clark and asked that the inhabitants be permitted to assemble in the church for the purpose of conferring together in their distressed condition, and holding religious services. Clark assented in such a cordial manner, and gave such assurances that it was not his purpose to interfere with their religion, or do them any injury, that he completely won them over to the American cause, especially Gibault, their leader, who was at heart not in sympathy with the British, and quite willing to see their government of the country overthrown, if it could be done without detriment to his church or people. Satisfied on these points, he was from that hour a tower of strength to the Americans. The meeting at the church was attended by the inhabitants generally, Clark giving orders for the protection of their houses during their absence.

At this meeting Gibault and the committee of influential citizens, who had waited on Clark, succeeded in entirely removing the anxiety and alarm of the common people,

who, in accordance with their impressible natures, went immediately to the opposite extreme of rejoicing at their happy deliverance from what they had before regarded as an impending calamity. The change speedily bore fruit in offers of military assistance from the inhabitants, and an offer of Gibault to win the allegiance of the important town of Vincennes without the use of troops.

CAPTURE OF CAHOKIA AND OTHER VILLAGES.

But before taking up this movement to secure Vincennes some account should be given of an important expedition previously made in the opposite direction. Immediately after the capture of Kaskaskia, Clark hastened to send a part of his force to take possession of the French villages up the Mississippi, and especially Cahokia, an important place of one hundred families on the east side of that river, a few miles below where St. Louis is now situated. Captain Joseph Bowman, always a favorite officer of Clark, was detailed for this critical service, with a detachment of thirty mounted men. Athough weary from marching and loss of sleep, the necessity of taking these towns by surprise was so apparent that they started the evening of the first day of the occupancy of Kaskaskia, and the men were three successive nights without sleep, most of the time in the saddle.

Bowman wrote a short account of this expedition, now in the author's possession, which has never been published. In it he says: "This town (Kaskaskia) consists of about two hundred and fifty families, and fortified strong enough to (have resisted) 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 Kaskaskies, called Parra de Rushi (Prairie du Rocher). 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. Phillips, 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 (we went) to Cauhow (Cahokia) between forty and fifty miles above St. Phillips. 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 to the states; otherwise I should treat them as enemies. They told me they would give me an answer the next morning. I then took possession of a strong stone house, well fortified for war, and soon got word that a man in the town would immediately raise one hundred and fifty Indians, who were near at hand, and cut me off. I, being on my guard, happened to find out the person and confined him, and lay on

our arms that night—this being the third night we had not closed our eyes.

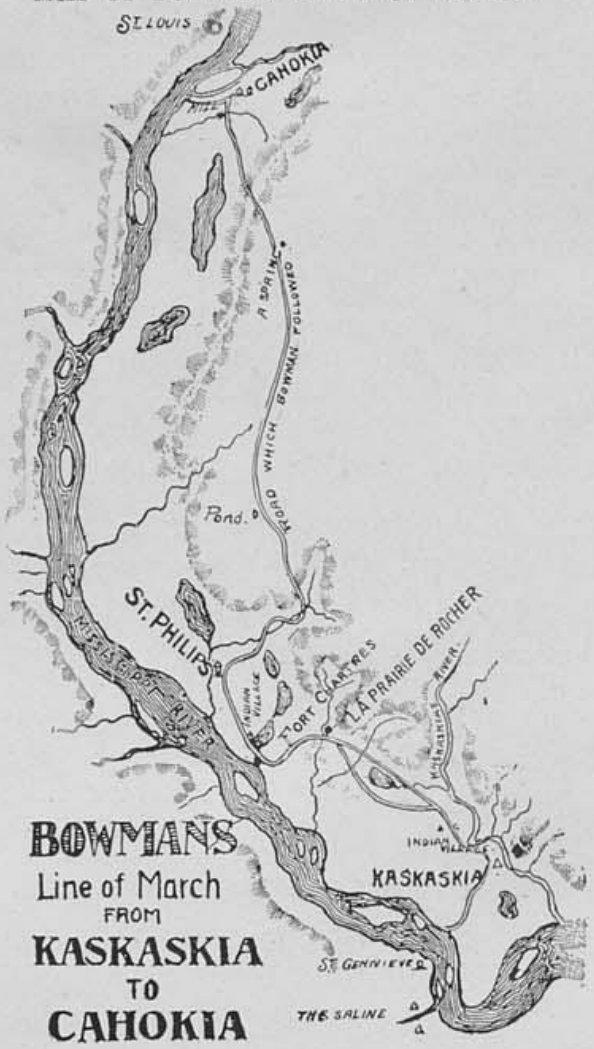
"The next morning I assembled the inhabitants together, and before ten o'clock one hundred and five of them took the oath of fidelity to the states; and in less than ten days near three hundred took the oath, from the several towns, and seemed now much attached to the American cause. But as this part of the country lies so remote from any other part, and the Indians, being always furnished here with goods by the British officers, and they offering large rewards for our scalps, I do not think it prudent to leave this place without a commander and being willing to do everything 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 had, without any kind of doubt, the whole influence over several (Indian) 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 . . . * it is evident that the said Philip Rochblave has done everything in his power to set the Indians against us. 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."

The original letter from which this extract is copied is very much faded with age, and on the lines where folded

*A line here is entirely illegible.

MAP OF BOWMAN'S LINE OF MARCH.



some words are illegible or uncertain, but as given here it is believed to be substantially correct.

It was written from "Illinois—town of Kaskaskies, July 30, 1778," and from that it may be inferred that Bowman had temporarily returned from Cahokia to Kaskaskia, for conference with Clark as to future operations. Bowman makes no mention of being attended by any of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia in the expedition against the towns up the Mississippi, but Clark says a considerable number went, and were useful in reconciling the inhabitants of the captured towns to the change of rulers. It is also manifest from what Bowman says that Cahokia was considered an important post, and that it was determined it should be held, with him as the commander, at least until the ensuing winter. It was so held, and the name of the fort at the place was changed to Fort Bowman, and the name of the fort at Kaskaskia to Fort Clark. This letter of Bowman will be found in full in the appendix to this volume. It was written to his brother-in-law, George Brinker.

Cahokia was indeed a place of much importance at that time, and had been for a long period before—further back, in fact, than there is any recorded account, as the remarkable mounds and other evidence of remote occupancy abundantly testify. It was situated in that "great American bottom" which, in its vast extent and great fertility of soil, has scarcely an equal in this country. It is claimed, by some, that the earliest white settlement on the Mississippi was made at Cahokia, then commonly called Cohos. It was as old, at least, as Kaskaskia on the river of that name, and it was long a meeting place for the Indians, and an

important point for trade and council with them. French settlements probably began at both Cahokia and Kaskaskia about 1700. Both certainly had a record existence as far back as 1712. There was a church and a mission in each place at that time, and Cahokia had grown to be quite a considerable town.*

When Bowman was at Prairie du Rocher he was within five miles of the celebrated Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, which ten years before was considered by competent engineers to be "the most convenient and best built fort in North America."

Fortunately for the Americans, in 1772, the elements did more to disable it than man had ever been able to do. A great flood in the Mississippi caused a portion of the wall next the river to fall and the garrison to flee to higher land. The fort was never afterwards occupied. It was the last post held by a French commandant in North America, and there is enough romance connected with its history to make a dozen volumes as full of interesting real events as there are fictitious ones in the same number of modern novels. Fragments of the ruins are still visible.

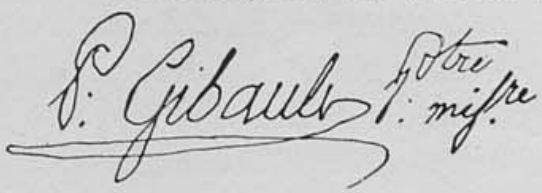
Other villages had grown up near the fort. Prairie du Rocher, five miles away, was situated upon a grant made by the India Company to Boisbriant, and by him transferred to his nephew, Langlois, who conveyed it by parcels to the settlers, reserving to himself certain seigneurial rights according to the customs of France. Renault, on a portion of his grant above the fort, established the village of St. Phillips, which became a thriving place. These villages

*Sharf's St. Louis, Vol. I, p. 50.

were laid out after the French manner, with commons and common fields, still marked upon the local maps, and in some cases held and used to this day under the provisions of these early grants. In each of the villages was a chapel, under the jurisdiction of the parent church of Ste. Anne of Fort Chartres. To the colony came scions of noble families of France, seeking fame and adventure in that distant land, and their names and titles appear at length in the old records and parish registers.*

In 1764, when the last French commandant withdrew from the Illinois country, in anticipation of the arrival of the English, many French families at Cahokia, and the other towns and villages, removed further west or south, to be out of the British jurisdiction, so great was their antipathy to English rule. However the population remaining at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and other places were almost entirely of French extraction, at the time of Clark's advent, and the universal dislike of English rule still existed, and greatly facilitated his operations.

As already stated, Father Gibault was the embodiment of this sentiment, and the man of all others who could



make it effective in reconciling the inhabitants to the change of rulers. He was, no doubt, greatly aided in this by making the fact known that a treaty had been formed between the American and French governments to act in concert against the English. These far-away people had not before heard of

* Fergus's Historical Series, Vol. 2, p. 31.

it, and it was gratifying news to them, probably inspiring the hope that it would restore the good old times they had known under former French rule.

LOOKING AFTER VINCENNES.

Clark, who had a remarkable gift of forming a correct estimate of men, recognized the value of Gibault's influence, and cultivated him in such a way that they were soon in full accord. All the towns of white people in the Illinois country west of the Wabash had now been secured, and Clark was looking with great anxiety to securing Post Vincennes, on the east bank of that river, which he regarded as the most important of all. This place "had never been out of his mind," and in conference with Gibault, who was the chief priest of all the French towns, he learned that Abbott, the English governor, had left Vincennes shortly before, and that the fort and town were at the time virtually in the possession and control of the French inhabitants.

Father Gibault believed that he could secure their allegiance to the Americans by proper representations as to the treaty that had been made with France, and assurances that they would be treated as friends. Being a man of peace he properly urged this course instead of the sending of troops, and the result proved the wisdom of his advice. He told Clark that while he believed he could accomplish all that was desired as to securing the allegiance of Vincennes, and was willing to undertake it, still he preferred not to seem to be acting in any other than a spiritual capacity, and therefore advised that Doctor Jean B. Lafont,

an influential gentleman, go with him as the temporal or political agent. Gibault thought he could in this way, quietly, accomplish the desired result more effectively, and in better accord with his wishes and views. "This was perfectly agreeable," says Clark's memoir, "to what I had been secretly aiming at for some days. The plan was immediately settled, and the two doctors, with their intended retinue, among whom I had a spy, set about preparing for their journey, and set out on the 14th of July, with an address to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, authorizing them to garrison their own town themselves, which would convince them of the great confidence we put in them, etc. All this had its desired effect.

"Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safely at Vincennes, and, after spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they acceded to the proposal, except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country, and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. An officer was elected, the fort immediately (garrisoned), and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes. The people here immediately begun to put on a new face, and to talk in a different style, and to act as perfectly free men. With a garrison of their own, with the United States at their elbow, their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the United States, and informed the Indians that their old father, the king of France, was come to life again, and 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, otherwise they might expect the land to be very bloody, etc. The Indians began to think seriously. Throughout the country this was now the kind of language they generally got from the ancient friends of the Wabash and Illinois. Through the means of their correspondence spreading among the nations, our batteries began now to play in a proper channel. Mr. Gibault and party, accompanied by several gentlemen of Post Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia, about the 1st of August, with the joyful news. During his absence on this business, which caused great anxiety in me for without the possession of this post all our views would have been blasted, I was exceedingly engaged in regulating things in the Illinois. The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of our troops. I was at a great loss at this time to determine how to act, and how far I might venture to strain my authority. My instructions were silent on many important points, as it was impossible to foresee the events that would take place. To abandon the country, and all the prospects that opened to our view in the Indian department at this time, for the want of instruction in certain cases, I thought would amount to a reflection on government as having no confidence in me. I resolved to usurp all the authority necessary to carry my points. I had the greater part of our (troops) re-enlisted on a different establishment—commissioned French officers in the country to command a company of the young inhabitants; established a garrison at Cahokia, commanded by Captain Bowman; and another at Kaskaskia, commanded by Captain Will-

iams. Post Vincennes remained in the situation as mentioned. Colonel William Linn, who had accompanied us as a volunteer, took charge of a party that was to be discharged on their arrival at the falls, and orders were sent for the removal of that post to the main land.

"Captain John Montgomery was dispatched to government with letters. I informed the governor by Captain Montgomery of the whole of our proceedings, and present prospects, pointing (out) the necessity of an immediate augmentation of troops, and that some person should be sent as head of the civil department, and referring him to Captain Montgomery for a general information of things.

"This party being dispatched I again turned my attention to Post Vincennes. I plainly saw that it would be highly necessary to have an American officer at that post. Captain Leonard Helm appeared calculated to answer my purpose; he was past the meridian of life, and a good deal acquainted with the Indian character.

"I sent him to command at that post; and also appointed him agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash as others were in different quarters, expecting by the fall to receive re-enforcement from the governor when a strong garrison should be sent to him. He was fully possessed of my ideas and of the plans I proposed to pursue, and about the middle of August he set out to take possession of his new command." Subsequently a few Americans and creole volunteer troops and friendly Indians were sent to join Captain Helm at Vincennes, and with this little force, and the sympathy and influence of the inhabitants, he managed to establish friendly relations with

the neighboring Indian tribes. He had the good fortune to win the friendship of an influential Indian chief, of the Piankeshaw tribe, named Tobacco's Son, or the Grand Door, which was a great aid in securing friendly relations with the Indians of the vicinity.

These amicable relations were soon extended to other Indians up the Wabash, as far the Wea towns near where Lafayette, Indiana, is now situated, but there was not much sincerity in some of these professions as was subsequently proven. It seems there was a British agent in that vicinity, named Celeron, who was influencing the Indians to the injury of American interests. Alluding to this man, Clark says, in his letter to Mason: "I resolved if possible to take him off, and sent a detachment of men from Kaskaskia under the command of Lieutenant Bailey, to join Captain Helm at St. Vincent, and if possible surprise him; the captain, 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 neighborhood that he could trust in order to give battle, the Indians in general neutrals; but a few days before the captain's arrival Mr. 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 supposing the enemies to be so near, in the height of deliberation Captain Helm, Bayley and his small party entered the fort and ordered them to surrender before they were apprised, about forty in number being made prisoners. The captain made a valuable treaty; gave

them their liberty; this stroke completed our interest on the Wabash."

Clark, being now in possession of all the military posts, turned his attention at once to making the best terms he could with the numerous Indian tribes. They had before generally been allies of the English. In this he was greatly aided by the French who still retained much of their old influence with them; and even the Spanish authorities west of the Mississippi, Clark says, were friendly to him, and contributed to his success.

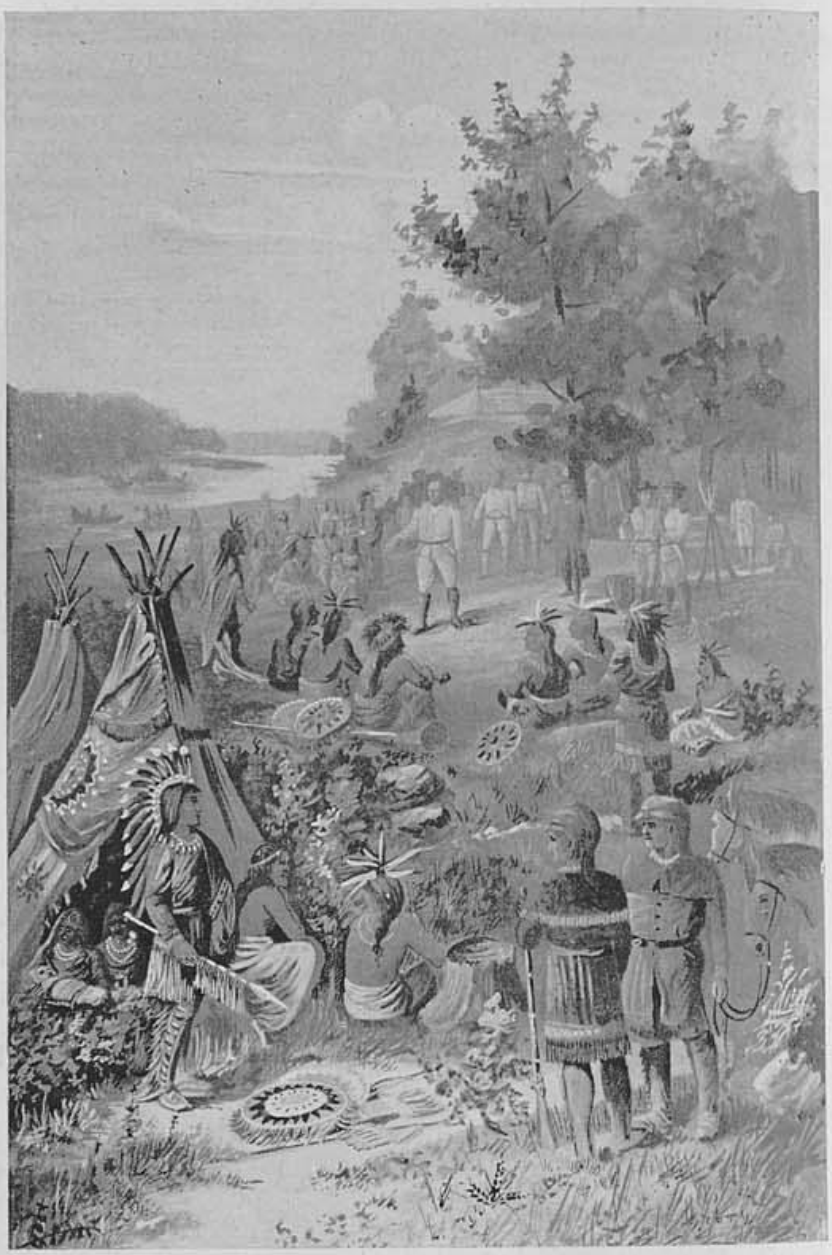
Indian affairs having thus been placed in the best available condition on the Wabash, Clark left them in charge of his able agent, Captain Helm, and repaired in person to Cahokia, where, in conjunction with Captain Bowman, he devoted himself for five weeks mainly to important Indian business, with evident adroitness, good judgment, and success. "It was," he says, "with astonishment that (we) viewed the amazing 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 five hundred miles distant—Chipaways, Ottaways, Potawatomies, Missesogies, Puans, Sacks, Foxes, Sayges, Tauways, Maumies, and a number of other nations, all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them at war against us. I must confess that I was under some apprehension among such a number of devils, and it proved to be just, for the second or third night a party of Puans and others endeavored to force by the guards into my lodgings to bear me off, but was happily detected and made prisoners by the alacrity of the sergeant. The town took

the alarm and was immediately under arms, which convinced the savages that the French were in our interest."

He gives an interesting but long account of his treatment of these prisoners, showing that he well knew how to manage such an affair to make the best impression on the savages. In the course of it, two young Indians were sent to Clark, or volunteered and came to him, to be put to death, as an atonement for the great wrong attempted, but he finally returned them with a demand that they should be made chiefs of their tribe for their unselfish bravery, and the affair ended to the apparent satisfaction of them all.

Colonel Clark also gives, in great detail, the proceedings of the various councils held with the several tribes, and the many speeches made on these occasions. These were generally in the florid, figurative style, common to Indian oratory, interesting enough, but too long to be given here. They will be found in full in the appendix.

It should be remembered to Colonel Clark's credit that he was wholly destitute of presents for the Indians, and presents have always been considered as indispensable to successful negotiations with them; besides he was competing with the well supplied regular officers of the king of England, who, at Detroit, and through their agents sent out from there in all directions, were lavishing presents and promises in great profusion upon the Indians to secure their allegiance. That Clark succeeded so well, under such conditions, is conclusive evidence of the tact and sagacity of this remarkable man. He secured peace, under these adverse circumstances, with a dozen different tribes. He says: "Our influence now began to spread among the nations even to



COLONEL CLARK HOLDING A COUNCIL WITH INDIANS.
From painting in Illinois State House.

the border of the lakes. I sent agents into every quarter. I continued about five weeks in the town of Cohos, in which time I had settled a peace with ten or twelve different nations. Being much fatigued, I returned to Kaskaskias, leaving Major Bowman to act, in which he did himself much honor."

It is undoubtedly true that Colonel Clark understood the Indians thoroughly, and held many important and imposing councils with them in the most approved Indian fashion.

The author hearing there was a large and interesting painting of one of these councils in the state-house at Springfield, Illinois, wrote a friend there inquiring about it, and was kindly furnished by him with a copy of it photographed from the original, which is reproduced on the opposite page.

Governor Reynolds says that "in the fall of the year (1778), Major Bowman organized a respectable force, and proceeded from Cahokia north to Rock river. The expedition was intended to influence the Indians to abandon the British interest to join the Americans."*

Colonel Clark returned to Kaskaskia greatly fatigued with his long and exciting labors at Cahokia. After all the great cares and responsibilities upon him there was little time for rest. He was zealously devoting all the energies of his young and vigorous life to the service of his country. Much as he had already done, he found that his work had but just begun, and that his close, persistent, personal services were indispensable to the success of the American cause. He devoted great care to the training of his new troops,

*Reynold's Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 75.

and persisted until he had them well taught and disciplined. He sent discreet persons as spies throughout all the Indian country—even as far as Detroit, towards which important post he was now casting a wistful eye. It was the remaining "world" he hoped yet some day to conquer. He thought that by governing the places he had already secured so as to make the inhabitants contented, it might ultimately aid in securing Detroit, as it would become known by the communication kept up, more or less, between the inhabitants of all the French towns; but it is a singular fact that the French of Detroit, unlike the French of the Illinois and the Wabash, did not seem to sympathize much, if at all, with the Americans under Clark.

The spies which he sent to the region of Detroit either failed to find out what was going on there, or the information did not reach him in due season. In his letter to Mason he says, "I kept spies on all the roads to no purpose." The discovery of a correspondence in Cahokia between a young man residing there and Governor Hamilton of Detroit was the first information as to an intended expedition of the latter against the Americans. The information, however, was so vague as to be considered doubtful, and Clark supposed that, even if true, the point of attack would be Kaskaskia, that being central, and headquarters. It was now winter, with no certainty as to what the enemy had done, or was trying to do. "Hard weather immediately setting in," says Clark to his friend Mason, "I was at a loss what to do. Many supposed he (Hamilton) had quit his design and come no further than Ome.*

*A corruption of Aux Miamis, an Indian village where Fort Wayne, Indiana, is now situated.

But, receiving no intelligence from St. Vincents, I was still under some doubt of his being there, except the command had kept back the express on account of high waters. In this situation we remained several days. I intended to evacuate the garrison at Cohos in case of a siege, but was anxious to have a conference with the principal inhabitants that I knew to be zealous in our interests, to fix on certain plans for their conduct when in possession of the English, if it should be the case; and so I set out (early) in January, 1779, for that town, with an intention of staying but a few days."

COLONEL CLARK IN DANGER OF BEING CAPTURED.

Clark took with him on this occasion a guard of six or seven soldiers and a number of French citizens, all in blissful ignorance of the fact that Hamilton had not only been in possession of Vincennes for some time, but had sent a detachment of thirty or forty men to hover about Kaskaskia, and the road between that place and Cahokia, with a view of capturing Clark, if possible, or some of his command. At the very time Clark left Kaskaskia this force was in the Illinois country, and some of the advance scouts had reached the road he was to follow, and were then only a few miles from the town.

They did not, however, attack Clark's party, as they might, perhaps, have done successfully. The Americans were not suspecting danger, and one of the vehicles in which the citizens were riding mired down at the crossing of a creek, and detained the party for an hour. The British scouts, probably, feared they were too few in numbers to

attack the Americans. At all events they did not attempt it. Judging from the way Clark speaks of the affair in the Mason letter, he evidently thought it was a close call for his liberty, or life, but it is not likely he knew the danger he was in until some time afterwards.

It was known at the gay French village of Prairie du Rocher that Clark and his party were expected there early in the evening, and it had been arranged to honor them with a grand ball. The ball came off accordingly, and with all the cordiality, vigor, and vivacity for which these creoles were famous, especially the ladies. But about midnight, when the enjoyment was at its height, a messenger arrived, in hot haste, with the startling intelligence that the British were marching on Kaskaskia, and only three miles away.

The excitement and consternation produced at the ball by this news was, on a smaller scale, akin to that at the famous ball preceding the battle of Waterloo, described by Byron, when there was "Whispering with white lips—The foe! They come! they come!" But, unlike Waterloo, this proved to be a false alarm, originating presumably from the proximity of the scouting party before referred to. It was at the time, however, regarded by them all as a reality of the most alarming character—not only involving the inhabitants of the little village, which was only fourteen or fifteen miles from Kaskaskia, but probably the life of Colonel Clark, and the success of the American cause. The colonel started an express at once, with orders to Captain Bowman at Cahokia to come to Kaskaskia immediately, with such forces as could be spared.

The necessity of the return of Clark to Kaskaskia, with the least possible delay, was so apparent that he braved every danger and had the good fortune to get back safely the same night. He proceeded immediately to put things in readiness to receive the enemy. There was much excitement and alarm in the town. Father Gibault was in "the greatest consternation," and not without reason, for he had rendered such efficient services to the Americans that he might well expect to be harshly treated, if captured by the British. Seeing the good priest's trouble, Clark, with his usual delicate tact, got him out of the way by sending him to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, under the pretext of looking after some important business. But Gibault had the bad luck, in attempting to cross, to be caught in the ice at an island, where he had to remain for several days in much distress, with only a servant for company.

In the meantime the enemy did not come, although confidently expected. Some dwelling-houses were so close to the fort that they interfered with a proper defense and Clark unhesitatingly burned them. He relied but little on the assistance of the inhabitants. A conference with them, the next morning after his return, displeased him for the time, although the poor people, in their great confusion and distress, doubtless wished to do for the best. There was one to whom Clark knew he could look with perfect confidence, and that was the faithful and always reliable Bowman. He says, "the only probable chance of safety was Captain Bowman's joining me, which I expected the next evening down the Mississippi." He did not expect in vain, for a little later on he adds, "the weather clearing away Captain Bowman arrived the following day with his

own (company) and a company of volunteers from Cohos. We now began to make a tolerable appearance, and seemed to defy the enemy." *

It will be noticed that this re-enforcement was made with remarkable rapidity and success. The messenger left Prairie du Rocher after midnight, and although the distance to Cahokia was about forty-five miles, and the way through a comparatively wild and unsettled country, the message was delivered the next day. Bowman at once rallied two companies, traveled all night, and reached Kaskaskia, over sixty miles distant, the day following. This gallant soldier was rapidly wearing out his life in the service of his country. In less than eight months thereafter he was in his grave, at Vincennes, the victim of excessive labor, exposure, and an injury received at the capture of Fort Sackville.

After Bowman's arrival spies were sent in every direction to locate the enemy, hoping, Clark says, that "we might get some advantage of them, choosing, for many important reasons, to attack them, two to one, in the field, rather than suffer them to take possession of the town, which, by the form and manner of picketing the yards and gardens, was very strong. . . . Our spies returning found that the great army that gave the alarm consisted of only about forty whites and Indians, making their retreat, at fast as possible, to St. Vincents—sent for no other purpose, as we found after, than to take me. We were now sensible that St. Vincents was in possession of the English, and consequently we might shortly expect an attack, though in no danger at present, and had some time to make preparation."

*Letter to Mason.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST VINCENNES.

Hamilton an instigator of Indian raids against American frontiers—Contrast between Clark and Hamilton as to employing Indians—News of Clark's invasion received at Detroit—Campaign to regain possession determined upon—Forces to be used mainly Indians—Departure of expedition—Hamilton defends character of Indians, but assails the French—Incidents of the journey—Americans taken by surprise—Surrender to vastly superior numbers—Ludicrous incidents connected therewith—Detachments of British and Indians sent to other points—Hamilton praises the sobriety and good conduct of his Indians—Little apparent reason for the claim—Drinking common at that period—Liquor part of army supplies—Charge that Clark was at this time a hard drinker not substantiated—Hamilton requires inhabitants of Vincennes to take oath of allegiance to the British—Greatly strengthens the fort—Sends detachment to mouth of Wabash—Makes extensive plans to drive off the Americans and attack their frontiers in the spring—Relies upon inclemency of season and remoteness of American forces, and settles down at Vincennes for the winter in fancied security.

AT the time of Clark's invasion of the Illinois country, Colonel Henry Hamilton was the British lieutenant-governor of Detroit. He was in some respects an able officer, but was particularly obnoxious to the Americans because of a belief that he had instigated Indian barbarities. Clark called him the "hair-buyer general," because he was believed to have given rewards for the scalps of Americans brought to Detroit by the Indians. The author has found no evidence that he did this directly,

but he was an instigator of Indian raids upon the exposed American frontiers, which not only led to taking scalps, but to every other form of brutal atrocity that could be devised by savage fiends. This despicable business was begun before Clark's campaign against the British posts north of the Ohio river.

In the campaign made by the British General Burgoyne in 1777, it is said, "not much short of one thousand Indian warriors, certainly more than eight hundred, joined the white brigade of Saint-Leger." Mr. Bancroft says, in his History of the United States, that, "in addition to these, Hamilton, the lieutenant-governor of Detroit, in obedience to the orders from the secretary of state, sent out fifteen several parties, consisting in the aggregate of two hundred and eighty-nine red braves with thirty white officers and rangers, to prowl on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia." *

Because Mr. Bancroft says in this extract that Hamilton was acting "in obedience to the orders of the secretary of state," it should not therefore be inferred that the responsibility for these Indian raids against the American frontiers rested upon the secretary more than upon Mr. Hamilton, for he shows elsewhere,† and the evidence is now positive, that Hamilton first proposed to the higher authorities that the raids be made, and the higher authorities ordered them made upon Hamilton's own suggestions. Hamilton was therefore the prime mover in causing the Indians to be sent "to prowl on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia," as stated in the extract, and is not entitled to any relief

*Vol. 5, p. 584. † See foot note p. 218 *post*.

from the odium of the transaction because he acted "in obedience to the orders of the secretary of state." That the proposition came from Hamilton is shown in the very first paragraph of the official letter ordering the raids to be made, written by Lord George Germain, secretary of state, to General Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, March 26, 1777, which reads as follows: "Sir: In the consideration of the measures proper to be pursued in the next campaign, the making a diversion on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania by parties of Indians conducted by proper leaders AS PROPOSED BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON has been maturely weighed," etc.* Then follows the order directing, in the name of the king, that Hamilton should assemble the Indians of his district and send them against the frontiers.

This order, issued by Lord Germain on Hamilton's suggestion, speaks of these Indian raids as "making a diversion, and exciting an alarm upon the American frontiers," but what that meant to bands of ferocious savages was shown by the bloody sequel. The only restraint advised in the letter is "from committing violence on the well-affected and inoffensive inhabitants," which meant the Tories and British partisans, a list of the leading ones on the frontiers of Virginia being enclosed in the letter as having been "recommended by Lord Dunmore for their loyalty," and these were expected to assist the British and Indians in making "a diversion and exciting an alarm upon

*The author is indebted to Mr. Bayard, United States ambassador to England, and Mr. Stevens, United States government dispatch agent, for copy of this letter and other papers from the British Public Records, London. The letter is also in "Haldimand Papers," and Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 9.

the American frontiers," the character of which will be shown further on.

A letter from General Guy Carleton to Hamilton, dated September 26, 1777, shows that the management of the war on the frontier had been taken entirely out of the hands of Carleton by Lord Germain and assigned to Hamilton. Another letter written to Hamilton by Carleton, March 14, 1778, says, "the instructions sent out last summer by Lord George Germain were so pointed, taking the management of the war on all sides out of my hands, that I can not give you any directions relative to the offensive measures you agitate." * So upon Hamilton seems to rest the chief responsibility.†

A letter written by him, April 25, 1778, to Carleton, shows that he was then encouraging the Indians "who had gone to war towards the Ohio," by sending them "ammunition and arms." It also discloses that he knew thoroughly the condition of the Wabash and Illinois country, had a contempt for the French inhabitants, who, in turn, had no love for the English. The letter says: "The Indians in remote posts are poisoned by the falsehoods

* Haldimand Papers, B. 121, pp. 21 and 22.

† Early in September (1776), Hamilton, the lieutenant-governor of Detroit, wrote from his district directly to the secretary of state, promising that small parties "of the savages assembled" by him "in council," "chiefs and warriors from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots and Pottawatomies," with the Senecas, would "fall on the scattered settlers on the Ohio" and its branches; and he checked every impulse of mercy towards the Americans by saying that "their arrogance, disloyalty and imprudence had justly drawn upon them this deplorable sort of war." The British people were guiltless of these outrages; it was Germaine and his selected agents who hounded on the savages to scalp and massacre the settlers of the new country, enjoined with fretful restlessness the extension of the system along all the border from New York to Georgia, and chid every commander who showed signs of relenting. Bancroft's History United States, Vol. 5, p. 423. Edition Little, Brown & Co., 1876.

and misrepresentations of the French. As to the Indians of the Ouabash, they have been out of the way of knowing the power of the English, and from a presumption of their own importance will be arrogant and troublesome. Monsieur de Celoran writes me word from Ouiattonong, that some parties to the number of fifty men, partly Quiquaboes, Mascontainges and Ouiattanongs, are gone to war towards the Ohio; their success is not yet known. I have sent him some ammunition and arms, and to gratify those among them who behave well. All parties going to war are exhorted to act with humanity, as the means of securing a sincere peace when His Majesty shall be pleased to order the hatchet to be buried."

The idea of giving arms and ammunition to savages raiding a frontier, coupled with an admonition that they were to be humane and behave well, is absurd. Hamilton must have known perfectly well that Indians were strangers to humanity on such occasions, and that to "behave well," in their estimation, meant to take as many scalps as possible.

To furnish arms and ammunition, and to encourage Indians by presents and otherwise to make raids upon the frontier settlements, meant the practice of every enormity savage ingenuity could devise, and there was but little difference discernible between the guilt of the actual perpetrators and those who sent the Indians on such expeditions. Thomas Jefferson believed there was no difference. Referring to the subject, he said, "he who employs another to do a deed makes the deed his own. If he calls in the hand of an assassin, or murderer, himself becomes the assassin

or murderer." These raids, instigated or encouraged by Hamilton, soon brought legitimate results, and his own admissions show the falsity of the pretense that they were conducted with humanity. He wrote General Carleton, early in 1778, that the Indians had "brought in seventy-three prisoners alive, twenty of which they presented to me, and one hundred and twenty-nine scalps," and on the 16th of September of that year he wrote to General Haldimand who in the meantime had succeeded Carleton as governor, that "since last May the Indians in this district have taken thirty-four prisoners, seventeen of which they delivered up, and eighty-one scalps, several prisoners taken and adopted not reckoned in this number."* Eighty-one scalps and thirty-four prisoners show the kind of "humanity" practiced by Hamilton's Indians.

That Hamilton was guilty of encouraging these Indian expeditions is manifest and mere pretty speeches about favoring humanity could not relieve him from the odium of the usual savagery of such raids. Hence the animosity of Clark and the Americans towards him was natural, and not at all surprising.

While this estimate of his conduct was apparently just, it should be remembered that he was following the directions of his superior officers, although the policy was prompted by him, and that the odium of these Indian raids upon the frontier settlements includes also some high in British authority. The following letter upon this subject was written to Hamilton, by his superior officer, General Haldimand, August 26, 1778:

*Canadian Archives—Haldimand Papers, B. 122, p. 26, and B. 122, p. 156.

"Your letter of the 6th instant enclosing Mr. Rochblave's and your other of the 8th have been received. In the present circumstances of the affairs you relate, it becomes highly necessary to employ every means which offer, if not to retrieve the injury done, at least to stop its further progress, in which it is not so much the expense itself as the care to prevent its being in vain and thrown away which ought to be attended to. The expediency of supporting the Ouabash Indians is very evident and I can not therefore but approve of such steps as you shall find necessary to take for this purpose. And I must observe that, from the great expense to which government had been put for the Indians in general, it might be expected that some of them might easily be induced to undertake expeditiously to clear all the Illinois of these invaders, and if the efforts of the parties, which you send out and have proposed to send out to the Ohio, were properly directed, the retreat of the rebels, and especially the communication and intercourse which they want to establish by that river with the French and Spaniards might be so disturbed, if not entirely cut off, as to render that object of their expedition and attempts upon this occasion entirely fruitless, and I think that unless your parties shall be able to fall upon the vessels, boats and parties of the rebels as they pass there is no other important service which they can render to government in that part.

"The situation of the Ouabash Indians is very favorable for this design, to which all the parties you sent out from Detroit would also contribute best, as it appears to me, by acting in concert with those, as they might together fill all

the lower parts of the Ohio with bodies of savages that such constantly succeeds each other, and at no time leave the river without a force which would be ready to fall upon all the rebels that appear there; and as a resource from whence the greatest benefit may arise, I must recommend to you to endeavor by cipher and every means in your power to communicate with Mr. Stuart or some of his assistants among the Cherokee and Chaktaw nations, as, if the southern nations could be engaged to enter into the same views, the object of all the Indians directed to one point, there would be little doubt of their succeeding; and that the most essential services might be derived from the efforts of the savages, which when unconnected and upon uncertain and different plans can never reasonably be expected from them."

It will be seen that this letter recommends not only that the Wabash Indians "be induced to undertake expeditions to clear all the Illinois of these invaders" (Clark's forces), but that such a union of various Indian tribes should be secured as would fill the Ohio river border with savages, "ready to fall upon all the rebels that appear there." Here was a proposal for destruction by the wholesale! Even on the line claimed by Hamilton that the Indians were advised to be humane it amounted to this, in substance, that all the rebels appearing on the Ohio were to be killed after the Indian fashion—but with humanity. The wrong was the employment of savages for such purposes at all, well knowing that under certain circumstances it was impossible to restrain them from brutal barbarities utterly inconsistent with warfare between civilized peoples.

The contrast between the British officers and Colonel Clark, who refused to employ the Indians against his white enemies, must ever stand to his credit in the estimation of posterity. When he had Hamilton "shut up like a rat in a trap" at Fort Sackville, and it was not certain but an assault on the fort would be resorted to, Tobacco, son of a chief of the Piankashaws, offered the assistance of a hundred of his tribe, but Clark, in an adroit manner, avoided accepting the offer. On another occasion, when Indian assistance was offered by Lajes, another Indian chief, Clark replied, "We never wished the Indians to fight for us, all we wished them to do was for them to sit still and look on." * His fame is not tarnished with setting a savage and heathen race against a civilized and Christian people.

It must not be inferred, however, that all the English officers favored the policy advised by Hamilton of employing the Indians to make raids against the American frontiers.† Lieutenant-Governor Edward Abbott wrote General Carleton from Detroit, June 8, 1778, advising against Hamilton's policy. He said: "Your Excellency will plainly perceive the employing Indians on 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 and 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

*See further account in Clark's memoir.

†See Hinsdale's Old Northwest, p. 149.

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. 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 given; and surely the presents will prevent their acting against us." These honorable and humane suggestions, however, were not heeded. The policy of the extreme and violent partisans like Hamilton prevailed, over the humane policy Governor Abbott advised for the English and Colonel Clark followed for the Americans.

On the 8th of August, 1778, a messenger, Francis Maisonville by name, reached Governor Hamilton at Detroit with the startling intelligence that the, so-called, "rebels" had invaded the Illinois country, captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and were about taking possession of Vincennes. This was important news indeed, and Hamilton hastened to communicate it to his superiors. On the same day he wrote General Guy Carleton that "an express is arrived from the Illinois, with an account of the arrival of a party of rebels, in number about three hundred, who have taken Mr. de Rochblave prisoner, have laid him in irons, and exact an oath from the inhabitants binding them to obedience to the congress, etc.

"There is an officer with thirty men detached by the rebels to Cahokia to receive the allegiance of the people at that post, and I have no doubt that by this time they are at St. Vincennes, as when the express came away one Gibault, a

French priest, had his horse ready saddled to go thither from Cahokia to receive the submission of the inhabitants in the name of the rebels. 'Tis now but twenty-one days since the rebels got possession of Kaskaskias. Monsieur de Celeron sets off this day with belts for the Ouabash Indians whose deputies went from this not long since, well satisfied with their reception, and took three war belts. A letter from Mr. Rochblave written some little time before his imprisonment mentioned there being four English frigates in the entrance of the Mississippi."

In the "short account," which he wrote at the suggestion of Lord George Germain, he fixes the 6th of August as the day of Maisonville's arrival with the discouraging news from the Illinois country, and says: "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 Michilimackinac. 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." On the 15th of September word was received that the commander-in-chief approved of Hamilton's plan.

The next three weeks were devoted to preparing for a vigorous campaign to recover the Wabash and Illinois country. The aid of the Indians seemed to be looked for as a matter of course, and the authorities did not hesitate to set the savages on the white Americans, denominated as "rebels." Hamilton says: "The Indians being found well disposed, and messengers sent to the different nations resorting to Detroit, apprising them of my design, and ex-

horting them to send out frequent parties upon the frontiers, the day was fixed for our departure."

"On the 7th of October," he continues, "the various necessaries for a winter movement of six hundred miles being provided by the activity and good-will of Captains Lernoult and Grant, the latter of whom had attended to everything afloat, and by the assistance of Major Hay and Mr. Fliming, the commissary, we struck our tents and embarked with one field piece which was all could be spared from the garrison." The force he started with he gives as one hundred and seventy-nine, which is about the same force Clark had when he left the falls of the Ohio. But the "rebels," a little later on, got possession of all his papers and he gives the number "from recollection." It was probably an underestimate. As he gives it, forty-one were of the king's Eighth Regiment of regulars, eight irregulars, seventy thoroughly trained militia, and sixty Indians, making with himself, one hundred and eighty, but this number was increased on the way, by the addition of Indians, until the aggregate reached at least five hundred.

Before leaving Detroit the articles of war were read to the troops, the oath of allegiance "renewed," and a blessing bestowed by Pere Potier, a Catholic priest; but this was counterbalanced by the blessing similarly conferred upon the American troops by Pere Gibault later on.

At the time Hamilton wrote his "account" he was probably smarting under the charges that he was responsible for many Indian atrocities. At all events there is a seeming desire to show that nothing of the kind was true.

and that they were rather exemplary characters. He says, "the Indians camped and decamped as regularly as could be wished, and that among them not a single instance of drunkenness or quarreling occurred for seventy-two days; nor the least repining at the fatigues of the journey or the hardships of the season."

But he had no liking for some of the white people, judging from a letter he wrote Haldimand a short time before starting on this expedition, in which he said:

"For the French inhabitants, at all the outposts, I firmly believe there is not one in twenty whose oath of allegiance would have force enough to bind him to his duty, added to this that the greatest part of the traders among them who are called English are rebels in their hearts. Mr. de Rochblave having fallen into the hands of the rebels is an unfortunate circumstance for His Majesty's interest in those parts, his understanding, experience and authority over a troublesome set of people rendered him thoroughly capable of managing such subjects. No intelligence from the Illinois or Post Vincennes has been communicated since my last by express, but I shall not be surprised to hear that the rebels are driven away, nor shall I be surprised to hear they are well received. The Indians are very well able to effect the first, the French very capable of the last, and they would gladly receive the idea of a French father with the Indians, though they have enjoyed advantages under an English government they were formerly strangers to."

Hamilton, with his troops, went down the Detroit river in boats, and thence thirty-six miles across the lake to the

mouth of the Miamis river (Maumee). The crossing was made on a dark night in a snow storm, and not without considerable hazard. They had the good fortune, however, to get on shore about a mile from the mouth of the river, but it was swampy ground and the wind blew so fiercely that they "could not put up a tent or strike a fire," and so they shivered in the cold, on the damp ground in the open air. The army proceeded up the Maumee, arriving at the rapids the 11th of October, and "Miami town" (site of Fort Wayne), on the 24th, where, the "account" says, "we met several tribes of the Indians previously summoned to meet here, and held several conferences, made them presents, and dispatched messengers to the Shawnees as well as the nations on our route, inviting them to join us, or, at least, watch the motions of the rebels on the frontiers, for which purpose I sent them ammunition."

It was a season of unusually low water, and this made the trip up the Maumee slow and very fatiguing. It was even worse from the Miami villages to the deep waters of the Wabash, but advantage was taken of the remarkable work of the beavers which Hamilton describes in this interesting way: "Having passed the portage of nine miles we arrived at one of the sources of the Ouabache, called the Petite Riviere. The waters were so uncommonly low that we should not have been able to have passed but that at the distance of four miles from the landing place the beavers had made a dam which kept up the water; these we cut through to give a passage to our boats, and having taken in our lading at the landing passed all the boats.

The beaver are never molested at that place by the traders or Indians, and soon repair their dam, which is a most serviceable work upon this difficult communication."

The journey was continued with great labor and he says, "we next passed a swamp called Les Volets, beyond which the little Riviere a Boete joins the one we had made our way through. 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 passed with all our craft. The same obstacle occurred at the Riviere a l'Auglais, and the same work was to be raised. In our progress down the Ouabache difficulties increased, the setting in of the frost lowered the river, the floating ice cut the men as they worked in the water to haul the boats over shoals and rocks, our batteaux were damaged and had to be repeatedly unloaded, caulked and paved; ninety-seven thousand pounds of provisions and stores to be carried by the men, in which the Indians assisted cheerfully, when the boats were to be lightened. 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 conference with them, furnish them with necessaries, 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 difficulties, the frost becoming so intense as to freeze the river quite across."

They overcame these difficulties, however, and arrived within a few days' journey of Vincennes, when a scouting party, that had been sent out in advance, brought in four

prisoners, a lieutenant and three men, who had been sent out from Fort Sackville to look out for the approach of the enemy. They made the discovery in a way not creditable to the vigilance of the Americans. In fact it is a little remarkable that the approach of this large body of men under Hamilton was not sooner discovered by them, as Clark frequently mentioned having spies out in the direction of Detroit, but, as already shown, he did not even know of the British regaining possession of Fort Sackville until weeks after it occurred. Because of the limited number of his force, and their being at places widely distant from each other, where garrisons were necessary, it is doubtful whether he could have resisted Hamilton had he sooner known of his approach, but it is quite probable he would have made the attempt. Had he done so and failed again inspires the thought of what might have been the northern and western boundaries of the United States.

A letter which Clark wrote Governor Henry, September 16, 1778, shows that he expected to keep the British out of the Illinois country that year, but he intimated that it was not so certain thereafter, unless re-enforced; plainly evidencing that he fully comprehended the situation. The letter says:

"General 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 has treated with me, and I believe the rest very willing to be quiet except those toward 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 possession of it this year; as for the next you are the best judge."

Hamilton does not give the names of the captured scouts but he gleaned valuable information from them in relation to the condition of things at Vincennes, and, acting thereon, immediately, "sent off parties to lie upon the roads from thence to the Illinois and to the falls of 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 suffer any violence to be offered 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 Clark acquainting him of our arrival. Major Hay was detached with orders to fall down the river, and sent 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 Peau Kashaa Indians residing at St. Vincennes, and to show the French what they might expect if they pretended to resist."

By this time Captain Leonard Helm, who was in command at Fort Sackville, had heard of the approach of the British, but his force was utterly inadequate to defend it against Hamilton's force of five or six hundred. Hamilton fixes the number of men in the garrison, under Helm, at seventy, which is believed to have been an overestimate; but even if seventy, it referred to the original full garrison before the approach of the enemy, for Hamilton admits that "the fort was deserted by officers and men"

on his approach. He also speaks of the fort as "wretched," "a miserable stockade without a well, barrack, platform for small arms, or even lock to the gate." But he says, "there were two cannon, two swivels, some ammunition and thirty-four horses."

The truth is that the men numbered as belonging to the garrison were nearly all creole inhabitants of Vincennes, and as soon as the great difference in numbers made it certain that a successful defense of the fort or the town could not be made, and doubtless would not be attempted, they gradually dropped out, and, making a virtue of necessity, joined the other inhabitants in making the best terms they could with the enemy, doing whatever was required of them, but, in all likelihood, with mental reservations and without any change of convictions or attachments, because under duress and the compulsion of irresistible circumstances. They probably had no particular love for either of the contending parties, but, as between the two, they preferred the Americans; and there was nothing in their conduct inconsistent with this position.

Captain Helm did not get information of the approach of the British army of five or six hundred men until they were within three miles of Vincennes. There is positive evidence of this and other important facts in a letter to Colonel Clark, which he wrote and sent off by a messenger, as the army was about to enter Vincennes. The messenger, however, was killed, and the important letter, or the copy, found its way finally to the Canadian Archives. Douglas Bremner, Esq., the custodian, kindly furnished the author a copy which follows:

[Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 122, p. 250.]

"DEAR SIR—At this time there is an army within three miles of this place; I heard of their coming several days beforehand. I sent spies to find the certainty—the spies being taken prisoners I never got intelligence till they got within three miles of the town. As I had called the militia and had all assurances of their integrity I ordered at the firing of a cannon every man to appear, but I saw but few. Captain Buseron behaved much to his honor and credit, but I doubt the certaint (conduct) of a certain gent. Excuse haste as the army is in sight. My determination is to defend the garrison, though I have but twenty-one men but what has left me. I refer you to the Mr. Wmes (?) for the test (rest). The army is in three hundred yards of village. You must think how I feel; not four men that I can really depend upon; but am determined to act brave—think of my condition. I know it is out of my power to defend the town, as not one of the militia will take arms, though before sight of the army no braver men. There is a flag at a small distance. I must conclude.

"Your humble servant,

"LEO'D HELM.

"Must stop.

"To Colonel Clark."

Endorsed—"Copy of Helm's letter commanding for the rebels at Post Vincennes, enclosed in Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton's letter of the 18th of December, marked Detroit 25."

It will be seen by this that he attributes his lack of knowledge of the approach of the British troops to the capture of

the scouts; and that, at the time they were in sight of the fort, all his men had left (he does not say deserted) except twenty-one, and he evidently realized that most of these would leave before the British took possession of the fort, for he adds that he had "not four men that I can really depend upon." These were Moses Henry,* an Indian agent, and probably one or two of Clark's original soldiers.

Captain Helm knew that he could not make a successful defense, but he was "determined to play a brave part," and make the best terms he could with the enemy; and this he did with notable success.

He had a cannon, loaded in the most effective manner to be destructive, wheeled to the entrance of the fort, and a soldier, probably Henry, placed in proper position ready to fire it on command. When the British party approached and demanded a surrender, Helm, with an oath, ordered them to "halt," exclaiming "no man shall enter here until I know the terms." The reply was given, "you shall have the honors of war." "Then," said Helm, "I surrender the fort on that condition;" and thus Fort Sackville and the ancient town of Vincennes again came into the possession of the British on the 17th day of December, 1778, after a march of six hundred miles, lasting seventy-two days. Hamilton's account is silent as to the incidents at the gate, which is not surprising. He was writing that account to justify his own conduct, and it was natural that he should

*Moses Henry has generally been given as the name of the soldier who was with Captain Helm at the time of the surrender, but that name is not on the roll of persons who received land for services in the Illinois campaign. The names of four Henrys are on the roll, David, Hugh, Isaac and John, but no Moses. Clark's memoir speaks of "Moses Henry, Indian agent" in 1779. Presumably Moses did not receive because he was acting in a civil and not military capacity.

avoid confessing that Helm had overreached him. The incidents are understood to have occurred, substantially, as here related. His narrative shows a continued and naturally to be expected effort to color events to shield his reputation. This is particularly true in his pictures of the Indians as models of good conduct, knowing that he was already censured for using them against white people. He admits that his force had increased to five hundred by the time he reached Vincennes, most of them Indians, but "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." These three or four hundred savage exemplars of "moderation and good order" were the same who, on other occasions, devastated the American frontiers and mercilessly butchered helpless women and children.

Again he says: "The Indians camped and decamped as regularly as could be wished, and that among them not a single instance of drunkenness or quarreling occurred for seventy-two days, though rum was delivered out on every occasion when the fatigues or bad weather made it necessary." This is a statement difficult of belief as to Indians in general without the most convincing proof, but if true in this case as to drunkenness, it was probably because they were not permitted to get enough of the rum to make them drunk. It is hardly reasonable to believe that these particular Indians were so good and forbearing that they would not take scalps, or get drunk, after the

manner of their fellow-savages, when opportunity presented.

The blame attached to Hamilton is, as already stated, for employing these savages to make war on civilized white people. As for giving liquor to his soldiers, or drinking it himself, for that matter, that was a common practice at that period and it was not then regarded as anything reprehensible.* Clark did both, and unfortunately drank more himself, in the latter part of his life, than was good for him. Hamilton was, in all probability, much better supplied with such "military stores," but exactly to what extent the author does not know; however, there is abundant evidence that the British found the use of liquor "indispensable" in obtaining the favor and assistance of the Indians, and they undoubtedly used it to a much greater extent than the Americans, because they had greater ability to procure it, and were using the savages in warfare, while the Americans were not. Here is one of many items which might be adduced: The British captain, Brehm, wrote from Detroit, July 8, 1779, to General Haldimand, that "the indispensable expenditure of rum has been till now about forty-eight gallons per day, but is increasing as the number of Indians augment; it may be computed to about sixty gallons per day. If therefore Your Excellency could possibly get it supplied from Montreal it will diminish considerably the public expenses."†

*In Hamilton's account against the British government, for expenditures during his captivity in Virginia, which will be found in the appendix, is this item: "July (1780). Cash paid for clothing and liquor for the prisoners of war £116 11s 6d." There were only twenty-six "prisoners of war" including Hamilton.

†Haldimand Papers, B. 99, p. 95.

In another letter he says "they (the Indians) are constantly debauched with liquor, and to procure which they sell their presents and get them replaced perhaps three or four times."* Many other instances might be given.

There is no doubt, however, but the Americans also used liquor quite freely at that period. The author has now before him the account of Clark's expenditures in the Illinois campaign which is liberally interspersed with such items as the following:

"March 30, 1778—For a treat at rendezvous $13.20
April 25, 1778—For a treat to Captain Helm's company - - 6.60
April 30, 1778—For a treat to Captain Bowman's company - 5.00
August 1, 1778—For rum per Captain Worthington's receipt - 19.00
August 14, 1778—To Mr. Murray for rum for the troops - - - 29.40."

Clark seems to have had an idea that a little liquor was not only good for raising the spirits of his troops, but for raising other things as well, as is shown by the following item: "Half gallon taffia, delivered fatigue party for raising a boat." It is hardly necessary to add, that "taffia" was a popular liquor of that day, resembling rum, and was brought from the West Indies by the way of New Orleans. Neither did he think it a bad thing after a defeat, as we may infer from this item: "October 9, 1799—For one gallon taffia, as treat to Colonel Rogers's men after their defeat." He had no love for Indians as allies in war, and

*Haldimand Papers, B. 97–2, p. 307.

never set them against white people; but he was not so unsocial or impolitic as to associate with them in efforts to maintain peace without giving them a drop of "fire-water to gladden their hearts," as shown by this further item: "To Charles Charleville for fifty-six gallons taffia delivered to Indians, at sundry councils and treaties, at four (dollars) per gallon, two hundred and twenty-four dollars."

It must not be supposed from these items that Clark's account was like Falstaff's, where there was very little bread and an enormous quantity of "sack," for the expenditure for liquor was but a small part of his very large account, as will be seen by reference to it in the appendix. Besides the prices stated were probably in the greatly depreciated paper money of that day. Clark was open and direct as to the items in his liquor account; plainly called a treat "a treat," told the quantity purchased, the kind of liquor, and what it cost; clearly indicating that he did not regard it as a thing to be ashamed of or to be concealed.

But it must not consequently be inferred that Clark himself was at that time a hard drinker in the extreme sense, for all the indications are that he was not. The complete success which attended all his operations, from the beginning to the end of his conquest of the Illinois and Wabash country, shows his brain was not then clouded nor his arm weakened by dissipation.

It is true that in his old age, when depressed in mind because of neglect and disappointments, when his body was wrecked with neuralgia, rheumatism, partial paralysis, and the various ills brought upon him by his great exposure

in the service of his country, such as marching twelve miles in mid-winter through water often to his armpits, to conquer a public enemy and win an empire, he did sometimes go too far in attempting to drown the pains and depressions of declining years in the flowing bowl, but it can well be excused, or at least forgiven, by a generous posterity, who share the glory of his fame and the great public benefits which have resulted from his services.

The quaint remark credited to President Lincoln about the brand of liquor General Grant was accused of drinking might here be appropriately recalled. When some complaint was made, after the success at Vicksburg, about Grant's drinking, it is said Lincoln made the significant remark, that it might be a good idea to send the same brand of liquors to some other generals who had been less successful. Whether based upon fact or not the story can be appreciated in this connection.

The truth is that customs and habits change as time advances, which should be remembered by those inclined to judge the old soldier Clark too harshly for his, seemingly, only weakness.

Two days after taking possession of Vincennes, Hamilton required the inhabitants—estimated by him to be six hundred and twenty-one in number, two hundred and seventeen fit for military duty, but some absent hunting buffalo—to take an oath, in substance, that they had been very undutiful heretofore, asking the forgiveness of God and their "legitimate sovereign, the king of England," therefor, and that they would henceforth be good and faithful subjects, which was little respected or cared for there-

after as is usual with declarations exacted under such circumstances.

Of much greater importance was the attention he immediately gave to putting the fort in a good condition for defense. He says he "built a guard-house, barracks for four companies, sunk a well, erected two large block-houses of oak, and embrasures above for five pieces of cannon each, altered and lined the stockades, and laid the fort with gravel." There was quite a contrast in the excellent condition of the fort when Clark captured it, later on, with a force of about one hundred and fifty, and the condition it was in when Hamilton captured it with a force of five or six hundred from Helm and two or three soldiers.

The question naturally arises why Hamilton, with his force of five or six hundred, did not leave a small garrison in Fort Sackville, push on to Kaskaskia and Cahokia and drive the Americans from the country. Had the far-seeing, persevering, indomitable Clark been in his place the probabilities are that he would at least have made the attempt. It is now known that the information of Hamilton's army having captured Vincennes did not reach Clark for several weeks, and if Hamilton had pushed on he might have taken Clark by surprise, and certainly would have taken him at great disadvantage.

But fortunately for the Americans he let either indolence, over-confidence, or defective judgment, or all combined, influence him to put off a further forward movement until spring; but that movement he estimated would be on such a scale as to be irresistible, and he began to make preparation for it at once. Hamilton says that "messengers were

sent to Mr. Stewart, the agent of Indian affairs to the southward, with letters proposing a meeting in the spring at Vincennes, or the Cherokee river; the object of which was to reconcile the southern Indians with the Shawnees and other nations, and to concert a general invasion of the frontiers. A letter was also sent for Captain Blomer at the Natchez by a person who I expected would betray his trust and show it to Don Bernardo de Galvez at New Orleans. A party of thirty 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 returned, 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 Illinois, 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 Clark of our arrival." The statement that Clark did not hear of Hamilton taking Vincennes until the latter part of January was probably incorrect. In the author's opinion he heard of it early in that month, soon after his return to Kaskaskia from his abandoned trip to Cahokia.

Hamilton thought the corporal and six men were instigated to desert "by ill-intentioned people among the French at Vincennes," and he pours out the vials of his wrath upon them and Father Gibault; thereby paying the reverend father the highest compliment, from the American point of view, that could possibly be paid him, because the wrath was all occasioned by his devotion to the American cause.

"One of the deserters," says Hamilton, "was a brother to Gibault, the priest, who had been an active agent for the rebels and whose 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 (to) 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."

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA HEARS THE NEWS OF CLARK'S SUCCESS AND TAKES ACTION THEREON.

Commandant Rochblave sent a prisoner to Virginia—News of the capture of the Illinois country joyfully received—The governor communicates it to the delegates in congress—Virginia legislature returns thanks to Clark and his soldiers—Also passes a law organizing the county of Illinois—And another to raise five hundred additional soldiers for service there—John Todd appointed lieutenant-commandant and instructed by Governor Henry as to his duties—Important letters from the governor to Colonel Clark—Letter from Clark to the governor describing his desperate situation and foreshadowing his intention to attempt the capture of Hamilton and Vincennes.

ACCORDING to both Colonel Clark and Major Bowman, Rochblave was captured on the night of the 4th of July, 1778. It is said that, at first Clark was disposed to deal gently with him, but his language and conduct were so insulting and offensive that it provoked a rather close confinement in Kaskaskia for about four weeks, and he was then forwarded to the authorities of the state of Virginia, at Williamsburg, under a guard headed by Captain John Montgomery and Lieutenant John Rogers. Mrs. Rochblave and her seven children were left behind in Kaskaskia. Rochblave denounced his treatment by Clark very bitterly, saying, among other things, that his prison was worse than any in Algiers, but he did not mention that his own offensive bearing and violent language were

generally understood to be the principal causes for any harsh treatment that he may have received, and he likewise appears to have represented it as much worse than it really was. Colonel Clark was inclined to treat him kindly and to restore to him his slaves that had been taken as public "plunder," and for that purpose invited him and his officers to a dinner; but it is said that "the violent and insulting language of Mr. Rochblave on this occasion entirely frustrated Clark's benevolent designs. The slaves were afterwards sold for five hundred pounds which was distributed among the troops for prize money." *

He was a prisoner of war, captured without conditions, as the commandant of the military post of a public enemy, and there seems to have been no special reason why he should not have received the usual treatment as such, even if he had not given the provocation above alluded to. The exact day he was taken from Kaskaskia is not certain, but it was after the 30th of July, as Lieutenant Isaac Bowman, who was one of the party who went on to Virginia, carried with him two letters written by his brother, Captain Joseph Bowman, at Kaskaskia on that day. A letter written by Rochblave leads to the inference that it was the 4th day of August that this last commandant of His Majesty, the king of England, in the Illinois country, was started on his long and fatiguing journey of over a thousand miles, the humiliated and crest-fallen prisoner of the "rebels" he so much despised. It would be hard to appropriately describe his evident sorrow in falling from his high estate, and departing from his wife and children under

*Ohio Valley Historical Series No. 3, Clark's Campaign.

such conditions; and the bitterness of his denunciation of "the brigands," as he called them, was quite natural under the circumstances.

Of course the arrival of the party in Virginia, with this prominent representative of the king in the Illinois country as a prisoner, and the startling news that all the British posts and towns on the Mississippi, from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, had been captured and were in possession of the Virginia troops, created the most intense excitement everywhere. It was, indeed, a most important event to the whole country, and particularly to the Old Dominion, for these were her troops, led by Colonel Clark, one of her favorite sons. As the news spread, pride and gratitude took possession of every patriotic heart, and words of praise were upon every lip. The governor, evidently greatly elated at the joyful news, communicated it to the Virginia delegates in congress by letter, dated November 16, 1778, in which he said:

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 forts 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 Colonel George Rogers Clark, on that service some time last spring. By dispatches which I have just received from Colonel Clark it appears that his success has equaled the most sanguine expectations. He has not only reduced Fort Chartres and

its dependencies, but has struck such a terror into the Indian tribes between that settlement and the lakes that no less than five of them, viz.: the Puans, Sacks, Renards, Powtowantanies and 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, the Chippowaw chief, has also sent a belt of peace to Colonel Clark, influenced he supposes by the dread of Detroit's being reduced by the American arms. This latter place, according to Colonel Clark's representation, is at present defended by so inconsiderable a garrison, and so scantily furnished with provisions, 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 impression made on the Indians in general in that quarter, the influence of the French on them, and the re-enforcement of their militia, Colonel Clark expected, flattered him that there was little danger to be apprehended. Included in the dispatches is a letter from Captain Helm, who commanded a party posted by Colonel Clark at St. Vincents. According to this information, the Wabash and upper Indians, consisting of the Peankishows, Towows, Peorias, Delawares, Pillakishaws, Marketans 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. Captain 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 merchandise seized by the English from Detroit belonging to the people at St. Vincents and on its way to them. The captain speaks with confidence of success in their enterprise, and extends his hopes even to the destruction of Detroit, if joined on his way by the expected number of Indians and volunteers. My reason for troubling congress with these particulars is, that they avail themselves of the light they throw on the state of things in the western country. If the party under Colonel Clark can co-operate in any respect with the measures congress is pursuing, or have in view, I shall with pleasure give him the necessary orders. In order to improve and secure the advantages gained by Colonel Clark I propose to support him with a re-enforcement of militia. But this will depend on the pleasure of the assembly, to whose consideration the measure is submitted. The French inhabitants have manifested great zeal and attachment to our cause, and insist on garrisons remaining with them under Colonel 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 I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant, P. HENRY.

P. S.—Great inconveniences are felt here for want of letters of marque.

When the legislature met the popular feeling was embodied in formal legislation. The house of delegates gave expression to the public sentiment by adopting resolutions, November 23, 1778, reciting that:

Whereas, authentic information has been received, that Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western part of this commonwealth, on the river Mississippi and its 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 Clark, and the brave officers and men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance, in so hazardous an enterprise, and for their important services thereby rendered to their country.

The reply of Colonel Clark to this complimentary expression of the Virginia Legislature was one of the papers captured by the enemy from the messenger having it in charge, and will be found in the chapter relating to that tragic event. It was dated March 10, 1779.

The legislature of Virginia also realized the necessity of extending more effective civil government over the conquered Illinois country, and promptly passed an act organizing it into "the county of Illinois." This act provided for the appointment by the governor and council of a county lieutenant, or commandant, who was authorized to appoint deputies and militia officers requisite for the

proper organization of the county, and protection of government, and also to commission the "civil officers, to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary to the preservation of the peace and administration of justice;" but the latter were "to be chosen by a majority of the citizens in the respective districts." These civil officers were "to conduct themselves agreeable to the laws which the present settlers are now accustomed to." The act further ordered the raising of "five hundred men, with proper officers, to march immediately into the said county of Illinois, to garrison forts and protect the said county." It also contained other provisions, but was only intended to be temporary in its operations.* A portion only of the five hundred men provided by the act reached the Illinois country. John Todd, Junior, was appointed county lieutenant or commandant of the county, and on the 12th of December, 1778, Governor Henry outlined his duties in a masterly letter of instructions, in which he said:

"The present crisis rendered so favorable 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 general usages and manners, as well as the geography of the

* For the act in full see appendix.

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 Colonel Clark 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 murders 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 for effecting this will not, perhaps, be found in your or Colonel Clark's power. But the French inhabiting the neighborhood 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 Colonel Clark may discover its fallacy or reality. If the former appears, defense only is to be the object. If the latter, or a good prospect of it, I hope the Frenchmen and Indians at your disposal will show 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 the 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 chastisement in those enemies whose towns are an easy prey in the absence of their warriors.

"You perceive 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 comprising the militia, it will be necessary to co-operate with the troops sent from hence. And I know 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 policy 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 be therefore 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 administered to them, for any injury received from the troops.

"The omission of this may be fatal. Colonel Clark has instruction on this head, and will I doubt not exert himself to curb all licentious parties of the soldiery, which if unrestrained will produce the most baneful effects.

"You will also discourage and punish every attempt to violate the property of the Indians, particularly in their lands. Our enemies have alarmed them much on that score. But I hope from your prudence and justice that no ground of complaint will be administered on this subject."

He also directs that care be taken to cultivate friendly relations with the neighboring Spanish authorities; that Colonel Todd exercise his own judgment in cases not covered by his instructions; that in negotiations with the Indians peace is to be the paramount object, and that Mr. Rochblave's wife and family must not be allowed to suffer because of the loss of their property taken by the Virginia troops.

COLONEL JOHN TODD.

The organization of the civil government was in accordance with Colonel Clark's wishes and the appointment of Colonel Todd at its head was very gratifying as they were devoted friends. It has often been stated that Colonel Todd accompanied Clark in the Illinois campaign, and there is a tradition that he was the first man to enter the fort at Kaskaskia when it was taken from the British.

The statement may be true, but the author has not found evidence to sustain it. No land was granted to John Todd or his heirs for services in the Illinois campaign, but land was granted to his brothers, Robert and Levi, who were distinguished officers under Clark, as will be shown later. John Todd was born in Pennsylvania, but, becoming an orphan, was educated in Virginia under the auspices of his uncle Reverend John Todd, and hence the former was distinguished by the addition of junior to his name. John Todd, Junior, who was the commandant of the Illinois country, was a superior man in every way, and rendered distinguished services, both in a civil and military capacity. He lost his life in the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks, August 19, 1782, where he was the chief in command. He was an aid under General Lewis in the celebrated battle of Point Pleasant, and was in campaigns against the Indians before he emigrated to Kentucky in 1775. He headed the men who were defeated in endeavoring to bring into the interior of Kentucky the five hundred pounds of powder that Clark brought down the Ohio river from Virginia. His daughter became the wife of Mr. Russell of Kentucky, and upon his death she became the second wife of Robert Wickliffe, but left no children.

On the same day that the governor of Virginia wrote instructions for County-Lieutenant Todd, he also wrote an important letter to Colonel Clark, which is so clear, forcible, patriotic and interesting that it is given entire:

"You are," said he, "to retain the command of the troops now at the several posts in the county of Illinois and on the Wabash, which falls within the limits of the

county now erected and called Illinois county, which troops marched out with and have been embodied by you. You are also to take the command of five other companies, raised under the act of assembly which I send herewith, and which if completed, as I hope they will be speedily, will have orders to join you without loss of time, and are likewise to be under your command. With your whole force you are to protect the inhabitants of the county, and as occasions may serve among the enemy.

"It is thought that the Indian nations may be overawed and inclined to peace with us, by the adoption of proper measures with you. Or if that can not be effected, that such of them as send out parties towards our frontiers on this side of the Ohio may be chastised by detachments from your quarters. For this purpose it will behoove you to watch their motions, and 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 success as depending upon the good-will and friendship of the Frenchmen and Indians who inhabit your part of the commonwealth. With their concurrence great things may be accomplished. But their animosity will spoil the fair prospects which your past successes have opened. You will, therefore, spare no pains to conciliate the affections of the French and Indians. Let them see and feel the advantages of being fellow-citizens and freemen. Guard most carefully against every infringe-

ment of their property, particularly with respect to land, as our enemies have alarmed them as to that. Strict, and 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 and capital matter, and 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 offense. The honor and interest of the state are deeply concerned in this, and the attachment of the French and 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 whenever it can be done. On your part, you will omit no opportunity to give him the necessary co-operation 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 and bill of rights, together with the French alliance. These will serve to show our new friends the ground upon which they are to stand, and the support to be expected

from their countrymen of France. Equal liberty and 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 and Wabash, I think it possible that they may be brought to expel their British masters, and become fellow-citizens of a free state. I recommend this to your serious consideration, and to consult with some confidential person on the subject. Perhaps Mr. Gibault, the priest (to whom this country owes many thanks for his zeal and services), may promote this affair. But I refer it to you to select the proper persons to advise with, and to act as occasion offers. But you are to push at any favorable occurrences which fortune may present to you. For our peace and 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 neighborhood of the Virginians and the subjects of His Catholic Majesty.

"I must observe to you that your situation is critical. Far detached from the body of your country, placed among French, Spaniards, and Indian nations, strangers to our people, anxiously watching your actions and behavior, and ready to receive impressions favorable, or not so, of our commonwealth and its government, which impressions will be hard to remove, and will produce lasting good or ill effects to your country. These considerations will make

you cautious and circumspect. I feel the delicacy and difficulty of your situation, but I doubt not your virtue will accomplish the arduous work with honor to yourself and advantage to the commonwealth. The advice and assistance of discreet good 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 and the law has made no provisions.

"I desire your particular attention to Mrs. Rochblave and her children, and that you suffer them to want for nothing. Let Mr. Rochblave'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 husband's effects to restore.

"Prudence requires that provisions be laid in to subsist the troops you have, and those to be expected to arrive with you. Colonel Bowman has contracted to deliver thirty-five thousand pounds 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 generally known, as perhaps advantages may be taken by raising the price. Lay up also a good stock of powder and lead, etc.

"There is a cargo 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, and let me receive it.

"In your negotiations or treaties with the Indians, you will be assisted by Mr. Todd. Let the treaties be confined to the subject of amity and peace with our people, and not to touch the subject 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 and 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, and for other matters requiring money. In the distribution of the money you will be careful to keep exact accounts from time to time, and take security where it is proper."

On the first of the next month the governor forwarded another letter to Colonel Clark acquainting him of some alteration the legislature had made in the plan of supplying him with additional forces and making some additional valuable suggestions as to the best line of future operations, going, still further, to show how clearly the governor understood the situation and his deep solicitude for the general welfare. In the letter he said:

"The late assembly having made some alteration in the western forces as stated to you in a former letter, I think it necessary to apprise you of it. They have directed your battalion to be completed, one hundred men to be stationed at the falls of the Ohio under Major Slaughter, and one only of the additional battalions to be completed. Major Slaughter's men are raised, and will march in a few

days, this letter being to go with him. The returns which have been made to me do not enable me to say whether men enough are raised to make up the additional battalion, but I suppose there must be nearly enough. This battalion will march as early in the spring as the weather will admit. I hope that by this time the Spaniards have relieved us from the Natchez and Mansiack. I know, therefore, of but two objects between which you can balance for your next summer's operation. These are 1, an expedition against Detroit, or 2, against those tribes of Indians between the Ohio and Illinois rivers which have harassed us with eternal hostilities, and whom experience has shown to be incapable of reconciliation. Removed at such a distance as we are, and so imperfectly informed, it is impossible for us to prescribe to you. The defenses at Detroit seem too great for small armies alone, and if that nest was destroyed, the English still have a tolerable channel of communication with the northern Indians, by going from Montreal up the Otawa river. On the other hand, the Shawanees, Mingoes, Munsies and the nearer Wyandots, are troublesome thorns in our sides. However, we must leave it to yourself to decide on the object of the campaign; if against the Indians, the end proposed should be their extermination, or their removal beyond the lakes or Illinois river. The same world will scarcely do for them and us. I suppose it will be best for the new battalion to act with you all the summer, aided by a considerable part of Slaughter's men; and in the fall to fortify the posts we propose to take on the Ohio, and remain in them during the succeeding winter. The posts which have been thought

of are the mouth of Fishing, or Little Kanhaway, Great Kanhaway, Sioto, Great Salt Lick and Kentucky. There being posts already at Pittsburg, the mouth of Wheeling and the falls of Ohio, these intermediate ones will form a chain from Pittsburg to the falls. I have then only to wish that your post was at the mouth of Ohio, which would complete the line."

For some unaccountable reason neither of these important letters seems yet to have reached Colonel Clark on the 3d of February, 1779, for on that day at Kaskaskia he wrote Governor Henry a letter, beginning in rather a gloomy and despairing tone, stating that he had not received any re-enforcement, or even heard from the governor, for nearly a year; that Hamilton had captured Vincennes, was repairing the fort there, and holding it with considerable force, while sending out Indians to harass the frontier, expecting to capture Kaskaskia and drive the Americans out of the Illinois country in the spring. Colonel Clark then refers to the important information imparted to him by Francis Vigo as to the condition of affairs at Vincennes, and discloses the daring resolution he has formed to recover Vincennes, and conquer Hamilton or die in the attempt.

"As it is now near twelve months," said he, "since I have had the least intelligence 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 maneuver of the famous hair-buyer general, Henry Hamilton, Esquire, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, hath much alarmed us. On the 16th of December last, he with a body of six hundred men, composed of regulars, French volun-

teers and Indians, took possession of St. Vincent on the Wabash, and what few men composed the garrison (they) not being able to make the least defense. He is influencing all the Indians he possibly can to join him. I learn that those (who) have treated with me have as yet refused his offers. I have for some time expected an attack from him; he has blocked up the Ohio river with a party of French and Indians. Yesterday, I, fortunately, got every piece of intelligence that I could wish for, by a Spanish gentleman (who) made his escape from Mr. Hamilton. No attack (is) to be made on the garrison at Kaskaskias until the spring; the passage is too difficult at present; his (Indians are) sent to war against different parts of the (frontiers), especially Kentucky. Belts, presents and speeches (are) sent to all the nations south of the Ohio immediately to meet at a general council at the mouth of the Tennessee river, to lay the best plans for cutting off the rebels at Illinois and Kentucky, etc. The Grand Kite and his nation, living at Post St. Vincent, told Mr. Hamilton that he and his people (were) 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 volunteers and about fifty Sawanay Indians that (are) 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 bastions, plenty of ammunition and provisions, and all kind of warlike stores, making preparation for the reduction of the Illinois, etc.; has no suspicion

of a visit from the Americans. This was Mr. Hamilton's circumstances when Mr. Vigo left him.

"Being sensible that without a re-enforcement, which at present I have hardly a right to expect, that I shall be obliged to give up the country to Mr. Hamilton, without a turn of fortune in my favor, I am resolved to take advantage of his present situation and risk the whole in 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, amounting, in the whole, to only one hundred and seventy men . . . of which goes on board a small galley . . . 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 ten leagues below St. Vincent until further orders. If I am defeated she is to join Colonel Rogers on the Mississippi. She has great stores of ammunition on board; commanded by Lieutenant John Rogers. I shall march across by land myself with the rest of my boys. The principal persons that follow me on this forlorn hope (are) Captain Joseph Bowman, John Williams, Edw. Worthing(ton), Richard McCarty and Frans. Charlovielle —Lieutenants Richard Brashear, (Abm.) Kellar, Abm. Chaplin, John Bayley and several other brave subalterns. You must be sensible of the feeling that I have for those brave officers and soldiers (who) are determined to share my fate let it be what it will.

"I know the case is desperate, but, sir, we must either quit the country or attack Mr. Hamilton. No time is to be lost. Was I sure of a re-enforcement I should not attempt

it. Who knows what fortune will do for us? Great things have been effected by a few men well conducted. Perhaps we may be fortunate. We have this consolation that our case is just, and that our country will be grateful and not condemn our conduct, in case we fall through; if so, this country as well as Kentucky, I believe, is lost.

"I have written to Colonel Rogers desiring of him not to enter the Ohio river until further intelligence from me. I learn that by a noble stroke of policy that he has got his cargo above the British posts in Florida. If I have success I shall immediately send despatches to him. The expresses that you have sent I expect have fallen into the hands of Governor Hamilton."

The letter of Governor Henry to Clark, quoted in this chapter, shows that he had given consideration to the possible necessity of retaliation upon the part of the Americans towards Hamilton in turning his own methods against him by making use of the Indians as allies, but wisely left the matter to Colonel Clark, with authority to adopt that policy if deemed advisable. To his credit, however, as already stated in a previous chapter, Clark did not make use of Indians against his white enemies in any kind of warfare.

CHAPTER X.

PREPARING FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST HAMILTON—THE DEPARTURE FROM KASKASKIA AND MARCH TO VINCENNES.

Difficulties of Colonel Clark's situation—Prepares to march against the British at Vincennes—Great assistance rendered by Francis Vigo—Sketch of Vigo—Visit to his grave—Not properly compensated by government for his services and losses—He secures important information of the strength of the British at Vincennes—Captains Bowman's and McCarty's companies join Clark at Kaskaskia—Sketch of Captains McCarty, Williams, Charleville and Rogers—The latter moves forward by water with part of Clark's force—Clark marches by land—Troops blessed by Father Gibault and cheered on by French inhabitants—Details of march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes—Incidents of remarkable passage across overflowed bottoms of Big and Little Wabash rivers—Reaches Vincennes at last, is well received by French citizens, and proceeds at once to attack the British in Fort Sackville.

CLARK was surrounded with difficulties other than those so feelingly and forcibly stated in his letter to the governor given in the last chapter. He had at this time but little over one hundred American soldiers. The French inhabitants had manifested so much alarm since the arrival in the country of Hamilton's army of five or six hundred, that Clark did not know, with certainty, that he could rely upon his French soldiers, who probably did not number over a hundred. The Indians were now nearly all against him. He was far from the source of his supplies, with a superior force and a strong fort interven-

ing. He was destitute of money, provisions, and other necessaries, with no possible hope of aid from any quarter; and so far away from Virginia, in fact, that he could not even get word there in time to receive assistance, if it had been possible to obtain it. The country he was trying to hold was so vast, and the two chief military posts now left him so far apart, that it was utterly impossible to long hold out with his present resources. To use his own words, his situation was truly "desperate." "My number of men," he said, "was too small to stand a siege, and my situation too remote to call for assistance."

Not a man of the re-enforcements ordered from Virginia had arrived, nor did Clark at that time know that any re-enforcements had been ordered. If he had not been a brave man, and an able man, he would have given up under these apparently insurmountable difficulties; but now he displayed that great genius, strength of character and indomitable energy which ranks him with the first commanders of that period. He determined to convert a "desperate" condition into a magnificent victory. He would, under all these adverse circumstances, do, with about two hundred men, what Hamilton had shrunk from undertaking with five or six hundred. If he waited until spring Hamilton would probably take him, so he would not wait, but march, in midwinter, and take Hamilton. "I was sensible," said Clark, "that the resolution was as desperate as my situation, but I saw no other opportunity of securing the country," and he inspired his old comrades with his own enthusiastic and patriotic spirit. From that hour every energy of his mind and body was wholly given to making

this enterprise a success, and not only his old soldiers joined cordially in the undertaking, but the creole soldiers as well. The French inhabitants, with their mercurial and impressible temperament now rendered their assistance with zeal—the women even urging the men to assist the Americans. Father Gibault was there, "a power behind the throne," inspiring his people in the same direction.

FRANCIS VIGO.

Francis Vigo was also there, and had already been of great service to Colonel Clark. He continued faithfully on the side of the Americans during the whole of the struggle, and his services were of incalculable benefit. His portrait here given is from a photograph of the oil painting in the University of Vincennes which was painted from life. In a letter to the author, the Hon. Henry S. Cauthorn, of Vincennes, who may be regarded as the best authority on the subject, says of it: "I was acquainted with Colonel Vigo in his life-time, and frequently saw him, and know it to be correct."

FRANCIS VIGO.

Colonel Vigo was looked up to by the French inhabitants in matters of credit and finance, as Gibault was in matters of morality and religion. Both were popular, and both were potential in their respective lines. Vigo was a native of Sardinia, and for a time was in the Spanish army, drifting to America in that capacity. He left the army when about twenty-five years of age, and became a trader in furs and a general merchant, with headquarters at St.

Louis, but with branches in the Illinois country. He was a resident of St. Louis, and a Spanish citizen at the time he met Colonel Clark, but he soon after became an American citizen, and lived to extreme old age at Vincennes, Indiana, where he died universally loved and respected.

In October, 1891, the author visited Vincennes and spent some time in investigating historical subjects in which he was greatly aided by resident friends whose assistance is gratefully remembered. In addition to its early settlement, and the multitude of interesting incidents connected with its history, its location and surroundings are so attractive that one can readily understand why it was a favorite of the Indians in the earliest times, and subsequently of the French and others of the white race. There are few places where life has, at all periods, been more thoroughly and philosophically enjoyed than at the "old post"—St. Vincent—the modern city of Vincennes.

In a Protestant cemetery at that place the author found the grave of Colonel Francis Vigo and copied the following simple inscription from the unpretentious stone which marks his grave:

COLONEL FRANCIS VIGO,
Died 22 March, 1835.
Aged 96 years.

Knowing something of his Catholic antecedents, surprise was felt at finding his grave in a Protestant cemetery, but no explanation for it was learned at the time. Several years afterwards a prominent Catholic priest, in answer to an inquiry of the author, suggested that it might have been because he belonged to the Masonic or some other society

interdicted by the Catholic church, but later investigation showed he was not a Mason. In making up this chapter some discrepancies were discovered as to the time of death and age of Colonel Vigo, as given on the head-stone at his grave, which led the author to fear he might not have copied the inscription correctly. He therefore wrote for information on that and other points in relation to Vigo, to Mr. Cauthorn, and received the following interesting reply: "I went to the cemetery yesterday, and in company with the sexton visited Colonel Vigo's grave, and found the inscription on the head-stone exactly as you have it. The grave is in a better condition than it was when you and I visited it some years ago. It has been nicely cleaned and a wire arch, over which a training vine has spread itself, has been placed there by some one. I will try and answer your inquiries in their order.

"1. As to the inscription on the grave-stone. I am satisfied the date of his death was March 22, 1836. This may be considered certain. Such is the date given in the bound volume of the *Sun*, published the week he died. I have examined the account book of the funeral director Dexter Gardner. He is a great-grandson of Andrew Gardner, who established the business here in 1816. In the account book of charges for funeral services is an entry which Mr. G. copied for me and which I enclose. You will observe the coffin and box were not paid for until 1876.

"2. As to the date of birth and age at death I am satisfied he was born in 1747 and was eighty-nine years old when he died.

"3. I have carefully examined the records and files in

the clerk's office and find his estate was never settled in court and all the papers have been taken from the files.

"4. He was not a Mason.

"5. He married a Miss Shannon who died soon after the marriage and left no children. He made two nephews, children of a sister of his wife, his residuary legatees. His wife died many years before him.

"6. I presume he was buried in the Protestant cemetery as in his last will it was provided that his remains should be buried as his executors should see proper. Besides he died without having received the sacraments of the Catholic church and therefore would not be buried as a Catholic.

"7. He made a will a short time before his death. It is dated December 9, 1834, and was witnessed by John Collins and John Badollet. It was probated April 5, 1836. He appointed Albert Badollet, George W. Ewing and Francis Vigo McKee executors. He makes his two nephews Archibald B. McKee and Francis Vigo McKee his residuary legatees. He provides that the contract made by him with John Law, Abner T. Ellis and Luther H. Reed for the prosecution of his claim against Virginia for supplies furnished General George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaign shall be faithfully observed and carried out. He also appropriates out of the money that may be recovered on his claim a sum sufficient to buy a bell for the court-house of Vigo county, as that county was named after him. The residue, after paying his attorneys under the contract, he devised to his two nephews aforesaid.

"The year before his death he was sick at Baptiste La Plante's, and Bishop Bruté called to see him and in the

course of conversation Colonel Vigo referred to his pending claim before congress, and told the bishop when paid the church should have it, and that it would be paid if there was justice on earth. He was for many years a practical Catholic, and one of the trustees of the church here from 1810 to 1821. He died very poor, March 22, 1836, without the consolations and comforts of his religion, and was buried in the public cemetery with the honors of war."

Mr. Cauthorn's letter confirmed the author's impression that the inscription on the tombstone as to age and time of death of Colonel Vigo is not correct; that he died in 1836 and not in 1835, and at the age of eighty-nine and not ninety-six, if the date of his birth, which is universally given as 1747, be correct.

To anticipate here, it may be said that Colonel Vigo not only favored the Americans with his personal services and influence, but seriously involved himself by selling supplies to the army and becoming security to others for supplies furnished, and died without being compensated, either by Virginia or the United States. The latter finally paid the debt, with interest, to his estate, but this was not until over forty years after he was in his grave. A striking illustration of the neglect and ingratitude of governments. He keenly felt his great reverse of fortune and the injustice that had been done him, and he could not understand why he was so neglected. In the last years of his life he was heard to say: "I guess the Lord has forgotten me," and might with justice have more truly added, my government has forgotten me. It will be observed that even the expense of his funeral was not paid until forty years after his

death, when it was paid out of the money recovered at last from the government.

The unheeded appeal he made to congress in 1834, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, was most pitiable, and equally so the fact that, when the money was paid forty years afterwards, not a dollar of it went to him or to any of his blood, for he died childless.

The amount paid was about fifty thousand dollars,* and it is probable that claim agents and lobbyists absorbed a considerable portion of it. United States Senator Daniel W. Voorhees is likewise authority for the statement that Vigo had requested, if his claim should ever be paid, that a portion of it should be used to purchase a bell for the court-house of the Indiana county which bears his name. It was done, and the distinguished senator, who resides in that county, adds, with characteristic eloquence, that "now the court-house bell daily proclaims that Indiana is the last resting-place of the brave, the gentle, the patriotic friend of freedom and humanity, Colonel Francis Vigo."

That the financial troubles which finally came upon Colonel Vigo grew out of his advances and credits to the American army, and efforts to sustain the value of the American paper money, which became worthless in his hands, there can be no doubt. He could not collect debts

* On the 8th of June, 1872, congress referred the claim of the executors of Colonel Francis Vigo to the court of claims, "with full jurisdiction and power to act;" and in 1875 the court gave judgment on a bill of exchange drawn by George Rogers Clark in favor of Vigo for army supplies, in the sum of $8,616 of principal and $41,282.60 interest, being the interest, at 5 per cent., from March 20, 1779, to January 18, 1875, making a total of $49,898.60. A forcible illustration of the accumulative power of interest, as well as neglect of government to promptly settle claims. Acts 2d session 42d Cong., p. 49; Reports Court of Claims, Vol. 10.

Post Vincent 31 Decr 1785

I promise to Pay to the late Copartnership of Thomas Williams & Co. of Detroit, their Executors, Administrators or Assigns or Order in all the month of May of the year One thousand Seven hundred & eighty Seven the sum of One thousand Seven hundred & twenty one Pounds five shillings & nine pence New York Currency in Money for value received. —

Vigo

£1721.5.9

Toyer gen: 22 Mars 1804. I.R.I.

due him from the government in such money as would pay his debts—in fact, could not collect at all. As a result he became embarrassed, and, although he struggled along, by extensions and renewals, for some years, finally failed to meet his obligations. On the opposite page is a fac-simile of a note, dated in 1785, on which he was sued.

The memorandum on the lower corner of this note is in the handwriting of the celebrated attorney of that period and locality, John Rice Jones. He had, no doubt, used a copy of the note in bringing the suit. The attorney on the other side had demanded oyer (that is the production in court) of the original note. It was produced and noted on the margin, "Oyer giv'n 22d Mar. 1804. J. R. J." The legal profession would of course understand this without explanation.

It has always been conceded that the information Vigo conveyed to Colonel Clark of the friendship of the Vincennes inhabitants for him, and the weakness of Hamilton's forces, was of immense importance, and materially aided in influencing him to make the great mid-winter campaign, which resulted in the capture of Fort Sackville and all its garrison, and the final overthrow of British rule in the Wabash and Illinois country.

It is not true, however, as some have supposed, that he was sent by Clark to Vincennes as a spy to discover the number and condition of Hamilton's forces. At the time he left Kaskaskia, December 18, 1778, neither Clark nor Vigo knew that Hamilton was in possession of Fort Sackville and Vincennes. He had only taken possession on the 17th of that month, and it was not possible for the news to have

reached Kaskaskia the next day. A statement under oath, in the nature of a memorial, which Colonel Vigo submitted to the thirtieth congress, shows that he and Colonel Clark supposed the Americans, under Captain Helm, were still in possession, and Vigo went, mainly, for the purpose of supplying them with provisions and ammunition. The journey assumed an unexpected aspect, however, but it enabled him to convey highly important information to Colonel Clark, as he clearly shows in his memorial. He says: "Sometime in December, 1778, this memorialist then being in Kaskaskia, now Illinois, where Colonel George R. Clark then was, the said Clark received a communication from Captain Helm, then commanding at Vincennes a company of Virginia troops, that he was destitute of provisions and ammunition, and requested deponent to go to Vincennes for the purpose of furnishing said Helm's company with provisions and ammunition, said Vigo being well acquainted with the French inhabitants at said post; that, in pursuance of said request, he left Kaskaskia for Vincennes on the 18th day of December, 1778, and, when about six miles from Vincennes, on the Embarras river, on the 24th December, 1778, was taken prisoner by a party of Indians commanded by an English officer, the garrison of Vincennes having been captured by Hamilton and the English forces a short time before, and Captain Helm being a prisoner; that the Indians took from him a valuable horse, deponent's arms, saddle-bags, and clothing, valued at five hundred dollars, including some paper money; that, when taken prisoner, he was carried to Vincennes, and

found Hamilton in possession of the post; that he was released by Hamilton on condition that he would do nothing to injure the British cause *during his journey home;* that he agreed to this and departed.

"During the time of his stay at Vincennes he ascertained accurately the situation of the garrison, and, *after his return home* to St. Louis, immediately went to Kaskaskia and gave Clark the information by which he captured Vincennes; that he was taken prisoner in company with Mr. Renau; that he never received a cent for the losses occasioned by this capture in the service of Virginia, nor ever asked for any."

Colonel Clark gives the evening of the 29th of January as the date of Vigo's return to Kaskaskia. "We got every information," says Clark, "from the gentleman that we could wish for, as he had had good opportunities and had taken great pains to inform himself with a design to give intelligence."

The important information Vigo brought, of course, occasioned great excitement. Captain Bowman's troops had already arrived from Cahokia. The officers were immediately called in consultation, and all agreed with Colonel Clark that the best thing to do was to march immediately against Hamilton's forces at Vincennes. Every energy was at once devoted to preparing for the campaign.

On the 31st of January an express was sent to Cahokia for such volunteer forces as could be forwarded at once, and on the morning of the 4th of February a company of French and creoles arrived from that place under the command of Captain Richard McCarty.

CAPTAIN RICHARD M'CARTY.

This officer had been in the British service only as recently as the spring before, and was so, probably, at the time of the capture of the Illinois country in July, 1778. Exactly how he made the transition from one side to the other is not clear, but it is not doubted that he rendered service that was entirely satisfactory in the campaign against Vincennes. He seems to have owned real estate at, or near, Cahokia, and was appointed commandant at that place, under Virginia authority, in August, 1779, but he soon came in conflict with the civil authorities there. Colonel John Todd, the county lieutenant, wrote Governor Jefferson, in November, 1780, that "McCarty, a captain in the Illinois regiment, who has long since rendered himself disagreeable by endeavoring to enforce military law upon the civil department of Cohos." McCarty, aware that these charges had been made against him, wrote Todd with considerable spirit and force, in substance, that the government and its paper money had fallen into such disrepute that provisions could not be procured by purchase on government account, and that he had of necessity procured them for his soldiers, "without any regard to private interests whatever, but for the good of the state he served."

He was allotted three thousand two hundred and thirty-four acres of land in Clark's Grant, Indiana, on account of his services in the Illinois campaign.*

Besides the two companies of creoles, there were two, possibly three, companies of Americans in the Vincennes

*Nos. 63, 80, 90, 228, 251, each 500 acres, and 234 acres in A. 190.

campaign, Bowman's old company, and a company which seems to have been commanded by Captain Worthington. In the letter to Mason, Clark speaks of him as "William Worthington of the light-horse," but the same letter fixes the time of departure from Kaskaskia on the campaign as the 5th of January, when it was notoriously February, showing that gross mistakes have been made by copyists or printers, or Colonel Clark was very careless in writing. The name of William Worthington does not appear as receiving land for services in the Illinois campaign, but that of Captain *Edward* Worthington does, and a sketch of him has already been given. Mention is made by Clark in another place of Captain Williams being in command of a company, and this would indicate that there were five companies taking part in the campaign.

CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS.

The Captain Williams mentioned was, presumably, Captain John Williams, as to whose life other than in this campaign the author has but little information. He is said to have married in Kaskaskia, and died at Natchez, Mississippi, leaving a widow and children. He was in the command of the troops detailed to capture the party of Indians returning to Fort Sackville from a raid against the Kentucky frontier, which he managed with adroitness and success, as will be narrated further on. He was also entrusted, in connection with Lieutenant John Rogers, with conveying the British prisoners, captured at Fort Sackville, to Virginia, as will presently be more fully related. Captain Williams was allotted three thousand two hundred and thir-

ty-four acres of land in Clark's Grant for military services, being Nos. 9, 75, 115, 152, 166, 240, each for five hundred acres, and two hundred and thirty-four acres in No. 101.

On the 1st of February men were put to work getting a large boat, called a galley, or batteau, ready to take army supplies and a detachment of troops down the Kaskaskia and Mississippi, and up the Ohio and the Wabash, to a designated point below Vincennes, probably the mouth of White river, there to await further orders. The vessel was put in condition for use, in a few days, and loaded with two four-pound cannons, four swivels, ammunition, provisions and other army supplies. Nothing equal to this boat had been seen at Kaskaskia before, and this added to the already intense military excitement. On the afternoon of the 4th of February, "The Willing," which was the name given the boat, dropped down the river amid the cheers of the forty-six men on board, and the applause of four or five companies of soldiers on shore and most of the men, women and children of Kaskaskia.

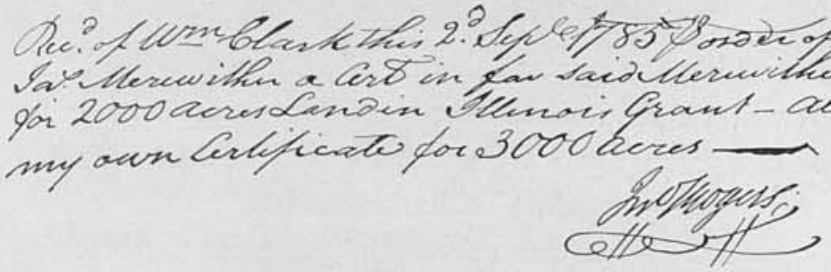
LIEUTENANT JOHN ROGERS.

The company on board The Willing was under the command of Lieutenant John Rogers, a cousin of Colonel Clark, and son of George Rogers, after whom Colonel Clark was named. Lieutenant Rogers was born in Virginia in 1757 and died at Richmond in that state in 1794, and was buried there. He and Captain John Montgomery were in charge of the party who took Hamilton and the other British prisoners to Virginia after the capture of Vincennes, and Lieutenant Rogers seems to have been very favorably

DEPARTURE OF "THE WILLING" FROM KASKASKIA.

received by the legislature, probably more on account of that success than the part he took in it. A resolution was passed June 12, 1779: "That the treasurer be directed to pay two hundred pounds to Lieutenant Rogers as an acknowledgment from the general assembly for the active and distinguished part he has taken in the expedition against St. Vincents," and he was also appointed to convey to Colonel Clark an elegant sword which the legislature at that time directed to be made and which will be fully described further on.

He was allotted land in Clark's Grant for his services, as will be seen by the following reduced fac-simile:



He had evidently been promoted to a captaincy as he was allotted three thousand two hundred and thirty-four acres which was the quantity allowed a captain. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

In the meantime the enthusiasm had reached fever heat with the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, and a fine company of volunteers was raised among them, and placed under the command of

CAPTAIN FRANCIS CHARLEVILLE,

Then about thirty-five years of age, married and a member of an old and honorable French family. He had eight chil-

dren and died about 1793. It is said that two of his sons served in the War of 1812 in Captain Dodge's company, and that descendants are still living in Missouri.* The name of Francis Charleville is not on the list of persons allotted land for the service in the Illinois campaign, probably because he was only temporarily in command of the Kaskaskia volunteers in the campaign against Vincennes and did not belong to the Virginia-Illinois regiment or serve long enough to be entitled under the law. The omission, however, looks strange in view of the fact that land was allotted to Richard McCarty who commanded the Cahokia creoles on the same occasion. The reason, presumably, is that he continued in the service long enough to come within the law and Charleville did not.

It will be seen that there were four companies in the land campaign against Vincennes, as there had been four in the campaign against Kaskaskia, and the number of men in each expedition was substantially the same. It is possible that there were five companies on this occasion, but one hundred and seventy is given as the number in all the companies; this does not, however, include the forty-six men who started by boat, but did not arrive in time to participate in the capture. Clark's letter to Mason says, "our whole party, with the boat's crew, consisted of only a little upwards of two hundred." They had some pack-horses, but no tents, and the whole of this remarkable campaign was made in the worst of weather, without shelter, or any suitable place to cook or rest.

*Rozier's History Mississippi Valley, p. 73.

OFF FOR VINCENNES

The 5th of February was fixed upon as the day of departure of the land forces, and great preparations were made for the occasion by the now thoroughly aroused inhabitants, for the very best of their young men had volunteered to go on the campaign.

The whole population turned out to see them off, many from curiosity, but many relatives were there—fathers and mothers, sisters and lovers, with anxious hearts to bid adieu to dear ones they might not see again.

The occasion was a most interesting one, not only because of its then surroundings, but far more because results followed from this campaign which changed the boundaries of nations, and made an impress upon coming ages. Father Gibault was there, to absolve the troops and address them in the glowing words the occasion naturally inspired.

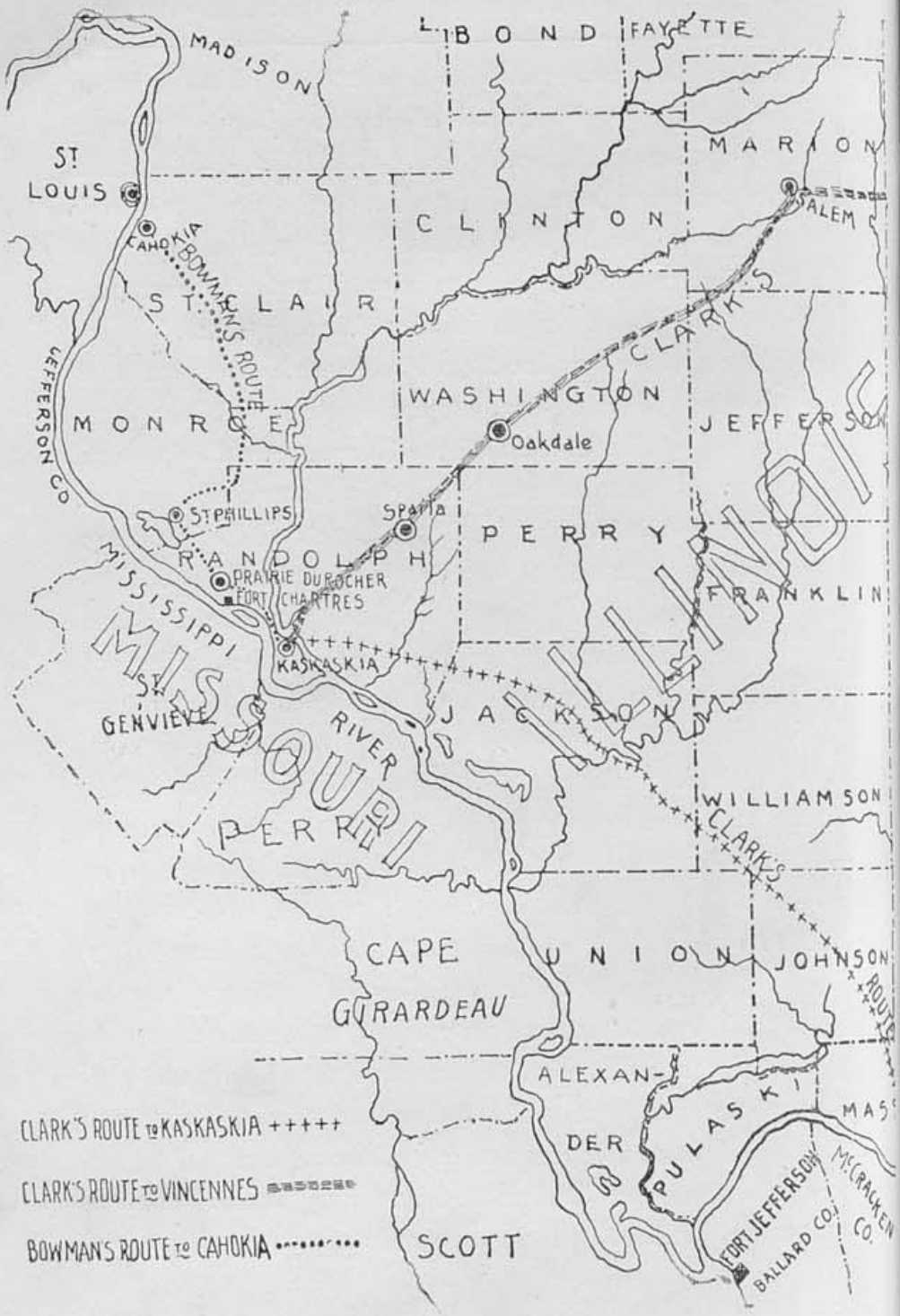
FATHER GIBAULT BLESSING CLARK'S TROOPS.

The hour of departure arrived, the order "forward march!" was given, and the gallant little army passed out of Kaskaskia, on its important mission, followed by the acclamations and good wishes of the people.

This was on the afternoon of the 5th of February, 1779, and at 3 o'clock the party crossed the Kaskaskia river about a mile north of the town, at Crely's ferry, the same at which Clark's invading forces crossed on the night of the preceding fourth of July, when Kaskaskia was captured from the British. There was a well-defined trail from this point to Vincennes, and thence on to Ouiatenon and Detroit. Governor Reynolds said of this trail, in 1850, that "it was the Appian Way of Illinois in ancient times," and "it is yet visible in many places between Kaskaskia and Vincennes." From the ferry the trail at first led north or northeast, and probably passed through, or near, where the following towns are now situated: Sparta, Coultersville, Oakdale, Nashville, Walnut Hill, Salem, Maysville, and Lawrenceville to Vincennes.

The distance between Kaskaskia and Vincennes was estimated by Clark to be two hundred and forty miles, but that was probably by the route he traveled, and was overestimated. By the way of the points named, on a direct line, it is about one hundred and seventy-five miles. Hamilton also speaks of the distance between the two places as being two hundred and forty miles. The author having asked Mr. Cauthorn's opinion as to the probable route and distance, he replied: "The route by which Clark reached Vincennes, I have always heard it said, was by the St. Louis trail, or trace; of course, starting from Kaskaskia, as he did, he did not pursue or follow this trace, or trail, the entire distance. But doubtless he struck out from Kaskaskia by a route to reach that trail, or trace, as speedily as possible. I am inclined to think he, therefore, after crossing

the Kaskaskia river, pursued a course upon which are now located in the neighborhood of it the following places: Sparta, Coultersville, Nashville, Centralia and Salem, in Marion county, where he would reach the St. Louis trail and follow it in an eastern course to his point of destination. The route from Kaskaskia to Vincennes was well known to the citizens of each place in early times. Kaskaskia is an older location than Vincennes, and it was here that the main Jesuit headquarters in the Illinois country was located. The Church of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia contains many valuable historic documents. The priests that served in the Catholic church in Vincennes from 1708 to as late as 1780 were Jesuit fathers from Kaskaskia, who came here from that place very often. The church records here show many marriages of members of the parish here with members of the parish of Kaskaskia, and *vice versa*. There was frequent intercommunication between the two places. Therefore, Clark in making his march in February, 1779, was well posted by citizens of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and, besides, had many men in his command from these places. The distance from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, as I have said, is greater than to St. Louis. The route he took from Kaskaskia to reach the St. Louis trail represents, as I may say, the hypothenuse of a right-angle triangle, with reference to St. Louis and the point of reaching that trail. I therefore think the distance from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, by the route General Clark traveled, was from one hundred and sixty to one hundred and seventy miles. I do not remember, however, to


BOND
FAYETTE
MADISON
MARION
ST. LOUIS
CLINTON
SALEM
CAHOKIA
BOWMAN'S ROUTE
ST. CLAIR
CLARK'S
JEFFERSON CO
WASHINGTON
MONROE
Oakdale
JEFFERSON
ILLINOIS
ST. PHILLIPS
Sparta
PERRY
RANDOLPH
PRAIRIE DU ROCHER
FORT CHARTRES
FRANKLIN
MISSISSIPPI
KASKASKIA
MISSOURI
ST. GENVIEVE
RIVER
JACKSON
WILLIAMSON
PERRY
CLARK'S
CAPE GIRARDEAU
UNION
JOHNSON
ROUTE
ALEXANDER
PULASKI
MASS
FORT JEFFERSON
McCRACKEN CO.
BALLARD CO.
SCOTT
CLARK'S ROUTE TO KASKASKIA +++++
CLARK'S ROUTE TO VINCENNES
BOWMAN'S ROUTE TO CAHOKIA

CLAY
OLNEY
LAWRENCE
FORT SACKVILLE
VINCENNES
LAWRENCEVILLE
RICHLAND
ST FRANCISVILLE
ROUTE
DAVIESS
KNOX
EDWARDS
WABASH
WAYNE
PIKE
INDIANA
GIBSON
WHITE
RIVER
WARRICK
HAMILTON
VANDERBURG
POSEY
OHIO R.
WABASH
GREEN R.
GALLATIN
HENDERSON
SALINE
UNION
KENTUCKY
HARDIN
POPE
CRITTENDEN
LIVINGSTON
FORT MASSAC
CUMBERLAND R.
TENNESSEE R.

have ever seen the distance given in any authentic or reliable statement."

Clark's army marched but three miles the first day, and it is understood remained a day or two on the high ground about two miles from the ferry, where the first camp was made, making final arrangements for the bold advance against Vincennes. They were certainly moving on the 7th. "Made a good march of about nine hours," says Bowman's journal, "the road very bad with mud and water." There was also a cold drizzling rain part of the time, and what that meant in February, in the way of discomfort, can be readily imagined. The camp was formed in squares, with baggage in the center, each company forming one square with guards selected from that company. "Marched early on the 8th," continues Bowman, "through the waters which we now began to meet in those large and level plains where, from the flatness of the country, it rests a considerable time before it drains off. Notwithstanding which our men were in great spirits, though much fatigued.

"9th. Made another day's march. Fair part of the day.

"10th. Crossed the river of the Petit fork upon trees that were felled for that purpose, the water being so high there was no fording it. Still raining and no tents—encamped near the river. Stormy weather.

"11th. Crossed the Saline river. Nothing extraordinary this day.

"12th. Marched across Cat (?) plains, saw and killed numbers of buffaloes. The road very bad from the immense quantity of rain that had fallen. The men much fatigued. Encamped on the edge of the woods. This plain or meadow being fifteen or more miles across, it was

late in the night before the baggage and troops got together. Now twenty-one miles from St. Vincents.

"13th. Arrived early at the two Wabashes. Although a league asunder, they now made but one. We set to making a canoe.

"14th. Finished the canoe and put her into the river, about four o'clock in the afternoon.

"15th. Ferried across the two Wabashes, it being then five miles in water to the opposite hills, where we encamped. Still raining. Orders not to fire any guns, for the future, but in case of necessity."

Clark's account of the march agrees substantially with Bowman's. His memoir says: "Everything being ready, on the 5th of February, after receiving a lecture and absolution from the priest, we crossed the Kaskaskia river with one hundred and seventy men—marched about three miles and encamped, where we lay until the (7th), and set out. The weather wet, but fortunately not cold for the season, and a great part of the plains under water several inches deep. It was difficult and very fatiguing marching. My object was now to keep the men in spirits. I suffered them to shoot game on all occasions, and feast on it like Indian war-dancers. Each company by turns inviting the others to their feasts, which was the case every night, as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat in the course of the day—myself and principal officers putting on the woodsmen, shouting now and then, and running as much through the mud and water as any of them. Thus, insensibly, without a murmur, were those men led on to the banks

of the Little Wabash, which was reached on the 13th, through incredible difficulties, far surpassing anything that any of us had ever experienced. Frequently the diversions of the night wore off the thoughts of the preceding day. We formed a camp on a height which 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 immediately set to work, without holding any consultation about it, or suffering anybody else to do so in my presence; ordered a pirogue to be built immediatly, and acted as though crossing the water would be only a piece of diversion. As few could work at the pirogue, at a time, pains were taken to find diversion for the rest to keep them in high spirits. . . . In the evening of the 14th, our vessel was finished, manned and sent to explore the drowned lands on the opposite side of the Little Wabash, with private instructions what report to make, and, if possible, to find some spot of dry land. They found about half an acre and marked the trees from thence back to the camp, and made a very favorable report. Fortunately the 15th happened to be a warm, moist day for the season, and the channel of the river where we lay about thirty yards wide. A scaffold was built on the opposite shore that was about three feet under water; our baggage ferried across, and put on it. Our horses swam across and received their loads at the scaffold, by which time the troops were brought across, and we began our march. Our vessel was loaded with those who were sickly, and we moved on cheerfully, every moment

expecting to see dry land, which was not discovered until we came to the little dry spot mentioned.

"This being a smaller branch than the other, the troops immediately crossed, and marched on, in the water, as usual, to take possession of the (nearest) height they could discover. Our horses and baggage crossed as had been done at the former river, and proceeded on, following the marked trail of the troops. As tracks could not be seen in the water the trees were marked. By evening we found ourselves encamped on a pretty height, in high spirits—

MARCHING THROUGH THE WATER.

each laughing at the other in consequence of something that had happened in the course of this ferrying business, as they called it. A little antic drummer had afforded them great diversion by floating on his drum. All were

greatly encouraged; and they really began to think themselves superior to other men, and that neither the rivers nor the seasons could stop their progress. Their whole conversation now was concerning what they would do when they got about the enemy. They now began to view the main Wabash as a creek, and made no doubt but such men as they were could find a way to cross it. They wound themselves up to such a pitch that (in imagination) they soon took Post Vincennes, divided the spoil, and before bed-time were far advanced on their route to Detroit. All this was, no doubt, pleasing to those of us who had more serious thoughts. We were now as it were in the enemies country—no possibility of a retreat if the enemy should discover and overpower us, except by the means of our galley if we could fall in with her. We were now convinced that the whole of the low country on the Wabash was drowned, and that the enemy could easily get to us, if they discovered us, and wished to risk an action; if they did not, we made no doubt of crossing the river by some means or other. Even if Captain Rogers, with our galley, did not get to his station agreeable to his appointment, we flattered ourselves that all would be well, and marched on in high spirits."

Bowman contines his journal of the march thus:

"16th. Marched all day through rain and water, crossed Fox river. Our provisions began to be short.

"17th. Marched early. Crossed several runs, very deep. Sent Mr. Kennedy, our commissary, with three men, to cross the river Embarrass, if possible, and proceed to a plantation opposite Post St. Vincents, in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About an

hour by sun we got near the river Embarrass. Found the country all overflown with water. We strove to find the Wabash. Traveled till eight 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 returned. Found it impossible to cross Embarrass river. We found the water falling from a small spot of ground; staid there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and dark weather.

"18th. At break of day heard Governor Hamilton's morning gun. Set off and marched down the river. Saw some fine land. About two o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash; made rafts for four men to cross and go up to town and steal boats. But they spent day and night in the water to no purpose, for there was not one foot of dry land to be found.

"19th. Captain McCarty's company set to making a canoe; and at three o'clock the four men returned after spending the night on some old logs in the water. The canoe finished, Captain McCarty, with three of his men, embarked in the canoe and made the third attempt to steal boats. But he soon returned, having discovered four large fires about a league distant from our camp, which seemed to him to be fires of whites and Indians. Immediately Colonel Clark sent two men in the canoe down to meet the batteau, with orders to come on day and night; that being our last hope, and (we) starving. Many of the men much cast down, particularly the volunteers. No provisions of any sort, now two days. Hard fortune!

"20th. Camp very quiet, but hungry—some almost in

despair; many of the creole volunteers talking of returning. Fell to making more canoes, when, about twelve o'clock, our sentry on the river brought to a boat with five Frenchmen from the post, who told us we were not as yet discovered; that the inhabitants were well disposed towards us, etc. Captain Willing's brother, who was taken in the fort, had made his escape to us, and that one Masonville, with a party of Indians, were then seven days in pursuit of him, with much news—more news to our favor, such as repairs done to the fort, the strength, etc. They informed us of two canoes they had seen adrift some distance above us. Ordered that Captain Worthington, with a party, go in search of them. Returned late with one only. One of our men killed a deer, which was brought into camp. Very acceptable.

"21st. At break of day began to ferry our men over in our two canoes to a small hill called the Momib or Bubbriss (Mammelle Hill). Captain Williams with two men went to look for a passage and were discovered by two men in a canoe, but could not fetch them to. 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 stopped on the next hill of the same name, there being no dry land on any side for many leagues. Our pilots say we can not get along—that it is impossible.

"The whole army being over, we encamped. Rain all this day—no provisions.

"22d. Colonel Clark encourged his men, which gave them great spirits. Marched on in the waters. Those that

were weak and famished from so much fatigue went in canoes. 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!"

The continued exposure, without suitable food, shelter or rest; the great labor and fatigue, together with the danger of being drowned, began to tell unfavorably upon the French and creole portion of the force. While there was no mutiny, or attempt at mutiny, dissatisfaction began to be expressed, and with it a desire to return to Kaskaskia. It was a dangerous condition, as Clark well understood. He also well comprehended the character of these soldiers and resorted to various expedients to pacify them, and encourage them to wade still further through the seemingly unending sea of water. Some of these were grave and serious, some now seem frivolous and laughable, but they were effective, which was what Clark was laboring to secure.

Upon one occasion, when there was a short halt upon a point of comparatively dry land, with a wide expanse of icy water before them, which had to be crossed, there was a little hesitancy on the part of some of these tired, wet, cold and hungry soldiers to again plunge into the water.

Upon this occasion Clark resorted to the following amusing, but effective, expedient: In Bowman's company, to which the "antic" little fourteen-year-old drummer, before referred to, belonged, there was an enormously tall sergeant, from the Shenandoah valley of Virginia, who stood fully six feet two inches in his stockings; strong, ath-

letic, reliable and the personification of good nature. Wholly dissimilar in size, they were much alike in creating mirth, and consequently were great favorites with the soldiers.* Clark, knowing this, "mounted the little drum-

THE DRUMMER BOY AND THE BIG SERGEANT.

mer on the shoulders of the stalwart sergeant, and gave orders to him to advance into the half-frozen water. He did so, the little drummer beating the *charge* from his lofty perch, while Clark, with sword in hand, followed them, giving the command, forward march! as he threw aside the floating ice. Elated and amused with the scene, the men promptly obeyed, holding their rifles above their heads,

* The tall sergeant is believed to have been Henry Dewit, who, it is said, remained about Vincennes after the war, where General Clark saw him in 1786. Two hundred and sixteen acres of land were allotted him in Clark's Grant for his services, viz.: Two hundred acres in tract No. 121 and sixteen acres in tract No. 169. It is to be regretted that no trace of the "antic" little drummer has been found after the events here related.

and, in spite of all obstacles, reached the high land beyond them safely, taking care to have the boats try to take those that were weak and numbed with the cold into them."

As will be related in the narrative, other expedients were resorted to, such as blacking the face with powder, raising the Indian war-whoop, all joining in patriotic songs, etc.; but, after all, the most potent, no doubt, was Clark's order to Bowman, who was his second self, to keep in the rear with twenty-five picked men and shoot down any one refusing to march—a very effective expedient, it must be admitted, as the fact of the order was well known among the troops. Clark's manner of *encouraging* his soldiers to advance on such occasions was somewhat like Cromwell's reliance on prayer, coupled with the admonition to be sure and keep the powder dry.

There was no cessation of the flood. If anything, it grew worse as the party advanced. It would be difficult for persons at this day to realize the generally wet and marshy condition of the flat lands, especially the bottom lands adjoining rivers, lakes and creeks, in Illinois and Indiana in early times. This was the general situation, which was much aggravated, of course, by seasons of great rains and floods. The country, from a variety of causes, has been gradually getting drier, as the author personally knows, for the last fifty or sixty years, and the same drying-out process has no doubt been going on as far back as the campaign of Clark against Vincennes. The author saw the bottoms of the Wabash when overflowed, in 1834 and 1835, and fully realizes the vastness of the country covered with water. He made a horseback journey almost entirely

across Indiana and Illinois, from east to west and return, in those years, and can not but compare the present dryness of the whole country with its extremely wet state at that period. Indeed it may become a serious matter if the streams and the water supply continue to diminish at the same rate for another half century.

This wet condition was noticed by all travelers in early times, and especially in the region of the Wabash and its tributaries. Thomas's Travels in the West, in 1816, says: "There is one inconvenience attending this country, exclusive of the overflowing of the Wabash. All its tributary streams, after a heavy shower of rain, rise above the banks, and overflow the low lands adjoining, which on all is of considerable extent. In time of high water, it is one of the most difficult countries to travel through I ever saw. I have known it for more than four weeks at one time that no person could get away from Union Prairie without swimming his horse, or going in a boat."

Bowman says that on the 23d they "set off to cross the plain called Horseshoe plain, about four miles long, all covered with water breast high. Here we expected some of our brave men must certainly perish, it having frozen in the night, and (they) so long fasting. Having no other resource but wading this plain, or rather lake of waters, we plunged into it with courage, Colonel Clark being first, taking care to have the boats try to take up those that were weak and numbed with the cold into them. Never were men so animated with the thought of avenging 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 hill of dry land called (Warrior's) island, where we took a prisoner hunting ducks, who informed us that no person suspected our coming at that season of the year."

Colonel Clark's memoir gives the following account of the closing march through the water: "This last day's march (the 21st) through the water was far superior to anything the Frenchmen had an idea of. They were backward in speaking—said that the nearest land to us was a small league called the Sugar Camp, on the bank of the (ravine?). A canoe was sent off, and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself, and sounded the water; found it deep as to my neck. I returned with a design to have the men transported on board the canoes to the Sugar Camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing night, as the vessels would pass 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 great deal for a day's provisions, or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops, giving myself time to think. On our arrival, all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me. I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers; the whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for about one minute—whispered to those near me to do as I did; immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the war-whoop, and marched into the water, without saying a word. The party gazed, and fell in, one after another,

without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to begin a favorite song of theirs; it soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully.

"I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water; but when about waist deep, one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path. We examined, and found it so; and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did; and by taking pains to follow it, we got to the Sugar Camp without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodging.

"The Frenchmen that we had taken on the river appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night. They said that they would bring from their own houses provisions, 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 could march from that place till the water fell, for the plain was too deep to march. Some of the (officers ?) believed that it might be done. I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy, and give satisfactory reasons to myself, or anybody else, why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute, and of so much advantage; but something seemed to tell me that it should not be done, and it was not done.

"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 one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick, near the shores, and

in still water. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little after sunrise 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. I concluded by informing them that passing the plain that was then in full view, and reaching the opposite woods, would put an end to their fatigue—that in a few hours they would have a sight of their long-wished-for object, and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place.

"As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered, I halted and called to Major Bowman, ordering him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and put to death any man who refused to march, as we wished to have no such persons among us. The whole gave a cry of approbation, and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself, and judged from my own feelings what must be that of others.

"Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about mid-deep, I found myself sensibly failing; and as there were no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared many of the most weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and play backward and forward with all diligence, and pick up the men; and, to encourage the party, sent some of the strongest men forward, with orders, when they got to a certain distance, to pass the word back that the

water was getting shallow; and when getting near the woods to cry out 'land!' This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities—the weak holding by the stronger, and frequent one with two others holding. This was of infinite advantage to the weak, but the water never got shallower, but continued deepening.

"Getting to the woods, where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders; but gaining the woods was of great consequence: all the low men and the weakly hung to the trees and floated on the old logs, until they were taken off 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 without it."

The dove of the Ark when troubled by "the waters of the flood," found dry land at last, and so did Clark's little army after their wonderful ten days' march through the wild waste of waters then overflowing the bottoms of the Wabash and all its tributaries. But what a terrible undertaking it was. Seldom in the annals of warfare can a campaign be found that will equal it in persistence and success in overcoming great difficulties with wholly inadequate means. And yet the occurrence of the flood just at that time was a blessing in disguise to the Americans, for it led Hamilton to believe there was no possible danger of approach from that direction, and he was, consequently, taken entirely by surprise. The wholly unexpected appearance of Clark before Fort Sackville was as amazing and startling to

Hamilton as would have been a terrific clap of thunder in a clear sky.

Of the point of land now reached Clark says: "This was a delightful 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 (and walking him) was the only way to recover him—and, being a delightful day, it soon did. But fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town, and took through part of this plain as a nigh way. It was discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase and took the Indian canoe, on board of which was near half a quarter of buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc. This was a grand prize, and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made out and served out to the most weakly with care; most of the whole got a little, but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades.

"This little refreshment, 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 Warrior's island. We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles distant. Every man now feasted his eyes, and forgot that he had suffered anything—saying that all that had passed was owing to good policy, and nothing but what a man could bear; and that a soldier had no right to think, etc.—passing from (one) extreme to another, which is common in such cases.

"The plain between us and the town," continues Clark, "was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting them, within a half a mile of us; and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoners, in such a manner as not to alarm the others; which they did. The information we got from this person was similar to that which we got from those we took on the river; except that of the British having that evening completed the wall of the fort, and that there was a good many Indians in town.

"Our situation was now truly critical—no possibility of retreating in case of defeat—and in full view of a town that had, at this time, upwards of six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants, and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would have been now a re-enforcement of immense magnitude to our little army, if I may so call it, but we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man, as they 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 would insure success.

"I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well—that many were lukewarm to the interest of either—and I also learned that the grand chief, the Tobacco's Son, had, but a few days before, openly declared, in council with the British, that he was a brother and friend to the big knives.

These were favorable circumstances; and as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants:

"'*To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes:*

"'GENTLEMEN—Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request 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 general, and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterward, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat him as an enemy. (Signed) G. R. CLARK.'

"I had various ideas on the supposed results of this letter. I knew that it could do us no damage; but that it would cause the lukewarm to be decided, encourage our friends, and astonish our enemies. That they would, of course, suppose our information good, and our forces so numerous that we were sure of success, and this was only a piece of parade—that the army was from Kentucky and not from Illinois, as it would be thought impossible to march from thence, and that my name was only made use of; this they firmly believed, until the next morning when I was shown to them by a person in the fort that knew me

well—or that we were a flying party that only made use of this stratagem to give ourselves a chance to retreat. This latter idea I knew would soon be done away with. Several gentlemen sent their compliments to their friends under borrowed names well known at St. Vincennes, and the person supposed to have been at Kentucky. The soldiers all had instructions that in their common conversation when speaking of our numbers, should be such that a stranger overhearing must suppose that there was near a thousand of us.

"We anxiously viewed this messenger until he entered the town, and in a few minutes could discover by our glasses some stir in every street that we could penetrate into, and great numbers running or riding out into the commons, we supposed to view us, which was the case. But what surprised us was, that nothing had yet happened that had the appearance of the garrison being alarmed—no drum, nor gun. We began to suppose that the information we got from our prisoner was false, and that the enemy already knew of us and were prepared.

"A little before sunset we moved and displayed ourselves in full view of the town—crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction, or success. There was no midway thought of. We had but little to say to our men, except inculcating an idea of the necessity of obedience, etc. We knew they did not want encouraging, and that anything might be attempted with them that was possible for such a number—perfectly cool, under proper subordination, pleased with the prospect before them, and attached to their officers. They all declared

that they were convinced that an implicit obedience to orders was the only thing that would insure success, and hoped that no mercy would be shown the person that should violate them, but (should be) immediately put to death. Such language as this from soldiers to persons in our station must have been exceedingly agreeable.

"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 formidable (as possible), we, in leaving the covert that we were in, marched and counter-marched in such a manner that we appeared numerous. In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person that set about the business had a set of colors given him, which they brought with them, to the amount of ten or twelve pairs. These were displayed to the best advantage; and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent raisings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level which was covered with water, and as these raisings generally run in an oblique direction to the town, we took the advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our being numbered. But our colors showed considerable above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance; and as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's island, decoyed and taken several fowlers, with their horses, officers were mounted on these horses, and rode about more completely to deceive the enemy.

"In this manner we moved, and directed our march in

such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town."

We have now given substantially both Clark and Bowman's account of the march through the submerged lands, and the route will be easily recognized by the map on the opposite page, prepared for this work by Henry S. Cauthorn and son, who were born at Vincennes and are entirely conversant with that locality. The general impression of persons familiar with it seems to be that, when Clark struck the Embarrass river, he found all the country between that and the Big Wabash river, in the direction of Vincennes, overflowed to such an extent as to be impassible by the direct route. "Lawrenceville, on the west bank of the Embarrass river, is the point," says Mr. Cauthorn, "where it is generally claimed Clark first reached that river and heard the sunrise guns fired at Fort Sackville, about eight miles distant. This is reasonable, as the entire space between Lawrenceville and Vincennes was unobstructed prairie, subject to overflow, sometimes from four to six feet deep, and sound was conveyed across without interruption. Both the Embarrass and Wabash rivers united their waters and covered the neck of land between them. The road to Lawrenceville from Vincennes was generally said, in a figurative sense, to pass through Purgatory. This was in consequence of its being in early times almost impassible, on account of mud and water at all seasons."

MAP
SHOWING THE ROUTE TRAVERSED
BY
GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AND
HIS ARMY FROM THE MOUTH OF THE
EMBARRASS TO FORT SACKVILLE.
CLARK'S ROUTE
EMBARRASS RIVER
MANNIEL HILL
SUGAR CAMP
CLARK'S ROUTE
LOWER PRAIRIE SURVEY
WARRIORS ISLAND
CLARK'S ROUTE
BUNKER HILL
RAIL ROAD
WABASH
FORT SACKVILLE
VINCENNES
RAILROAD
RAIL ROAD
RIVER
SUGAR LOAF MOUND
UPPER PRAIRIE SURVEY

The banks on the northeast side of the Embarrass are low at that point and for some distance below, but there is a ridge of higher ground on the southwest side, and on this Clark presumably passed down the river about ten miles, to a little below where it empties into the Wabash. He was yet some seven or eight miles from Vincennes. He there crossed the Wabash, which was out of its banks, especially on the northeastern side, and passed on through water from three to five feet deep, first to a little hill called Mammille, and then to the Sugar Camp, which was also on a little higher ground. From the Sugar Camp the troops had to pass over low and swampy ground, then under water, for at least a mile and a half, which brought them to another slight elevation. Thus far the country passed over, since crossing the Big Wabash, was pretty heavily timbered, but now in front was swampy prairie, with some brush, extending on to the higher ground on which Vincennes is situated. The next intervening ground out of the water was a ridge called Warrior's island, containing probably ten acres, and about two miles from Vincennes.

When this point was reached there was but little to obstruct the view of the town, and the movements of the people could be seen as described by Colonel Clark. From Warrior's island on was again low ground, for probably a quarter of a mile to a higher point, now called Bunker Hill, which connects by a ridge with the high ground on which the town is located. These are the "heights back of the town" which Clark says he reached the evening of February 23, 1779, and from which he viewed the town. He adds:

"As there was yet no hostile appearance, we were impatient to have the cause unriddled. Lieutenant Bayley was ordered, with fourteen men, to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved in a different direction, and took possession of the strongest part of the town."

CHAPTER XI.

CAPTURE OF FORT SACKVILLE AND VINCENNES.

Sketch of Lieutenant John Baley—Attack of Fort Sackville—Sketch of the fort—St. Xavier's Church—French citizens furnish Americans much needed ammunition—Indian assistance declined by Clark—Firing on fort continued during the night—Detachment of British allowed to get in the fort—Some British and Indians captured on the outside—British roughly handled, and Indians killed—Hamilton's account of it—Clark's letter demanding surrender of the fort—Hamilton's reply—Proposes three days' truce, which Clark declines—They finally meet for conference at St. Xavier's Church—Full details of that meeting—Some bloody incidents—They probably hasten the surrender of the fort—Terms of capitulation finally agreed upon—Fort surrendered to the Americans—Messenger arrives from Virginia with important papers—Including commission of colonel for Lieutenant-Colonel Clark and major for Captain Bowman—Fac-simile of Bowman's commission.

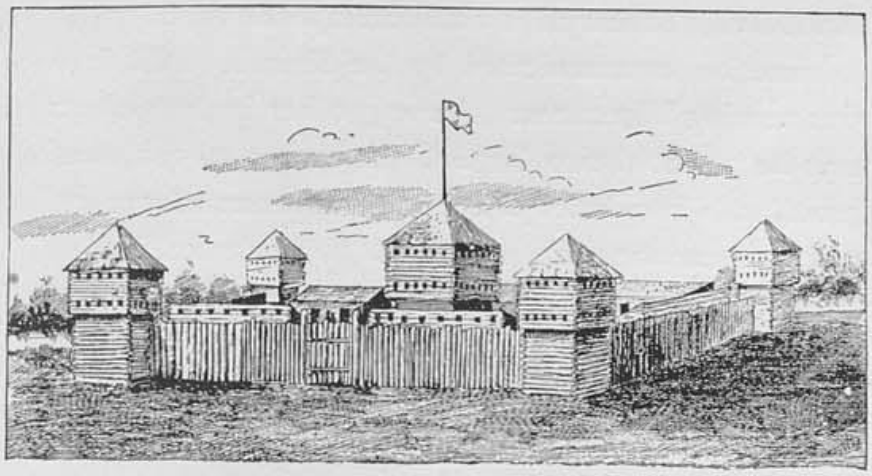
IT may be as well to mention here that the Lieutenant Baley referred to in the last chapter was John Baley, born in Northumberland county, Virginia, in 1748, who came to Kentucky as early as 1776, and was with Clark from the beginning of the Illinois campaign. He was in all the leading expeditions, and a faithful and efficient officer everywhere. He was made a captain in March, 1780. Was in command of a company at Fort Jefferson that year, and in command at Vincennes in 1781 until November, when he returned to Kentucky, where he spent the remainder of his life, dying in Lincoln county in

1816, leaving highly respected descendants. Captain Baley became quite prominent in civil affairs after returning from the army, and became a popular preacher in the latter part of his life. In 1792 he was elected to the first Kentucky constitutional convention, and is said to have voted against the perpetuation of slavery in that state. He was also elected to the Kentucky constitutional convention of 1799. There was allotted him for services in the Illinois campaign three thousand two hundred and thirty-four acres of land in Clark's Grant, Indiana, being Nos. 16, 22, 24, 81, 225, 226, each for five hundred acres, and two hundred and thirty-four acres in No. 194. A fac-simile of his signature will be found in the second volume of this work.

That he was considered entirely reliable by Colonel Clark is shown by his being sent forward with fourteen picked men to begin the firing on Fort Sackville, while the rest of the army marched forward taking possession of the town, and forming on the right and left sides of the fort, Baley at its center.

There is some uncertainty as to when this fort was built, and after whom it was named. Reynolds's Pioneer History of Illinois says it was built in 1769, and Goodspeed's History of Knox County, Indiana, says "it was named in honor of Jean Sacqueville, a French trader and soldier, who was employed by the Detroit French Fur Company." It also says "it is claimed it was built as early as 1713." The author is of the opinion that as between the two dates mentioned, that of Governor Reynolds is likely to be

nearer correct than the other. The most probable conclusion as to the name of the fort is that it was called after the English nobleman bearing the title of Lord Sackville. There may have been two forts called Sackville, erected at different dates, and both not exactly on the same site. The Knox county history, before referred to, describes the fort "as an irregular enclosure, being about sixty feet at the narrowest place and two hundred feet in the widest part,



FORT SACKVILLE.

and containing from two to three acres. This was surrounded by a stockade from ten to twelve feet high, with block-houses at the corners or angles, as was usual in forts of that day. In the center was a block-house also, which served as quarters for the officers, and underneath this was the magazine. On the river side were the barracks for the men. Small pieces of ordnance were at times in use for the defense of the fort and garrison." This corresponds,

as to height, with the statement of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, who says of the stockade timbers that they were "upright and eleven feet out of the ground."

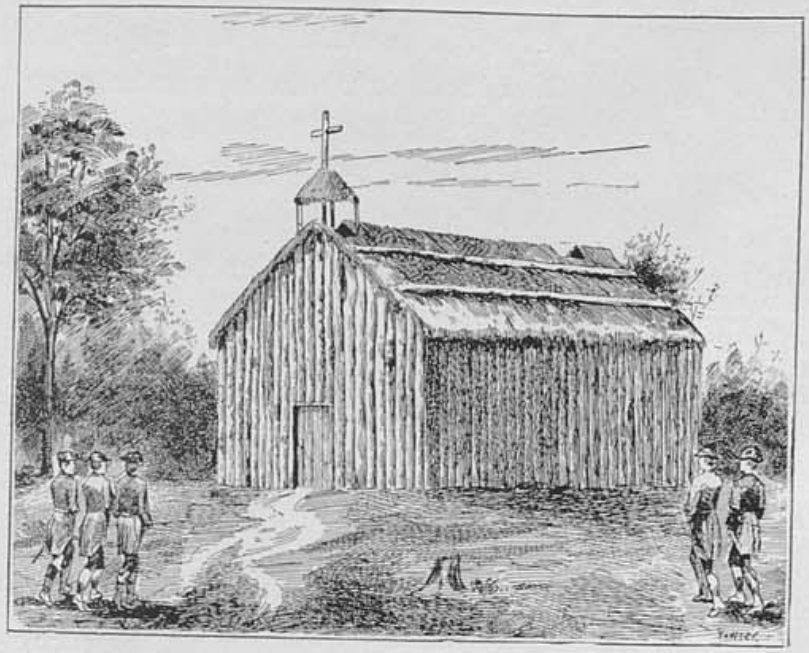
It will be remembered that after securing possession from Captain Helm, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton proceeded, at once, to strengthen it, and put it in good order, and he admits, in his "account," that when Clark appeared it was "in a tolerable state of defense, the work proposed being finished." It was, he states, finished "on the 22d of February," which corresponds exactly with the information communicated by the French to Clark as he was nearing Vincennes. Among other improvements he says he "erected two large block-houses of oak, musket-proof, with loop-holes below and embrasures above for five pieces of cannon each, and lined the stockades."

Being "finished" and "in a tolerable state of defense," a more vigorous and successful resistance was to have been expected with the aid of cannon and a protected garrison of seventy-nine men, against one hundred and seventy hungry and tired backwoodsmen, without any of the appliances of war, except ordinary hunting rifles, and a very limited supply of ammunition. Clark's men had been almost entirely without food, and in water most of the time, for six days. The breakfast the inhabitants of Vincennes furnished them on the 24th of February, Bowman says, was their "only meal of victuals since the 18th instant."

There has been some controversy as to the exact loca-

tion of the fort but all agree that it stood near the east bank of the Wabash river, facing from the river.

The historic St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church stood "about eighty yards" in front of the fort. There have been several church buildings in succession near the same locality, of the same name, and, practically, the same church.



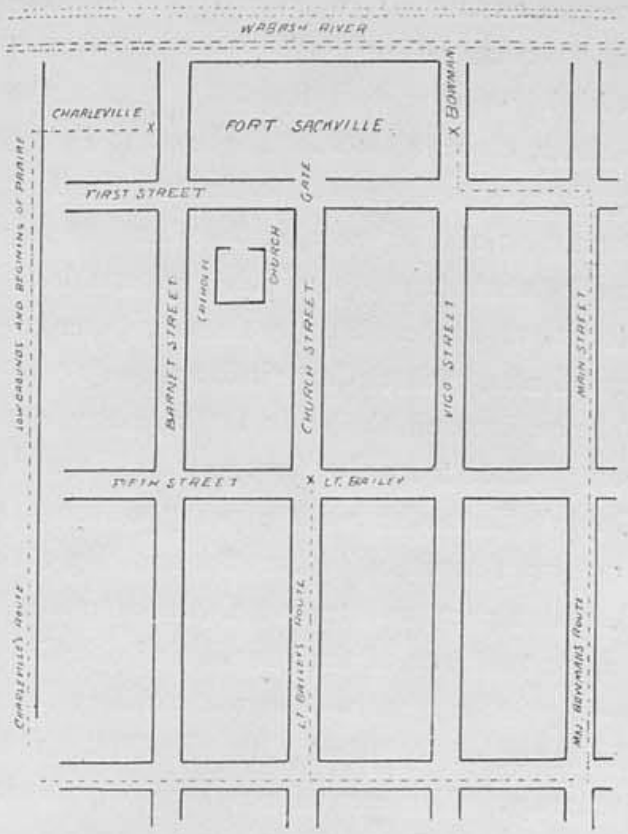
ST. XAVIER'S CHURCH.

The one standing at the time of Clark's capture of Fort Sackville in 1779, Mr. Cauthorn says, "was constructed of timbers set on end, and the interstices filled with adobe . . . had a dirt floor, benches for seats, and a very rude and plain altar. It had no windows and no lights other than those upon the altar. The door was in the northwest end and faced the fort and the river." The pres-

ent cathedral, he thinks, is near the same site, and that the old church was built before the fort, probably between 1735 and 1740, and was not torn down until about 1825, when it was succeeded by another church building near its site. The venerable Mrs. Bayard, his mother-in-law, was baptized in the old church in 1806, married in it in 1823, and her son Samuel Bayard, president of the Evansville National Bank, was baptized in it in 1824, so that she was entirely familiar with old St. Xavier, and it is largely her recollection of its appearance, and that of Elihu Stout, Mr. Cauthorn's grandfather, that is here given. Mr. Stout saw it as early as 1804, when he went to Vincennes and soon after established the first newspaper in Indiana territory, and remained there a prominent citizen until his death in 1860.

It was in the old St. Xavier Church building that Father Gibault assembled the inhabitants of Vincennes shortly after Clark's capture of Kaskaskia and by his influence and persuasive eloquence induced them, in a body, to declare allegiance to the American cause; and it was in this church that there was soon to be negotiated terms of capitulation of the British garrison, which carried with it, for the Americans, ultimately, the perpetual sovereignty of an empire. At this moment the clash of arms was heard behind and around its wooden walls, in strange contrast with the usual prayers and gentle words with which they were familiar.

The outline diagram here given was also furnished by Mr. Cauthorn who thinks that Lieutenant Baley proceeded by the street passing by the church, to a position under cover of the high ground on that thoroughfare, but this street has since been entirely changed in appearance, having been graded, and is now level its entire course. There were then depressions in the ground of four or five feet. "A division, under Charleville proceeded over the low grounds, under the cover of the hill on which the village stood, within a few hundred yards of the fort, and by a quick movement took up a position on the southwest side of the fort under cover of the fences and houses in the vicinity. . . . The right wing under the command of Major Bowman proceeded by way of the main street of the village to a position on the northeast side of the fort."



Bowman says Clark's forces "lay still" on the little hill of dry land, known as Warrior's island, "till about sundown, when we began our march, all in order, with colors flying, and drums braced. After wading to the edge of the water, breast high, we mounted the rising ground the town is built on about eight o'clock. Lieutenant Baley, with fourteen regulars, was detached to fire on the fort, while we took possession of the town, and ordered to stay till he was relieved by another party, which was soon done. Reconnoitered about, to find a place to throw up an entrenchment. Found one, and set Captain Bowman's company to work. Soon crossed the main street, about one hundred and twenty yards from the first gate. We were informed that Captain Lamothe, with a party of twenty-five men, were out on 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 Captain Maisonville—a principal man—the rest making their escape under the cover of the night, into the fort. The cannon played smartly. Not one of our men wounded. Men in the fort badly wounded. Fine sport for the sons of Liberty!"

Lieutenant Baley's party was the first to arrive within firing distance of the fort. Clark says: "The firing now commenced on the fort, but they did not believe it was an enemy, until one of their men was shot down through a port, as drunken Indians frequently saluted the fort after night. The drums now sounded, and the business fairly commenced on both sides. Re-enforcements were sent to the attack of the garrison, while other arrangements were

making in town. . . . We now found that the garrison had known nothing of us; that, having finished the fort that evening, they had amused themselves at different games, and had just retired before my letter arrived, as it was near roll-call. The placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of the houses for fear of giving offense, and not one dare give information. Our friends flew to the commons and other convenient places to view the pleasing sight. This was observed from the garrison, and the reason asked, but a satisfactory excuse was given; and as a part of the town lay between our line of march and the garrison, we could not be seen by the sentinels on the walls. Captain W. Shannon and another being some time before taken prisoners by one of their (scouting parties), and that evening brought in, the party had discovered at the Sugar Camp some signs of us.

"They supposed it to be a party of observation that intended to land on the height some distance below the town. Captain Lamothe was sent to intercept them. It was at him the people said they were looking, when they were asked the reason of their unusual stir. Several suspected persons had been taken to the garrison; among them was Mr. Moses Henry. Mrs. Henry went, under the pretense of carrying him provisions, and whispered him the news and what she had seen. Mr. Henry conveyed it to the rest of his fellow-prisoners, which gave them much pleasure, particularly Captain Helm, who amused himself very much during the siege and, I believe, did much damage."

There is a tradition that, at the time the Americans approached the fort, some of the British officers were enjoying

a game of cards, as well as a little hot whisky toddy, which was being prepared under the supervision of this Captain Leonard Helm, an American prisoner, who had won the favor of his captors by his genial bearing and his skill in compounding this favorite drink. Some of the balls of the first volley fired by Clark's men struck the chimney and brought down a lot of dirt into the vessel containing the toddy. Helm recognized the situation instantly and exclaimed, with an oath: "Gentlemen, that is Clark's soldiers, and they will take your fort, but they ought not to have spoiled this apple toddy!"*

Clark says: "Ammunition was scarce with us, as the most of our stores had been put on board the galley. Though her crew was but few, such a re-enforcement to us at this time would have been invaluable in many instances. But, fortunately, at the time of its being reported that the whole of the goods in the town were to be taken for the king's use, for which the owners were to receive bills, Colonel Legras, Major Bosseron, and others, had buried the greater part of their powder and ball. This was immediately produced, and we found ourselves well supplied by those gentlemen.

"The Tobacco's Son being in town with a number of warriors, immediately mustered them, and let us know that he wished to join us, saying 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 were sufficiently strong ourselves, we wished him to desist, and that we counsel on the subject in the morning; and, as we knew that there were

* Butler's Kentucky.

a number of Indians in and near the town that were our enemies, some confusion might happen if our men should mix in the dark; but hoped that we might be favored with his counsel and company during the night, which was agreeable to him.

"The garrison was soon completely surrounded, and the firing continued without intermission, except about fifteen minutes a little before day, until about 9 o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by the whole of the troops, joined by a few of the young men of the town, who got permission, except fifty men kept as a reserve. . . . I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation of the fort and town, and the parts relative to each. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floors of strong block-houses at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface; and the ports so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them, within twenty or thirty yards of the wall. They did no damage, except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered; and their musketry in the dark, employed against woodsmen covered by houses, palings, ditches, the banks of the river, etc., was but of little avail and did no injury, except wounding a man or two.

"As we could not afford to lose men, great care was taken to preserve them sufficiently covered, and to keep up a hot fire in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them. The embrasures of their cannon were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour in such volleys when they opened that the men could not stand to the guns—seven or eight of

them in a short time got cut down. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannon, that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down with their rifles—fifty of which, perhaps, would be leveled the moment the port flew open; and I believe if they had stood at their artillery, the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as the greater part of our men lay within thirty yards of the walls, and in a few hours were covered equally to those within the walls, and much more experienced in the mode of fighting. . . .

"Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible, was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual; and a great noise and laughter immediately commenced in different parts of the town, by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement, and as if those continually firing at the fort were only regularly relieved.

"Conduct similar to this kept the garrison constantly alarmed. They did not know what moment they might be stormed or (blown up?) as they could plainly discover that we had flung up some entrenchments across the streets, and appeared to be frequently very busy under the banks of the river, which was within thirty feet of the walls. The situation of the magazine we knew well. Captain Bowman began some works in order to blow it up, in case our artillery should arrive; but as we knew that we were daily liable to be overpowered by the numerous bands of Indians on the river, in case they had

again joined the enemy, the certainty of which we were unacquainted with, we resolved to lose no time, but to get the fort in our possession as soon as possible. If the vessel did not arrive before the ensuing night, we resolved to undermine the fort 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 were inimical, had left the town and neighborhood. Captain Lamothe continued to hover about it in order, if possible, to make his way good into the fort. Parties attempted in vain to surprise him. A few of his party were taken, one of which was Maisonville, a famous Indian partisan. Two lads that captured him tied him to a post in the street and fought from behind him as a breastwork—supposing that the enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him, as he would alarm them by his voice. The lads were ordered by an officer, who discovered them at their amusement, to untie their prisoner and take him off to the guard, which they did, but were so inhuman as to take part of his scalp on the way. There happened to him no other damage.

"As almost the whole of the persons who were most active in the department of Detroit were either in the fort or with Captain Lamothe, I got extremely uneasy for fear that he would not fall into our power—knowing that he would go off if he could not get into the fort in the course of the night. Finding that, without some unforeseen accident, the force must inevitably be ours, and that a reenforcement of twenty men, although considerable to them, would not be of great moment to us, in the present situa-

tion of affairs, and knowing that we had weakened them by killing or wounding many of their gunners, after some deliberation, we concluded to risk the re-enforcement in preference of his going again among the Indians; the garrison had at least a month's provisions, and if they could hold out, in the course of that time he might do us much damage.

"A little before day the troops were withdrawn from their positions about the fort, except a few parties of observation, and the firing totally ceased. Orders were given, in case of Lamothe's approach, not to alarm or fire on him, without a certainty of killing or taking the whole. In less than a quarter of an hour he passed within ten feet of an officer and a party that lay concealed. Ladders were flung over to them, and as they mounted them our party shouted. Many of them fell from the top of the walls—some within, and others back; but as they were not fired on, they all got over, much to the joy of their friends. But, on considering the matter, they must have been convinced that it was our scheme to let them in; and that we were so strong as to care but little about them, or the manner of their getting into the garrison." . . .

"The firing immediately commenced on both sides," continues Clark, "with double vigor; 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 was kept around the garrison, without much being done, until about day-break, when our troops were drawn off to posts prepared for them, about sixty or seventy yards from the fort. A loop-hole then

THE NIGHT ATTACK ON FORT SACKVILLE, FEBRUARY 23, 1779.

could scarcely be darkened but a rifle-ball would pass through it. To have stood to their cannon would have destroyed their men, without a probability of doing much service. Our situation was nearly similar. It would have been imprudent in either party to have wasted their men, without some decisive stroke required it."

As it appears most surprising that Hamilton did not sooner discover the approach of Clark's forces and take more effective steps to resist them, it is but just to give his version of the affair in his own words. "It was on the 22d of February," says he, that "Mr. Francis Maisonville returned 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 discovered about four leagues below the fort fourteen fires, but could not tell whether of Virginians or savages. I instantly sent off Captain Lamothe, Lieutenant Scheifflin and twen y men to bring me a more perfect account. The water being out, the meadows were so greatly overflowed it was necessary to take a circuit. Mr. Maisonville had taken it upon him to serve as a guide, though fatigued. They lost their way, night coming on, and were only apprised by the firing of cannon at the fort that it was invested; returning to the village and 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 employed Canadians none of them returned. The militia of the post had been ordered under arms in the evening—the major, Legrace, 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 five minutes after candles had been lighted we were alarmed by hearing a musket discharged, presently after, some more. I concluded that some party of Indians was returned, or that there was some riotous frolic in the village; going upon the parade to inquire I heard the balls whistle, ordered the men to the block-houses, forbidding them to fire till they perceived the shot to be directed against the fort. We were shortly out of suspense, one of the sergeants receiving a shot in the breast.

"The fire was now returned, but the enemy had a great advantage from their rifles, and the cover of the church, houses, barns, etc. Mr. McBeath, the surgeon, having been in the village when the firing began, pushed to get to the gate, and narrowly escaped being killed; he reported that as soon as the first shots were fired, the women of the house where he was told him that Colonel Clark was arrived with five hundred men from the Illinois. This very house had lately been searched in the night on suspicion of a stranger being concealed, but the sergeants and party could not discover any such person.

"Though the night was dark we had a sergeant, 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 winter were exposed to the fire of the enemy's riflemen, as the picketing of the fort was so poorly set up that one might pass the hand clenched between the stockades. We dislodged the enemy from the church and nearest houses by a few

cannon shot from the block-houses, but when day appeared and we saw that the inhabitants of the village had joined the rebels, we despaired of Captain Lamothe's party regaining the fort; but to our great surprise and joy, about half an hour before sunrise, they appeared and got into the fort over the stockades which were upright and eleven 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 delivered to the rebels by his own cousin."

The firing continued throughout the whole of the night of the 23d, and until 8 or 9 o'clock on the morning of the 24th, when Colonel Clark sent the following letter, under a flag of truce, to Governor Hamilton by Nicholas Cardinal, a captain of the militia of Vincennes: "SIR: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, etc., etc. For, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town; for, by heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. Signed, G. R. Clark."

The reason, in part, for sending this letter, with its emphatic warning against the destruction of letters and papers, is given in Clark's memoir. "Learning," said he, "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 knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country; and not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers might be destroyed, to prevent which, I sent a flag (with a letter) demanding the garrison." The sending of the flag of truce with the letter, of course, caused a suspension of firing for a time, which period, Bowman says, the Americans used to eat the first "meal of victuals" they had had for six days.

A reply soon came from Hamilton, however, saying: "Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects."

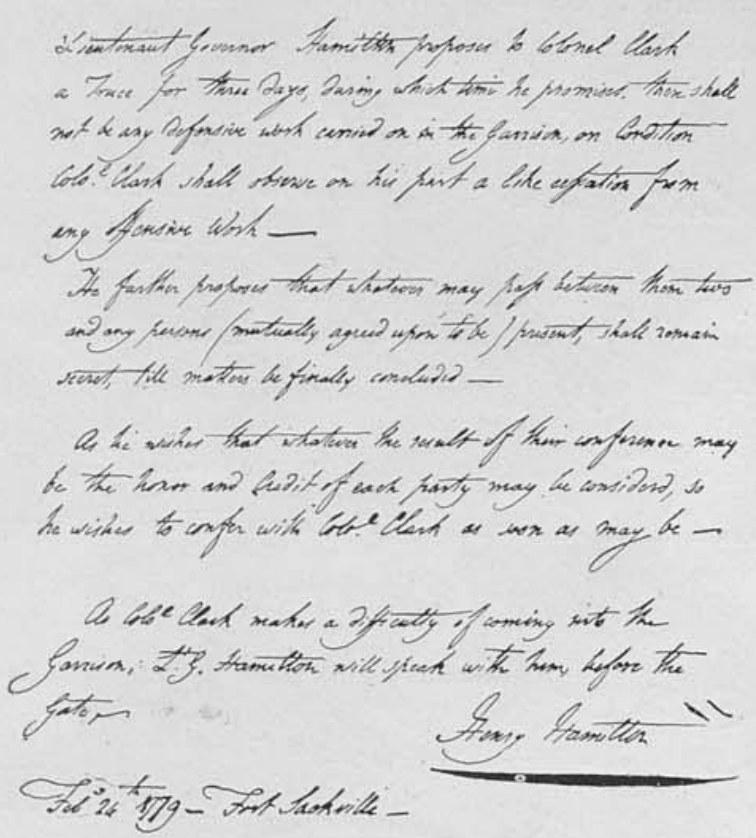
Here was a sharp and well-defined issue, which apparently could only be settled by force of arms, and "the tug of war" commenced in earnest. Bowman says: "The firing then commenced very hot on both sides. None of our men wounded, but several of the men in the fort wounded."

Clark says: "The firing then commenced warmly for a considerable time, and we were obliged to be careful in preventing our men from exposing themselves too much, as they were now much animated, having been refreshed during the flag. They frequently mentioned their wishes to storm the place, and put an end to the business at once. . . . The firing was heavy through every crack that could be discovered in any part of the fort. Several of the garrison got wounded, and no possibility of standing near the embrasures."

Hamilton now apparently depressed, and virtually beaten, sent the following proposition to Colonel Clark:

LT.-GOV. HAMILTON TO COL. CLARK.

(Fac-simile reduced one-half.)



Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a Truce for three Days, during which time he proposes there shall not be any Offensive work carried on in the Garrison, on Condition Colo.l Clark shall observe on his part a like cessation from any Offensive Work —

He further proposes that whatever may pass between them two and any persons (mutually agreed upon to be present) shall remain secret, till matters be finally concluded —

As he wishes that whatever the result of this conference may be the honor and credit of each party may be considered, so he wishes to confer with Colo.l Clark as soon as may be —

As Colo.l Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the Garrison; Lt. G. Hamilton will speak with him before the Gate —

Henry Hamilton

Feb.y 24.th 1779 — Fort Sackville —

Referring to this letter, Clark says: "I was at a great loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce of three days, on such terms as he proposed. Numbers said it was a scheme 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 infallibly ruin him, but was convinced that he had some prospect of succor, or of otherwise extricating himself. Although we had the greater reason to expect a re-enforcement in less than three days that would at once put an end, I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the proposals, and sent the following answer":

COLONEL CLARK'S REPLY.*

Colonel Clarks Compliments to Mr. Hamilton and begs leave to inform him that Col. Clark will not agree to any other Terms than that of Mr Hamilton's Surendering himself and Garrison, Prisoners at Discretion——

If Mr. Hamilton is Desirous of a Conferance with Col Clark he will meet him at the Church with Capt. Helms

Feby 24th 1779 G. R. Clark

"The flag having returned," says Hamilton, "the firing

*The original letter of Hamilton and this reply of Clark are in the Draper collection of manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Society.

recommenced. Lamothe's volunteers now began to murmur, saying it was very hard to be obliged to fight against their countrymen and relatives, who they now perceived had joined 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 succor, 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 defense of the fort had depended on the spirit of the English only, the rebels would have lost their labor, but Colonel Clark 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."

This extract is from Hamilton's "account," written, presumably, with a hope that it might justify his conduct to his superior officers and the world. It is, however, quite evident that at the time spoken of he had recognized his defeat, and that he went to St. Xavier's Church, in compliance with Clark's note, in a subdued and yielding state of mind, which was greatly intensified by events

which occurred about that time, both inside and outside the church, as hereafter related. With him went Major Hay, the British officer next in command, and Captain Leonard Helm, the American officer who had been held as a prisoner since Hamilton had taken possession of the fort.

With Clark went the ever trusted and faithful Joseph Bowman; and the following is the account of the meeting as stated in Clark's memoir: "We met at the church about eighty yards from the fort—Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, superintendent of Indian affairs; Captain Helm, their prisoner; Major Bowman and myself. The conference began. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation, signed, that contained various articles, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article, I rejected the whole. He then wished that I should make some proposition. I told him that I had no other to make than what I had already made—that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit; that they could not suppose that they would be worse treated in consequence of it; that if he choose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better; that it was in vain to make any proposition to me; that he, by this time, must be sensible that the garrison would fall; that both of us must (view?) all blood spilt for the future, by the garrison, as murder; that my troops were 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 enraged body of woodsmen

breaking in, must be obvious to him; it would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man.

"Various altercations took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner, and it was doubtful whether or not he could, with propriety, speak on the subject. Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was from that moment liberated, and might use his pleasure. I informed the captain that I would not receive him on such terms; that he must return to the garrison, and await his fate.

"I then told Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums gave the alarm. We took our leave, and parted but a few steps, when Hamilton stopped and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the garrison on any other terms than those I had offered. I told him I had no objections in giving him my real reasons, which were simply these: that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him; that I wanted an excuse to put them to death, or otherwise treat them, as I thought proper; that the cries of the widows and the fatherless, on the frontiers, which they had occasioned, now required their blood from my hands, and that I did not choose 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 lose fifty men than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety; that if he choose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes, it was his own

pleasure, and that I might, perhaps, take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed.

"Major 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,' said he, 'who is it that you call Indian partisans?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I take Major Hay to be one of the principal.' I never saw a man in a moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be—pale and trembling, scarcely able to stand. Hamilton blushed, and, I observed, was much affected at his behavior. Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for the one, and his sorrow for the other. . . .

"Some (time) elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment my resolutions changed respecting Hamilton's situation. I told him that we would return to our respective posts; that I would reconsider the matter and let him know the results. If we thought of making any further proposals (than) that of surrendering at discretion he should know it by the flag. If not, to be on his guard at a certain (beat of the) drum; no offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. Agreed to, and we parted. What had passed, being made known to our officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions."

While these negotiations were pending a very startling event occurred, which, no doubt, added to the fears of Hamilton and his men as to what might be their fate should the fort be taken by storm. Hamilton's account of this affair is in some respects not in keeping with the facts as

shown by the record, and other indisputable evidence. It is mainly based on what he says some man told him before whose door the transaction occurred. As to what he witnessed himself, and what Clark said to him on the subject, he says it occurred "before the fort-gate where I had agreed to meet him and treat of the surrender of the garrison." He seems to forget that he invited Clark to meet him "before the gate" of the fort, but the invitation was not "agreed to" by Clark but was declined, with a suggestion, however, that he would meet him at the church, and it was at the church they did meet as already shown. The bloody event now referred to took place about the time of this meeting, or while the negotiations were going on at the church, as all the evidence shows.

About the time the messenger returned who had been sent to deliver the note to Hamilton that Clark would not meet him at the gate, but at the church, "there came a party of Indians," says Bowman, "down the hill behind the town, who had been sent by Governor Hamilton to get some scalps and prisoners from the falls of the Ohio. Our men, having got news of it, pursued them, killed two on the spot, wounded three, took six prisoners, brought them into town." These were four Indians and two white men. The other two white men, who were prisoners of the Indians, were, of course, released. The captured Indians, as stated by Hamilton, were tomahawked, probably in front of the gate of the fort, and the bodies thrown into the river; but there is no evidence that Clark was present when it was done, except the unsupported assertion of Hamilton, that "Colonel Clark, yet reeking with the blood of

those unhappy victims, 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."

In narrating the affair, Bowman says: "During which time Colonel Clark and Colonel Hamilton met at the church," and it is well known that Bowman was one of the persons present at that famous meeting. Clark also speaks of it in his memoir as occurring "during the late conference."

The following is the account of the affair given by Hamilton to his superior officers, but, viewed in the light of all the known facts, evidently with such coloring as would tend to mitigate his own discomfiture and defeat by a "backwoods colonel," which he admits occasioned him "mortification, disappointment and indignation":

"About two o'clock in the afternoon (of the 24th) a party of Indians with some whites returned 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 Clark sent off a detachment of seventy men against them. The Indian party was fifteen or sixteen men, who, seeing the English flag flying at the fort, discharged their pieces as 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 tomahawked 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 sang his death song, and was in turn tomahawked. The rest underwent the same fate, only one was saved at the intercession of a rebel officer, who pleaded for him, telling Colonel Clark that the savage's father had formerly spared his life. The chief of this party, after having the hatchet stuck in his head, took it out himself and delivered 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 suffered to spend still a few moments of life in fruitless strugglings. Two sergeants, who had been volunteers with the Indians, escaped death by the intercession of a father and sister, who were on the spot. Mr. Francis Maisonville, whom I formerly mentioned, was set in a chair, and, by Colonel Clark's order, a man came with a scalping knife, who, hesitating to proceed to this excess of barbarity on a defenseless wretch, Colonel Clark, with an imprecation, told him to proceed, and when a piece of the scalp had been raised the man stopped his hand. He was again ordered to proceed, and as the executor of Colonel Clark's will was in the act of raising the skin, a brother of Mr. Maisonville's who had joined the rebels, stepped up and prevailed on Colonel Clark to desist."

It is hardly necessary to say that this statement about Maisonville and Colonel Clark seems to be without foundation, as far as Colonel Clark is concerned. Maisonville was a noted Indian partisan, and was out with Indians on a raid when captured; but, so far from Colonel Clark treating him brutally, he spoke of the conduct of the two creole boys who captured and scalped him as "inhuman." Colonel Clark's account of this affair of Maisonville has already been quoted in this chapter, and shows the statement of Hamilton on the subject to be unwarranted.

It is to be regretted, however, that there is foundation for the charges made against Clark by Hamilton in relation to the tomahawking of the Indians in front of the fort gate and throwing their bodies into the river; for, although he was not present at the time it was done, yet, in his letter to Mason, he admits that he ordered it to be done, one of the reasons assigned being that it would tend to convince the Indians generally "that Governor Hamilton could not give them that protection that he had made them to believe he could."

The killing of these Indians in this savage way was certainly cruel and now seems to have been unnecessary, but it should not be forgotten that at this day it is difficult, if not impossible, to understand and realize the surroundings and provocations which led to it. Pitiful and lamentable as it was these savages had done much to provoke it by a series of indescribable barbarities on the American frontiers; they were taken prisoners, without conditions, when returning from a raid against the very country where the families of some of these soldiers were

then living, and their tragic and bloody death followed their capture so soon that it was all done in the heat of continuous conflict without time for reflection. Besides war is often almost of necessity bloody and cruel. It was, however, a deplorable and inexcusable deed, and a truly revolting spectacle. The effect, whether so intended or not, was to extinguish what little spirit of belligerency was left in the British garrison, and materially contributed, no doubt, to its speedy surrender—at least some good apparently coming out of this evil in the saving of British and American lives that would certainly have been sacrificed had the fort been taken by storm.

Clark says that his remarks at the church about what might happen set Major Hay "trembling—scarcely able to stand." What then must have been his and his comrades' condition when they saw the horrible *reality* enacted upon their savage allies, in frightful and appalling retribution for the butchery of innocent women and children and unarmed men in the American frontier settlements.

If there had before been any question that the fort would be surrendered on terms entirely satisfactory to Clark, these doubts were dispelled by the terror which had been inspired in the British by these bloody scenes, as well as by their own hopeless situation. The supreme hour for the final downfall of the British in the Wabash and Illinois country had come, and the articles of capitulation were signed by Hamilton towards the close of the day in the following words:

"I. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver

up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc.

"II. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war; and march out with their arms and accoutrements, etc.

"III. The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock to-morrow.

"IV. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

"V. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

"Signed at Post St. Vincent (Vincennes), 24th February, 1779.

"Agreed for the following reasons: The remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

"(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON,

"Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent."

"The business being now nearly at an end," says Clark, "troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison, and patroled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. The remainder on duty lay on their arms, and for the first time for many days past got some rest." It is a little singular that the Americans did not take possession of the fort at once, in pursuance of the articles of capitulation, but they deferred it until the next morning. Clark says, "One reason why we wished not to receive the garrison until the following morning was its be-

ing late in the evening before the capitulation was signed, and (in view of) the number of prisoners that we should have, when compared to our small force, we felt the need of daylight to arrange matters to advantage, as we knew we could now prevent any misfortune happening."

"About ten o'clock, on the morning of February 25, 1779, Captain Bowman and Captain McCarty's companies paraded on one side of the fort gate. Governor Hamilton and his garrison marched out, Colonel Clark, Captains Williams's and Worthington's companies marched into the fort, relieved the sentries, hoisted the American colors and secured all the arms. Governor Hamilton marched back to the fort, and shut the gate. Orders were given for thirteen cannon to be fired, during which time there happened a very unlucky accident, through mismanagement. There blew up twenty-six six-pound cartridges in one of the batteries, which burned Captain Bowman and Captain Worthington much, together with four privates."

This is the account given in Bowman's journal, but he did not then realize that the injury received from this explosion would contribute to his death, a few months later, in this very fort—the name of which was changed, soon after the capture, from Fort Sackville to Fort Patrick Henry, in honor of the governor of Virginia.

Two days after the capture, "The Willing" arrived, and while her forty-six men were greatly rejoiced to find the fort already in possession of the Americans, they could not but regret their failure to arrive before the surrender. There also came on this boat William Mires, a messenger from Virginia, bearing the pleasing information that the

legislature of that state had adopted a resolution of thanks to Clark's troops for services in capturing the Illinois country; and he also brought commissions from Governor Henry promoting Clark from lieutenant-colonel to colonel, and Joseph Bowman from captain to major. On the next page is a fac-simile of Bowman's commission, the original of which is now in the possession of the author.

MAJOR JOSEPH BOWMAN'S COMMISSION.

Fac-simile, reduced in size.

The Commonwealth of Virginia

To Joseph Bowman Esquire ~~Gentleman~~

KNOW you, that from the ſpecial Truſt and Confidence which is repoſed in your Patriotiſm, Fidelity, Courage, and good Conduct, you are, by theſe Preſents, conſtituted and appointed Major of the ~~Company in the~~ Battalion of ~~regular~~ volunteer Forces raiſed for the Defence and Protection of ~~this State~~, and for repelling every hoſtile Invaſion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to diſcharge the Duty of Major by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging; and all Officers and Soldiers under your Command are hereby ſtrictly charged and required to be obedient to your Orders as Major. And you are to obſerve and follow ſuch Orders and Directions, from Time to Time, as you ſhall receive from the executive Power of this State, or any your ſuperiour Officers, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of War, in Purſuance of the Truſt repoſed in you. Witneſs *Patrick Henry*, Eſquire, Governor or Chief Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth aforeſaid, this fourteenth Day of December in the third Year of the Commonwealth, *Annoq. Dom.* 1778.

P. Henry

CHAPTER XII.

IMPORTANT EVENTS ON THE WABASH, FEBRUARY, 1779.

Expedition up the river from Vincennes—Capture of seven British boats, forty men, and valuable property—Importance of the event—Rejoicing of American and French inhabitants on return of the successful expedition—Sketches of Francis Bosseron and J. M. P. Legrace—Campaign against Detroit contemplated by Clark—Postponed for a time—Releases part of his prisoners—Forwards others to Virginia—Captain George's company arrives at Kaskaskia—Sketch of Captain George—Clark divides his troops between Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia—Assigns officers to their respective positions—Goes himself with thirty men to Kaskaskia—Punishes Delaware Indians—Contemplated June expedition against Detroit abandoned from lack of men—Clark returns to Vincennes—Issues general order in relation to disposition of his troops—Death of Major Bowman, and matters relating to him—Colonel Clark returns to the falls of the Ohio, and makes that his headquarters, "as the most convenient spot to have an eye over the whole."

THE latter part of February, 1779, was prolific of events on the Wabash of the most exciting and important character. On the 24th occurred the furious firing on the fort, the fight with the Indians, the conference between commanding officers, and the signing of articles of capitulation. On the 25th the grand consummation of the struggle by the taking possession of Fort Sackville and the extinguishment forever of British domination in the Wabash and Illinois country. On the 26th the dispatch of three boats and fifty men up the river on a successful expedition against the approaching enemy; and on the 27th the arrival of The Willing with the welcome news from Virginia—the

first news of any kind that had arrived from there for nearly a year.

The expedition up the Wabash river was under the command of Captain Leonard Helm, and the fifty men were generally militia, with whom were Militia Officers Bosseron and Legrace. It was conducted with ability, prudence and remarkable success. About one hundred and twenty miles up the river they managed to surprise and capture seven British boats, manned by about forty men, and loaded with valuable goods and provisions, intended for Fort Sackville, worth at least fifty thousand dollars. They had been sent from Detroit, and with the captured party were Philip Dejean, "grand judge" of that place, Mr. Adhemar, the commissary, and forty private soldiers. Hamilton says Adhemar "had been sent up with ten pirogues and thirty men to the Miamis, to bring down provisions and stores that 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, was seized by the rebels. Besides the provisions, clothing, and stores, belonging to the king, all the private baggage of the officers fell into the possession of Colonel Clark, not an article of which was offered them, though they, to conciliate the good offices of the rebels to our wounded men and those we apprehended would not be permitted to go along

with us, gave away to Colonel Clark, and to his people, several things we should otherwise not have parted with."

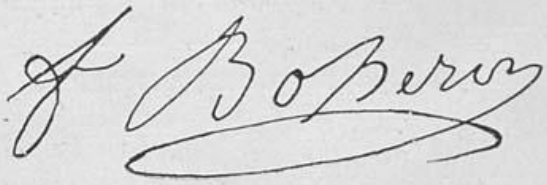
If it was true, as Hamilton says, that Dejean and the British party knew of the fall of Fort Sackville before they were captured, they certainly acted with great stupidity. They destroyed neither letters nor stores, and made no attempt to defend themselves, or escape. They did not apparently make the slightest effort to prevent surprise, or ascertain the approach of danger, but deliberately went into the trap Helm's party had set for them. It is at least reasonable to presume, therefore, that Hamilton's statement as to Dejean's knowledge that the fort was captured was not correct, and that the party supposed the British were still in possession. They were coming on highly elated, expecting soon to be at the end of their journey, when they were brought to by Helm's forces and all captured. *

The Americans, by sending scouts in advance, were advised that the British were approaching, and made ready to receive them in a part of the river where the channel was made narrow by an island, and where several little rivulets entered, the shores being so full of willows and brush as to entirely conceal the Americans and their boats. They had four swivels, brought from the fort, and were in every way better prepared for a conflict than the unsuspecting and greatly surprised British. Seeing this, the latter promptly surrendered themselves, their boats, and all their effects, without the slightest reservation.

*A letter from Haldimand to DePeyster says, "Hamilton a few days before he was taken sent about three hundred corvee men for provisions and presents he had left at Miamis and which consequentiy fell into the hands of the rebels and would be very useful to them." Haldimand Papers, B. 96, 1. p. 92.

It was an important achievement for the Americans, and for the Vincennes French and creoles as well; for a large majority of the soldiers were inhabitants of that place, as were Francis Bosseron and J. M. P. Legrace,* the two officers next in command after Helm. Both were prominent citizens and officers of the Vincennes militia. That they were true friends of the Americans from the beginning is certain. Hamilton says he suspected them of treachery from the first, and discloses that he had taken every precaution to secure all the gunpowder in town, and supposed he had, but that when Clark arrived, with his ammunition all destroyed or damaged by water, the inhabitants supplied him with an abundance which they had concealed. Clark gives Bosseron and Legrace the credit of supplying him with this indispensable article.

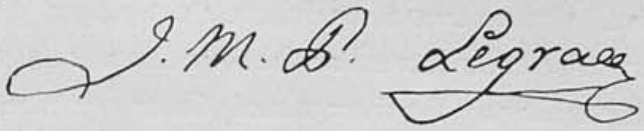
Francis Bosseron was a man of affairs and left his impress on the locality where he lived. A street bears his name in Vincennes, and also a town, a township and a creek in Knox county. He was an active aid of Father Gibault in the meeting at St. Xavier's Church, when the inhabitants of Vincennes first declared their allegiance to the Americans, and he held civil offices during the Virginia occupancy.



Colonel Legrace was appointed by Colonel John Todd

* Legras is the way the name is generally written and printed, but he wrote it Legrace, as will be seen by the fac-simile of his signature.

lieutenant-governor or commandant at Vincennes and in that capacity not only followed the long



line of precedents set by previous commandants of granting the public land to settlers, but it is alleged that he verbally authorized the court at Vincennes, of which Francis Bosseron was a member, to do the same thing. This they did in the most liberal manner, finally dividing among themselves about all there was left of the land where the Indian title had been extinguished. The latter grants were afterwards very properly set aside. Legrace probably died early, or removed from the country—at least the author has not found him mentioned as connected with events after this period.

These two men were prominent representatives of the French and creole population of Vincennes, who were already worked up to a high pitch of excitement by the recent events transpiring in their midst, and especially by the departure of so many of their own people on this expedition up the Wabash. Their anxiety led them to keep scouts up the river to ascertain and convey to the town the earliest information of the result, and when it came at last it created the most intense enthusiasm among these mercurial people. The news flew rapidly to every house and soon the whole movable population, including the American soldiers not on duty guarding the prisoners, started for the river.

It was an hour of great excitement on the historic Wabash, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th of February, 1779, as the victors with their captives approached the town amid

the huzzas and rejoicing of the people. On the first arrival of the news some jumped into canoes, some mounted horses, others started on foot—men, women and children—all heading up the river to meet the troops returning crowned with success. The climax came as the three American boats, convoying the seven British vessels, entered the long stretch of beautiful water above the town. Canoes eagerly approached to hear the joyful tidings, men waded and swam out into the river for the same purpose. A flood of questions and replies was shouted between them and the elated soldiers on the American boats.

When the latter reached the shore they were overwhelmed with congratulations over the success of the expedition which had been conducted with excellent judgment, and the result was of great importance to the American cause. This little naval campaign on the Wabash was in fact the last act in transferring the Wabash country from British to American rule, under which it has since remained and will, no doubt, remain forever.

If Clark had then been in condition to march against Detroit at once he could have carried the whole of the fighting population of Vincennes with him, so great was the enthusiasm excited by this campaign. To do so was his first impulse, although he concealed it from the public, but he finally modified his views somewhat, and concluded to defer the forward movement until June, by which time he expected promised re-enforcements from Virginia and Kentucky to arrive. The division among the soldiers of the valuable spoils which had been captured greatly increased the desire for further enterprises. In his memoir

Clark fully explains this as well as the reasons for and against a movement upon Detroit. Of the captured goods he says: "The whole was divided among the soldiery, except some Indian medals that were kept in order to be altered for public use. The officers received nothing, except a few articles of clothing that they stood in need of. The soldiers got almost rich. Others envied their good fortune, and wished that some enterprise might be undertaken, to enable them to perform some exploit. Detroit was their object. The clamor had now got to a great height; to silence it, and to answer other purposes, they were told that an army was to march the ensuing summer from Pittsburg to take possession of Detroit, although, from the last fall's proceedings, we knew that no such thing was to be apprehended."

Although Clark seemed to publicly discourage the idea that he had any thought of moving against Detroit it was, in fact, uppermost in his thoughts, and this not without reason, for it was indeed the golden opportunity which never again returned. The capture of that place was now his great ambition and his failure to accomplish it rather embittered his after life. At first glance, at least, it appears that he might have done so by an immediate forward movement. He had received word that there were not more than eighty men in that fort at Detroit at that time, and a great part of them invalids. "We were informed," said he, "that many of the principal inhabitants were disaffected to the British cause. The Indians on our route we knew would now more than ever be cool towards the English. . . . We could now augment our forces in this quarter to about

four hundred men, as near half the inhabitants of Post Vincennes would join us. Kentucky, we supposed, could immediately furnish two hundred men, as there was a certainty of receiving a great addition of settlers in the spring. With our own stores, which we had learned were safe on their passage, added to those captured of the British, there would not be a single article wanting for an expedition against Detroit. We privately resolved to embrace the object that seemed to court our acceptance, without delay, giving the enemy no time to recover from the blows they had received; but we wished it to become the object of the soldiery and the inhabitants before we should say anything about it. It immediately became the common topic among them; and in a few days they had arranged things so that they were, in their imaginations, almost ready to march. . . .

"Early in the month of March I laid before the officers my plans for the reduction of Detroit, and explained the almost certainty of success, and the probability of keeping possession of it until we could receive succor from the states. If we awaited the arrival of the troops mentioned in the dispatches from the governor of Virginia, the enemy, in the meantime, might get strengthened, and probably we might not be so capable of carrying the (post) with the expected re-enforcement as we should be with our present force, in case we were to make the attempt at this time; and in case we should be disappointed in the promised re-enforcements, we might not be able to effect it at all.

"There were various arguments made use of on this delicate point. Every person seemed anxious to improve the present opportunity; but prudence appeared to forbid the

execution, and induced us to wait for the re-enforcement. The arguments that appeared to have the greatest weight were, that with such a force we might march boldly through the Indian nations; that it would make a great (impression) on them, as well as the inhabitants of Detroit, and have a better effect than if we were now to slip off and take the place with so small a force; that the British would not wish to weaken Niagara by sending any considerable re-enforcements to Detroit; that it was more difficult for that post to get succor from Canada than it was for us to receive it from the states; that the garrison at Detroit would not be able to get a re-enforcement in time to prevent our executing our designs, as we might with propriety expect ours in a few weeks.

"In short, the enterprise was deferred until the —— of June, when our troops were to rendezvous at Post Vincennes. In the meantime every preparation was to be made, procuring provisions, etc., and, to blind our designs, the whole, except a small garrison, should march immediately to the Illinois, and orders were sent to Kentucky to prepare themselves to meet at the appointed time. This was now our proposed plan, and directed our operations during the spring."

There were other reasons, probably, for not marching against Detroit at once, than those stated in the foregoing extract. His troops were very nearly worn out by the strain and exposure of the exhausting ten days' march through the water, which, with the reaction naturally following the excitement incident to the campaign and the capture of the fort, was now producing an unusual amount

of sickness among the soldiers. It was a season of remarkably wet and stormy weather, and this added to the prevailing ill health. Clark says that because of it "many of these valuable men fell a sacrifice, and few yet were perfectly recovered."

Besides, the number of his prisoners, in proportion to his own force, was now so great as to be an object of anxiety. He commenced relieving himself of this incumbrance on the 7th of March (Hamilton says the 8th) by forwarding Hamilton and the principal British officers and eighteen other British prisoners to Kentucky, to be taken thence to Virginia and turned over to the authorities of that state. An account of the captivity of Hamilton and his fellow-prisoners will be given in the fourteenth chapter.

Colonel Clark determined, as a matter of policy, as well as necessity, to release certain others of his prisoners, but in such a way as to virtually win them over to the American cause. His plan was first to excite their fears and then surprise and win them by unexpected kindness. To this end he finally caused a company of the younger men among the prisoners to be made up in such a way as to leave the impression on their minds that they were to be sent to Virginia, or some far-off place, out of the reach of relatives and friends. "Then they were told," says Clark, "that we were happy to learn that many of them were torn from their fathers and mothers, and forced on this expedition; others, ignorant of the true cause in contest, had engaged from a principle that actuates a great number of men—that of being fond of enterprise; but that they had a good opportunity to make themselves fully acquainted with the na-

ture of the war, which they might explain to their friends; and that, as we knew that sending them to the states, where 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, etc. A great deal more was said to them on this subject.

"They were discharged on taking an oath not to bear arms against America until exchanged. They received an order for their arms, boats and provisions, to return with. The boats were to be sold and divided among them when they got home. In a few days they set out, and, as we had spies who went among them as traders, we learned that they made great havoc to the British interest on their return to Detroit."

Bowman says "most of the prisoners took the oath of neutrality," * and that "a copy of the alliance between France and the thirteen United States" was sent by them to Detroit. Some few, who were believed to be entirely trustworthy, were allowed to join Clark's forces. He says the 16 of March was the day of departure of the released prisoners for Detroit, and that the day before a party of Miami and other Indians waited on Colonel Clark with assurances of their fidelity, and begging protection.

*The following British prisoners, captured at Fort Sackville, are said to have taken the oath of "neutrality" on the 9th day of March, 1779: Sergeant John Chapman, Corporal George Morehead, Corporal James Duckworth, Privates William Drinckwater, Owen Goliher, Samuel Watkins, Andrew Young, James McMullen, Isaac Booth, John Jiants (or Joines), John McMichael, John Dain, Edward She (or Shelby), Jacob Bogard, Belser Devins (or Bel Sadavis), William Scott. The following were probably released without taking the oath: William Sadler, Richard Baker, Richard McBead, John Adamson, Alex Prescot, and Messrs. Chabert, Gaffes, Lasselle, Lafoy, Reaume, Ademhard and Lanserainte.

CAPTAIN ROBERT GEORGE.

On the same day a messenger arrived from Kaskaskia bearing intelligence of the arrival of Captain Robert George at that place, from New Orleans, with a company of forty men. This was the company formerly commanded by James Willing, who, after resigning, had departed for Philadelphia in company with Captain Mackintire. Captain Robert George was a native of Virginia, and a kinsman of Colonel Clark, his mother being a Rogers. He was an artillery officer, known as a skilled gunner, and was in most of Clark's Indian campaigns. He was allotted three thousand two hundred and thirty-four acres in Clark's Grant, Indiana, for his services in the Illinois campaign, being Nos. 17, 137, 146, 159, 172, 275 and A in 149. The town of Utica is situated on No. 17. It is said he was one of the very few soldiers who lived and died on the land granted. Judge Pinckney C. Ferguson, born in Clark's Grant, writes: "I have never been able to hear of but one man who, in person, occupied the land given to him, and that was Captain Robert George, to whom survey No. 17 was allotted. I have always understood that he occupied this tract and died upon it at Utica." He certainly spent much of the latter end of his life in the southern part of Clark county, about Clarksville, Jeffersonville and Utica.

Matters were now arranged for the departure of a part of Colonel Clark's forces from Vincennes. Forty picked soldiers were to be left there under the command of trusty officers. Captain Leonard Helm was assigned to duty as

commandant of the town in civil matters and superintendent of Indian affairs; Lieutenant Richard Brashears to command the garrison, aided by Lieutenants John Baley and Abraham Chapline; Moses Henry, Indian agent, and Patrick Kennedy, quartermaster. There were yet prisoners on hand to be looked after, as we learn from Bowman's journal, which says, that on the 19th orders were issued for six boats to be made ready to return to Kaskaskia with prisoners; and under the head of the 20th he enters "The boats ready and loaded. Captain McCarty takes command of The Willing; Captain Kellar, Captain Worthington, Ensign Montgomery, Ensign Lorraine, each to take charge of one boat. Sergeant and six men to take the small boat called 'The Running Fly.' About four o'clock the whole embarked. . . . The boats, after rejoicing, are run out of sight. God send them a good and safe passage."

This is the last entry in Bowman's interesting and valuable journal, and his farewell prayerful appeal seems to have been answered, for Clark's memoir says that after "giving necessary instructions to all persons that I left in office, on the 20th of March I set sail on board of our galley, which was now made perfectly complete, attended by five armed boats and seventy men. The waters being very high, we soon reached the Mississippi; and, the winds favoring us, in a few days we arrived safely at Kaskaskia, to the great joy of our new friends, Captain George and company, waiting to receive us."

At this time the Delaware Indians had a town at the forks of White river, on or near the line now dividing Knox and

Daviess counties, Indiana, and had shown an unfriendly disposition towards the Americans in several instances. Finally they plundered and killed a party of traders who were going through by land from Vincennes to the falls of the Ohio. News of this massacre reached Clark a few days after his return to Kaskaskia. He "immediately sent orders to Post Vincennes to make war on the Delawares—to use every means in their power to destroy 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 were attacked in every quarter where they could be found; many fell, and others were brought to Post Vincennes and put to death; the women and children secured, etc.

"They immediately applied for reconciliation, but were informed that I had ordered the war. . . . and that they dare not lay down the tomahawk without permission from me; but that if the Indians were agreed, no more blood should be spilt until an express should go to Kaskaskia, which was immediately sent. I refused to make peace with the Delawares, and let them know that we never trusted those who had once violated their faith, but if they had a mind to be quiet, they might; and if they could get any of the neighboring Indians to be security for their good behavior, I would let them alone; but that I cared very little about it, etc., privately directing Captain Helm how to manage." Finally the Piankeshaw Indians, who were always friendly to the Americans, "took on themselves to answer for the future good conduct of the Delawares." . . . "Thus ended," continued Clark,

"the war between us and the Delawares in this quarter, much to our advantage, as the nations about said that we were as brave as the Indians, and not afraid to put an enemy to death."

The month of June had been fixed upon for a movement against Detroit, and provisions had been collected for that purpose, but when that time arrived the ardor in favor of it, which prevailed immediately after the capture of Fort Sackville and the boats on the Wabash, had somewhat cooled; and, besides, the expected number of re-enforcements had not arrived.

Colonel John Bowman, the county-lieutenant of Kentucky, and brother of Joseph and Isaac Bowman, who were with Clark, had said he would furnish three hundred good men, but instead of doing so he went with them on an expedition of his own, against the Indians in the Ohio country, which was not as successful as some, at the time, thought it ought to have been, but it is now known that it was of great benefit to the Americans in preventing the British and Indians from making a forward movement against the frontiers. His failure to join Clark was probably a mistake, and to Clark it was a great disappointment as only thirty Kentuckians (under Captain McGary) joined him when he had expected three hundred. Besides the Virginia re-enforcements under Montgomery only amounted to one hundred and fifty men instead of several hundred as had been expected.

But most discouraging of all was the arrival of news of the fall in price of paper money, which made its further use in procuring supplies almost an impossibility. The memoir

says "things immediately put on a different appearance." They now lamented that they did not march from Post Vincennes to Detroit immediately after the capture, but as there was still a possibility that re-enforcements from Kentucky might arrive, they did not altogether abandon the hope that something could yet be done, "at least," says Clark, "we might maneuver in such a manner as to keep the enemy in hot water, and in suspense, and prevent their doing our frontiers much damage. We went on with procuring supplies, and did not yet lose sight of our object.

"In order to feel the pulse of the enemy, I detached Major (Linitot), who had lately joined us, and a company of volunteers up the Illinois river, under the pretense of visiting our friends. He was instructed to cross the country and call at the Wea towns, and then proceed to Post Vincennes, making his observations on the route. This, we expected, would perfectly cover our designs; and, if we saw it prudent, we might on his return proceed. Early in June Colonel Montgomery was dispatched, by water, with the whole of our stores. Major (Joseph) Bowman marched the remainder of our troops by land. Myself, with a party of horse, reached Post Vincennes in four days, where the whole safely arrived in a short time after."

The movements in relation to an attack on Detroit had been made in such a way as to leave the British in doubt as to what Clark's intentions really were. After his return to Vincennes, the 1st of July, and the careful consideration of the whole subject, he, most reluctantly, came to the conclusion that, from lack of men and current money, it was best to abandon it for the present. In fact, it would

seem that doubts had arisen in his mind some time before, for as far back as the 29th of April he indicated as much in a letter to the governor of Virginia, but expressed the confident belief that, with a little additional assistance, he might have taken it immediately after the capture of Kaskaskia in 1778, and again after the capture of Fort Sackville in 1779. He said:

"By your instructions to me, I find you put no confidence in General McIntosh's taking Detroit, as you encourage me to attempt it if possible. It has been twice in my power. Had I been able to raise only five hundred men when I first arrived in this 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."

In the same letter he expresses the opinion "that a small army from Pittsburg, conducted with spirit, may easily take Detroit and put an end to the Indian war."

He is not sure that the British will attempt to recover the

Illinois country, but he says: "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."

He had already conquered a vast country, but, capable as he had proved himself to be, it was a grave question whether, with his limited means and number of men, he could ever continue to hold it against both the British and Indians, much less hazard all by prosecuting an expedition against a distant point with wholly inadequate resources. He, therefore, wisely decided to defer a movement upon Detroit until a later day, and proceeded at once to strengthen his possession of the great extent of territory he had already acquired. For the present the important points to be looked after were Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia and the falls of Ohio, and, a little later on, Fort Jefferson. To that end he issued general orders dividing up his forces in the following manner:

"*General Orders Issued by General G. R. Clark, August 5th, 1779*—Captain Robert George of the artillery, Lieutenant Robertson of the same, with their company, to go to the falls of Ohio with the commander-in-chief, where headquarters are to be established.

"Captain Leonard Helm, Indian agent for Fort Patrick Henry and the department of Wabash.

"Monsieur Gamilan of Ouyas, to fall under his department, to make report to headquarters at the falls of Ohio, or to Kaskaskia, to Lieutenant-Colonel 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.

"Captain Linitot, Indian agent for the Illinois river and all the western side of said river to the east of the Mississippi, to make his report to and receive orders from Colonel Montgomery, commanding the Illinois, etc., at Kaskaskia, or other officer for the time being commanding there.

"Captain Linitot will appoint an assistant for the upper part of the Mississippi in the Indian department, near the Doge plains, provided the appointment be approved of by Colonel Montgomery, or the commanding officer for the time being.

"[A Copy.] Signed, GEORGE R. CLARK.

"*General Order, Detachment for Fort Clark, August 5th, 1779*—Captain John Williams, to be joined by Captain Worthington's company, Lieutenant Brashear, Lieutenant Gerault, Captain-Lieutenant Harrison, of artillery, now at Fort Clark.

"*Detachment for Cohos*—Captain Richard McCarty, to be joined by Captain Quirk's company; Lieutenant Perrault; Lieutenant Clark.

"*The Garrison of Fort Patrick Henry*—Captain Shelby, to be joined by Captain Taylor's and Captain Kellar's companies; Lieutenant Wilson; Ensign Williams. Captain Robert Todd, to be joined by Captain Evans's company; Lieutenant Dalton, of artillery; Ensign Slaughter.

"The officers of the artillery at the different posts and garrisons are to take charge of the artillery stores, etc., belonging to that department.

"Major Joseph Bowman to proceed with the recruiting

parties and to have the direction thereof. The general officers out recruiting are to make reports to him and receive orders and instructions from him.

"*Officers for the Recruiting Service*—Captains Quirk, Evans, Taylor, Worthington, Kellar; Lieutenants Roberts, Crockett, Ramsey, Calvit; Ensign Montgomery."

DEATH OF MAJOR BOWMAN.

Major Bowman, who was thus called by Colonel Clark, on the 5th of August, 1779, to take charge of the recruiting service, died a few days afterwards in Fort Sackville. A letter from Captain Williams to a friend in Kentucky says: "I have the bad news of the death of the brave Major Bowman. He died at Post St. Vincent, August 18th, with an ailment in the head. His death was much lamented among all the officers and soldiers." "The ailment in the head," referred to by Captain Williams, was probably superinduced by the shock of the explosion which occurred at the capture of Fort Sackville which is known to have injured Major Bowman. He probably died on the 15th and was buried on the 18th.

The author is inclined to the opinion that his brother, Lieutenant Isaac Bowman, was with him when he died, but there is no positive evidence of it. Isaac, who went to Virginia with Rochblave, after the capture of Kaskaskia, certainly returned to the Illinois country in the service of Colonel Clark, for it is known that he was captured there by the Indians, in the fall of 1779, an account of which is given elsewhere. An account against his brother's estate,

shows that he paid the following items of expense for Joseph's funeral, under date of August 18, 1779:

"To cash paid for burial sheets - - - $10.00
To cash paid for 7 1-2 gallons of taffey at sixty-four dollars per gallon - - - 480.00
To cash for making of a coffin - - 30.00."

In the same account he *credits* his brother with the following peculiar items:

"May 6—By cash won a shooting - - - £3
June 20—By cash at the falls of the Ohio shooting - - - - - - - - - - - £7 4s."

In that day accuracy in shooting with the rifle was considered a great accomplishment and practicing at a mark was very common. Even in later days, the author well remembers when "shooting matches" in southern Indiana were of frequent occurrence and generally for some little wager or article of sufficient value to make the contest interesting. A better system could not have been devised to secure the kind of marksmen needed as soldiers in the pioneer period. Saturday afternoon was generally the big day in the village or settlement for such contests and beef was the prize usually allotted to the victors. A fat animal was furnished by some citizen and its value determined by two disinterested persons. The value was made up by dividing it into chances, each chance being entitled to one shot. If the animal was valued at ten dollars (and cattle were very low in price at that period and money scarce), it would probably be divided into one hundred chances. These were sold to the various competitors, and a separate board for each made with a mark thereon—all of uni-

form size—generally a cross-mark with a two-inch-square piece of white paper tacked on the board, with a little hole, or bull's-eye, in the center of the paper at the cross. The contestant's name was marked on his board. The guns were the ordinary hunting rifles, to be found in all homesteads at that period. Judges had charge of these boards, and the position of each board and marksman was the same at the time of firing. When all the chances were fired the judges took the boards and decided who had the five nearest shots, and to these were allotted, in the order of precedence given by the judges, the first, second, third, fourth and fifth choices of the five parts into which the beef was divided, viz.: 1st, hide and tallow; 2d, a hind quarter; 3d, a hind quarter; 4th, a fore quarter; 5th, a fore quarter.

But the judges also decided which of the competitors had made the worst shot, and the unfortunate individual had to treat the crowd, to whisky or cider—these being then about the only exciting beverages—all of which was done in a good-natured way. It was, in fact, made a season of fun and frolic, and was a fine school for making good marksmen.

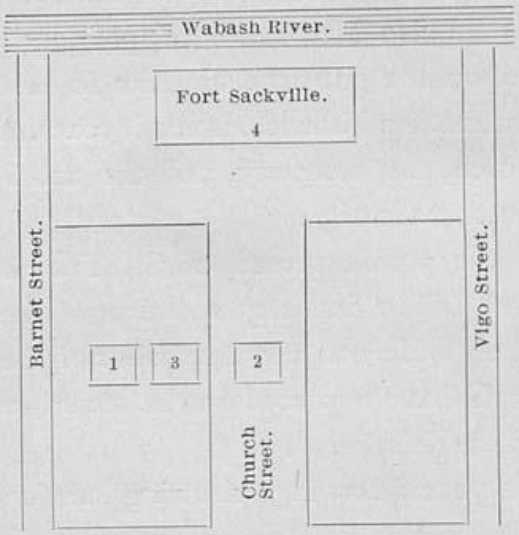
Major Bowman was buried at Vincennes, in all probability in the grounds of Fort Sackville or in that vicinity. It was a Catholic community, and their burial place at that time was near St. Xavier's Church, and not very far from the fort. It is not likely he was buried there, as it is not at all probable he was a member of that church, his relatives being generally Episcopalians or Lutherans, and his name can not be found in the register of burials of the Catholic church there, and there was then no other. The author

made diligent, personal search, in vain, to find the exact locality of his grave, as did also Mr. Cauthorn, previously mentioned. A letter upon the subject from him is here given, because of the interesting historical items it contains about the fort, the church, the cemetery, and the multitude of bodies buried in that vicinity:

"I have examined the parish record of St. Francis Xavier's Cathedral, and fail to find any mention of the death of Major Bowman. He was not a member of the church, or his name would have appeared on the record in the record of deaths and burials. . . .

"I send you two rude pencil drawings showing location of Fort Sackville and the church as it was before Church street was extended and opened out to the river as represented in Plat 1, and as it is at present in Plat 2. The fort grounds were subdivided into lots, and sold sometime between 1830 and 1840, and First street opened between the fort and the church property. Mrs. Bayard (the venerable lady referred to in a previous chapter) well remembers the fort grounds and frequently played in the enclosure as late as 1824. She says there were several buildings standing in the enclosure of the fort, and that private families lived in them for many years after the fort was abandoned and the troops removed to Fort Knox above town. She says the graveyard around the church occupied what is now Church street, and some distance on the other side of the street opposite the church. The entire space where the church now stands and in the rear and on the riverside of the church is filled with the remains of human beings buried two and three deep. This graveyard was used for burial

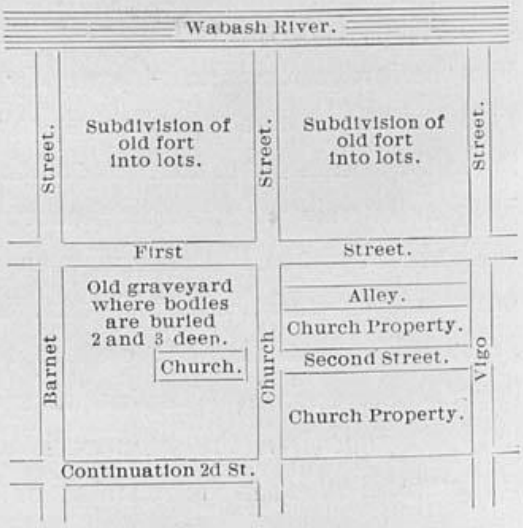
PLAT 1.



1. First church site. 3. Present church site.
2. Second church site. 4. Principal entrance to fort.

purposes until the fall of 1846, and long after it was possible to dig a grave anywhere in it without digging up two or three skeletons. The public cemetery was laid out after the territorial government was organized. Up to that time the graveyard around the church was the only one used by the citizens for burying the dead. When the excavation for the foundation of the present cathedral was dug out a great many human skeletons were dug up. These were gathered together and put in large wooden boxes and deposited in the basement of the church where they yet remain. And in 1840, when excavations were made for the foundation of an addition to the church and for a basement chapel, a very large

PLAT 2.



number of human skeletons were dug up, placed in wooden boxes, and are now under the church in the basement. In the summer of 1886 Church street was dug up in front of the church grounds to put down the main pipes of the water supply company. In digging down the workmen doing the work imagined they had come across an Indian graveyard from the immense number of human skeletons they dug up.

"Father McLaughlin, then assistant pastor of the church here, thought they belonged to the old cemetery of the church and had them all gathered together and put in wooden boxes, and they are also now in the basement under the church. I have no doubt immense numbers of skeletons could be found by digging down anywhere in Church street between the church and the river, and even on the upper side of Church street. Mrs. Bayard says that her mother's father, who was accidentally killed in hanging the bell on the church, was buried in the graveyard around the church, and that the place was entirely across Church street as it is now opened out. The graveyard around the church, as I have said, was used until the fall of 1846. The immense number of bodies buried therein and so near the surface necessarily in consequence of previous interments, that the trustees of the old borough conceived the idea that it was injurious to the health of the place, and attempted in 1830 to compel all persons to bury their dead in the public cemetery, which was then outside the limits of the town. But so great was the desire of the old creole French to have their dead buried alongside of their kindred that the attempt was resisted, and in some

cases by force, and the borough authorities abandoned the attempt. And when the church authorities moved in the matter and attempted to require all burials to be in the new Catholic cemetery, located also out of the town, the old French for some years resisted the authority of the church, and were determined to bury their dead where their ancestors had been buried, and in many cases succeeded by force in doing it."

In his memoir Colonel Clark happily condenses the situation at the time of issuing his general orders, August 5, 1779, in these words: "Arranging things to the best advantage was now my principal study. The troops were divided between Post Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and the falls of Ohio. Colonel Montgomery was appointed to the command of the Illinois; Major Bowman, the recruiting business; a number of officers were appointed to that service, and myself to take up my quarters at the falls, as the most convenient spot to have an eye over the whole."

This virtually ended the active operations of the ever memorable expedition against Kaskaskia and Vincennes. The great empire northwest of the river Ohio was thus wrested from the British, and, by reason thereof, finally became a part of the United States.

The long captivity in Virginia of Governor Hamilton and other of the British prisoners; the killing of Colonel Clark's messenger, and capture of important papers; his subsequent campaigns and life, and other pertinent matters of importance, yet remain to be given.

CHAPTER XIII.

KILLING OF COLONEL CLARK'S MESSENGER AND CAPTURE OF IMPORTANT PAPERS.

Official report to governor of Virginia, and other important papers sent by the messenger—Instructions given him by Colonel Clark—Is killed by a party of Huron Indians near the falls of the Ohio—Captured papers supposed to be in Canadian archives—Copies of part of them there—Copies reproduced here—Colonel Clark's letter to speaker Virginia house of delegates—Clark's report of the Vincennes campaign sent the governor—On learning loss of this communication Colonel Clark forwards duplicate report to Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson—This letter in full—Also captured letter of Major Bowman to Governor Patrick Henry—Rejoicing over capture of Vincennes—Virginia presents Clark with an elegant sword.

ON the 15th of March, 1779—the same day the news reached Vincennes from Kaskaskia of the arrival of Captain George's company at that place—the messenger, "William Mires, returned, not being able to go by land to the falls of the Ohio, the country overflowing with water."* This was the same messenger who had arrived with important papers from the public authorities of Virginia two days after the capture of Fort Sackville.

Colonel Clark intrusted him with an official report to the governor of Virginia, giving an account of the late important military movements and his recent success. Many other important papers were intrusted to this faith-

* Bowman's journal.

ful but unfortunate messenger, who appears to have left on his intended return to Virginia the same day, or the day before, he was turned back by the high water. It is not likely he remained long after his return.

That Colonel Clark considered the mission of great importance is shown by the warrant issued to "Miers" at "Fort Patrick Henry, March 13, 1779," in which he said: "As the letters you have at present contain matters of great consequence, and require a quick passage to Williamsburg, this is to empower you to press for the service anything you may stand in need of. If you can not get it by fair means, you are to use force of arms. I request you to lose no time, as you prize the interest of your country."

The poor messenger evidently did faithfully all he could to execute Colonel Clark's orders, for he sacrificed his life in the effort. The particulars of the route he followed after leaving Vincennes on his return, and of his death, are not known, except that he was killed by the Indians near the falls of the Ohio, and all his papers taken. Some of them were afterwards reported to have been found in the woods near where he was killed, torn in pieces, but most of them were undoubtedly conveyed by the Indians to the British authorities.

In the allotment of the land in Clark's Grant, on account of services in the Illinois campaign, in the first list the commissioners made out, one hundred and eight acres were credited to William Myers, viz.: one hundred acres in letter D, tract No. 126, and eight acres in tract 196, that being the quantity allowed private soldiers. The proceedings of the commissioners show that this list was made out

in 1784. That this William Myers was then dead, and his heirs unknown, is fairly to be inferred from the fact that no deed was issued by the commissioners for the land, as in other cases, and the subject is not mentioned in the proceedings again for over sixteen years. But at the meeting of February 21, 1801, "James F. Moore made oath before the board that he knew William Myers, and knew of no other heir; that he had but Catherine, his sister, married to Henry Thomas, and believes her to be his only heir." Adam Brenton also made an oath before the board "that he long knew William Myers and his family, and he knew not of any other 'heir' he had, except his sister Catherine, the wife of Henry Thomas, and believed her to be his only heir." It is presumed by the author that this William Myers was the unfortunate messenger killed by the Indians, but he has never seen it so stated anywhere, and there is no positive evidence to that effect.

It is a matter of regret that it is not possible to give some definite and further account of the personal history of this unfortunate messenger. His lonely journey from Williamsburg to Vincennes, and back through the wilderness, to near the falls of the Ohio, was, at that period, a most fatiguing and perilous undertaking, as shown by the sequel. He risked his life to perform important services for his country, and lost it on the soil of Indiana. Humble in station though he may have been, he died in the performance of a public duty, and deserves to be remembered for his patriotic devotion. It seems that his name was William Myers, or Mires, the latter being the name given by Bowman, and the former the name to which land was

allotted in Clark's Grant. Colonel Clark, who, it must be admitted, was a little careless in spelling, has the name Moris in one place, Moires in another, and Myers in another. Still the discrepancy may be the work to some extent of copyists or compositors.

It is supposed by many that the original papers captured from Myers are on file in the Canadian archives. The writer, under that impression, opened a correspondence, in the spring of 1892, with Douglas Brymner, Esquire, the efficient custodian of these archives, for the purpose of procuring copies of these papers, and asked also any information that could be given in relation to Myers's death. In due time the copies came as requested, with a letter from Mr. Brymner, saying: "At this moment I do not remember particulars about Mories. As soon as I can find a leisure moment I shall try to look it up for you, but am under the impression that no account is given of him in the papers here."

One of the copies inclosed by Mr. Brymner was Colonel Clark's letter of instructions to Myers, already given. Another is the following letter from Colonel Clark to Colonel Harrison, the speaker of the Virginia house of delegates in reply to the resolution of thanks of that body to Clark and his soldiers. It is dated "St. Vincent, March 10, 1779," and says: "I received 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 they have already conferred on me. By my public letters you will be fully acquainted with my late successful expedition

against Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton who has fallen into my hands with all the principal partisans of Detroit. This stroke will nearly put an end to the Indian war. Had I men enough to take advantage of ye present confusion of the Indian nations, I would silence of the whole in two months. I learn that five hundred men is ordered out to re-enforce me. If they arrive, with what I have in the country I am in hopes will enable me to do something clever."

The most important inclosure, however, was what purported to be a copy of the "Journal of G. R. Clark," which is here given in full, as follows:

JOURNAL OF G. R. CLARK.

[From Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 122, p. 289.]

"What precedes this part of Colonel Clark's journal is only an account of his setting out, and his march till the 23d February."

"Set off very early, waded better than three miles on a stretch; our people prodigious, yet they keep up a good heart in hopes of a speedy sight of our enemies. 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 Warrior's island, where we lay concealed until sunset. Several of the inhabitants were out a shooting, by which was assured 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 ordered the march in the first division, Captain Williams's, Captain Worthington's companies, and the Kaskaskia volunteers in the second, commanded by Captain Bowman, his own company, and the Cohos volunteers. At sundown 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 five men we took in the canoes were our guides. We entered the town on the upper part, having detached Lieutenant Baley and fifteen riflemen to attack the fort and keep up a fire to harass them until we took possession of the town, and they were to remain on that duty till relieved by another party. The two divisions marched into the town and took possession of the main street, put guards, etc., 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 two hundred yards from the fort gate. We had intelligence that Captain Lamotte and thirty men were sent out about three hours before our arrival to reconnoiter, as it seems they had some suspicion of a party being near them. One Maisonville and a party of Indians, coming up the Ohnabadie with two prisoners made on the Ohio, had discovered our fires, and they arrived here a few days before us. I ordered out a party immediately to intercept them and took said Maisonville and one man. They gave us no intelligence worth mentioning. 24th. As soon as daylight appeared the enemy perceived our works and be-

gan a very smart fire of small arms at it, but could not bring their cannon to bear on them. About eight o'clock I sent a flag of truce with a letter, desiring Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, in order to save the impending storm that hung over his head, immediately to surrender up the garrison, fort, stores, etc., and at his peril not to destroy any one article now in the said garrison, or to hurt any house, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, for if he did, by heaven, he might expect no mercy. His answer was: 'Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark 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, through a bravery known but to Americans, walking carelessly up the main street, was slightly wounded over the left eye, but no ways dangerous. About twelve o'clock the firing from the fort suspended, and I perceived a flag coming out. I ordered my people to stop firing till further orders. I soon perceived it was Captain Helm, who, after salutations, informed me that the purport of his commission was, that Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton was willing to surrender up the fort and garrison, provided Colonel Clark would grant him honorable terms, and he begged Colonel Clark to come into the fort to confer with him. First, I desired Captain Helm not to give any intelligence of Governor Hamilton's strength, etc., being as his parole. Second, my answer to Governor Hamilton was, that I should not agree to any other terms than that Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton should immediately surrender at discretion, and allowed

him half an hour to consider thereof. As to entering the fort, my officers and men would not allow of it, for it was with difficulty I restrained them from storming the garrison. I dismissed Captain Helm with my answer. At the time allowed, Captain Helm came back with Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton's proposals, which were: 'Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time there shall no defensive works be carried on the garrison, provided Colonel Clark 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 until matters be finally determined, as he wishes that whatever the result of their conference may be, the honor and credit of each may be considered. So he wishes he may confer with Colonel Clark as soon as may be. As Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton will speak to him before the gate.

"'24th February, 1779. (Signed) H. HAMILTON.'

"This moment received intelligence that a party of Indians are coming up from the falls with prisoners or scalps, which party were sent out by Governor Hamilton for that purpose. My people were so enraged they immediately intercepted the party, which consisted of eight Indians and a Frenchman of the garrison. They killed three on the spot and brought four in who were tomahawked in the street opposite the fort gate and thrown into the river. The Frenchman we showed mercy, as his aged father had behaved so well in my party. I relieved the two poor pris-

oners who were French hunters on the Ohio; after which Captain Helm carried my answer—thus: 'Colonel Clark's compliments to Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that Colonel Clark will not agree to any other terms than of Governor Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Governor Hamilton desires a conference with Colonel Clark he will meet him at the church with Captain Helm.

"'24th February, 1779. (Signed) G. R. CLARK.'

"I immediately repaired there to confer with Governor Hamilton, where I met him and Captain Helm. Governor Hamilton then begged I would consider the situation of both parties; that he was willing to surrender the garrison, but was in hopes that Colonel Clark would let him do it with honor. I answered him: 'I have been informed that he had eight hundred men. I have not that number, but I came to fight that number.' Governor Hamilton 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 replied: 'Sir, my men are brave and willing to stand by me to the last. If I can't surrender on honorable terms, I'll fight it out to the last.' I answered: 'This will give my men infinite satisfaction and pleasure, for it is their desire.' He left and went a few paces aloof. I told Captain Helm, 'Sir, you are a prisoner on your parole. I desire you to reconduct Governor Hamilton into the fort and there remain till I retake you.' Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton then returned saying, 'Colonel Clark, why will

you force me to dishonor myself when you can not acquire more honor by it?' I told him: 'Could I look upon you, sir, as a gentleman, I would do to the utmost of my power; but on you, sir, who have embued your hands in the blood of our women and children, honor, my country, everything calls upon me aloud for vengeance.' Governor Hamilton—'I know, sir, my character has been stained, but not deservedly, for I have always endeavored to instill humanity as much as possible to the Indians whom the orders of my superiors obliged me to employ.' Colonel Clark—'Sir, speak no more on this subject; my blood glows within my veins to think on the cruelties your Indian parties have committed, therefore repair to your fort and prepare for battle;' on which I turned off, and the governor and Captain Helm towards the fort. When Captain Helm says, 'Gentlemen, pray 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 conferred. Governor 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 a half an hour to consider on them,' on which Captain Helm came with me to take them to Governor Hamilton. Having assembled my officers, I sent the following articles, viz.:

"'1st. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present, with all the stores, ammunition, provisions, etc.

"'2d. The garrison will deliver themselves up prisoners

of war, to march out with their arms, accoutrements, knapsacks, etc.

"'3d. The garrison to be delivered up to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

"'4th. Three days to be allowed to the garrison to settle their accounts with the traders of this place and inhabitants.

"'5th. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

"'(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

"'Post Vincent, 24th February, 1779.'

"Within the limited time Captain Helm returned with the articles signed thus, viz.:

"'Agreed to for the following reasons: Remoteness from success; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; the unanimity of officers and men on its expediency; the honorable terms allowed, and the confidence in a generous enemy.

"'(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON,

"'Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent.'

"27th, The Willing (a boat) arrived at three o'clock. She was detained by the strong current on the Ouabache and Ohio. Second lieutenant and forty-eight men with two iron four-pounders and two swivels on board The Willing. 1st."

Realizing that this was only a partial copy of Colonel Clark's official report to the governor of Virginia of the capture of Vincennes and other military operations, and that a full copy was of the greatest importance, the writer addressed another letter upon the subject to Mr. Brymner, in which he said:

"In the copy received of the journal of G. R. Clark" (series B, Vol. 122, p. 289) "I see it begins with February 23d and ends the 27th, with these words: 'On board The Willing 1st,' from which seeming abrupt termination I infer something follows in the original. Please do me the further favor to cause copies to be forwarded to me of what *precedes* and *follows* the copy of the part already sent me, so that, when put together, I shall have the *full* copy of the original of this journal, with any letter of Clark's (if there be any) accompanying the same."

Mr. Brymner replied, promptly, May 27, 1892, that "the journal, of which copy was sent, is exactly as it appears here, a copy apparently having been sent by the holder of the original, omitting the opening paragraph. The journal ends exactly as I sent it, except that the terms of the capitulation are repeated, exactly as in the body of the journal, so that it would have been useless to copy that. My impression is, that all of Clark's letters we have are noted in the calendar contained in the copy of the report I sent you, but I shall try to find time to look up if there are others. I don't remember at this moment that it is stated how the journal was got. Other letters were taken in skirmishes, but the journal being written after the taking of Vincennes, certainly could not have been found in that way. However, I shall see what I can find, although it may not be immediately, as I am very closely occupied.

"Yours truly, DOUGLAS BRYMNER."

Up to this time the author supposed the paper in the Canadian archives to be an original written by Colonel

Clark, but he now came to the conclusion that it was not, and on the 3d of June, 1892, he again wrote Mr. Brymner, venturing to suggest his impressions, and inquiring as to the existence of the original, etc. Mr. Brymner replied as follows:

"DOMINION OF CANADA,
"DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, ARCHIVES BRANCH,
"OTTAWA, 6 June, 1892.

"*Hon. W. H. English:*

"DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 3d is received this morning. Where the original of the journal is I have never been able to ascertain. It was the practice of the Indian agents to retain captured papers, sending copies to the governor-general, who was also commander-in-chief. In this case it seems to me plain that the Indian agent into whose hands the papers fell simply sent a copy of such parts of the journal as he thought important, retaining the original, which was in all probability destroyed subsequently, or lost, as so many important papers have been which were retained in private hands. The very bad practice continued for many years, of men occupying distinguished positions in the ministry, etc., retaining state papers as their own private property, and this bad practice seems to have extended to subordinates. When, for instance, all St. Clair's papers were captured at the time of his defeat by the Indians (4th November, 1791), Mr. McKee, the Indian agent, merely transmitted transcripts of the most important parts of the correspondence, retaining the originals. I have a considerable collection of Indian pa-

pers, which confirm this view of the method of conducting business in those days, the *original* letters from the Indian officers conveying *copies* of different documents transmitted, of which these officers retained the originals.

"I send you copy of report for 1891, containing a calendar of the correspondence between the war office and St. Clair, Richard Butler, etc., which was taken in the affair of 4th November, 1781. Yours truly,

"DOUGLAS BRYMNER."

The report of Colonel Clark to the governor of Virginia, captured from Myers, was the earliest account written by him, and would be the highest authority. The writer was, therefore, greatly disappointed to find that the original was not in the Canadian archives, but only a partial copy, without definite information as to the source from which it was derived. It is sincerely to be hoped the original may yet be found.

The distressing news of the killing of his trusted messenger reached Colonel Clark at Kaskaskia, a little over a month after it occurred, and must have naturally caused him much grief and anxiety. Grief for the loss, under the most distressing circumstances, of a faithful agent, and anxiety lest the important papers he was conveying should fall into the hands of the enemy, as they did.

To cover the possibility of the latter occurrence he hastened to forward another account to Virginia, and this time to make its reception more certain he probably forwarded one copy to Thomas Jefferson and another to Patrick Henry. At all events the following letter which he wrote

from Kaskaskia April 29th, 1779, seems to have been forwarded to each of these gentlemen: *

"KASKASKIAS, ILLINOIS, April 29, 1779.

"*To the Governor of Virginia:*

"DEAR SIR—A few days ago I received certain intelligence of William Morris, 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.

"I do not doubt but before the receipt of this you will have heard of my late success against Governor Hamilton, at Post 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.

*Jefferson's Works, Vol. 1, pp. 222 to 226, foot note. State Department, Washington, Papers Continental Congress, manuscript No. 71, Vol. 1, p. 247. Letter is also in Life of Patrick Henry, by his grandson, Vol. 3, p. 333.

"I ordered Major Bowman to evacuate the fort at Cohos and join me immediately, which he did. Not having received a scrape of a pen from you for near twelve months, I could see but little probability of keeping possession of the country, 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, 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 dispatched 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, 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, etc., 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 in the siege.

"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 dispatched 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 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 dispatching Morris with letters to you, treating with the neighboring Indians, etc., 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, etc. 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 McIntosh's taking Detroit, as you encourage me to attempt it, if possible. It has 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 ther 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

*The words in parentheses are not in the other copy, but the word "and" is put in their place in the copy sent Henry.

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, and about half the Chesaweys, Ottawas, Iowaas and Pottawatimas nations, bordering on the lakes. Those nations who have treated with me have behaved since very well, to wit: the Peankishaws, Kiccapoos, Ouiatanons of the Wabash river, the Kaskias, Perrians, Mechigamies, Foxes, Sacks, Opays, Illinois and Poues (Peorias?) 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 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 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 New 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 no 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 ozark, above the Natchez. I shall im-

mediately 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. CLARK.

"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."

Colonel Clark wrote a longer account than the foregoing to his friend, George Mason, of Virginia, November 19, 1779, from the falls of the Ohio; and, many years later he wrote a still longer account, usually called his "Memoir," at the suggestion, it is said, of Jefferson and Madison. These two voluminous accounts have already been extensively quoted and will be found in full in the appendix to this volume. The degree of reliability of the last three accounts has generally been assigned about in the order of their dates.

Major Bowman's account of the campaign against Cahokia, written to his uncle, Colonel John Hite, and his

journal of the Vincennes campaign, have always been regarded as the highest authority, and are also given in full in the appendix. Also a letter he wrote to his brother-in-law, George Brinker.

Recurring to the papers captured from the ill-fated Myers, the author has procured copies of several, only one other of which will be reproduced; this relates to Major Joseph Bowman. That officer intrusted to the same messenger, who had brought out his commission as major, a letter of thanks to the governor therefor, and it was among the captured papers. The copy of it given below was forwarded by the custodian of the Canadian archives, bearing the indorsement, "Taken by a party of Hurons at the falls of the Ohio," and presumably that is the indorsement on the paper on file there. That being the case the important fact is established that the messenger was killed by Huron Indians. It is as follows:

"[Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 122, p. 303.]

"[Copy.]

"Taken by a party of Hurons at the falls of the Ohio.

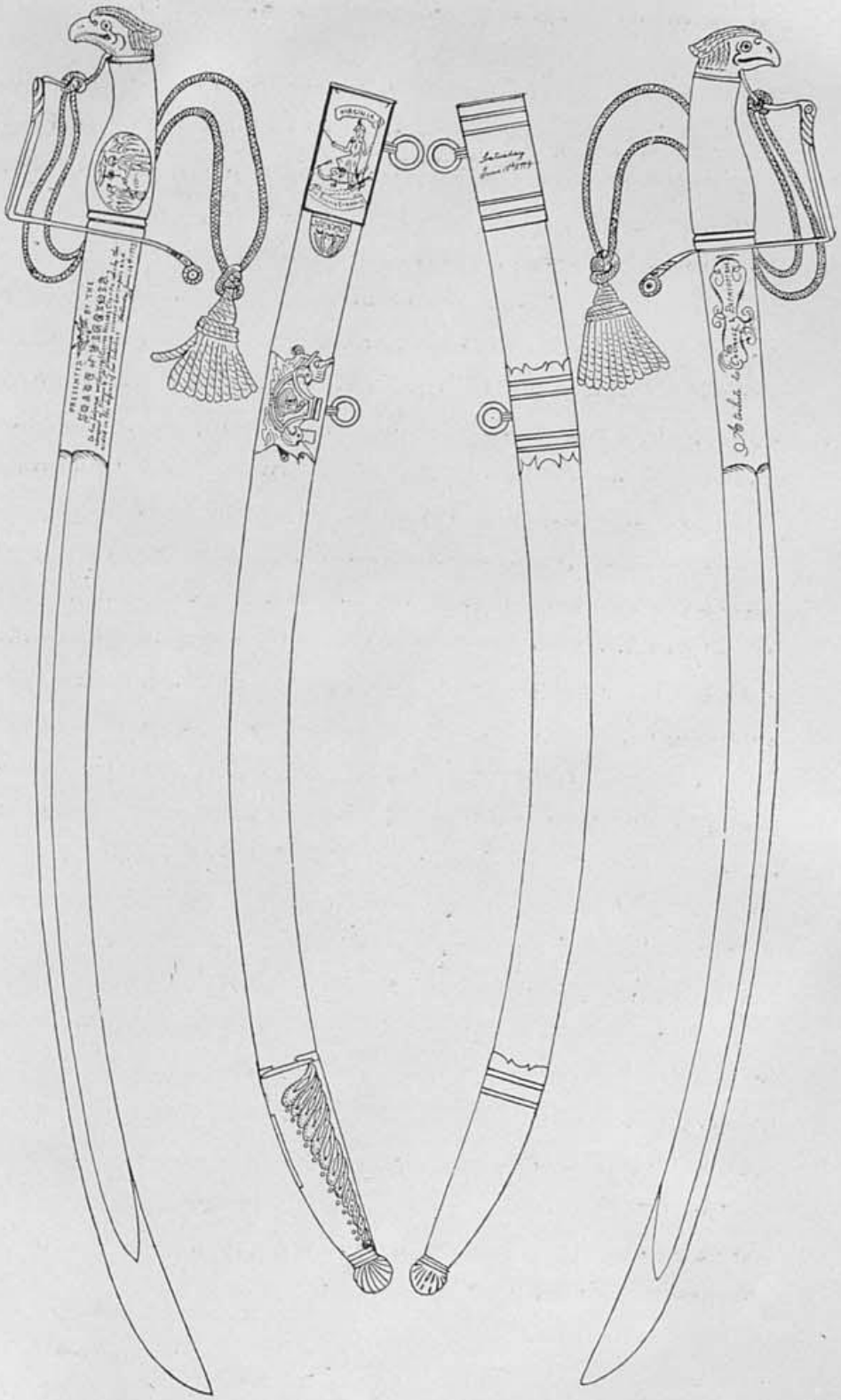
"ST. VINCENT, March 12, 1779.

"SIR—I take the opportunity to return my thanks for your kind remembrance of me and the honor you have conferred on me, in appointing me to a majority. I hope my future conduct will be such as to discharge with honor the trust reposed in me by my country and satisfaction to you. I am, sir, with the greatest esteem and regard, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOSEPH BOWMAN.

"To His Excellency, Patrick Henry, governor Virginia, Williamsburg."

The killing of Colonel Clark's messenger naturally delayed the news of the capture of Vincennes from reaching Virginia as soon as it otherwise would, but the British prisoners themselves arrived there in May, which sent a feeling of gratification and excitement throughout the Old Dominion, and all the other colonies as well. It was everywhere justly regarded as an event pregnant with important and far-reaching results, and Colonel Clark and his brave soldiers were exalted still higher in the public estimation. Praise and rejoicing were the order of the day in all directions. The Virginia house of delegates, on the 12th of June, resolved, "That the general assembly have a high sense of Colonel Clark's important services in the reduction of Fort St. Vincennes. That the governor be requested to transmit to him, by the hands of Lieutenant Rogers, an elegant sword, in the name of the general assembly, and in testimony of the merit of his services; and that the treasurer pay for the same." At the same time two hundred pounds were voted Lieutenant John Rogers, who was in command of the guard that conducted the British prisoners to Virginia, and it is presumed that, in pursuance of the resolution, he conveyed the sword to Colonel Clark. There are, however, traditions and uncertainties in relation to the sword, or swords, presented by the state of Virginia to George Rogers Clark, and the subject will be fully considered in a subsequent chapter. All that needs to be said now is that the cut on the next page is certainly a correct representation of a sword which was presented to him by the state of Virginia.



APPENDIX

TO VOL. I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE SEVERAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE BRITISH POSTS NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO, WRITTEN BY GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

The order in which these accounts were written is as follows:

1. Account written at Vincennes, February 24, 1779, of his march to, and capture of, that place. This was written to the governor of Virginia, in the nature of a report, but never reached him, as it was captured from the messenger, and the messenger killed by the Indians, as related in the body of this work. A copy of a part of this letter, probably the most of it, is now in the Canadian archives, Ottawa, Canada, Haldimand collection. Notice of it will be found on page 218, Canadian Archives Report, 1887, and it is given in full in the thirteenth chapter of this volume.

2. Letter to Thomas Jefferson, April 29, 1779, written after Clark had heard of the capture of his first account. This letter was probably written in duplicate and one copy sent to Patrick Henry, as substantially the same letter directed to Henry is on file in the state department, Washington, Papers Continental Congress, MS. No. 71, vol. 1, p. 247, and is also published in vol. 3, p. 333, Life of Patrick Henry by his grandson. The letter directed to Mr. Jefferson will be found in a foot note, Jefferson's

Works, vol. 1, pp. 222 to 226, and is copied in full in the thirteenth chapter of this volume.

3. Letter to George Mason, of Virginia, dated "Louisville, Falls of Ohio, November 19, 1779." This letter, for some unaccountable reason, did not get into print until 1869, when it was published by Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, as one of the valuable "Ohio Valley Historical Series," with an interesting introduction by Hon. Henry Pirtle, of Louisville. The high standing of George Mason, and his agency in originating the Illinois campaign, has already been stated.

4. General Clark's Memoir, written, it is said, at the request of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. The author has not found evidence of such request, but in a letter written by Mr. Jefferson in 1791 he speaks of General Clark, and says: "We are made to hope he is engaged in writing the account of his expeditions north of Ohio. They will be valuable morsels of history, and will justify to the world those who have told them how great he was."*

The letter to Mason will now be given in General Clark's own words, "adding only a word here and there (in italics), which seemed necessary to complete the sense."† and the spelling and grammar, in some instances, have been corrected and modernized. The same rule will be observed in the papers which follow. After this letter will be found the Memoir, which is the last account of his campaigns written by General Clark.

* Jefferson's Works, vol. 3, p. 217.

† Ohio Valley Historical Series, No. 3, Publisher's Notice, Robert Clarke & Co., 1869.

LETTER FROM GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK TO HIS FRIEND AND PATRON GEORGE MASON, OF GUNSTON HALL, VIRGINIA.

LOUISVILLE, FALLS OF OHIO, NOV. 19, 1779.

My Dear Sir:

Continue to favor me with your valuable lessons—continue your reprimands as though I was your son—when suspicious, think not that promotion, or conferred honor, will occasion any unnecessary pride in me. You have infused too many of your valuable precepts in me to be guilty of the like, or to show any indifference to those that ought to be dear to me. It is with pleasure that I obey in transmitting to you a short sketch of my enterprise and proceeding in the Illinois, as near as I can recollect, or gather from memorandums.

After disengaging myself from Kentucky I set out for Williamsburg in August, 1777, in order to settle my accounts. I had just reasons, known to few but myself, that occasioned me to resolve not to have any further command whatever, without I should find a very great call for troops and my country in danger; in such case I was determined to lose my life rather (*than*) we should submit. On my arrival, I found, to appearance, a friend in many gentlemen of note, that offered their interest to me in case I should offer at any post. Many (*were*) surprised that I would not solicit for some berth. I must confess that I think myself often to blame for not making use of interest for my promotion, but to merit it first is such a fixed principle with me that I never could, and I hope never shall, ask for a post of honor, as I think the public 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 (*an*) alarming 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 public was a certain loss of it. I proposed the plan to a few gentlemen; they communicated it to the governor; it was immediately determined on, to (*be*) put in execution as soon as a bill could be passed to enable the governor to order it. It accordingly passed, though but a few in the House knew the real intent of it. After giving the council all the intelligence I possibly could, I resolved to pursue my other plans. But being desired by the governor to stay some time in town, I waited with impatience, he, I suppose, believing that I wanted the command, and was 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 and necessary papers were ready for putting in the name of the person to command. I believe they expected me to solicit for it, but I resolved not to do so, for reasons I hinted you before. However, I expected it after being told the command of this little army was designed for me. I then got every request granted, and (*was*) fully empowered to raise as many men as I could, not exceeding a certain number. After being engaged I was then as determined to prosecute it with vigor 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 frontiers, and since find that I was not mistaken in my judgment. I was ordered to attack 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 (*showing*) them that I meant to protect rather than treat them as a conquered people —engaging the Indians to our interest, etc.—it might probably have so great an effect on their countrymen at Detroit (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 opinion that it would take several thousand to approach that place. I was happy with the thoughts of fair propects of undeceiving the public

respecting their formidable enemies on our frontiers. I left Williamsburg, January the 18th, made as quick dispatch as possible to the frontiers, and by the end of the month had recruiting parties disposed from Pittsburg to Carolina; had my little army recruited in half the time I expected.

Elevated with the thoughts of the great service we should do our country, in some measure putting an end to the Indian war on our frontiers, it may appear to you to be a mere presumption in me, but I was always too jealous of myself to be far wrong in plans 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 frontiers that had liked to have put an end to the enterprise: Not knowing my destination, and through a spirit of obstinacy, they combined and did everything that lay in their power to stop the men that had enlisted, and set the whole frontiers in an uproar, even condescended 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 Captains Bowman and Helm who had each raised a company for the expedition, but two-thirds of them was stopped by the undesigned enemies to the country that I before mentioned. In the whole, I had about one hundred and fifty men collected, and set sail for the falls. I had, previous to this, received letters from Captain Smith, on Holdston, informing 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 reinforcement at least to attack the Illinois with a probability of success, etc.

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 — of May I arrived at the Kanawha river, to the joy of the garrison, as they were very weak and had the day before been attacked by a large body of Indians.

Being joined by Captain Oharrard's company 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 Captain Smith to join me immediately, as I made no doubt but that he was waiting for me. But you may easily guess at my mortification on being informed that he had not arrived; that all his men had been stopped by the incessant labors of the populace, except part of a company that had arrived under the command of one Captain Dillard, some on their march being threatened to be put into 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 censuring the governor for his conduct, as they thought, ordering me for the protection of Kentucky only. That, and some other secret impulses, occasioned me, in spite of all counsel, to risk 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 attack 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 Kentuckians under Colonel Montgomery, to stop the desertion I knew would ensue on the 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 Dillard's company, contrived to make his escape with his party, after being refused leave to return. Luckily a few of his men *(were)* 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 subordi-

nation 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 everything in readiness (*and*) on the 26th * of June, set off from the falls, double-manned our oars and proceeded day and night until we ran into the mouth of the Tennessee 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 taking the oath of allegiance, I examined them particularly. They were Englishmen,† and appeared to be in our interest; their intelligence was not favorable. 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 ran my boats into a small creek about one mile above the old Fort Massack, reposed ourselves for the night, and in the morning took a route to the northwest and had a very fatiguing journey for about fifty miles, until we came into those level plains that (*are*) frequent throughout this extensive country. As I knew my success depended on secrecy, I was much afraid of being discovered in these meadows, as we might be seen in many places for several miles.

Nothing extraordinary happened during our (*march, except*) my guide (*John Sanders*) losing 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 enemies getting timely notice.

* A mistake. It was the 24th, the day of the great eclipse of the sun.

† Probably meant only that they were of the English race, the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the Illinois country being generally of French origin.

I could not bear the thought of returning. In short, every idea of the sort put me in that passion that I did not master for some time; but, in a short time after, our circumstances 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 a while 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 (*of*) Kaskaskia, having a river of the same name to cross to the town. After making ourselves ready for anything that might 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 and found plenty of boats to cross in, and in two hours transported ourselves to the other shore with the greatest silence.

I learned that they had some suspicion of being attacked 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 governor, Mr. Rochblave; in fifteen minutes had every street secured; sent runners through the town ordering the people, on pain of death, to keep close to their houses, which they observed, and before daylight had the whole town disarmed. Nothing could excel 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 them an answer at that time. They

repaired to their houses, trembling as if they were led to execution; my principles would not suffer me to distress such a number of people, except through policy it was necessary. A little reflection convinced me that it was my interest to attach them to me—according to my first plan—for the town of Cohos (*Cahokia*) and St. Vincent, and the numerous tribes of Indians attached to the French, (*were*) 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 enough to have defended themselves. I told them that I was sorry to find that they had been taught to harbor so base an opinion of the Americans and their cause; explained 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 principle was to make those we reduced free, instead of enslaving them as they imagined; that if I could have surety of their zeal and attachment to the American cause, they should immediately enjoy all the privileges of our government, and their property (*be*) secured to them; that it was only to stop the further effusion of innocent blood by the savages under the influence of their governor, that made them an object of our attention, etc.

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 and Britain; that they had never heard anything before but what was prejudicial and tended to incense them against the Americans; that they were now convinced that it was a cause that they ought to espouse; that they should be happy of an opportunity to convince me of their zeal, and think themselves the happiest people in the world if they were united with the Americans, and begged that I would receive what they said as their real sentiments.

In order to be more certain of their sincerity, I told them that an

oath of fidelity 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 and conduct themselves as usual without any dread. The priest, Father Pierre Gibault, (*who*) had lately come from Canada, had made himself a little acquainted with our dispute (contrary to the principles of his brother in Canada), was rather prejudiced in favor 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 privileges as any other. This seemed to complete his happiness. They returned to their families, and, in a few minutes, the scene of mourning and distress was turned to an excess of joy—nothing else seen nor heard—adorning the streets with flowers and pavilions with different colors, completing their happiness by singing, etc.

In (*the*) meantime I prepared a detachment, on horseback, under Captain 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, choose 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 inhabitants of the country took the oath (*prescribed*) by law, and every person appeared to be happy. Our friends, the Spaniards, doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship, a correspondence immediately commenced between the governor and myself.

Post St. Vincent, a town about the size of Williamsburg, was the

next object in my view. As the whole was apprised of me, I was by no means able to march against it. (Their governor, a few months before going to Detroit), 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 inhabitants 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 attack it. It soon had the desired effect. Advocates immediately appeared among the people in their behalf. Mr. Gibault, 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 St. Vincent 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 and Dr. Lefont, the principal, with a few others, set out, and (*with*) a proclamation I sent for that purpose, and other instructions, in case of success. In a few weeks they returned with intelligence agreeable 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 occasioned my situation to be the more disagreeable, as I wanted men.

The greater part of my men was for returning, as they were no longer engaged. 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 (*the*) force that was necessary, but, by great presents and promises, I got about one hundred of my detachment enlisted for eight months, and to color my staying with so few troops, I made a feint 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. Then, seemingly by their request, I agreed to stay with two companies of troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alleged, that so many (*were*) necessary; but, if more (*were*) 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, I sent off those that could not be got to stay, with Mr. Rochblave, and letters to His Excellency, letting him know my situation, and the necessity of troops in the country. Many of the French (*being*) fond of the service, the different companies soon got complete. I stationed Captain Bowman at Cohos; Captain Helm (*in*) command at St. Vincent, superintendent, etc.

Domestic 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 (*were*) generally at war against us, but the French and Spaniards appearing so fond of us confused them. They counseled with the French traders to know what was best to be done, and of course was advised to come and solicit for peace, and did not doubt but we might be good friends. It may appear otherwise to you, but (*I*) always thought we took the wrong method of treating with Indians, and (*I*) strove, as soon as possible, to make myself acquainted with the French and Spanish mode, which must be preferable to ours, otherwise they could not possibly have such great influence among them. When thoroughly acquainted with it, (*it*) exactly coincided with my own idea, and (*I*) resolved to follow the same rule as near as circumstances would permit. The Kaskaskias, Peoreanas and Mechegames immediately treated for peace. I sent letters and speeches by Captain Helm to the chief of the Kickebues and Peankeshaws residing at Post St. Vincent, desiring them to lay down their tomahawk, and if they did not choose 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. (*I*) 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 (*were*) of better principles than what the bad birds, the English, had taught them to believe. They received the speeches from the captain, 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 warriors and no deceivers, or they would never have spoken as they did; that they liked such people, and that the English (*were*) liars and they would listen to them no longer; that by what they had heard (*from*) the big knives, the Indians had as great a right to fight the English as they had; that they (*were*) convinced that it was the truth.

What they here 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 lose so many subjects, sent governors and soldiers among them to make them obey his laws, but told his governors to treat them well and to take but little from them until they grew populous, 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 governor and 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 out by the big knives that the English intended to make them also pay, and should get mad with the English for their treatment of their neighbors—the big knives—that they, his governors, should make us quarrel, etc.

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 the meat, and made us buy blankets with corn, to feed 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 hands of the young men, told them to be strong and 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, etc., etc.

This speech had a greater effect than I could have imagined, and did more service than a regiment of men could have done. It was with astonishment that (*we*) viewed the amazing 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, Puans, Sacks, Foxes, Sayges, Tauways, Maumies and a number of other nations, all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them at war against us. I must confess that I was under some apprehension among such a number of devils, and it proved to be just, for the second or third night a party of Puans and others endeavored to force by the guards into my lodgings to bear me off, but was happily detected and made prisoners by the alacrity of the sergeant. 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 principle that I had set out upon, let the consequence be what it would. I immediately ordered the chiefs to be put in 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 occasioned great confusion

among the rest of the savages. The prisoners, with great submission, solicited to speak to me, but was refused. They then made all the interest they possibly could among the other Indians, who (*were*) 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 villains; that they had joined the English, and they were welcome to continue in the cause they had espoused; that I was a man and a warrior; that I did not care who (*were*) 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 solicited for terms, that it would be more sincere and probably have 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 show the Indians that I disregarded them, I remained in my lodgings in the town, about one hundred yards from the fort, seemingly without a guard, but I kept about fifty men concealed in a parlor adjoining, and the garrison under arms. There was great counseling among the savages during the night. But to make them have the greater idea of my indifference about them, I assembled a number of gentlemen and ladies and danced nearly the whole night. In the morning I summoned the different nations to a grand council, and the chiefs, under guard, (*were*) released and invited to council that I might speak to them in the presence of the whole.

After the common ceremonies (*were*) over, I produced a bloody belt of wampum and spoke to them in the following manner:

I told the chiefs (*who were*) guilty, that I was sensible their nation was engaged in favor 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 behavior; 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 pleased, 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 further. That if they did not want their own women and children massacred, 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, etc. 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 and rum while they staid, but by their behavoir 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 favored 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 (*there was*) something noble in their sentiments (their talk I enclose). They alleged that they were persuaded to war by the English and made to harbor a wrong opinion of the Americans, but they now believed them to be men and warriors 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 pity their blindness and their women and children, and also solicited 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 nations to whom I was to grant no peace, for, as the English could fight us no longer, he was afraid our young warriors would get rusty without they could get somebody to fight, etc. I presented them with a

peace and 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 defer smoking the peace pipe until I heard that they had called in all their warriors, and then we would conclude the treaty with all the ceremony necessary for so important (*an*) occasion. They immediately solicited for some persons to go with them to be witness of their conduct, and hoped that I would favor 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 speech, 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 favored 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 eloquence to no purpose, they pitched on two young men for to be put to death as an atonement for the rest, hoping that would pacify 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, sitting 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 favor, and, for a few moments, (*I*) was so agitated that I don't doubt but that I should, without reflection, (*have*) killed the first man that would have offered to have hurt them.

My wishes respecting this treaty were now complete, and I since find no room to blame myself for any omission in what followed in the treaty, which time has already proved the good effects of it throughout the Illinois country.

Our influence now began to spread among the nations, even to the

border of the lakes. I sent agents into every quarter. I continued about five weeks in the town of Cohos, in which time I had settled a peace with ten or twelve different nations.

Being much fatigued, I returned to Kaskaskia, leaving Major Bowman to act, in which he did himself much honor. An intimacy had commenced between Don Leybrau, Lieutenant-Governor of Western Illinois,* and myself. He omitted 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 company with any Spanish gentleman, 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 Kaskaskia, I found everything as well as I could have expected.

Having so far fixed matters as to have a moment's leisure, which was taken up with deeper reflections than I ever before was acquainted with, my situation and weakness convinced me that more depended on my own behavior and conduct than all the troops that I had. Far removed from the body of my country, situated among French, Spaniards and numerous bands of savages on every quarter, watching my actions, ready to receive impressions, favorable or not, of us, which might be hard to remove and would perhaps produce lasting good or ill effects—it was now that I saw my work was only begun. Maturely examining 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 (*I*) soon effected it, it being a matter of the greatest consequence to persons in our situation, our troops being all raw and undisciplined. You must (*be*) sensible of the pleasure I felt when haranguing them on parade, telling them my resolutions and the necessity of strict duty for our own preservation, etc., for them to return me an answer that it was their zeal for their country that induced them to engage in the serv-

* Don Francisco de Leyba, Spanish Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana.

ice; that they were sensible 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 favor would be shown those that would neglect it. In a short time, perhaps, no garrison 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 abating, 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 (*Mons. Celeron*) residing at Oueaugh (*Ouiatenon*),* about eighty leagues above St. Vincent, hurt our growing interest much. The Indians in that quarter being inclined 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 Kaskaskia under the command of Lieutenant Bailey to join Captain Helm at St. Vincent, and, if possible, surprise him. The captain, 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 neighborhood that he could trust, in order to give battle (the Indians in general neutrals); but a few days before the captain's arrival Mr. 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 supposing the enemies to be so near), in the height of deliberation Captain Helm, Bailey and his small party entered the fort and ordered them to surrender, before they were apprised, about forty in number being made prisoners. The captain made a valua-

*A short distance below where Lafayette, Indiana, now stands.

ble treaty (*and*) gave them their liberty. This stroke completed our interest on the Wabash.

St. Vincent being a post of great importance, and not being able to spare many men to garrison it, I took uncommon pains entirely 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 trifling command, nothing could have been more to my advantage, as I could temper the government as I pleased, and every new privilege appeared to them as fresh laurels to the American cause.

I, by degrees, laid aside every unnecessary restriction they labored under, as I was convinced that it was the mercenary views of their former governors that established them, paying no regard to the happiness of the people—and those customs strictly observed that were most conducive to good order. I made it a point to guard the happiness and tranquillity 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 (*have*) a good effect on the Indians. I soon found it had the desired effect, for the greatest part of the French gentlemen and traders among the Indians declared for us. Many letters of congratulation were sent from Detroit to the gentlemen of the Illinois, which gave me much pleasure.

I let slip no opportunity 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 tranquillity appeared on 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 capitulated, for fear of their finding out our numbers (parties of men coming and going from Kentucky and other places, recruits, etc.), I suffered no parade, except the guards, for a

considerable time, and took every other precaution to keep every person ignorant of our number, 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 Governor Hamilton was on his march from Detroit with a considerable party, taking his route up the Meamies river. In a few days, receiving certain intelligence that General McIntosh had left Pittsburg for Detroit with a considerable army, knowing the weakness of the fortification of that post, at that time, their numbers, etc., I made no doubt of its being shortly in our possession, and that Governor Hamilton, sensible that there was no probability of his defending the fort, had marched with his whole force to encourage the Indians to harass the general on his march, as the only probable plan to stop him, little thinking that he had returned, and that Mr. Hamilton had the same design on me that I supposed he had at General McIntosh. 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 circumstance soon happened that convinced us that our hopes were vain. A young man at the town of Cohos, holding a correspondence and sending intelligence to Governor Hamilton's party, was detected and punished accordingly, by which we learned the return of General McIntosh and Governor Hamilton's 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 Kaskaskia, it being the strongest garrison and headquarters. I kept spies on all the roads to no purpose, Mr. Hamilton having the advantage of descending the Wabash, and, with eight hundred men, French, Indians and regulars, took possession of Post St. Vincent on the 17th day of December; he had parties on the road that took some of our spies. Hard weather immediately setting in, I was at a loss to know what to do. Many supposed that

he had quit his design and came no further than Ome,* but no intelligence from St. Vincent, I was still under some doubt of his being there, except that the commander had kept back the express on account of the high waters. In this situation we remained for many days. I intended to evacuate the garrison of Cohos in case of a siege, but was anxious to have a conference 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 —— day of January, 1779, for that town, with an intention of staying but a few days. Mr. Hamilton, in meantime, had sent a party of forty savages, headed by white men from St. Vincent, in order, if possible, to take me prisoner, and gave such instructions for my treatment as did him no dishonor.

This party lay concealed, keeping a small party near the road to see who passed. They lay by a small branch about three miles from Kaskaskia—there being snow on the ground. I had a guard of about six or seven men, and a few gentlemen in chairs, one of them swamped 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 instructions they had not to kill, or the fear of being overpowered, not having an opportunity to alarm the main body, which lay half a mile off, without being discovered themselves. We arrived save at the town of La Prairie du Rocher,† about twelve miles above Kaskaskia. The gentlemen and ladies immediately assembled at a ball for our entertainment. We spent the fore part of the night very agreeably, but about 12 o'clock there was a very sudden change by an express arriving informing us that Governor Hamilton was within three miles of Kaskaskia with eight hundred men, and was determined to attack the fort that night,

*Omee, a corruption of Aux Miamis, an Indian village at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary rivers, on the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

†An old French village in Randolph county, on the American bottom near the rocky bluffs, from which it derives its name, fourteen miles northwest of Kaskaskia.

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 (*such*) 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 moment's hesitation in me to form my resolutions; communicated them to two of my officers who accompanied me, which they approved of. I ordered our horses saddled in order, if possible, to get into the fort before the attack could be made. Those of the company who 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 attacked. 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 afraid of his life where there was a probability of his doing service by venturing of it, which was my case; that I hoped that they would not let the news spoil our diversion sooner than was necessary; that we divert ourselves until our horses were ready; forced them to dance and endeavored to appear as unconcerned as if no such thing was in agitation. This conduct inspired the young men in such a manner that many of them were getting their horses to share fate with me. But, choosing to lose 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 Kaskaskia. Each man (*took*) a blanket that in case the fort was attacked, we were to wrap ourselves in them, fall in with the enemy, fire at the fort until we had an opportunity of getting so near as to give the proper signals, knowing that we would be let in.

But on our arrival we found everything as calm as we could expect. The weather being bad, it was then thought the attack would not commence until it cleared up. But no person seemed to doubt of the enemy being at hand, and from many circumstances I could

not but suppose it was the case; that they deferred the attack for some time in order to give us time to retreat, which I supposed they would rather choose by their proceedings. But I was determined that they should be disappointed, if that was their wish. There was no time lost during the night putting everything in as good order as possible. The priest, of all men, (*was*) the most afraid of Mr. Hamilton. He was in the greatest consternation, (*but*) determined to act agreeable to my instruction. I found, by his consternation, that he was sure the fort would be taken, except reinforced by the garrison at Cohos, which I did not choose 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 public papers and money. The proposition pleased him well. He immediately started, and, getting (*on*) an island, the ice passing so thick down the Mississippi 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 appeared to be attached to us, but I was convinced that I should, in the morning, have a sufficient trial of their fidelity (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 defend the town, the whole would probably be lost, as I should be obliged to give the enemy battle in the commons. I would have chosen to have had those without families to reinforce the garrison, 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 attack, or expectation of reinforcements, as we were too far detached from the body of our country. The only probable chance of safety was Captain Bowman's joining me, which I expected the next evening down the Mississippi, to defend ourselves until Mr. Hamilton's 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 they were 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 and 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 counseling with each other, they expected some orders issued, which I did not choose to do. At the assembly I asked them what they thought of doing—whether they would endeavor 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 appeared 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 success. They displayed 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 considerable a party, and gave hints that they could with us 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 the 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 garrison, 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 endeavored to soothe me into pity, but to have listened 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 provisions 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 enemy's hand; that they might send the provisions, if they chose it, and sent them out of the fort, and immediately had fire set to some outhouses. Never was a set of people in more distress. Their town set on fire by those 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 provisions, for fear of the enemy's getting it. They were not in so great a lethargy 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 who 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 heard, 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, hastened about the walls of the fort, if possible to save their friend. The poor fellow (*was*) 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 were for tomahawking him, some for hanging, and others for burning; they got to quarreling about it, which at last saved his life, the inhabitants having time to supplicate in his favor; 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, Captain Bowman arrived the following day with his own and a company of volunteers from Cohos. We now began to make a tolerable appearance and seemed to defy the enemy, and sent out spies on every quarter to make discovery of them, hoping we might get some advantage of them, choosing, for many important reasons, to attack them two to one in the field rather than suffer them to take possession of the town, which, by the form and manner of picketing 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 favorable opportunity to attach them entirely in my interest, and instead of treating them more severe, 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 Mr. Hamilton appeared, 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 of only about forty whites and Indians, making their retreat as fast as possible to St. Vincent, sent for no other purpose, as we found after, than to take me.

We were now sensible that St. Vincent was in possession of the English, and, consequently, we might shortly expect an attack, 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 re-

ceipt 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 attack, as I had more time to reflect, the results of which was that the Illinois in a few months would be in possession of the English, except the garrison which I knew would not be disposed to surrender without the greatest distress.

I sent off horsemen to St. Vincent to take a prisoner by which we might get intelligence, but found it impracticable on account of the high waters; but in the height of our anxiety, on the evening of the 29th of January, 1779, Mr. Vigo, a Spanish merchant, arrived from St. Vincent, and was there the time of its being taken, and gave me every intelligence that I could wish to have. Governor Hamilton's 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 Kaskaskia, 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 complete his design. He had also sent messengers to the southern Indians, five hundred of whom he expected to join him. Only eighty troops in garrison, our situation still appeared 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 maintaining 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, etc., 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 favor. 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 Captain McCarty and his volunteers, and set about the necessary preparations in order to transport my artillery, stores, etc.

I had a large boat prepared and rigged, mounting two four-pounders, four large swivels, manned with a fine company commanded by Lieutenant Rogers. She set out in the evening of the 4th of January,

(*February*) with orders to force her way, if possible, within ten leagues of St. Vincent, and lay until further orders. This vessel, when complete, 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 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, anxious 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 January (*February*),* I got everything complete, and on the fifth I marched, being joined by two volunteer companies of the principal young men of the Illinois, commanded by Captains McCarty and Francis Charlaville. Those of the troops were Captains Bowman and William Worthington of the light horse.† We were conducted out of the town by the inhabitants and Mr. Gibault, 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 boat's crew, consisted of only a little upwards of two hundred. I can not 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 route before us of two hundred and forty miles in length, through, I suppose, one of the most beautiful countries in the world, but at this time, in many parts, flowing with water, and exceeding 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. Arriving at the two Little Wabashes, 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

*It was the 4th day of February, 1779.

†No such name as *William* Worthington is found on the roll of persons receiving land in Clark's grant, but the name of Captain *Edward* Worthington is found there.

to the opposite hills, the shallowest place, except about one hundred yards, was three feet. This would have been enough to have stopped any set of men not in the same temper that we were. 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 Embarrass,* which we found deep in water, it being nine miles to St. Vincennes, which stood on the east side of the Wabash, and every foot of the way covered with deep water. We marched down the little river in order to gain the banks of the main, 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, (*it*) was about ten miles to town (*Vincennes*), and every foot of the way put together, that was not under three feet and upwards under water, would not have made the length of two miles and 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 would 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 would credit it, but it is too incredible for any person to believe, except those who 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 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 coming in just below us, we were afraid of getting too near it. We had already taken some prisoners that were coming from the town. Lying in this grove some time, to dry our

*The Embarrass river enters the Wabash on the west, a little below Vincennes; course, southeast.

clothes by the sun, we took another prisoner, known to be a friend, by which we got all the intelligence 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 Governor 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 siege 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 (*they*) might raise the disaffected savages and harass us. I resolved to appear as daring as possible, that the enemy might conceive, by our behavior, 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; desiring the friends to the states to keep close to their houses, and those in the British interest to repair to the fort and fight for their king, otherways there should be no mercy shown them, etc., etc. Sending the compliments of several officers that were 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 marched 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 received my letter, counted the different colors, and judged of 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 fort's observing us, and were not alarmed, as I expected, by many of the inhabitants.

I detached Lieutenant Bailey and a party to attack the fort at a certain signal, and took possession of the strongest posts of the town with the main body. The garrison had so little suspicion of what was to happen that they did not believe the firing was from an ene-

my, until a man was wounded through the ports (which happened the third or fourth shot), expecting it to be some drunken Indians. The firing 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 were in town, immediately armed themselves in our favor and marched to attack 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 elevated 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 garrison was entirely surrounded within eighty and a hundred yards behind houses, palings, and ditches, etc., etc. Never was a heavier firing 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 attacked, and the thoughts of their massacred friends, was sufficient. I knew that I could not afford to lose 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 learned that one Masonville had arrived that evening with two prisoners taken on the Ohio, discovering some sign of us, supposed (*us*) to be spies from Kentucky. Immediately on his arrival Captain Lamothe (*was*) sent out to intercept them; being out on our arrival, could not gain the fort; in attempting, several of his men were made prisoners. Himself and party hovering round the town,

I was convinced that they would make off to the Indians at daybreak if they could not join their friends. Finding all endeavors fruitless to take him, I withdrew the troops a little from the garrison in order to give him an opportunity 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 joined the troops and behaved exceedingly well in general. Knowing of the prisoners lately taken, and by the description I had of them, I was sure of their being the express from Williamsburg, but was mistaken. To save the papers and letters, about 8 o'clock in the morning, I ordered the firing to cease and sent a flag into the garrison with a hand-bill, recommended Mr. Hamilton to surrender his garrison, and severe threats if he destroyed any letters, etc. He returned an answer to this purpose: That the garrison was not disposed to be awed into anything unbecoming British soldiers. The attack was renewed with greater vigor 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 meant to keep them in action with part of my troops while I was making necessary preparations with the other. (*I*) neglected calling on any of the inhabitants for assistance, although they wished for it. A flag appeared from the fort with a proposition from Mr. Hamilton for three days' cessation, (*with*) a desire of a conference with me immediately; that if I should make any difficulty of coming into the fort, he would meet me at the gate. I, at first, had no notion of listening to anything he had to say, as I could only consider himself and officers as murderers, and intended to treat them as such, but, after some deliberation, I sent Mr. Hamilton my compliments and begged leave to inform him that I should agree to no other terms than his surrendering himself and garrison 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 re-

ceived such treatment on this conference as a man of his known barbarity deserved. I would not come upon terms with him, and recommended him to defend himself with spirit and bravery; that it was the only thing that would induce me to treat him and his garrison 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 and partisans to death, as the greatest part of those villains was then with him. All his propositions were refused. 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 garrison and consult his officers. Being indifferent about him, and wanting 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 warriors, sent by Mr. Hamilton against Kentucky, (*who*) had taken two prisoners, was discovered by the Kickebues, who gave information of them. A party was immediately detached to meet them, which happened in the commons; they conceived our troops to be a party sent by Mr. Hamilton to conduct them in, an honor commonly paid them. I was highly pleased to see each party whooping, hallooing and striking each other's breasts as they approached in the open fields; each seemed to try to outdo the other in the greatest signs of joy. The poor devils never discovered their mistake until too late for many of them to escape. Six of them were made prisoners, two of them scalped, and the rest so wounded, as we afterwards learned, (*that*) but one lived. I had now as fair opportunity of making an impression on the Indians as I could have wished for—that of convincing them that Governor Hamilton could not give them that protection that he had made them to believe he could; and, in some measure to incense the Indians against him for not exerting himself to save (*their*) friends, ordered the prisoners to be tomahawked in the face of the garrison. It had the effect that I expected. Instead of making their friends inveterate

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 liars, and no warriors.

A remarkable circumstance happened that I think worthy our notice: An old French gentleman, of the name of St. Croix, lieutenant of Captain McCarty'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 (*he*) could not know him. The wretch, on seeing the executioner's tomahawk raised to give the fatal stroke, raised his eyes as if making his last addresses to heaven, cried "O, save me!" The father knew the son's voice. You may easily guess of the agitation and behavior of these two persons, coming to the knowledge of each other at so critical a moment. I had so little mercy for such murderers, and so valuable an opportunity for an example, knowing there would be the greatest solicitation made to save him, that I immediately absconded myself; but by the warmest entreaties from his father, who had behaved so exceedingly well in our service, and some of the officers, I granted his life on certain conditions.

Mr. Hamilton and myself again met. He produced certain articles which were refused, but towards the close of the evening I sent him the following articles:

1. That Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc.

2. The garrison are to deliver themselves up as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accoutrements, etc., etc.

3. The garrison to be delivered up to-morrow at ten o'clock.

4. Three days' time be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the traders and inhabitants of this place.

5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc., etc.

Which was agreed to and fulfilled the next day. Knowing that Governor Hamilton had sent a party of men up the Ouabach (*Wabash*) to Ome (*Miami Town*) for stores that he had left there, which must be on their return, I waited about twelve hours for the arrival of the galley to intercept them, but, fearing their getting intelligence, dispatched Captain Helm with a party in armed boats who suppressed 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, etc.

Never was a person more mortified than I was at this time to see so fair an opportunity 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 intelligence I could wish for, from both sides, I was better able to fix my future plans of operation against Detroit. By His Excellency's letter, I might expect to have a complete battalion in a few months. The militia of 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 getting rid of many of the prisoners, not being able to guard them, not doubting but my good treatment to the volunteers and inhabitants of Detroit would promote my interests there, I discharged the greatest part of them that had not 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 learned they answered every purpose that I could have wished for, by prejudicing their friends in favor of America.

So certain were the inhabitants of that post of my marching against

it, that they made provisions for me in defiance of the garrison. Many of them paid dear for it since.

I dispatched off Captain Williams and company with Governor 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 governor.

Having matters a little settled, the Indian department became my next object. I knew that Mr. Hamilton had endeavored to make them believe that we intended at last to take all their lands from them, and that in case of success, we should show no greater mercy for those who did not join him than those who did. I endeavored to make myself acquainted (*with*) the arguments he used, and, calling together the neighboring nations—Peankeshaws, Kickepoes, and others that would not listen to him—endeavored to undeceive them. I made a very long speech to them in the Indian manner; extolled them to the skies for their manly behavior and fidelity; told them that we were so far from having any design on their lands that I looked upon it that we were then 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 tomahawk 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 heard, and begged me to favor them the next day with my company at a council of theirs. I accordingly attended—greatest part of the time spent in ceremony. They at last told me that 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 determined that they would not lose me on that account and resolved to give me a piece, but larger than they had given to all the French at the village, and laying down what they would wish me to do, etc.

I was well pleased at their offer as I had then an opportunity to deny the acceptance and further convince them that we did not want their land. They appeared dejected at my refusal.

I waived the discourse upon other subjects—recommended a frolic to them that night, as the sky was clearer than ever, gave to them a quantity of taffy* and provisions to make merry on, and left them. In a few days some Chipoways and others, who had been with Mr. Hamilton, came in and begged me to excuse their blindness and take them into favor. After the warmest solicitations for mercy, I told them that the big knives were merciful, which proved them to be warriors; 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 show the least fear. I consequently had observed one steady 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. I sent the following speech to the different tribes near the lakes that were at war with us, to wit:

To the Warriors of the Different Nations:

MEN AND WARRIORS—It is a long time since the big knives sent belts of peace among you, soliciting of you not to listen to the bad talk 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 spilled much blood of women and children. The big knives then resolved to show no mercy to any people that hereafter would refuse the belt of peace which should be

* Clark meant taffia, a popular liquor of that day.

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 listened to their great father (as they call him) at Detroit, and joined him to come to war against me. The big knives are warriors, 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 father's scalp tied to it, and made red with his blood. All you that call yourselves his children, make your hatchets sharp, and 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 are 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. It's as you will. I don't care whether you are for peace or war, as I glory in war and want enemies to fight us, as the English can't 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 and 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 in to St. Vincent and treated for peace, being laughed at by those that had strictly adhered to their former treaty with me. After fixing every department so as to promise future advantage—sending letters to (*the*) county lieutenant of Kentucky, soliciting him to make some preparatory strokes towards

joining me, when called on, with all his force he could raise, leaving a sufficient garrison—on the 20th of March I set out for Kaskaskia, by water, with a guard of eighty men, spending much time in making some observation at different places; consequently, arrived too late to have hindered a war that commenced between a 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 happened, went to Kaskaskia, as was supposed, to compromise matters, but getting drunk with some loose young fellows, gave some threats on each side. One of the Indians snapping a gun at a woman's breast, two of them were immediately killed; the rest, pursued 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 solicit a peace. During my absence, Captain Robert George, commanding the company formerly Captain Willing's, had arrived from Orleans, taking charge of the garrison, which was a considerable reinforcement to our little party. Everything having the appearance of tranquillity, I resolved to spend a few weeks in diversions, 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 our frontiers. Being so well acquainted with its situation, strength and influence, that, in case I was not disappointed in the number of troops I expected, I even accounted Detroit my own.

Receiving letters from Colonel (*John*) Bowman, at Kentucky, informing me that I might expect him to reinforce me with three hundred men whenever I should call on him, if it lay in his power, at the same time receiving intelligence from Colonel Montgomery, I now thought my success reduced to a certainty, (*and*) immediately set about making provision for the expedition, to be ready against the arrival of troops, to give the enemy as little time as possible to complete the new fortifications I knew they were about.

I sent an express to Colonel Bowman, desiring him to join me on

the 20th of June at St. Vincent with all the force he possibly could raise, agreeable to his letters to me; sent out Captain ——— [name illegible in the manuscript] among the different nations of Indians to receive their congratulations on our late success, receive the submission of those who resolved to desert the English, etc., as well as to get fresh intelligence from Detroit.

The civil department in the Illinois had heretofore robbed me of too much of my time that ought to be spent in military reflection. I was now likely to be relieved by Colonel John Todd, appointed by government for that purpose. I was anxious for his arrival, and happy in his appointment, as the greatest intimacy and friendship subsisted between us, and on the —— day of May had the pleasure of seeing him safely landed at Kaskaskia, to the joy of every person. I now saw myself rapidly rid of a piece of trouble that I had no delight in.

In a few days Colonel Montgomery arrived. To my mortification, found that he had not half the men I expected, (*but*) immediately receiving a letter from Colonel Bowman, with fresh assurances of a considerable reinforcement, (*and*) the officers in general being anxious for the expedition, resolved to rendezvous according to appointment, and, if not deceived by the Kentuckians, I should still be able to complete 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 garrison at Detroit, as the new works were not complete, nor could not be, according to the 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 department of Pittsburg, always suspicious of my attacking them, sensible of my growing interest among the savages, in order to give themselves more time to fortify by making some diversion on the Illinois), engaged a considerable number of their savages to make an attempt on St. Vincent. Those Indians who had declared for the American interest, in order to show their zeal, sent word to them that if they had a mind to fight the Bostonians at

St. Vincent, they must first cut their way through them, as they were big knives too. This effectually stopped their operation. Knowing that the expedition depended entirely on the Kentuckians turning out, I began to be suspicious of a disappointment on hearing of their marching against the Shawnee towns, which proved too true, for, on my arrival at St. Vincent, 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 commander to march them as militia. Being for some time (as I hinted before) suspicious 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 solicited me to go, and suffer them to join me. Various were the conjectures respecting the propriety of the attempt with the troops we had—about three hundred and fifty. At a council of war, held for the purpose, there were only two casting voices against it, and I pretended it was on account of General Sullivan's marching on Niagara, which we just heard, that stopped us; that there was no doubt of his success—Detroit will fall, of course, and consequently was not worth our while marching against it; although I knew at the same time Detroit would not fall with Niagara, as they had an early 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, etc., to all of whom I gave general satisfaction, except that of my refusal of a tract of land that their chief had formerly offered me. I inquired of several gentlemen acquainted with them why they were solicitous about it. Their opinion 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 accepting a tract from them as a present would prove sufficiently to them that what they had been told was false. Being satisfied in this, they also had a desire of my remaining in their country as

their chief and guardian, and that my refusal had given them suspicion. In order to remove it I made a suitable speech to them, which gave general satisfaction, and in a few days they, with a great deal of ceremony, presented me the following deed of gift:

By the Tobacco's Son, Grand Chief of all the Peankeshaw nations and all of the tribes; grand door 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, etc.

DECLARATION.

Whereas, for many years past this once peaceable land hath been put in confusion by the English encouraging all people to raise the tomahawk against the big knives, saying that they were a bad people, rebellious, and ought to be put from under the sun, and their names to be no more.

But as the sky of our councils was always misty and never clear, we still were 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 pity on us, sent a father among us (Colonel George Rogers Clark), who has cleared our eyes and made our paths straight, defending our lands, etc., so that we now enjoy peace from the rising to the setting of sun, and the nations even to the heads of the great river (meaning the Mississippi), 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 counsel and be happy; it being also our desire to give him lands to reside on in our country, that we may at all times speak to him, after many solicitations to him to make a choice of a tract, he choosing the lands adjoining the falls of Ohio, on the west side of said river.

I do hereby, in the name of all the great chiefs and warriors of the Wabash and their allies, declare that so much land 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 of the river so far as to include two leagues and a half on a straight line from the beginning; thence at right angles with said line two leagues and a half in breadth, in all its parts, shall hereafter and ever be the sole property of our great father (Colonel Clark), with all things thereto belonging, either above or below the earth, shall be and is his, except a road through 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 setting of the sun, who 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 counsel of our 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 great father; that the said lands are forever hereafter his property.

In witness whereof, I do, in the name of all the great chiefs and warriors of the Wabash, in open council, affix my mark and seal done at St. Vincent, this 16th day of June, 1779.

(Signed) FRANCIS, SON OF TOBACCO.

Which deed I accepted, and endeavored to convince them how much I prized so liberal a gift, etc. As I had no idea of having 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 the convenience 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 Shawnees a drubbing in case a sufficient force could be again raised at Kentucky. After giving proper instruction for the direction of the commanders of the different posts, I set out for the falls, where I arrived safe on the 20th 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, etc., it would immediately be the mart and key of the western country. All my expectations in my being here have been disappointed (except laying up a considerable quantity of beef), by lowness of the Ohio, which (*is*) 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 worth your notice.

I am, sir, with esteem, yours,

N. B.—As for the description of the Illinois country, which you seem so anxious for, you may expect to have it, by the ensuing fall, as I expect, by that period, to be able to give you a more general idea of it. This you may take for granted: that it's more beautiful than any idea I could have formed of a country almost in a state of nature; everything 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 and rich lands, with large meadows, extending beyond the reach of your eyes, variegated with groves of trees, appearing like islands in the sea, covered with buffaloes and other game. In many places, with a good glass, you may see all those that (*are*) on their feet in half a million of acres, so level is the country, which, some future day, will excel 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 situation, the probability of a flourishing trade, the state of the country at present, what (*it*) is capable of producing, my opinion respecting the cause of those extensive plains, etc., the advantages arising by strong fortifications and settlements at the mouth of Ohio, the different nations of Indians, their traditions, numbers, etc., you may expect in my next.

G. R. CLARK.

INTRODUCTORY TO CLARK'S MEMOIR.

The memoir which will now be given was the last and longest account written by General Clark of his campaigns against the British posts northwest of the river Ohio, and the events in Kentucky and Virginia connected therewith.

Attention was first called to the memoir by Mr. John B. Dillon, who published lengthy extracts from it in his history of Indiana about the year 1842. These printed extracts have generally been used by subsequent writers, and the memoir is now published in full for the first time.

The author of this work is in possession of the manuscript copy of the memoir from which Mr. Dillon made his extracts, and has carefully compared it with the copy in possession of Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky, and partially with the one in the Draper collection in the Wisconsin Historical Society; these being the only copies of the memoir known to be in existence. The last mentioned is claimed to be the original, but, unfortunately, a number of the leaves have been lost. The manuscript copy in possession of the author is headed with a statement that it is "from a MS. memoir of General George Rogers Clark, composed by himself at the united desire of Presidents Jefferson and Madison, in the possession of Professor Bliss, of Louisville, Kentucky." Profes-

sor Bliss, about that time, had undertaken to write a history of General Clark, and the memoir had probably come into his possession for that purpose. But he was shot on the street in Louisville, September 26, 1842, by a rival editor of a newspaper, and died from the wound, having written but a few pages of his contemplated history.

It is said that the original manuscript of the memoir was loaned, from time to time, by the Clark family, to several parties for historical purposes. Mann Butler had it in 1833, and either it, or a copy, was at one time in the Kentucky Historical Society, and at another in the possession of Professor Bliss, but it finally drifted into the hands of Lyman C. Draper, who also contemplated writing a history of George Rogers Clark, but died without doing it, and upon his death the memoir passed into the hands of the Wisconsin Historical Society with other historic papers.

The memoir seems to have been in the form of a letter, and the word "Sir" at the beginning indicates that it was, at least, not addressed to Jefferson and Madison jointly, or to more than one person.

From the letter of Mr. Jefferson, already quoted in the introduction to the Mason letter, it would seem reasonable to infer that Clark was writing the memoir in 1791, the date of Mr. Jefferson's letter. That is not conclusive, however, and there is no date on any of the manuscript copies. Neither does the author remember to have seen any statement as to the exact time it was written.

CLARK'S MEMOIR.

SIR—In fulfilling the engagement I am under to you, with respect to the wars of Kentucky, I must commence with the first settlement of the district, which had been but partially explored previous to the year 1773, when a considerable number of surveyors and private adventurers passed generally through it. The first settlement attempted in Kentucky was by Colonel James Harrod, with some few followers, at Harrodstown, in the spring of 1774, but this party made but small progression in building, etc., before they were obliged to abandon the country on account of the war with the Shawanoes. They marched through the wilderness and joined Colonel Lewis's army. At the close of that war they made preparation and again took possession of their town in the spring of 1775.

In the meantime, Colonel Henderson & Company had purchased the country of the Cherokees (the Cherokees had no right to Kentucky), and made an establishment at Boonesborough, opening a land office, etc., but you are too well acquainted with those circumstances to need any information.

It was at this period (1775) that I first had thoughts of paying some attention to the interests of this country (Kentucky). The proprietors, Henderson & Company, took great pains to ingratiate themselves in the favor of the people, but, too soon for their interest, they began to raise the price of their lands, which caused many to complain.

A few gentlemen made some attempts to persuade the people to pay no attention to them. I plainly saw that they would work their own ruin, as the greatest security they had for the country 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 time to overset them. I left the country in the fall of 1775, and returned in the spring following. While in Virginia, I found there were various opinions respecting Henderson & Company's claim. Many thought it was good, others doubted whether or not Virginia could, with propriety, have any pretensions to the country. This was what I wanted to know. I immediately fixed on my plans, viz., that of assembling the people—getting them to elect deputies and sending them to treat with the assembly of Virginia respecting the condition of the country. If valuable conditions were procured, we could declare ourselves citizens of the state; otherwise, we might establish an independent government, and, by giving away a great part of the lands, and disposing of the remainder, we would not only gain great numbers of inhabitants, but in a good measure protect them. To carry this scheme into effect, I appointed a general meeting at Harrodstown, on the 6th of June, 1776, and stated that something would be proposed to the people that very much concerned 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 on the subject, and as everyone would wish to know what was to be done, there would be a more general meeting. But, unfortunately, it was late in the evening of that 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 delegates to the assembly of Virginia with a petition praying the assembly to accept them as such—to establish a new country, etc. The polls were opened, and before I had arrived, they had far advanced in the election, and had entered with such spirit into it that I could not get them to change the principle—that of delegates with petitions, to that of deputies under the authority of the people. In short, I did not take much pains. Mr. John Gabriel Jones and myself were elected. The papers were prepared, and, in a few days,

we set out for Williamsburg, in the hope of arriving before the assembly then sitting should rise.

Under great apprehensions that the Indians, under the influence of the British, would shortly make a break upon the country and no time ought to be lost in getting it in a state of defense, and, apprehending no immediate danger in the wilderness road, Mr. Jones and myself attempted to pass, without waiting for other company, but had great cause to regret it. The second day we discovered alarming signs. We were under great apprehensions. On the third day Mr. Jones's horse gave out, and our little put on mine, and in so hilly a country, it was impossible that more than (*one*) could ride at times. 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 both got what hunters call scald feet, a most shocking complaint; the skin seems to rot on every part of our feet; (*in*) this condition we traveled in greater torment than I ever before or since experienced. In hopes of getting relief at the station ten or twelve miles from the Cumberland Gap, in Powell's valley, how greatly were we disappointed on our arrival to find the place totally abandoned and part of it burned. My companion, being but little used to such distress, got almost discouraged at the disappointment. I flattered him in the certainty of the people being at Martin's Fort, about eight miles ahead, as I expected the whole had embodied there, although the danger was much greater than we had apprehended; but being now fully apprised of it, I could, without running very great risk, if we could but make out to march through the woods by both of us riding where there was level ground. This we attempted in vain, and were obliged to take the road, for the person on foot could, by no means, bear the torture of traveling through the thick woods. Hearing guns frequently, we were in hopes they were hunters from the station we were aiming at, but, to our surprise on our arrival, found the fort to have been abandoned for a considerable time.

A few human tracks to be seen, which we knew to be Indians', as well as the guns we had heard, our situation now appeared to be de-

plorable. The nearest inhabitants we now knew to be sixty miles. Not able to travel ourselves, and Indians appeared to be in full possession of the country that we were in, we sat a few minutes viewing each other. I found myself reduced to a perfect desperation. Mr. Jones asked me what we should do. I told him that it (*was*) impossible for us to make the settlements in the condition that we were in. To hide ourselves 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 eight or ten days that a party was to follow us from Kentucky; that I knew that oil and ooze made of oak bark would cure our feet in a few days; that I thought that the only plan we could (*adopt*) would be to get possession of the best cabin in the place, fortify ourselves in it, burn down the rest of the fort; abundance of hogs about the corn-cribs—we (*got*) a few of them, a barrel of water and some corn; that we probably (*could*) stand a siege until we were relieved by the party we expected to follow us from Kentucky; that ten or fifteen Indians could not drive us out of the house. I was well acquainted with them, and knew that they would not storm us to a great disadvantage; that we were well armed—a rifle, two cases of good pistols, and a hanger; that I was confident that we could defend ourselves against a greater number of Indians than he had any idea of. He was overjoyed at the proposition, and we fell to work. I sent him to kill a hog by running a sword through it (*when*) it was eating corn, to prevent noise. A small, strong cabin of Captain Martin's, being a little detached from the rest, and locked, having a table and some other things in it, I climbed 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 myself, not being able to support myself with my feet against the logs, and cut the lock of the door loose. By this time my friend had got his hog —he being best able to walk—filled a keg with water, and collecting some wood, getting in some corn, we barred (*the*) door, knocked out some port-holes, set the table in the middle of the floor, and spread our arms and ammunition in order, and waited with impatience for

the wind to shift, that we might set fire to the fort without burning our own castle. Our agreement was, that in case of an attack, that Mr. Jones should continue to load the pieces as I discharged them. Without paying any attention to the enemy, except there was the appearance of a storm, we took some provisions, and meantime dressed our feet with oil and continued to prepare ourselves for defense with diligence until late in the evening, when the wind appeared to die away, we proposed setting fire to the houses, as we intended, but we had no sooner unbarred our door than we heard a horse-bell upon the road, and in a few minutes stop again. We were finally convinced that the enemy was at hand, and immediately secured ourselves as well as possible, determined to execute our first plan, and if they should attempt to burn us out, to knock off the roof of the cabin. We waited in suspense for some time, but at last, to our great joy, found they were white men who 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 unstopped when they got within sight of the fort, when they discovered the smoke of our fire; supposing us to be Indians, they crept round in order to make a full discovery and get the advantage of us. While at this business we had a full view of them, and showed ourselves to them. They appeared to be happy in having it in their power to relieve us. With them we crossed the mountains to the settlement, recruiting ourselves.

We proceeded on our journey as far as Botetourt county, and there learned that we were too late, for the assembly had already risen.

We were now at a loss for some time to determine what to do, but concluded that we should wait until the fall session; in the meantime, I should go to Williamsburg and attempt to procure some powder for the Kentuckians and watch their interests. We parted. Mr. Jones returned to Holston to join the forces that were raising, in order to repel the Cherokee Indians (as they had lately commenced hostilities), and myself proceeded to the governor of Virginia.

Mr. Henry, the governor, lay sick at his seat in Hanover, where I

waited on him and produced my vouchers. He appeared much disposed to favor the Kentuckians, and wrote, by me, to the council on the subject. I attended them. My application was for five hundred pounds of powder only, to be conveyed to Kentucky as an immediate supply. After various questions and consultations, the council agreed to furnish the supply; but, as we were a detached people and not yet united to the state of Virginia, and uncertain until the sitting of the assembly whether we should be or not, they would only lend us the ammunition as friends 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 expense of carriage and guards necessary for those supplies; that the British officers on our frontiers were making use of every effort to engage the Indians in the war; that the people might be destroyed for the want of this small supply, and that I was in hopes they would consider these matters and favor us by sending the ammunition at public expense. They replied that they were really disposed to do everything for us in their power consistent with their office, which I believed. After making use of many arguments to convince me that even what they proposed was a stretch of power, they informed me that "they could venture no further." An order was issued to the keeper of the magazine to deliver me the ammunition. I had for twelve months past reflected so much on the various situation of things respecting ourselves and the continent at large, that my resolution was formed before I left the council chamber. I resolved to return the order I had received and immediately repair to Kentucky, knowing that the people would readily fall into my first plan—as what had passed had almost reduced it to a certainty of success. I wrote to the council 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 expense such a distance through an enemy's country; that I was sorry to find we should have to seek protection elsewhere, which I did not doubt of getting; that if a country was not worth protecting it was not worth claiming, etc. What passed on

the reception of this letter I can not tell. It was, I suppose, nothing more than what might be expected by a set of gentlemen zealous in welfare of their country and fully apprised of what they might expect to take place in Kentucky. I was sent for. Being a little prejudiced in favor of my mother country, I was willing to meet half way. Orders were immediately issued, dated August 23d, 1776, for conveying those stores to Pittsburg and there to await further orders from me.

Things being amicably settled, I wrote to Kentucky giving information of what I had done, and recommended them to send to Pittsburg and convey the ammunition by water to their own country. This they never received. I waited until the fall session, when I was joined by my colleague, Mr. Jones. We laid our papers before the assembly. They resolved that we could not take our seats as members, but that our business should be attended to. Colonel Henderson, one of the purchasers of the Cherokees, being present, retarded our business much. Colonel Arthur Campbell, one of the members, being also opposed to our having a new county, wished us annexed to the county on the frontiers of which we lay and which he represented. This caused it to be late in the session (December 7, 1776) before we got a complete establishment of a new county by the name of Kentucky.

Mr. Jones and myself parted at Williamsburg, but, learning that the ammunition was yet at Pittsburg, we resolved to go by that post and take it down the river. We agreed to meet there, but the weather proving severe, it was late in the fall before we could set out, but, however trifling a small quantity of ammunition or the loss or acquisition of a few men may appear in the scale of affairs among people in general, to the Kentuckians the loss of either I knew would be sensibly felt, of course paid every attention possible. I found that the Indians were fully preparing for war in the spring; that those of them who attended Fort Pitt, under the color of friendship, were in fact acting as spies; that they had some idea of our intentions of going down the river, and would attempt to intercept us. Sensible

that our safety depended solely on expedition, without waiting to recruit our party, we set out with seven hands only in a small vessel, and, by the most indefatigable labor, made our way good. We passed the Indians in the night, or by some means or other got ahead of them, for the day before we landed near Limestone, we plainly discovered that they were in pursuit of us. We hid our stores in four or five different places and considerable distance apart, and running a few miles lower in our vessel, set it adrift and took by land for Harrodstown in order to get force sufficient and return ourselves for our stores. We parted by the Blue Lick, and the third day from our leaving the river got to Hinkston's cabin, on the west side of Licking creek. While we were resting ourselves, four men came to us who had been exploring land in that quarter, and informed us of the situation of affairs in Kentucky; that very little damage had yet been done; that the late Colonel John Todd was with a party somewhere in that part of country; that, if we could find him, we should be strong enongh to return to the river, but this was uncertain. As several of our party were much fatigued we agreed that myself and two others should proceed to Harrodstown for the proposed party; that Mr. Jones and the rest should remain in that neighborhood until our return.

In a short time after I had set our, Colonel Todd arrived at the same place, and, after some consultation, concluded that they were able to go to the river and bring on the ammunition and other stores, and accordingly set out with ten men, and between the Blue Lick and the river, on December 25, met the Indians on our trail and got totally routed. Mr. Jones was killed, and three others got killed and taken prisoners. Fortunately for us, the prisoners did not discover our hidden stores to the Indians. The party sent from Harrodstown brought them safe to that place, which gave universal joy.

On the 29th December, a large party of Indians attacked McClellan's fort, on Elkhorn, and killed Mr. McClellan and White and wounded two others, after which the whole moved to Harrodstown. The inhabitants of Kentucky, at this period, consisted only of about—

men in three stations, Harrodstown, Boonesborough, and Colonel Logan's about this time established. The information I gave sufficiently alarmed them. The people had scarcely time to prepare themselves before a large body of Indians advanced on the 7th of March (on the 5th the militia of the country was embodied), to the attack of Harrodstown. They fired on some boys in the evening five miles from town; held one, the rest made their escape and gave the alarm. A party from the fort advanced to the place. It being late in the evening, they, fortunately, did not fall in with the Indians, as in all probability our party could have been cut to pieces and of course the country lost. The loss of a single man at this time was sensibly felt, and general actions with the enemy ought to be guarded against without an apparent superiority, as the enemy could easily retrieve their losses by recruits from numerous nations, which was an advantage we could not expect to enjoy for some time. In the morning following, the Indians had waylaid the upper part of the town (that had been evacuated the evening before), and a little after daylight 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 were 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 country put in as good a state of defense as our situation would admit of, determined, if possible, to stand our ground in hopes of relief, as the governor of Virginia had uniformly appeared to be our friend.

From this period we may date the commencement of that bloody war in Kentucky that has continued since with savage fury, in which, on a moderate calculation, upwards of two thousand souls have perished on our soil, and severely felt by the most active Indian nations. To enumerate all the little actions that happened, is impossible. They were continual and severe, when compared to our small forces; the forts were often attacked; policy seemed to have required that the whole should be embodied in one place, but depending on hunting for the greater part of our provisions forbid it. No people could be

in a more alarming situation. Detached at least two hundred miles from the nearest settlements of the states, surrounded by numerous nations of Indians, each one far superior to ourselves in numbers and under the influence of the British government and pointedly directed to destroy us, as appeared by instruments of writing left on the back of people killed by them—I was frequently afraid the people would think of making their peace with Detroit and suffer themselves and families to be carried off. 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 the command of Colonel John Bowman, on the 2d of September.

This reinforcement, though small, added new life to the appearance of things. Encouraged by this, and the stand they had already made, everyone seemed determined to exert himself in strengthening the country by encouraging as many of his friends as possible to move out, which succeeded in the end. After the arrival of Colonel Bowman I left Kentucky, in October, 1777, with a party of young men, who had been detained on the promise of being liberated on the arrival of Colonel Bowman, and returned to Virginia. During the past severe spring and summer our conduct was very uniform. The defense of our forts, the procuring of provisions, and, when possible, suppressing the Indians (which was frequently done), burying the dead and dressing the wounded, seemed to be all our business.

The whole of my time when not employed in reflecting on things in general, particularly Kentucky, how it accorded with the interest of the United States, whether it was to their interest to support her, etc. This led me to a long train of thinking, the result of which was to lay aside every private view, engage seriously in the war and have the interest and welfare of the public my only view until the fate of the fall of the continent should be known. Divesting myself of the prejudice and partiality in favor of any particular part of the community, but so pursue what I conceived to be the interest of the whole. This path influenced my conduct through the course of the war and

enabled me to better judge of the importance of Kentucky to the Union, situated, as it was, in the center, almost, of the Indians, who had already generally engaged in the Kentucky war, as an impediment in their way to the more interior frontier; that as soon as they should accomplish the destruction of it they would bodily let loose on the frontier; that, instead of the states receiving supplies from them, they would be obliged to keep large bodies of troops for their defense, and almost impossible to move an enemy at so great a distance to attack their towns, if they could find them; and that, by supporting and encouraging the growth of Kentucky, those obstacles would, in a great measure, be removed; for, should the British officers find their policy mistaken in carrying on the war against Kentucky by the Indians, and withdraw them from and bind their whole force against the interior frontier, as a certain mode of destroying the states, we might, with a little assistance, at any time, march from the country with ease to any part of their country we chose (this is the only circumstance that can excuse their conduct). Those ideas caused me to view Kentucky in the most favorable point of view, as a place of the greatest consequence, and ought to meet with every encouragement, and that nothing that I could engage in would be of more general utility than its defense, and as the commandants of the different towns of the Illinois and Wabash, I knew, were busily engaged in exciting the Indians, their reduction became my first object. Expecting, probably, that it might open a field for further action, I sent two young hunters (S. More and B. Linn) to those places as spies, with proper instructions for their conduct, to prevent suspicion. Neither did they, nor anyone in Kentucky, ever know my design until it was ripe for execution. They returned to Harrodstown with all the information I could reasonably have expected. I found from them that they had but little expectation of a visit from us, but that things were kept in good order, the militia trained, etc., that they might, in case of a visit, be prepared; that the greatest pains were taken to inflame the minds of the French inhabitants against the Americans, notwith-

standing they could discover traces of affection in some of the inhabitants; that the Indians in that quarter were engaged in the war, etc.

When I left Kentucky, October 1st, 1777, I plainly saw that every eye was turned toward me, as if expecting some stroke in their favor. Some doubted my return, expecting 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 Williamsburg I remained a considerable time, settling the accounts of the Kentucky militia and (*noting*) remarks of everything I saw or heard that could lead me to the knowledge of the disposition of those in power. Burgoyne's army having been captured, and things seeming to wear a pleasing aspect, on the 10th December I communicated my views to Governor Henry. At first he seemed to be fond of it; but to detach a party at so great a distance (although the service performed might be of great utility) appeared daring and hazardous, as nothing but secrecy could give success to the enterprise. To lay the matter before the assembly, then sitting, would be dangerous, as it would soon be known throughout the frontiers; and probably the first prisoner taken by the Indians would give the alarm, which would end in the certain destruction of the party. He had several private councils, composed of select gentlemen. After making every inquiry into my proposed plans of operation (and particularly that of a retreat, in case of misfortune, across the Mississippi into the Spanish territory), the expedition was resolved upon; and as an encouragement to those who would engage in said service, an instrument of writing was signed, wherein those gentlemen promised to use their influence to procure from the assembly three hundred acres of land for each in case of success. The governor and council so warmly engaged in the success of this enterprise that I had very little trouble in getting matters adjusted; and on the second day of January, 1778, received my instructions and £1,200 for the use of the expedition, with an order on Pittsburg for boats, ammunition, etc. Finding, from the governor's conversation in general to me on the subject, that he did not wish an implicit attention to his instructions should prevent my executing anything that

would manifestly tend to the good of the public, on the 4th I set forward, clothed with all the authority that I wished. I advanced to Major William B. Smith £150, to recruit men on Holston, and to meet me in Kentucky. (He never joined me.) Captain Leonard Helm, of Fauquier, and Captain Joseph Bowman, of Frederick, were to raise each a company, and on the 1st of February I arrived at Red Stone.*

Being now in the country where all arrangements were to be made, I appointed Captain William Harrod and many other officers to the recruiting service, and contracted for flour and other stores that I wanted. General Hand then commanded at Pitt, and promised a supply of the articles I had orders for. I received information from Captain Helm that several gentlemen in that 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, opposition to our interest in the Pittsburg country. As the whole was divided into violent parties between the Virginians and Pennsylvanians respecting territory, each trying to counteract the idea of men being raised for the state of Virginia affected the vulgar of one party; and, as my real instructions were kept concealed, and only an instrument from the governor, written designedly for deception, was made public, wherein I was authorized to raise men for the defense of Kentucky, many gentlemen of both parties conceived it to be injurious to the public interest to draw off men at so critical a moment for the defense of a few detached inhabitants, who had better be removed, etc. These circumstances caused some confusion in the recruiting service. On the 29th March I received a letter from Major Smith by express, informing me that he had raised four companies on the Holston, to be marched immediately to Kentucky, agreeably to his orders; and an express from Kentucky informed me that they had much strengthened since I left that quarter. This information of four companies being raised, with Bowman's and Helm's, which I knew were on their way to join me

*Now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on the river Monongahela.

at Red Stone, caused me to be more easy respecting recruits than otherwise I should have been. The officers only got such as had friends in Kentucky, or those induced by their own interest and desire to see the country. Meeting with several disappointments, it was late in May before I could leave the Red Stone settlement with those companies and a considerable number of families and private adventurers. Taking in my stores at Pittsburg and Wheeling, I proceeded down the river with caution.

On our arrival at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, Captain Arbuckle, the commandant, informed us that about 250 Indians had warmly attacked his post the day before and wounded a few of his men; that the enemy had directed their course to the settlements of Greenbrier; that he had sent out (*an*) express to give the alarm; that, if I thought it prudent, he was sensible that the forces I had, with the addition of part of the garrison, could, in all probability, overtake them before they got to the settlement and give them a total rout. The prospect was flattering, but uncertainty of getting the advantage of the enemy, the loss of the time and perhaps a number of men, which (*would*) end in the destruction of the enterprise that I was on, and the almost certainty of the frontiers getting the alarm by the express in time might repel them, which they did. Those ideas induced me to decline it. I proceeded on, being joined by Captain James O'Hara on his way to the Arkansas on public business. I landed at the mouth of Kentucky, where I intended to have fortified, as the growth of Kentucky greatly depended on a post being fixed on the Ohio river, and a place of security for the emigrants that wished to come down the river; but, taking in view my designs to be westward, I found that Kentucky was not the spot except we could afford to keep two posts. In case of success, it would be absolutely necessary to have a post of communication on the river between the Illinois and Kentucky, and of course the falls was the most eligible spot as it would answer all the more desirable 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, Captain Dillard's, of Major Smith's troops, had yet arrived in Kentucky, which alarmed me, as I was afraid the disappointment would prove fatal to our schemes. I wrote to Colonel Bowman, informed him of my intention of fixing a garrison at the falls, and that I had an object in view of the greatest importance to the country; desired him to meet me there with what troops there was of Major Smith's, and what militia could be spared with safety from the different posts.

I moved on to the falls and viewed the different situations, but, reflecting that my secret instructions were yet unknown, even to the party with me, and not knowing what would be the consequences when they should be divulged on our being joined by the whole, I wished to have everything (*secure*) as much as possible. I observed the little island of about (*seventy* ?) acres, opposite to where the town of Louisville now stands, seldom or never was entirely covered by the water. I resolved to take possession and fortify (*it*), which I did on —th 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 were of little expense, and, with the invalids, would keep possession of this little post until we should be able to occupy the main shore, which happened in the fall, agreeable to instructions I had sent from the Illinois. The people on the Monongahela, learning by (*word*) 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 Colonel (*John*) Bowman, part of the militia and several of the gentlemen of the country, we found, on examination, that we were much weaker than expected, and the Indians continued, without intermission, and were more numerous the longer they continued, as the British continued to add to their strength by exciting others to join them. Under those circumstances we could not think of leaving the posts of Kentucky defenseless; that it was better to

run a great risk with one party than to divide our forces in such manner as to hazard the loss of both; of course, we agreed to take but one complete company and part of another from Kentucky, expecting that they would be replaced by troops we yet expected from Major Smith. Those were our deliberations. After my making known my instructions almost every gentleman warmly espoused the enterprise, and plainly saw the utility of it, and supposed they saw the salvation of Kentucky almost in their reach; but some repined that we were not strong enough to put it beyond all doubt. The soldiery, in general, debated on the subject, but determined to follow their officers; some were alarmed at the thought of being taken at so great a distance into the enemy's country, that if they should have success in the first instance they might be attacked in their posts without a possibility of getting succor or making their retreat. Spies were continually among the whole. Some dissatisfaction was discovered in Captain Dillard's company, consequently, the boats were well secured and sentinels placed where it (*was*) thought there was a possibility of their wading from the island. My design was to take those from the island down on our way who would not attempt to desert, but got outgeneraled by their lieutenant, whom I had previously conceived a very tolerable opinion of. They had, by swimming in the day, discovered that the channel opposite their camp might be waded, and a little before day himself and the greater part of the company slipped down the bank and got to the opposite shore before they were discovered by the sentinels. Vexed at the idea of their escape in the manner they did, as one of my principal motives for taking post on the island was to prevent desertion, and, intending to set out the next day, I was undetermined for (*a*) few minutes what to do, as it might take a party several days to overtake (*them*), and, having no distrust of those who remained, the example was not immediately dangerous but might prove so hereafter; and recollecting that there was a number of horses (*belonging*) to gentlemen from Harrodsburg, I ordered a strong party to pursue them, and for the foot and horse to relieve each other regularly, and so put to death every man in their power who would

not surrender. They overhauled them in about twenty miles. The deserters, discovering them at a distance, scattered in the woods; only seven or eight were taken. The rest made their way to the different posts; many who were not woodsmen almost perished. The poor lieutenant, and few who remained with him, after suffering almost all that could be felt from hunger and fatigue, arrived at Harrodstown. Having heard of his conduct (*they*) would not, for some time, suffer him to come into their houses, nor give him anything to eat.

On the return of the party, the soldiers hung and burnt his effigy. Every preparation was made for our departure. After spending a day of amusement in parting with our friends of Kentucky, they to return to the defense of their country and we in search of new adventures.

On the (*24th*) 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 falls at the very moment of the sun being in a great eclipse, which caused various conjectures among the superstitious. As I knew that spies were 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 baggage, except as much as would equip us in the Indian mode. The whole of our force, after leaving such as were judged not competent to the expected fatigue, consisted only of four companies, commanded by Captains John Montgomery, Joseph Bowman, Leonard Helm and William Harrod. My force being so small to what I expected, owing to the various circumstances already mentioned, I found it necessary to alter my plans of operations.

As post St. Vincennes at this time was a town of considerable force, consisting of near four hundred militia, with an Indian town adjoining, and great numbers continually in the neighborhood, and in the scale of Indian affairs of more importance than any other, I had thought of attacking it first, but now found that I could by no means venture near it. I resolved to begin my career in the Illinois where there were more inhabitants, but scattered in different villages,

and less danger of being immediately overpowered by the Indians; in case of necessity, we could probably make our retreat to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, but if successful, we might pave our way to the possession of Post St. Vincent.

I had fully acquainted myself that the French inhabitants in those western settlements had great influence among the Indians in general, and were more beloved by them (*the Indians*) than any other Europeans—that their commercial intercourse was universal throughout the western and northwestern countries—and that the governing interest on the lakes was mostly in the hands of the English, who were not much beloved by them.

These, 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 (*French inhabitants*) to our interest and give us influence at a greater distance than the (*limits of the*) country we were aiming for. These were the principles that influenced my future conduct; and, fortunately, I had just received a letter from Colonel Campbell, dated Pittsburg, informing me of the contents of the treaties between France and America.

As I intended to leave the Ohio at Fort Massac, three leagues below the Tennessee, I landed on a small island (Barrataria ?) in the mouth of that river, in order to prepare for the march. In a few hours after, one John Duff and a party of hunters coming down the river were brought to by our boats. They were men formerly from the states, and assured us of their happiness in the adventure (their surprise having been owing to their not knowing who we were). They had been but lately from Kaskaskia, and were able to give us all the intelligence we wished. They said that Governor Abbott had lately left Post Vincennes and gone to Detroit on some business of importance; that Mr. Rochblave commanded Kaskaskia; that the militia was kept in good order, and spies on the Mississippi; and that all hunters, both Indians and others, were ordered to keep a good lookout for the rebels; that the fort was kept in good order as an asylum, etc.; but they believed the whole to proceed more from the

fondness for parade than the expectation of a visit; that they were convinced that if they received timely notice of us they would collect and give us a warm reception, as they were taught to harbor a most horrid idea of the barbarity of rebels, especially the Virginians; but that, if we could surprise the place, which they were in hopes we might, they made no doubt of our being able to do as we pleased; that they hoped to be received as partakers in the enterprise, and wished us to put full confidence in them, and they would assist the guides in conducting the party. This was agreed to, and they proved valuable men.

The acquisition to us was great, as I had no intelligence from these posts since the spies I sent twelve months past. But no part of their information pleased me more than that of the inhabitants viewing us as more savage than their neighbors, the Indians. I was determined to improve upon this if I was fortunate enough to get them into my possession, and conceived the greater 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 agreeable to human nature, as I had observed it in many instances. Having everything prepared, we moved down to a little gully, a small distance above Massac, in which we concealed our boats, and set out a northwestern course. Nothing remarkable on this route. The weather was favorable; in some parts water was scarce as well as game; of course we suffered drought and hunger, but not to excess. On the third day, John Saunders, our principal guide, appeared confused, and we soon discovered that he was totally lost, without there was some other cause of his present conduct. I asked him various questions, and from his answers could scarcely determine what to think of him, whether or not he was sensible that he was lost or that he wished to deceive us. The cry of the whole detachment was that he was a traitor. He begged 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 go, but that I was suspicious of him from his conduct; that from the

first day of his being employed he always said he knew the way well; that there was now a different appearance; that I saw the nature of the country was such that a person once acquainted with 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 hunter's road that led from the east into Kaskaskia, that he had frequently described, I would have him immediately put to death, which I was determined to have done; but after a search of an hour or two he came to a place that he knew perfectly, and we discovered that the poor fellow had been, as they call it, bewildered.

On the 4th of July, in the evening, we got within a few miles of the town, where we lay until near dark, keeping spies ahead, after which we commenced our march and took possession of a house wherein a large family lived, on the bank of the Kaskaskia river about three-quarters of a mile above the town, where we were informed that the people, a few days before, were under arms, but had concluded that the cause of the alarm was without foundation, and that at that time there was a great number of men in town, but that the Indians had generally left it, and at present all was quiet. We soon procured a sufficiency of vessels, the more in ease to convey us across the river, (*and*) formed the party into three divisions. 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 confusion as possible, but to have it even at the loss of the whole town. Not perfectly relying on the information we got at the house, as he seemed to vary in his information, and as (*a noise*) was just heard in town, which he informed us he supposed was the negroes at a dance, etc.

With one of the divisions, I marched to the fort and ordered the other two into different quarters of the town. If I met with no resistance, at a certain signal, a general shout was to be given, and certain parts were to be immediately possessed, and the men of each

detachment who could speak the French language were to run through every street and proclaim what had happened, and inform the inhabitants that every person who appeared in the streets would be shot down. This disposition had its desired effect. In a very little time we had complete possession, and every avenue was guarded to prevent any escape to give the alarm to the other villages, in case of opposition. Various orders had been issued not worth mentioning. I don't suppose greater silence ever reigned among the inhabitants of a place than did at present; not a person to be seen, not a word to be heard from them for some time; but, designedly, the greatest noise kept up by our troops through every quarter of the town, and patrols continually the whole night round it, as intercepting any information was a capital object, and in about two hours the whole of the inhabitants were disarmed, and informed that if one was taken attempting to make his escape, he would be immediately put to death.

Mr. Rochblave was secured, 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 public letters, etc., as but few were got; his chambers not being visited for the night, she had full opportunity of doing (*so*), but by what means we never could learn—I don't suppose among her trunks, although they never were examined. She must have expected the loss of even her clothes, from the idea she entertained of us. Several particular persons were sent for, in the course of the night, for information, etc., but (*we*) got very little (*beyond*) what we already knew, except, from the conduct of several persons then in town, there was reason to suppose they were inclined to the American interest; that a great number of Indians had been, and was then, in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia (Kahokia ?), sixty miles from this; that a Mr. Cerre, a principal merchant, one of the most inveterate enemies we had, left the place a few days past, with a large quantity of furs for Michilimackinac, from thence to Quebec, from (*whence*) he had lately arrived; that he was then in St. Louis, the Spanish capital; that his lady and family were then (*in*) town, with a very considerable quantity of goods, etc. I imme-

diately suspected what those informers aimed at—that of making their peace with me at the expense of their neighbors. My situation required too much caution to give them much satisfaction. I found that Mr. Cerre was one of the most eminent men in the country, of great influence among the people. I had some suspicion that his accusers were probably in debt to him and wished to ruin him; but, from observations I had made, from what I had heard of him, he became an object of consequence to me; that perhaps he might be wavering in his opinion respecting the contest; that, if he should take a decisive part in our favor, he might be a valuable acquisition. In short, his enemies caused me much to wish to see (*him*), 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 immediately placed at his house, his stores sealed, etc., as well as all others, making no doubt but that when he heard of this he would be extremely anxious to get an interview. Messrs. R. Winston and Daniel Murray, who proved to have been in the American interest, by the morning of the 5th, had plenty of provisions prepared. After the troops had regaled themselves, they were withdrawn from within the town, and I posted (*them*) in different positions on the border of it, and I had every person expressly forbid holding any conversation with the inhabitants. All was distrust; their town in complete possession of an enemy whom 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 were ordered not to speak to the rest. After some time they were informed that they (*could*) walk freely about the town. After finding they were busy in conversation, I had a few of the principal militia officers put in irons, without naming a reason for it or hearing anything they had to say in their own defense. The worst was now expected by the whole. I saw the consternation the inhabitants were in, and I suppose, in imagination, felt all they experienced in reality, and felt myself disposed to act as an arbiter between them and my duty.

After some time, the priest got permission to wait on me. He came with five or six elderly gentlemen with him. However shocked they already were, from their present situation, the addition was obvious and great when they entered the room where I was sitting with the other officers, (*all in*) a dirty, savage appearance, as we had left our clothes at the river (*and*) we were almost naked, and torn by the bushes and briers. They were shocked, and it was some time before they would venture to take seats, and longer before they would speak. They at last were asked what they wanted. The priest informed me (after asking which was the principal), that, as the inhabitants expected to be separated, never, perhaps, to meet again, they begged, through him, that they might be permitted to spend some time in the church, to take their leave of each other. I knew they expected their very religion was obnoxious to us. I carelessly told him I had nothing to say to his church; that he might go there if he would, if he did, to inform the people not to venture out of the town. They attempted some other conversation, but were informed that we were not at leisure. They went off, after answering me a few questions that I asked them, with a very faint degree (*of hope*) that they might (*not be*) totally discouraged from coming again, as they had not yet come to the point I wanted. The whole town seemed to have collected to the church; infants were carried, and the houses generally left without a person in them, (*except*) it was such as cared but little how things went, and a few others who were not so much alarmed. Orders were given to prevent the soldiers from entering a house. They remained a considerable time in church, after which the priest and many of the principal men came to me to return thanks for the indulgence shown them, and begged permission to address me farther on the subject that was more dear to them than anything else; that their present situation was the fate of war; that the loss of their property they could reconcile, but were 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 clothes and a small quantity of provisions. They were in hopes by in-

dustry, that they might support them; that their whole conduct had been influenced by their commanders, whom they looked upon themselves bound to obey; and that they were 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 frequently expressed themselves as much in favor of the Americans as they dare to. In short, they said everything that could be supposed that sensible men in their alarming situation would advance.

All they appeared to aim at was some lenity shown their women and families, supposing that their goods would appease us. I had sufficient reason to believe that there was no finesse in this, but that they really spoke their sentiments and the heights of their expectation. This was the point I wanted 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 meant to strip the women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths, or that we would condescend to make war on the women and children or the church? It was to prevent the effusion of innocent blood by the Indians, through the instigation of their commanders' emissaries, that caused us to visit them, and not the prospect of plunder; that as soon as that object was attained, we should be perfectly satisfied; that as the king of France had joined the Americans, there was a probability of there shortly being an end to the war (this information very apparently affected them). They were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without any dread of losing their property or having their families destroyed. As for their church, all religions would be tolerated in America, and so far from our intermeddling with it, that any insult offered to it should be punished; and to convince them that we were not savages and plunderers, as they had conceived, that they might return to their families and inform them that they might conduct themselves as usual, with all freedom and without apprehensions of any danger; that from the information I had got since my arrival, so fully convinced me of their being influenced by false in-

formation from their leaders, that I was willing to forget everything past; that their friends in confinement should immediately be released and the guard withdrawn from every part of the town, except Cerre's, and that I only required compliance to a proclamation. 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, etc. I informed them that I knew that they were taught to believe that we were but little better than barbarians, but that we would say no more on the subject; that I wished them to go and relieve the anxiety of the inhabitants. 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 in the extreme—the bells ringing, the church crowded, returning thanks, in short, every appearance of extravagant joy that could fill a place with almost confusion. I immediately set about preparing a proclamation to be presented to them before they left the church; but wishing to prove the people further, I omitted it for a few days, as I made no doubt but that any report that would be now made of us through the country would be favorable.

I was more careless who went or came into the town; but, not knowing what might happen, I yet (*felt*) uneasy as (*to*) Kohokia, and was determined to make a lodgment there as soon as possible, and gain the place by something similar to what had been done. I ordered Major Bowman to mount his company and part of another, and a few inhabitants, to inform their friends what had happened, on horses procured from the town, and proceed without delay, and if possible get possession of Kohokia before the ensuing 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 gentlemen came, and informed me that they were sensible of the design; that the troops were much fatigued; that they (*thought*) I would not take it amiss at their offering themselves to execute whatever I should wish to be done at Kohokia;

that the people were their friends and relations, and would follow their example—at least they hoped that they might be permitted to accompany the detachment. Conceiving that it might be good policy to show them that we felt confidence in them—and this (*was*) in fact what I wished for from obvious reasons—I informed them that I made no doubt but that Major Bowman would be fond of their company, and that as many as chose it might go, though we were too weak to be otherways than suspicious, and much on our guard; and knowing that we had a sufficient security for their good behavior, I told them (*if*) they went they ought to equip for war, although I was in hopes that every(*thing*) would be amicably settled; but, as it was the first time they ever bore arms as free men, it might be well to equip themselves and try how they felt as such, especially as they were going to put their friends in the same situation, etc. (*They*) appeared highly pleased at the idea, and in the evening the major set out with a troop but a little inferior to the one we had marched into the country. The French being commanded by the famous militia officers, those new friends of ours were so elated at thought of the parade they were to make at Kohokia, that they were too much engaged in equipping themselves to appear to the best advantage, that it was night before the party moved, and the distance twenty leagues, that it was late in the morning of the 6th before they reached Kohokia. Detaining every person they met with, they got into the border of the town before they were discovered. The inhabitants were at first much alarmed 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 confusion among the women and children appeared greater than they expected, from the cry of the big knife being in town, they immediately assembled and gave the people a detail of what had happened at Kaskaskia. The major informed them not to be alarmed; that though resistance at present was out of the question, he would convince them that he would prefer their friendship than otherwise; that he was authorized to inform them that they were at liberty to become free Americans, as their friends at Kaskas-

kia had, or (*they*) that did not choose it might (*go*) out of the country, except those who had been engaged in inciting the Indians to war.

Liberty and freedom, and huzzaing for the Americans, rang through the whole town. The Kaskaskian gentlemen disappeared among their friends. In a few hours the whole was amicable, and Major 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 was encamped in the neighborhood, as this was a principal post of trade, immediately fled; one of them, who was at St. Louis some time after this, got a letter written to me excusing himself for not paying me a visit. By the 8th Major Bowman got everything settled agreeable to our wishes. The whole of the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance cheerfully. He set about repairing the fort and regulating the internal police of the place, etc. The intermediate villages followed the example of the others, and, as a strict examination was not made as to those who had a hand in encouraging the Indians to war, in a few days the country appeared to be in a most perfect state of harmony. A friendly correspondence immediately sprung up between the Spanish officers and ourselves, (*and*) added much to the general tranquillity and happiness, but, as to myself, enjoyments of this nature were not my fortune. I found myself launched into a field that would require great attention, and all the address I was master of, to extricate myself from in doing that service to my country which appeared now in full view, with honor to them and credit to myself, as I could now get every piece of information I wished for. I was astonished at the pains and expense the British were at in engaging the Indians, and that they had emissaries in every nation throughout those extensive countries, and even bringing the inhabitants of Lake Superior by water to Detroit and fitting them out from thence; that the sound of war was universal among them; scarcely a nation but what had declared it and received the bloody belt and hatchet. Post St. Vincent I found to be a place of infinite importance to us. To gain it was now my object, but, sensible that all the forces we had, joined by

every man in Kentucky, would not be able to approach it, I resolved on other measures than that of arms. I determined to send no message to the Indians for some time, but, wishing for interviews between us to happen, through the means of the French gentlemen, and appear careless myself, and all the titles I gave myself unnecessaries, etc. The falls of Ohio was mentioned (*in order to have them believe*) that the troops we had were only a detachment from that place, though sufficient to answer our purpose; that the body of our force was there fortifying; that great numbers more were daily expected to arrive, from whence we intended to proceed to war; every man we had was taught to speak in this strain. From many hints and (*from*) information of mine before I left that place, the greatest part of them believed the most of this to be true. In short, anxious for our marching into the Illinois with so small a force, was really necessary. 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, (*I found*) that it had been generally as severe as under the militia law. I was determined to make an advantage of it, and took every step in my power to cause the people to feel the blessings enjoyed by an American citizen, which I soon discovered enabled me to support, from their own choice, almost a supreme authority over them. I caused a court of civil judication to be established at Kohokia, elected by the people. Major Bowman, to the surprise of the people, held a poll for a magistracy, and was elected and acted as judge of the court. [Manuscript here illegible.] After this similar courts were established in the towns of Kaskaskia and St. Vincent. There was an appeal to myself in certain cases, and I believe that no people ever had their business done more to their satisfaction than they had through the means of these regulations for a considerable time.

Mr. Cerre, formerly mentioned at the time of Major Bowman's arrival at Kohokia, was yet in St. Louis, and, preparing to prosecute his journey to Canada, was stopped in consequence of the information. After learning the situation of things, agreeable to my expec-

tations, he resolved to return; but learning that there was a guard kept at his house, and at no other, and that several had attempted to ruin him by their information to me, (*as*) you were advised, not to venture over without a safe conduct, he applied to the Spanish governor for a letter to that purpose and came to St. Genevieve, opposite to Kaskaskia, and got another from the commandant of that post, to the same purpose, and sent them to me; but all the interest he could make through the channel of the Spanish officers, and the solicitations 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 wished to hear no more on the subject; neither would I hear any person that had anything to say in vindication of him, informing them that I understood that M. Cerre was a sensible man; that if he was innocent of the allegations against him he would not be afraid of delivering himself up; that his backwardness seems to prove his guilt; that I cared very little about him. I suppose a rumor immediately 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 were exhibited against (*him*), particularly that of inciting the Indians to murder, etc.—a crime that ought to be punished by all people that should be so fortunate as to get that person in their power; that his late backwardness almost confirmed me in his guilt. He replied that he was a mere merchant; that he never concerned himself about state affairs further than the interest of his trade required; that he had, as yet, no opportunity so fully to acquaint himself with the principle of the present contest as to enable (*him*) finally to settle his own opinion to his satisfaction; that his being generally so far detached from the seat of affairs that he was always doubtful of his only hearing 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 suspicion. I read him part of a letter from Governor Hamilton of Detroit to Mr. Rochblave, wherein he was alluded to with much affection. He said that when he was there

he behaved himself as became a subject; that he defied any man to prove that he ever encouraged an Indian to war; that many had often heard him disapprove the cruelty of such proceedings; that there was a number in town that was much in debt to him—perhaps the object of some of them (*was*) to get clear of it by ruining 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 encouraging the Indians is what he ever detested. He excused his fearing 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 anxious to know the fate of Mr. Cerre. I sent for his accusers—a great number following them—and had Mr. Cerre called. I plainly saw the confusion his appearance made among them. I opened the case to the whole—told them that I never chose to condemn a man unheard; that Cerre was now present; that I was ready to do justice to the world in general, by the punishment of Mr. Cerre, if he was found guilty of encouraging murder, or acquit him if innocent of the charge that they would give in their information. Cerre began to speak to them, but was ordered to desist. His accusers began to whisper to each other, and retire for private conversation; at length but one of six or seven were 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 anything to say to the purpose. I gave them a suitable reprimand, and after some general conversation I informed Mr. Cerre that I was happy to find that he had so honorably acquitted 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 acknowledgments, and concluded by saying that many doubts that he had were now cleared up to his satisfaction, and that now he wished to take the (*oath*) immediately. 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, everything in this quarter having a most promising appearance.

Post Vincennes never being out of my mind, and from some things that I had learned I had some reasons to suspect that Mr. Gibault, the priest, was inclined to the American interest previous to our arrival in the country. He had great influence over the people at this period, and Post Vincennes was under his jurisdiction. I made no doubt of his integrity to us. I sent for him, and had a long conference with him on the subject of Post Vincennes. In answer to all my queries he informed me that he did not think it worth my while to cause any military preparation to be made at the falls of the Ohio for the attack of Post Vincennes, although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in its neighborhood, who, to his knowledge, were generally at war; that Governor Abbott had, a few weeks before, left the place on some business to Detroit; that he expected that when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at 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 knew that his appearance there would have great weight, even among the savages; that if it was agreeable 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 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, and he named Doctor Lafont as his associate.

This was perfectly agreeable to what I had been secretly aiming at for some days. The plan was immediately settled, and the two doctors, with their intended retinue, among whom I had a spy, set about preparing for their journey, and set out on the 14th of July, with an address and great numbers of letters from the French to the inhabitants, and letter to Mr. Gibault. Dr. Lafont's instructions are lost; Mr. Gibault, verbal instructions how to act in certain cases. It is mentioned here that Governor Abbott's letter to Mr. Rochblave

had convinced us that they warmly adhered to the American cause, etc. This was altogether a piece of policy; no such thing had we known that they would, with propriety, suppose that Governor Abbott's letter to Rochblave had fallen into our hands, as he had written in that style respecting them, they most cordially verify it. Mr. Gibault was led to believe this, and authorizing them to garrison their own town themselves, which would convince them of the great confidence we put in them, etc.

All this had its desired effect. Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safe, and, after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country), and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. An officer was elected, the fort immediately (*garrisoned*), and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes. The people here immediately began to put on a new face and to talk in a different style, and to act as perfect freemen. With a garrison of their own, with the United States at their elbow, their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the state, and informed the Indians that their old father, the king of France, was come to life again, had joined the big knife, and 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, otherwise they might expect the land to be very bloody, etc. The Indians began to think seriously. Throughout the country this was now the kind of language they generally got from their ancient friends of the Wabash and Illinois.

Through the means of their correspondence spreading among the nations, our batteries now began to play in a proper channel. Mr. Gibault and party, accompanied by several gentlemen of Post Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia about the first of August with the joyful news. During his absence on this business, which caused great anxiety in me (for without the possession of this post all our views

would have been blasted), I was exceedingly engaged in regulating things in the Illinois. The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of our troops.

I was at a great loss at this time to determine how to act and how far I might venture to strain my authority as my instructions were silent on many important points, as it was impossible to foresee the events that would take place. To abandon the country and all the prospects that opened to our views in the Indian department at this time, for the want of instructions in certain cases, I thought would amount to a reflection on government as having no confidence in me. I resolved to usurp all the authority necessary to carry my points. I had the greater part of our (*troops*) re-enlisted on a different establishment—appointed French officers in the country to command a company of the young inhabitants; established a garrison at Cahokia, commanded by Captain Bowman, and another at Kaskaskia commanded by Captain Williams, late lieutenant. Post Vincennes remained in the situation as mentioned. Colonel William Linn, who had accompanied us a volunteer, took charge of a party that was to be discharged on their arrival at the falls, and orders were sent for the removal of that post to the main land. Captain John Montgomery was dispatched to government with letters, and also conducted Mr. Rochblave thither.

The principles of the latter gentleman were so fixed and violent against the United (*States*) that (*his language*) was quite unsuitable. His lady had been (*allowed*) to take off all her furniture, etc., without (*opposition*) among the soldiers, except a few. The whole of her slaves were detained to be sold as plunder to the soldiers, which did not take place for some time—the officers generally wishing them to be returned to Mr. Rochblave (he being confined to his room in order to secure him from the soldiers, as he seemed to take a delight in insulting them on all occasions, and it was feared that some might do him a mischief), and were in hopes that the troops might be brought to conform to it, as many of them were men of substance, and the dividend would be but small and the credit would be consid-

erable. This was in a fair way to take place, (*when*) some of the officers were desired to ask Mr. Rochblave to walk out and spend the evening at a certain house where a number of his acquaintances would be assembled. He did, but at the assembly he abused (*the officers*) in a most intolerable manner as rebels, etc. They immediately sent him off into the guard-house, and all further thoughts (*were abandoned*) of saving his slaves. (*They were*) sold and (*proceeds*) divided among (*the soldiers*), amounting to 1,500 pounds.

I informed the governor, by Captain Montgomery, of the whole of our proceedings and present prospects, pointing out the necessity of an immediate acquisition of troops, and that some person should be sent as head of the civil department, and referring him to Captain Montgomery for a general information of things.

This party being dispatched, I again turned my attention to St. Vincennes. I plainly saw that it would be highly necessary to have an American officer at that post. Captain Leonard Helm appeared calculated to answer my purpose. He was past the meridian of life and a good deal acquainted with the Indian (*disposition*). I sent him to command at that post, and also appointed him agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash, as others were of this, in different quarters, expecting, by the fall, to receive information from the governor, when a strong garrison should be sent to him. He was fully possessed of my ideas and the plans I proposed to pursue, and about the middle of August he set out to take possession of his new command.

An Indian chief, called the Tobacco's Son, a Peankeshaw, at this time resided in a village adjoining St. Vincent. This man was called by the Indians "The Grand Door to the Wabash," as the great Pontiac had been to that of St. Joseph, and, as nothing of consequence was to be undertaken by the league on the Wabash without his assent, I discovered that to win him was an object of great importance. I sent him a spirited compliment by Mr. Gibault; he returned it. I now, by Captain Helm, touched him on the same spring that I had done the inhabitants, and the following speech, with a belt of

wampum, directing Captain Helm how to manage, if the chief was peaceably inclined, or otherwise. The captain arrived safe at St. Vincent and was received with acclamations by the people. After the usual ceremony was over, he sent for the Grand Door and delivered my letter to him. After having it read, he informed the captain that he was happy to see him, one of the big knife chiefs, in this town—it was here that he had joined the English against him—but he confessed that he always thought that they looked gloomy; that 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 counselors on the subject, and was in hopes the captain would be patient. In short, he put on all the courtly dignity that he was master of, and Captain Helm, following his example, it was several days before this business was finished, as the whole proceeding was very ceremonious. At length the captain was invited to the Indian council and informed by the Tobacco that they had maturely considered the case in hand and had got the nature of the war between the English and us explained to their satisfaction; that, as we spoke the same language, and (appeared to be) the same people, he 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 English conquered, they would serve them in the same manner that they intended to serve us; that his ideas were quite changed, and that he would tell all the red people on the Wabash to bloody the land no more for the English. He jumped up, struck his breast; called himself a man and a warrior; said that he was now a big knife, and took Captain Helm by the hand. His example was followed by all present, and the evening was spent in merriment. Thus ended this valuable negotiation and the saving of much blood.

This man proved a zealous friend to the day of his death, which happened two years after this, when he desired to be buried (*among*) the Americans. His body was conveyed to the garrison of Kohokia

and buried with the honors 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 Wabash, as high as the Ouiatenon, came to St. Vincennes and followed the example of their grand chief; and as expresses were continually passing between Captain Helm and myself the whole time of these treaties, the business was settled perfectly to my satisfaction, and greatly to the advantage of the public. The British interest daily lost ground in this quarter, and in a short time our influence reached the Indians on the river St. Joseph and the border of lake Michigan.

The French gentlemen, at the different posts that we now had possession of, engaged 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 otherwise, in a short time the Indians of the various tribes inhabiting the region of Illinois came in great numbers to Cahokia, in order to make treaties of peace with us. From the information they generally got from the French gentlemen (whom they implicitly believed) respecting us, they were truly alarmed; and, consequently, we were visited by the greater part of them without any invitation from us. Of course we had greatly the advantage, in making use of such language as suited our (*interest*). Those treaties that commenced about the last of August and continued between three and four weeks were probably conducted in a way different from any other known in America at that time. I had been always convinced that our general conduct with the Indians was wrong· that inviting them to treaties was construed by them in a different manner to what we expected, and implied, by them, to fear, and that giving them great presents confirmed it. I resolved to guard against this, and I took good pains to make myself acquainted fully with the French and Spanish methods of treating Indians, and with the manner and disposition of the Indians in general. As in this quarter they had not yet been spoiled by us, I

was resolved that they should not be. I began the business fully prepared, having copies of the British treaties.

After the great ceremony commonly made use of at the commencement of Indian treaties, the (*Indians*) as the solicitors opening it, and after laying (*the*) whole blame of their taking up the bloody hatchet to the delusion of the English, acknowledging their errors, and many protestations of guarding in future against those bad birds flying through the land (alluding to the British emissaries sent among them), concluded 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 peace might take the place of the bloody belt—throwing down and stamping on those emblems of war that they had received from the British, such as red belts of wampum, flags, etc.

I informed them that I had paid attention to what they had said, and that on the next day I would give them an answer, when I hoped the ears and hearts of all people would be open to receive the truth which should be spoken without deception. I advised them to keep themselves prepared for the result of this day, on which, perhaps, their very existence as a nation depended, etc., and dismissed 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 replied that "such sentiments were like men who had but one heart, and did not speak with a double tongue." The next day I delivered them the following speech:

Men an warriors! pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hoped, as He was good, that it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon—whether it be peace or war—and henceforth prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior—not a counselor. I carry war in my right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the great council of the big

knives, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country, and to remain here watching the motions of the red people; to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river, but to clear the roads from us to those who desire to be in friendship with us, that the women and children may walk in them without meeting anything to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the great fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the red people may hear no sound but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the cause of the war between the big knife and the English; that you may judge yourselves which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and do not prove yourselves to be only old women.

The big knives are very much like the red people; they don't know how to make blankets and powder and clothes.

They buy these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting and trade, as you and your neighbors, the French, do. But the big knives, daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor and hunting scarce; and, having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves.

They soon made blankets for their husbands and children, and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English. They then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country, as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French. They would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else.

The English said we should buy everything from them; and, since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we

used to get for one; we should do as they pleased; and they killed some of our people to make the rest fear them.

This is the truth and the real cause of the war between the English and us, which did not take place for some time after this treatment.

But our women became cold and hungry and continued to cry. Our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark. The old men held down their heads for shame because they could not see the sun, and thus there was mourning for many years over the land. At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia. He then stuck down a post, but put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out; the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads and assembled at the fire. They took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war post and blood was shed. In this way the war began, and the English were driven from one place to another until they got weak, and then they hired you red people to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this and caused your old father, the French king, and other great nations, to join the big knives and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like deer in the woods, and you may see that it is the Great Spirit that has caused your waters to be troubled because you have fought for the people he was mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the big knives.

You can now judge who is in the right. I have alresdy told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt and a white one, take which you please. Behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by the big knives cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most

stumbling-blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes long stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the big knives, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to anything you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but one heart and one tongue, etc., etc.

Whatever their private conversations on this subject might be, we never could learn, but on their return the next day the business commenced with more than usual ceremony. A new fire was kindled, all the gentlemen in town were collected, and, after all this preparatory ceremony was gone through, the chiefs, who were to speak, advanced near to the table where I sat 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, completing a circle, it was presented to all the spirits—invoking them to witness what was about to be concluded—on to myself, and descending down to every person present.

The speaker then addressed himself to the Indians, the substance of which, was that they ought to be thankful 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 and receive the truth, etc., etc.; 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 believed the whole to be the truth, as the big knives did not speak like any other people they had ever heard; that they now plainly saw they had been deceived; 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 were in the right, and

as the English had forts in their country, they might, if they got strong, want to serve the red people as they did the big knives; that the red people ought to help us, and so forth; that they had, with a sincere heart, taken up the belt of peace and spurned the other away; that they were determined to hold it fast and would have no doubt of our friendship, as, judging from the manner of our speaking, that there was no room for suspicion; that they would call in all their warriors and cast the tomahawk into the river, where it could never be found again, and suffer no more emissaries, or bad birds, to pass through their land, to disquiet their women and children; that they might be always cheerful to smooth the roads for their brothers, the big knives, whenever 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 advised them to listen to the same; that they hoped that I would send men among them, with my eyes, to see myself; they were men, and strictly adhered to all they had said at this great fire that the Good Spirit had kindled at Kohokias* for the good of all the people that would listen to it, etc.

This is the substance of their answer to me. The pipe was again kindled and presented to all the spirits to be witnesses; smoking of which, and shaking hands, concluded this grand piece of business, I suppose, with as much dignity and importance, in their eyes, as the treaty between France and America was to ours. They put on a different appearance; the greatest harmony now reigned, without the appearance of any distrust on their side, but we were not quite so tame, as I had set a resolution never to give them anything that should have the appearance of courting them, but generally made some excuse for the little I present them, such as their coming a long way to see me had expended their ammunition, wore out their leggings, or met with some misfortune or other; but they were generally alarmed, and the conclusion of peace satisfied them, and (*we*) parted, in all appearance, perfectly satisfied. I always made it a point to keep spies among them, and was pleased to find that the greatest of those

*Clark sometimes spells this Cahokia, Kohokia, Kohokias, and Cohos.

who treated with us strictly adhered to it, so that in a short time from this we could send a single soldier through any part of the Ouabash (*Wabash*) and Illinois country, for the whole of those Indians came to treat, either at Kohokias or St. Vincennes, in course of the fall.

It is not (*worth*) while (*to give*) the particulars of every treaty, as the one already mentioned conveys the idea of the plan we went on; the whole was held on the same principle, always sticking to the text, but varying in the manner of delivery to the different tribes—sometimes more severe, but never moderating except with those we were in friendship with. Of course (*to them*) a very different kind of a language was made use of. Their reply was nearly the same throughout the whole, and a boundary seemed now to be fixed between the British emissaries and our own at the heads of the waters of the lakes and those of the Mississippi, neither party caring much to venture too far. 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 favor required great attention to keep up the flame from cooling, as the appearance of a reinforcement which we had reason to expect in the fall would ruin our influence. Every method was pursued to convince the French inhabitants that their interest, etc., was studied. Every restriction that they were formerly under that was disagreeable to them was done away. Their business with the commanding officers was done without fees—neither any at court, that sat weekly on their business—and many other little things, that (*had*) good effect; and, through them, our interest grew considerably among the French on the lakes, and many traders and others, watching their opportunities, came across with their goods and settled in the Illinois and St. Vincennes. This also had a good effect among the Indians. The friendly correspondence between the Spaniards and ourselves was much to our advantage, as everything the Indians heard from them was to our interest.

The behavior of two young men at the time of these treaties at Kohokias affected me very much, and (*it will*), perhaps, not (*be*) disagreeable to you to have their conduct related. A party of what

is called the Meadow Indians, who rove about among the different nations, composed partly of the whole of them, were informed that (*if*) they would contrive to take me off they would get a great reward. They came down, as others had done, some pretending to treat for peace. They were lodged in the yard of Mr. Bradies, pretending some acquaintance. About one hundred yards from my quarters, and nearly the same distance fronting the fort, the little river Kohokias passes (fronting the houses, on the opposite side of that part of the street), which was then about knee deep. Having business at the time with other Indians, they listened to what was passing, loitered about, and got pretty well acquainted with our people. Having received but a bad report of them, I took but passing little notice of them. They had observed (*that*) the house I lodged in (*was*) very quiet of nights, and supposed the guards to be but few (*and*) formed their plan in the following manner: Some of them were to cross the river, fire off their guns opposite to their quarters, on which they were to attempt to get in, under the protection of the quarter guard, as flying from other Indians, their enemies, who had fired on them across the river; if they succeeded, to butcher the guard and carry myself off. A few nights after their arrival they made the attempt about one o'clock. Having too much to think (*of*) to sleep much, I happened to be awake at the time the alarm was given. They were immediately at the yard gate, when, the sentinel presenting his piece, being a light night, they saw the guard paraded in 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. The guard was positive it was those Indians. They were immediately examined; said it was their enemies had fired on them across the creek; that they wanted to get under protection of the guard, but were not permitted, and made the best of their way back to defend themselves; but some of the French gentlemen, being better acquainted (*with*) them than the rest, insisted that it was them—gave the alarm, sent for a candle and discovered that (*the*) leggings and moccasins of the fellows who had

crossed the river were quite wet and muddy. They were quite confounded—wanted to make various excuses—but (*were not*) suffered to speak. Their design was easily seen through. I said but little to them (and, as there were 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 chiefs should be sent to the guard-house and put in irons, which was immediately done by the inhabitants. They, in that situation, were every day brought into the council, but not suffered to speak, and, on finishing with the others, I had their irons taken off and told them that their designs were obvious to me, as a bird from their country had whispered me in the ear 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 catch a bear sleeping, I found that you were only old women and too mean to be killed by the big knives; but, as you ought to be punished for putting on British clothes like men, that shall be taken from you, and plenty of provisions given to (*take*) you home, as women don't know (*how*) to hunt, and as long as you stay here you shall be treated as all (*squaws*) ought to be; and, without any further notice of them, conversed indifferently with others present on very trifling subjects. They appeared to be much agitated. After some time they rose and advanced with a belt and pipe of peace, which (*they offered*) to me, and made a speech, which I would not suffer to be interpreted (at that time); and, a sword lying on the table, I broke their pipe and told them that the big knife never treated with women and for them to sit down and enjoy themselves as others did and not be afraid. What they had said was an acknowledgment of their design, excusing themselves by saying that it was owing to bad men that was among them from Michilimackinac that put it into their heads; that they were in hopes that we would take pity on their women and children; and, as their lives were spared when they deserved to lose them, they were in hopes that peace would be granted

them as it was to others, etc. Several chiefs of other nations present spoke in their favor, condemning their attempt; as they saw the big knife was above little things, they wished I would take pity on the families of those men and grant them peace, etc. I told them that I had never made war upon them; that if the big knives came across such people in the woods they commonly shot them down as they did wolves, to prevent their eating the deer, but never talked about it, etc.

The conversation on the subject dropped. For some time these fellows continued busy in private conversation. At last, two young men advanced to the middle of the floor, sat 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 atonement for things in general, and were in hopes that the big knives would be reconciled after this sacrifice of them, etc., and again offered the pipe, which I refused, and told them to go and sit down—that I would have nothing to say to them—but in a milder tone than I had before spoken to them.

It appeared that those people had got so completely alarmed (which I had taken pains to do guarding desperation), that they supposed a tomahawk was hanging over the heads of every one of their nation; that nothing could save them but (*to*) get peace before they left the place, and expected, by our putting to death or keeping those two young men as slaves, that we should be reconciled. The young men kept their first position and frequently would push the blanket aside, as if impatient to learn their fate. I could have no expectation of this business ending in this manner. I always intended, at last, to be persuaded to grant those people peace, but this astonished me. I hardly knew whether it was sincere or not, but everything proved it. Every person present (there were a great number) seemed anxious to know what would be done, and a general silence immediately took place. For some time all (*was*) suspense. I viewed those persons with pleasure. You may easily guess at my

feelings on the occasion. I had read of something similar, but did not know whether to believe it or not, and never before, or since, felt myself so capable of speaking. I ordered the young men to rise and uncover themselves. I found there was a very visible alteration in their countenances which they appeared to try to conceal. I suitably harangued the whole assembly on the subject, and concluded by telling them I was happy to find there were men among their nation, as we were now witnesses there was at least two among those people. I then spoke to the young men—said a great (*deal*) in their praise—concluded by saying it was only such men as they that (*should be*) chiefs of a nation; that it was such that I liked to treat with; that through them, the big knives granted peace 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 gentlemen present, and, lastly, to the Indians, the whole greeting them as chiefs, and ended the business by having them saluted by the garrison. I wish I had a copy or could remember the whole I said on this business, but you may easily conceive from the nature of it. It appeared to give general satisfaction, but I thought the old chiefs appeared much cowed. Our new nabobs were now treated with great respect on all occasions.

A council was called in order to do some business with them, and great ceremony made use of, in order, more firmly, to rivet what had been done; and on the departure, some presents were given them to distribute among their friends at home, by whom I understood they were acknowledged and held in great esteem, and the Americans much spoken of among them. It would be difficult to account for the consequences, in case they had succeeded in their plan. It appears to have been but badly laid, but it (*was*) the worst problem they could have attempted 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 gave us much credit, and had good

effect among the Indians in this quarter, as it soon became the subject of general conversation.

I now turned my attention to Saguina, Mr. Black Bird, and Nakionin, two chiefs of the bands of Sotaios and Outaway nations, bordering on Lake Michigan and the river St. Joseph. Mr. Black Bird and party were in St. Louis at the time Major Bowman took possession of Kohos, got alarmed and packed off, knowing that their nation was warmly engaged in the war, and not believing the Spanish protection sufficient to secure them against the revenge of the big knives who were so near at hand, although the governor persuaded them with a certainty of their being friendly received. Those chiefs, on their passage up the Illinois, met with numbers of traders (who had heard what had passed among their friends, and had already begun to alter their tone among the Indians) who persuaded them to turn back and see the big knives; for, as he had been so near them, and would not go to see them, they would think that he was afraid, and run away, etc. He excused himself by saying his family was sick, but that he would go in the spring; in the meantime would write to us. This letter I suppose he thought calculated to make us believe that they were friends to us, and I make no doubt but that their sentiments now daily changed in our favor. I made strict inquiry about Black Bird. I found that both were chiefs of considerable bands about St. Joseph, then at war; that Black Bird had great influence in that quarter, and it was thought by some traders lately arrived that he really wanted a conference, but wished to have an invitation, etc. I gave a man, who answered my purpose, two hundred dollars to visit him at St. Joseph, and wrote him a complete answer to his letter, inviting him to come (*to*) Kaskaskia that fall, which he did, with only eight attendants, and my messenger, Denoi.

After they had got rested and refreshed (*Black Bird*) observed some usual preparations making for an Indian council. He sent and informed me that he came to see me on business of consequence that concerned both our nations, and wished that we should not spend our time in ceremony; he said it was customary among all Indians, but

that it was not necessary between us; that we could do our business sitting at a table much better; that he wanted much conversation with me, and hoped that there would be no ceremony used, etc. I found Mr. Black Bird of different manners to what others had been—that he assumed the airs of a polite gentleman, etc. A room was prepared and the nabob formally introduced by a French gentleman. After a few compliments he took his seat at one end of the table, myself at the other, the interpreters to our right and left; gentlemen seated around the room. Black Bird opened the conference, and attempted to speak as much in the European manner as possible. He said that he (*had*) long wished to have some conversation with a chief of our nation, but never before had an opportunity; he had conversed with prisoners, but he put little confidence in what they said, as they were generally afraid to speak; that he had engaged 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 there was some mystery 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 both sides.

To satisfy this inquisitive Indian, I had to begin almost at the first settlement of America, and to go through almost the whole 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 obvious to him; that he thought the Americans were perfectly right, and that they ought 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 likewise; but as I had said we would not wish it, they ought, at least, to sit still; that he would not blame us if we did as I had said, drive the whole off the face of the earth who would not do so, for it was plain to him that the English were afraid, 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 assisted; that his sentiments were fixed in favor of us, and would no longer pay any attention to the English; that he would immediately put an end to the war, as to his part, but as many of their young men were 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 influenced should again take them up; that on his return home he would take pains to tell the Indians, of every denomination, what had passed between 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 might to what he himself said to them; that for the future he was in hopes we should view each other as friends, and that correspondence should be kept up between us, etc., etc.

I told him that I was happy to find that this business was likely to end so much to both our satisfaction, and so much to the advantage and tranquillity of each of our people; that I should immediately (*tell*) the governor of Virginia of what (*had*) passed between us, and that I knew that it would give him (*and*) all the Americans great pleasure, and that the Black Bird would be registered among their friends, etc., etc. Thus it was passed between us of a public nature.

After spending a few days with us he returned home. A young man of mine accompanied him. I had two pack horses loaded with necessaries for his journey home, and sent some presents to his family, perhaps to the amount of two or three pounds. Thus ended the business between this chief and myself, and as I had frequent opportunity of hearing from him, in the course of this fall, I found that he

strictly adhered to what he had declared to me; that he had not only stopped his own tribe, but had great numbers of Indians in that quarter to (*become*) very cool in the British interest.

I had thought 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, etc.; that it was beneath the dignity of a warrior, etc.; the big knife views others who were at war against them, on their own account, with more (*favor*) than they did the hirelings; that the one was kept as great trophies, when, perhaps, the scalps of the others were given to the children to play with, or flung to the dogs. This kind of language, to a people we most ardently wished to be at peace with, may appear strange, but it had good effect among persons of their education, and perfectly consonant to our system of policy.

About this time, I received a letter from a chief named 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 immediately the name of Big Gate was given to him as a mark of honor. He had early engaged in the British interest and had led several parties against the frontier with good success, and on hearing what was going on in the Illinois, he fell in with some Pottawatimies on their way to see us, and came with them to hear what we had to say for ourselves. He had (*the*) assurance to make his appearance in a complete war dress, and the bloody belt that he had received from the English hanging about his neck; he attended the council for several days, always placed himself in front of the room and sat in great state, without saying a word to us, or we to him. I had found out (*what*) I wanted to know about him, and had fixed my resolutions, and in the course of my business with the other Indians, I had made use of several expressions in order to prepare my gentleman for what (*was to come*), and on the close of the business, I addressed myself to him. Told him I had been informed who he was, but, as he knew that public business must take place before private

commences, I hoped that he would excuse me in (*not*) speaking to him before that time; that it was customary among the white people that when officers met in that manner, although enemies, they treated each other with greater respect than they did common people, and valued each other the more in proportion (*to*) exploits (*they*) had done against each other's nation. Especially 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 big knives that evening.

He appeared in nettles and rose and began to excuse himself. I would not hear, but ran on upon the same topic. I would stop; he would commence, and I would begin again, until I found I had worked him up to as high a pitch as I wished for, and then (*told*) him to go on. He stepped out into the middle of the floor, took off his belt of war and a small British flag that was in his bosom and flung them on the floor; then the whole of his clothes that he had on, except his breech cloth, struck his breast and addressed himself to the whole audience, and told them that they knew that he was a warrior from his youth, that he delighted in war, that the English had told him lies. He thought, from what they had said, that the big knives were in the wrong, and that he has been at war against them three times, and prepared to go again, but thought that he would rest himself a while and come here and see what sort of people we were and how (*we*) talked; that he had listened to everything that had been said; that he was now convinced that the English were wrong and that the big knives were right, and that he was a man and a warrior and would not fight in a wrong cause; struck his breast and said that he was now a big knife, and came and shook hands with me and the whole company as his brothers. A great deal of merriment ensued. The whole company appeared delighted in being merry. The fellow himself kept up their merriment by speaking to them as a new man and a big knife, but, as our new brother was now naked, it was necessary that he should be clothed, those that he had pulled off being pushed into the street by one of the servants. As we dispersed (*clothes were*

given him), Captain McCarty having a suit a good deal laced, Captain Big Gate, at dinner, was much the finest man at table; and, to appear in as much state as the rest of us, he ordered some of his men to wait on him, but was rather awkward. As we had not suffered the Indians to dine with us, except chiefs of the greatest dignity, to prevent any jealousy pains were taken with those in town that were of as high rank as Mr. Lajes. After dinner was over he informed me that he wished to have some private conversation with me and pointed to a room that had a large window opening against a back street. Being always suspicious, I did not know but my new brother intended to stab me and make his escape through the window. I privately, unknown to him, made provisions against this, and we were shut up with the interpreter nearly half an hour. He gave me a history of himself and a full account of the situation of things at Detroit; said that he could do almost what he pleased at that place; if I chose it, he would go and bring me a scalp or a prisoner in forty days; as they did not know what had happened here, he could have what opportunity 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 sit still and look on; that those that would not might expect to be swallowed up, as they would see the lakes covered with boats belonging to the big knives, and wished he would by no means kill any person on our account, 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. I gave him a captain's commission and a medal the day he took his departure, many Indians accompanying him.

As he took his leave at my quarters many gentlemen were present. They saluted him by firing their pistols through the window; passing in front of them, he was again saluted, which elated him much. He did not advance far before he stopped, and said he supposed those poor soldiers were hungry 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 it to them to drink his health, which was done; and

they went off by water, up the Illinois river, where he fell in with some traders of his acquaintance who had got a permit at Mackinac to trade on those waters with a design to come to see us, and were then on their passage. Lajes asked them which way they were going; they said only trading. Then he asked them if they were not afraid of the big knives at Kohos. They said not. He then asked who they were. He said are you for the king of England, or the big knives? Knowing the fellow's character, they answered for the king of England, certainly. Was he not? He said no; that he was a captain of the big knives, and produced his commission, and told them they were enemies to his country, and his prisoners; that he would return and take them to his superior officer at Kohos. The men got alarmed; did not know what to make of the fellow, but found he was in earnest, and had a commission from under my hand and seal. They then told him that they were running away, and were going to the big knives. He said they were liars and would not believe them, and detained them for two or three days, until a party came by that he knew was in the American interest and became surety that they should deliver themselves up, and got a letter written to me dictated by himself. He warned the men to take care of themselves, for, if they were deceitful, and fell into his hands again, that he should treat them ill. This was a curious Indian letter. I can't remember the particulars of it further than it touched on the above business. It's lost with all the papers of the present year, except a few that, by chance, have been recovered.

Captain Big Gate proceeded on his journey, and, as long as I heard of him, behaved well; spoke much of his new dignity, abusing the other Indians for fighting as hirelings, etc., etc. Whether or not he ever after joined the (*British*), I never learned.

By this time, we had done business with almost all of the Indians on the Wabash and Illinois, and as high as the Ioways, Sauks and Renards, the inhabitants of the bottoms of Lake Michigan, etc., and the country at this time appeared to be in a perfect state of tranquillity. I was pleased to learn that our new post, at the falls of

Ohio, continued to gather strength, as well as the Kentucky in general, and that a powerful expedition was to move from Pittsburg to Detroit. This, with the thought of what we had done, caused us to enjoy ourselves for the first time since our arrival. But it did not last long. A party of the Missouri Indians came several hundred miles 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 big knives and wished to see them, and hoped that their curiosity (*might*) be excused, which was, and themselves and families treated (*well*) while they staid. They appeared to be something different in their manner, and complexion much fairer, than any other Indians I had seen, and suppose that that gave rise to the idea of there being Welch Indians in that quarter.

Captain Helm informed me, by express, that the British had sent an emissary to the (*Ouiatanon*) with 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 authorize the attempt; several gentlemen at the Opost (*Vincennes*) were of the same opinion. I authorized the enterprise and empowed the captain to act agreeably to the councils held among themselves, but that if they, at any time, on finding the attempt dangerous or the chances against them, to relinquish the enterprise and return, giving out that they had only made a small excursion to see their friends, etc.

He set out by water with men, chiefly inhabitants of St. Vincent, and proceeded up the Wabash, the French merchants going along trading with the Indians on the way, and (*the*) captain speaking to (*them*) on public affairs as if this was intended as a visit he wished to pay them, and that those with him attended in compliance and to see a little about their trade. They did not appear as having any hostile intentions until they got near the Weaugh's. They then made all the expedition possible; entered the fort and took the Kite and twenty or thirty Chipeway warriors—then in council—prisoners. The emissary (I forget his name) frequently heard of this party com-

ing up the river, but was told, by the Indians, that they meant no harm; that the big knives that were along only came with the traders to give good talks to his friends, etc. But after a few days he began to suspect the sincerity of the Indians and moved off up the river a little before Captain Helm arrived. Those Chipeways were a party he had invited to meet at the Weaugh and get supplied and make war at the Opost. They arrived but a few minutes before our party. Hearing the news and finding their friends gone, they stepped into the fort as a convenience to take some refreshments and hold a council. They had scarcely commenced before our party entered and closed the gate on them, as the inhabitants did not give them notice of the approach of the party. The Indians were much alarmed at finding themselves so suddenly taken, and had but little to say for themselves at first.

After some consultation between Captain Helm and the French gentlemen 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 whole amount was this: That the big knives never to catch a person stealing, and, as that was the case in the present instance, they, the Indians, were at liberty, and might fight for the English as long as they pleased; that if they again fell into the hands of the big knives, they might expect what would be their fate. The Indians gave a suitable answer to this seeming generosity, and declared that they would never fight against the big knives again, and I understand that these Indians frequently mentioned this adventure and spoke much in our favor.

Our party returned in safety to the Opost, having spoken with the greater part of the Indians, much to the satisfaction of both parties. So great was our interest among the Indians at this time, that Governor Hamilton, on his expedition against St. Vincent, with all his influence, could raise no more than four or five hundred Indians to accompany him.

The Chicasaws being at war, I wished to have some correspondence with them, to feel their pulse. I did not choose to send to them, as

it would appear too much like begging a peace, as they call it. It occurred to me that the Kaskaskia Indians had been long at war with the Chicasaws, which had seemingly (*subsided*) for some time, and Batteast, the Kansas chief, I knew (*to be*) much in our interest. I proposed that he should go and propose a firm peace between him and the Chicasaws, and, if he succeeded, to mention something of the big knife. I was in hopes to bring on a correspondence in this manner. Batteast went without knowing what was my real design. The Chicasaws received him very kindly, but he could not complete his own business for the want of chiefs who were out of the way. He mentioned the Americans, but their conversation on the subject was cool and answered no good purpose.

The winter now approaching, things began to wear a more gloomy aspect. Not a word from government. Generally informed that there was a great preparation making at Detroit for a grand expedition and that some movement had already taken place as far as the Onitown (*Weatown*), and talks sent to all the Indians. We supposed that it was preparation to give the army from Fort Pitt as warm a reception as possible, etc.

All this information gave us, at first, some pleasure, until we learned that the army from Pittsburg, instead of marching into Detroit, had spent their time in parade and building a fine post to facilitate their future designs. This information we soon got from the falls and disappointed us very much.

One Denny, an inhabitant of Kohokia, was taken by Major Bowman for writing, through the Indians, to his friend near Detroit, giving dangerous information. His letters were intercepted, and himself tied to the tail of a cart, and by dawn received a lash at every door in town and (*was*) burned in the hand for other misdemeanors. This was the first and most severe punishment we had inflicted on any of the inhabitants. It was necessary at this time to show the people that we were capable of extremes either way, and that the good treatment we had shown them was from the principles of the government. No information from St. Vincent for some time past. As once a fortnight

was the fixed time of the post, we began to suspect something was wrong. We sent spies that did not return, and we remained in a state of suspense. I had prepared to set out from Kaskaskia to Kohokia, but weather proved too bad for several days. At length set out, while it was snowing, but likely to clear up, which it did in about half hour. We observed that six or seven men had passed some distance on the road since the snow had ceased, which we supposed were persons from town, but wondered what they could be after. Having several chairs along (*and*) approaching near the river, one of the carriages sank into a rut. The gentleman who rode in it was some time getting it out, as the others would not suffer any assistance to be given until their laughter was out. We went cheerfully to Prairie de Rocher, twelve miles from Kaskaskia, where I intended to spend the evening at Captain Barber's. After supper a dance was proposed, in the height of which an express arrived, informing me that late that evening some negroes, being up the Kaskaskia river cutting of wood, that a party of white men and Indians came to them, and, after asking them a number of questions, told them that there were eight hundred of them lying within a few miles and they intended to attack the fort that night, but if they gave information they would be put to death, and went off. Some of the negroes gave the information, and the express dispatched after me. This sounded to us much like the truth.

We had had various suspicions for some time past; no information from the post, the various reports of the Indians, and our spies not returning, and the tracks we had seen in the road occurred to us. The village we were in was much alarmed. I was persuaded to cross the river to the Spanish side as a security of protection, as the fort must be invested before that time. I laughed at the idea, and, much to their amazement, resolved (*to make*) the attempt to get into the fort. I ordered our horses, borrowed clothes, and every man dressed like a hunter, and set out—politically making very merry on the subject. The snow was on the ground, and the moon 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 Major 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 could not render service, to make St. Genevieve his retreat, and to act [a word here doubtful]. The express was mounted on the best horse we had. Being an expert woodman, 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 where there was any woods for a covert for an enemy. The design of our dressing as woodmen, in leggins, cassocks, handkerchiefs tied on our heads, 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, until we could make our way good with them to a certain gut (*gully*), near one of the angles of the fort, where there was a small sally-port, where we could easily make ourselves known, and probably draw some of them into it. This was our plan. In seeming desperate situation, getting near the town, all was silent. We approached cautiously, discovered that no body of men had passed, as could be easily discovered in the snow. By our taking a circuitous route we were (*let*) in, much to the joy of the whole. I found every preparation I could have wished for, and, from every circumstance, we must expect the enemy in the neighborhood, particularly from the manner of the conversation with the negroes. The night passed off without any further alarm, and generally supposed that the snow had prevented the attack. I spent the night in various plans. 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 the attempt, and fight them away. By a very plausible report (that they must have taken St. Vincent to get to us), we had received full information of their whole proceedings, and had sent an express to Kentucky for an army to march across and intercept their retreat, etc., etc.

As, by the report of the negroes, the most of the inhabitants of the

town were much threatened, I was afraid that they would propose the defense 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 neutral. It was certainly a more judicious 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 should do 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 volunteers. Some of them privately advised that all the wood in town be brought into the garrison, but received but a slight answer, and (*were*) told that we had plenty of provisions. Several buildings being near the walls of the fort, the inhabitants were told to move out, that they would be immediately burned. A large barn that stood not far off, full of grain, was immediately set on fire, without anything being taken out of it, and some other small buildings torn down and carried into the fort for fuel and preparations made to set other buildings on fire, for all was now confusion—the town on fire, the women and children screaming, moving, etc. I sensibly felt for them. Some of them begged to know how much of the town I intended to burn, that they might move their goods off. They were informed that it was far from us to destroy more than was absolutely necessary; that they must be sensible that, at a time like this, it was our duty to do anything necessary to promote our safety; that, although I knew the enemy would soon be intercepted by an army from Kentucky, yet they might do us much damage if we did not take necessary precautions; that we only meant to destroy the provisions, that it should not fall into the hands of the enemy; that they must confess that it was right; but the wind was unfavorable; no more buildings should be fired until it shifted.

They went off, and we waited to see the issue of this. In a very little time we observed the carts began to play, and in two hours we had upwards of six months' provisions in store. This policy was to make ourselves appear as daring as possible, as well as to get provis-

ions. The people were desired to stop, as 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 (*us*) that they had discovered the trail of seventy or eighty men, who appeared to direct their course towards the Opost, but no appearance of a formidable force in the neighborhood. Things got more quiet. The day following Major Bowman arrived with a considerable number of men. We now began to feel ourselves of more importance. It was now conjectured that St. Vincent was certainly in the hands of the enemy, and that the party (*who*) had been in the neighborhood 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 alarm in order to have time to escape. This was nearly the case, as we hereafter learned. They were a party composed chiefly of Indians, sent by Governor Hamilton, then in possession of St. Vincent, with very polite instructions to lay in the neighborhood of the Illinois until they could get an opportunity of making a prisoner of me, but by no means to kill me; that, in case of success, they were 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 (*sure*) from whom (*they*) got information (*that*) a visit to the garrison of Kohokia (*was*) intended (*by me*). They fixed themselves back of a hill near the road, about three miles above Kaskaskia, always keeping a few as a lookout on the road. These fellows had advanced nearer to the town, the day I set out, than usual. The snow coming on, they had set out to return to their camp, and walked some distance in the road, which was the tracks we saw. The country in these parts being very open, and we riding very fast, they found it impossible to make their way good, so as to alarm their camp without being discovered, and secreted themselves behind some rocks and

bushes, within seven or eight yards of the little gully, where the carriage swamped, and we tarried. They reported that they could have surprised and taken the most of us, but that not being able to distinguish me from the rest, as we were all muffled up with cloaks, they were afraid to fire for fear of killing me; but I imagine the truth was they were afraid to discover themselves, as (*we?*) were near double their number, and even the servants completely armed. The bad weather certainly (*helped?*), as they did not expect us out, and the body of them had returned to their camp, and only seven, who had advanced further on the road, were out.

Finding that their hopes were now blasted and that they could not remain without being discovered, they fell in with the negroes, with a design to raise such an alarm as should give them time to get off, which they completely effected. The instruction to this party was one principal cause of the respect shown to Governor Hamilton by our officers when he fell into our hands, but his treatment when he was in Virginia was very different and unsatisfactory to them, as they thought it in some measure affected themselves. But, to return, it was concluded to send other spies to St. Vincent, and in the meantime to prepare ourselves to act occasionally, being fully confident that a revolution would shortly take place, either for or against us. We wished to strengthen ourselves as much as possible. The volunteers who accompanied Major Bowman from Kohokia (*were*) dismissed, and an elegant set of colors presented to them. Those (*who were*) but badly armed were completed out of the stores, and presents made to the others, etc.

As an acknowledgment for the willingness they had shown on the present occasion, they paraded about town with their new flag and equipments, and viewed themselves as superior to the young fellow-Kaskaskians, which caused so much animosity between the two parties that it did not subside until I interfered some time after by a little piece of policy that reconciled them, while it suited my own convenience. After making every arrangement that we thought more conclusive to our safety, Major Bowman returned to his quarters, and

we remained in suspense, waiting for the return of the spies. We had thought that if we found there was no probability of keeping possession of our posts to abandon them, just on the approach of the enemy, return to Kentucky, as that had considerably increased, raise a force sufficient to intercept and prevent the English from returning again to Detroit, as we knew the Indians were not fond of long campaigns and would leave them.

On the 29th of January, 1779, Mr. Francis Vigo, a Spanish merchant, who had been at St. Vincennes, arrived and gave the following information:

That Governor Hamilton, with thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers, Indian agents, interpreters, boatmen, etc., that amounted to a considerable number, and about four hundred Indians, had, in December last, taken that post, and as the season was so far advanced, it was thought impossible to reach the Illinois. He sent some of the Indians to Kentucky to watch the Ohio, disbanding of others, etc., the whole to meet again in spring, drive us out of the Illinois and attack the Kentucky settlements, in a body, joined by their southern friends; that all the goods were taken from the merchants of St. Vincent for the king's use; that the troops under Hamilton were repairing the fort, and expected a reinforcement from Detroit in the spring; that they appeared to have plenty of all kinds of stores; that they were strict in their discipline, but that he didn't believe they were under much apprehension of a visit, and believed that, if we could get there undiscovered, we might take the place. In short, we got every information from this gentleman that we could wish for, as he had had good opportunities, and had taken great pains to inform himself, with a design to give intelligence.

We now viewed ourselves in a very critical situation—in a manner cut off from any intercourse between us and the United States. We knew that Governor Hamilton, in the spring, by a junction of his northern and southern Indians, which he had prepared for, would be at the head of such a force that nothing in this quarter could withstand his arms; that Kentucky must immediately fall, and well if the

desolation would end there. If we could immediately make our way good to Kentucky, we were convinced that before we could raise a force even sufficient to save that country it would be too late, as all the men in it, joined by the troops we had, would not be sufficient, and to get timely succor from the interior frontiers was out of the question. We saw but one alternative, which was to attack the enemy in their quarters. If we were fortunate, it would save the whole; if otherwise it would be nothing more than what would certainly be the consequence if we should not make the attempt.

Encouraged by the idea of the greatness of the consequences that would attend our success—the season of the year being also favorable—as the enemy could not suppose that we should be so mad as to attempt to march eighty leagues through a drowned country in the depths of winter; that they would be off their guard and probably would not think it worth while to keep out spies; that, probably, if we could make our way good, we might surprise them, and (*if*) we fell through, the country would not be in a worse situation than if we had not made the attempt. These, and many other similar reasons, induced us to resolve to attempt the enterprise, which met with the approbation of every individual belonging to us.

Orders were immediately issued for preparations. The whole country took fire at the alarm and every order was executed with cheerfulness by every description of the inhabitants—preparing provisions, encouraging volunteers, etc.—and, as we had plenty of stores, every man was completely rigged with what he could desire to withstand the coldest weather.

Knowing that the Wabash, at this season of the year, in (*all*) probability, would be overflowed to five or six miles wide, and to build vessels in the neighborhood of the enemy would be dangerous, 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 attacked only by water, without she chose it, as the whole of the low lands was under water, and of course she might keep off any heights that were on the rivers.

A large Mississippi boat was immediately purchased and completely fitted out as a galley, mounting two four-pounders and four large swivels and forty-six men, commanded by Captain John Rogers. He set sail on the 4th of February, with orders to force his way up the Wabash as high as the mouth of White river, and to secrete himself until further orders, but if he found himself discovered to do the enemy all the harm he could without running too great a risk of losing his vessel, and not to leave the river until he was out of hope of our arrival by land; but, by all means, to conduct himself so as to give no suspicion of our approach by land. We had great dependence on this vessel. She was far superior to anything the enemy could fit out without building a new one, and, at the worst, if we were discovered, we could build a number of large pirogues, such 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, force a landing. At any rate, it would be some time before they would be a match for us on the water.

As we had some time past been in a state of suspense, we had partly prepared for some such event as this. Of course, we were soon complete. The inhabitants of Kaskaskia, being a little cowed since the affair of the supposed intended siege, nothing was said to them on the subject of volunteers until the arrival of those (*from*) Kohokia, to whom an expensive entertainment, to which they invited all their acquaintances of Kaskaskias, all little differences made up, and by twelve o'clock the next day application was made to raise a company at Kaskaskia, which was granted and completed before night—the whole of the inhabitants exerting themselves in order to wipe off past coolness.

Everything being now ready, on the 5th of February, after receiving a lecture and absolution from the priest, etc., we crossed the Kaskaskia river with one hundred and seventy men; marched about three miles and encamped, where we lay until the 8th (refer to Major Bowman's journal for the particulars of this march), and set out, the weather wet, but, fortunately, not cold for the season, and a

great part of the plains under water several inches deep. It was difficult and very fatiguing marching. My object now was to keep the men in spirits. I suffered them to shoot game on all occasions, and feast on it like Indian war-dancers—each company, by turns, inviting the others to their feasts—which was the case every night, as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat in the course of the day, myself and principal officers putting on the woodsmen, shouting now and then, and running as much through the mud and water as any of them. Thus, insensibly, without a murmur, were those men led on to the banks of the Little Wabash, which we reached on the 13th, through incredible difficulties, far surpassing anything that any of us had ever experienced. Frequently the diversions of the night wore off the thoughts of the preceding day. This place is called the two Little Wabashes. They are three miles apart, and from the heights of the one to that of the other, on the opposite shore, is five miles—the whole under water, generally about three feet deep, never under two, and frequently four.

We formed a camp on a height which 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 immediately set to work, without holding any consultation about it, or suffering anybody else to do so in my presence, ordered a pirogue to be built immediately and acted as though crossing the water would be only a piece of diversion. As but few could work at the pirogue at a time, pains were taken to find diversion for the rest to keep them in high spirits, but the men were well prepared for this attempt, as they had frequently waded further in water, but, perhaps, seldom above half-leg deep. My anxiety 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 retreat would, in some measure, be done away with; that if the men began, after this was accomplished, to think seriously of what they had really suffered, that they prefer risking any seeming difficulty that might probably turn

out favorable, than to attempt to retreat, when they would be certain of experiencing what they had already felt, and if (*the*) weather should but freeze, altogether impracticable, except the ice would bear them.

In the evening of the 14th, our vessel was finished, manned and sent to explore the drowned lands on the opposite side of the Little Wabash with private instructions what report to make, and, if possible, to find some spot of dry land. They found about half an acre and marked the trees from thence back to the camp, and made a very favorable report.

Fortunately the 15th happened to be a warm, moist day for the season. The channel of the river where we lay was about thirty yards wide. A scaffold was built on the opposite shore which was about three feet under water, and our baggage ferried across and put on it; our horses swam across and received their loads at the scaffold, by which time the troops were also brought across, and we began our march through the water. Our vessel (*was*) loaded with those who were sickly, and we moved on cheerfully, every moment expecting to see dry land, which was not discovered until (*we came*) to the little dry spot mentioned. This being a smaller branch than the other, the troops immediately crossed and marched on in the water, as usual, 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 tracks could not be seen in the water, the trees were marked.

By evening we found ourselves encamped on a pretty height in high spirits, each party laughing at the other in consequence of something that had happened in the course of this ferrying business, as they called it. A little antic drummer afforded them great diversion by floating on his drum, etc. All this was greatly encouraging, and they really began to think themselves superior to other men, and that neither the rivers nor the seasons could stop their progress. Their whole conversation now was concerning what they would do when they got about the enemy. They now began to view the main Wabash as a

creek, and made no doubt but such men as they were could find a way across it. They wound themselves up to such a pitch that they soon took St. Vincent, divided the spoil, and before bedtime were far advanced on their route to Detroit.

All this was no doubt pleasing to those of us who had more serious thoughts. We were now, as it were, in the enemy's country—no possibility of a retreat if the enemy should discover and overpower us, except by the means of our galley, if we should fall in with her.

We were now convinced that the whole of the low country on the Wabash was drowned, and that the enemy could easily get to us, if they discovered us and wished to risk an action; if they did not, we made no doubt of crossing the river by some means or other. Supposing Captain Rogers had not got to his station, agreeable to his appointment, that we would, if possible, steal some vessels from houses opposite the town, etc. We flattered ourselves that all would be well, and marched on in high spirits.

On the 17th, dispatched Mr. Kennedy and three men off to cross the river Embarrass (this river is six miles from St. Vincennes), and, if possible, to get some vessels in the vicinity of the town, but principally if he could get some intelligence. He proceeded on, and getting to the river found that the country between that and the Wabash overflowed. We marched down below the mouth of the Embarrass, attempting, in vain, to get to the banks of the Wabash. Late in the night, finding a dog shot, we encamped, and were aroused, for the first time, by the morning gun from the garrison. We continued our march, and about two o'clock, 18th, gained the banks of the Wabash, three leagues below the town, where we encamped; dispatched four men across the river on a raft to find land, if possible, march to the town, if possible, and get some canoes. Captain W. McCarty with a few (*men*) set out privately the next (*day*) in a little canoe he had made, for the same purpose. Both parties returned without success. The first could not get to land, and the captain was driven back by the appearance of a camp. The canoe was immediately dispatched down the river to meet the galley, 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 were ready they would answer our purpose without her.

Many of our volunteers began, for the first time, to despair. Some talked of returning, but my situation now was such that I was past all uneasiness. I laughed at them, without persuading or ordering them to desist from any such attempt, but told them that I should be glad they would go out and kill some deer. They went, confused with such conduct. My own troops I knew had no idea of abandoning an enterprise from the want of provisions, while there was plenty of good horses in their possession; and I knew that, without 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 success, which kept their spirits up.

This last day's march (February 21st) through the water was far superior to anything the Frenchmen had an idea of. They were backward in speaking, said that the nearest land to us was a small league called the sugar camp, on the bank of the river. A canoe was sent off and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself and sounded the water; found it deep as to my neck.

I returned with a design to have the men transported on board the canoes to the sugar camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing 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 great deal for a day's provision or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops, giving myself time to think. On our arrival all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me. I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers. The whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. They ran from one to another, bewailing their situation. I viewed their confusion for about

one minute, whispered to those near me to do as I did, immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the warwhoop and marched into the water, without saying a word. The party gazed and fell in, one after another, without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to begin a favorite song of theirs. It soon passed through the line and the whole went on cheerfully.

I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water, but when about waist deep one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path—a path is very easily discovered under water by the feet. We examined and found it so, and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did, and, by taking pains to follow it, we got to the sugar camp without the least difficulty (and what gave the alarm at the former proved fortunate), where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodging.

The Frenchmen we had taken on the river appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night. They said that they would bring from their own houses provisions without a possibility of any person knowing it; that some of our men should go with them, as a surety of their good conduct; that it was impossible that we could march from the place until the water fell; that (*would not be*) for a few days, for the plain, for upward of three miles, was covered two (*feet*) deep.

Some of the selected believed that it might be done. I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy and give satisfactory reasons to myself or anybody else why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute and of so much advantage, but something 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 one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick

near the shores and in still waters. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little after sunrise I lectured the whole. What I said to them I forget, but it may be easily imagined by a person who could possess my affections for them at that time. I concluded by informing them that surmounting the plain, that was then in full view, and reaching the opposite woods, would put an end to their fatigue; that in a few hours they would have a sight of their long wished for object, and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place. We generally marched through the water in a line; it was much easiest. Before a third entered, I halted, and, further to prove the men, having some suspicion of three or four, I hallooed to Major Bowman, ordering him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men and put to death any man who refused to march, as we wished to have no such person among us. The whole gave a cry of approbation that it was right, and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself, and judging from my own feelings what must be that of others. Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about knee deep, I found myself sensibly failing, and as there were (*here*) no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I doubted that many of the most weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and play backward and forward, with all diligence, and pick up the men, and to encourage the party; sent some of the strongest men forward with orders when they got to a certain distance to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow, and when getting near the woods to cry out "land." This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities—the weak holding by the stronger, and frequently one with two others' help, and this was of infinite advantage to the weak. The water never got shallower, but continued deepening—even (*when*) getting to the woods, where the men expected land. The water was up to my shoulders, but gaining the woods was of great consequence. All the

low men, and the weakly, hung to the trees and floated on the old logs until they were taken off 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 without it.

This was a delightful, 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 delightful day, it soon did. But fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town, and took through part of this plain as a nigh way. It was discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase and took the Indian canoe, on board of which was near half a quarter of a buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc. This was a grand prize and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made and served out to the most weakly with great care; most of the whole got a little, but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades. This little refreshment 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 Warrior's Island. We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles' distance. Every man now feasted his eyes and forgot that he had suffered anything, saying that all that had passed was owing to good policy and nothing but what a man could bear, and that a soldier had no right to think, etc., passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases. It was now we had to display our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting of them, within a half mile of us, and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoner in such a manner as not to alarm the others, which they did. The information we got from this person was similar to that which we got

from those we took on the river, except that of the British having that evening completed the wall of the fort, etc., and that there were a good many Indians in town.

Our situation was now truly critical—no possibility of retreating in case of defeat—and in full view of a town that had, at this time, upward of six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would have been now a reinforcement of immense magnitude to our little army (if I may so call it), but we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man, as they 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 would insure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well; that many were lukewarm to the interest of either; and I also learned that the grand chief, the Tobacco's Son, had, but a few days before, openly declared, in council with the British, that he was a brother and friend to the big knives. These were favorable circumstances, and as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, as great numbers of fowlers go out in the day, and that we now see and hear (*them*) through the plains around us, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants and sent it off by the prisoner just taken, who was not permitted to see our numbers:

To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes:

GENTLEMEN—Being now within two miles of your village with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to 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 any such as do not go to the fort should hereafter be discovered that did not repair to the garrison,

they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may expect to be well treated as such, and 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.

(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

I had various ideas on the supposed results of this letter. I knew that it could do us no damage, but that it would cause the lukewarm to be decided, encourage our friends and astonish our enemies; that they would, of course, suppose our information good, and our forces so numerous that we were sure of success—and this was only a piece of parade; that the army was from Kentucky and not from the Illinois, as it would be thought quite impossible to march from thence, and that my name was only made use of. This they firmly believed until the next morning, when I was shown to them by a person in the fort who knew me well—or that we were a flying party that only made use of this stratagem to give ourselves (*a chance*) to retreat. This latter idea I knew would soon be done away with. Several gentlemen sent their compliments to their friends, under borrowed names, well known at St. Vincent, and the persons supposed to be at Kentucky. The soldiers all had instructions that their common conversation, when speaking of our numbers, should be such that a stranger overhearing must suppose that there were near one thousand of us.

We anxiously viewed this messenger until he entered the town, and in a few minutes could discover by our glasses some stir in every street that we could penetrate into, and great numbers running or riding out into the commons, we supposed to view us, which was the case. But what surprised us was, that nothing had yet happened that had the appearance of the garrison being alarmed—no drum nor gun.

We began to suppose that the information we got from our prisoners was false, and that the enemy already knew of us and were prepared. Every man had been impatient—the moment had now arrived. A little before sunset we moved and displayed ourselves in

full view of the town, crowds gazing at us. We were flinging ourselves into certain destruction—or success; there was no midway thought of. We had but little to say to our men, except in calculating an idea of the necessity of obedience, etc. We knew they did not want encouraging, and that anything 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 attached to their officers. They all declared that they were convinced that an implicit obedience to orders was the only thing that would ensure success, and hoped that no mercy would be shown the person who should violate them, but should be immediately put to death. Such language as this from soldiers to persons in our station must have been exceedingly agreeable. 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 formidable (*as possible*), we, in leaving the covert that we were in, marched and countermarched in such a manner that we appeared numerous.

In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person who set about the business had a set of colors given him, which they brought with them to the amount of ten or twelve pairs. These were displayed to the best advantage; and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent raisings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level, which was covered with water, and as these raisings generally ran in an oblique direction to the town, we took the advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our men being numbered. But our colors showed considerably above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance; and as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers, with their horses, officers were mounted on these horses and rode about, more completely to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved, and directed our march in such a (*manner*) as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then

suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town. As there was yet no hostile appearance, we were impatient to have the cause unriddled.

Lieutenant Bailey was ordered, with fourteen men, to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved 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 until one of their 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 both sides. Reinforcements were sent to the attack of the garrison, while other arrangements were making in town, etc.

We now found that the garrison had known nothing of us; that, having finished the fort that evening, they had amused themselves at different games, and had retired just before my letter arrived, as it was near roll-call. The placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of the houses for fear of giving offense, and not one dare give information.

Our friends flew to the commons and other convenient places to view the pleasing sight, which was observed from the garrison and the reason asked, but a satisfactory excuse was given; and, as a part of the town lay between our line of march and the garrison, we could not be seen by the sentinels on the walls. Captain W. Shannon and another being some time before taken prisoner by one of their (*raiding parties*) and that evening brought in, the party had discovered at the sugar camp some signs of us.

They supposed it to be a party of observation that intended to land on the height some distance below the town. Captain Lamothe was sent to intercept them. It was at him the people said they were looking when they were asked the reason of their unusual stir. Several suspected persons had been taken to the garrison. Among them was Mr. Moses Henry. Mrs. Henry went, under the pretense of carrying him provisions, and whispered him the news and what she had

seen. Mr. Henry conveyed it to the rest of his fellow-prisoners, which gave them much pleasure, particularly Captain Helm, who amused himself very much during the siege, and, I believe, did much damage.

Ammunition was scarce with us, as the most of our stores had been put on board of the galley. 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 goods in the town were to be taken for the king's use, for which the owners were to receive bills, Colonel Legras, Major Bosseron and others had buried the greatest part of their powder and ball. This was immediately produced, and we found ourselves well supplied by those gentlemen.

The Tobacco's Son being in town with a number of warriors, immediately mustered them, and let us know that he wished to join us, saying 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 were sufficiently strong ourselves, we wished him to desist and that we would counsel on the subject in the morning; and, as we knew that there were a number of Indians in and near the town who were our enemies, some confusion might happen if our men should mix in the dark, but hoped that we might be favored with his counsel and company during the night, which was agreeable to him.

The garrison was now completely surrounded, and the firing continued without intermission, except about fifteen minutes a little before day until about nine o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by the whole of the troops—joined by a few of the young men of the town, who got permission—except fifty men kept 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 gardens of St. Vincent were very near, and about two-thirds around it; the fencing of good pickets, well set, and about six feet high where those were watching. Breast-works were soon made by

tearing down old houses, gardens, etc., so that those within had very little advantage to those without the fort, and not knowing the number of the enemy, thought themselves in a worse situation than they really were.

The cannons of the garrison were on the upper floors of strong block-houses, at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface, and the ports so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them within twenty or thirty yards of the walls. They did no damage, except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered, and their musketry, in the dark, employed against woodsmen covered by houses, palings, ditches, the banks of the river, etc., was but of little avail and did no damage to us, except wounding a man or two, and as we could not afford to lose men, great care was taken to preserve them sufficiently covered and to keep up a hot fire in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them. The embrasures of their cannons were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour in such volleys when they were open that the men could not stand to the guns—seven or eight of them in a short time got cut down. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannons, that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down with their rifles, fifty of which, perhaps, would be leveled the moment the port flew open, and I believe that if they had stood at their artillery the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as the most of our men lay within thirty yards of the wall, and in a few hours were covered equally to those within the walls and much more experienced in that mode of fighting. The flash of our guns detected them, perhaps, the instant the man moved his body. The moment there was the least appearance at one of their loop-holes, there would probably be a dozen guns fired at it.

Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible, was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual, and a great noise and laughter imme-

diately commenced in different parts of the town by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement, and as if those continually firing at the fort were only regularly relieved. Conduct similar to this kept the garrison eternally alarmed. They did not know what moment they might be stormed or [blown up?], as they could plainly discover that we had flung up some entrenchments across the streets, and appeared to be frequently very busy under the bank of the river, which was within thirty feet of the walls.

The situation of the magazine we knew well. Captain Bowman began some works in order to blow it up in case our artillery should arrive, but as we knew that we were daily liable to be overpowered by the numerous bands of Indians on the river, in case they had again joined the enemy (the certainty of which we were unacquainted with), we resolved to lose no time but to get the fort in our possession as soon as possible. If (*our*) vessel did not arrive before the ensuing night, we resolved to undermine the fort, 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 were inimical had left the town and neighborhood. Captain Lamothe continued to hover about it, in order, if possible, to make his way good into the fort. Parties attempted in vain to surprise him. A few of his party were taken, one of which was Maisonville, a famous Indian partisan. Two lads, who captured him, tied him to a post in the street, and fought from behind him as a breastwork—supposing that the enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him, as he would alarm them by his voice. The lads were ordered, by an officer who discovered them at their amusement, to untie their prisoner and take him off to the guard, which they did, but were so inhuman as to take part of his scalp on the way. There happened to him no other damage. As almost the whole of the persons who were most active in the department of Detroit were either in the fort or with Captain Lamothe, I got extremely uneasy for fear that he would not fall into our power.

knowing that he would go off if he could not get into the fort in the course of the night.

Finding that, without some unforeseen accident, the fort must inevitably be ours, and that a reinforcement of twenty men, although considerable to them, would not be of great moment to us in the present situation of affairs, and knowing that we had weakened them by killing or wounding many of their gunners, after some deliberation we concluded to risk the reinforcement in preference of his going again among the Indians. The garrison had at least a month's provisions, and if they could hold out, in the course of that time he might do us much damage. A little before day the troops were withdrawn from their positions about the fort, except a few parties of observation, and the firing totally ceased. Orders were given, in case of Lamotte's approach, not to alarm or fire on him without a certainty of killing or taking the whole. In less than a quarter of an hour he passed within ten feet of an officer and a party who lay concealed. Ladders were flung over to them, and as they mounted them our party shouted. Many of them fell from the top of the walls—some within and others back; but as they were not fired on they all got over, much to the joy of their friends, which was easily discovered by us; but, on considering the matter, they must have been convinced that it was a scheme of ours to let them in, and that we were so strong as to care but little about them or the manner of their getting into the garrison, our troops hallooing and diverting themselves at them while mounting, without firing at them, and being frequently told by our most blackguard soldiers of the scheme, and reason for suffering them to get into 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 garrison appeared much elated at the recovery of a valuable officer and party.

The firing immediately commenced on both sides with double vigor, 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 firearms; but a continual blaze was kept around the garrison, without

much being done, until about daylight, when our troops were drawn off to posts prepared for them, from about sixty to a hundred yards from the garrison. A loophole then could scarcely be darkened but a rifle-ball would pass through it. To have stood to their cannon would have destroyed their men without a probability of doing much service. Our situation was nearly similar. It would have been imprudent in either party to have wasted their men, without some decisive stroke required it.

Thus the attack continued until about nine o'clock on 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 knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country; and, not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers might be destroyed, to prevent which I sent a flag, with a letter, demanding the garrison and desiring Governor Hamilton not to destroy them, with some threats of what I would do in case that he did if the garrison should fall into my hands. His answer was that they were not disposed to be awed into anything unbecoming British subjects.

The firing then commenced warmly for a considerable time, and we were obliged to be careful in preventing our men from exposing themselves too much, as they were now much animated, having been refreshed during the flag. They frequently mentioned their wishes to storm the place and put an end to the business at once. This would at this time have been 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 embrasures. Towards the evening a flag appeared, with the following proposition:*

*The proposition here referred to was not in this copy, but is inserted from Bowman's journal.

Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time he proposes there shall be no defensive work carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe, on his part, a like cessation of any offensive work. That is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be, and promises, that, whatever may pass between these two and another person, mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes that, whatever the result of their conference, it may be to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON.

24th February, 1779.

I was greatly at a loss to conceive what reason Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce of three days on such terms as he proposed. Numbers said it was a scheme to get me into their possession. I had a different opinion and no idea of his possessing such sentiments, as an act of that kind would infallibly ruin him, but was convinced that he had some prospect of success, or otherways, of extricating himself. Although we had the greatest reason to expect a reinforcement in less than three days that would at once put an end to the siege, I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the proposals, and sent the following answer:

Colonel Clark's compliments to Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any other terms than that of Mr. Hamilton surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church, with Captain Helm, 24th February, 1779. G. R. CLARK.

We met at the church, about eighty yards from the fort—Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, superintendent of Indian affairs; Captain Helm, their prisoner; Major Bowman and myself. The conference began. Governor Hamilton produced articles of capitulation, signed, that contained various articles, one of which was that the

garrison should be surrendered on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article, I rejected the whole. He then wished that I would make some proposition. I told him that I had no other to make than what I had already made—that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit, that they could not suppose they would be worse treated in consequence of it, with their viewing us as savages; that if he chose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better; that it was in vain to make any proposition to me; that he, by this time, must be sensible that the garrison would fall; that both of us must [view?] that all blood spilled for the future by the garrison as murder; that my troops were 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 enraged body of woodsmen breaking in must be obvious to him—it would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man.

Various altercations took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner, and it was doubtful whether or not he could, with propriety, speak on the subject. Governor Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was from that moment liberated, and might use his pleasure. I informed the captain that I would not receive him on such terms; that he must return to the garrison and await his fate. I then told Governor Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until fifteen minutes after the drums gave the alarm. We took our leave and parted but a few steps when the governor stopped, and, politely, asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the garrison on any other terms than those I had offered. I told him I had no objections in giving him my real reasons, which were simply these: That I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him; that I wanted an excuse to put them to death, or otherwise treat them, as I thought proper; that the cries of the widows and the fatherless on the frontiers, which

they had occasioned, now required their blood from my hands, and that I did not choose 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 lose fifty men than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety; that if he chose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes, it was at his own pleasure, and that I might, perhaps, take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed.

Major 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," said he, "who is that you call Indian partisans?" "Sir," I replied, "I take Major Hay to be one of the principals." I never saw a man in the moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be—pale and trembling, scarcely able to stand. Governor Hamilton blushed, and, I observed, was much affected at his behavior in (*our*) presence! Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for the one, and his sorrow for the other. I viewed the whole with such sentiments as I supposed natural to some men in such cases. Some moments elapsed without a word passing, as we could now form such disposition with our troops as render the fort almost useless. To deface that then could be no danger of course; supposed it prudent to let the British troops remain in the fort until the following morning. We should not have had (*such*) suspicions as to make so much precaution, but I must confess that we could not help doubting the honor of men who could condescend to encourage the barbarity of the Indians, although almost every man had conceived a favorable opinion of Governor Hamilton. I believe what effected myself made some impression on the whole, and I was happy to find that he never deviated, while he staid with us, from that dignity of conduct that became an officer in his situation. The morning of the 25th approaching, arrangements were made for receiving the garrison (which consisted of seventy-nine men), and about ten o'clock it was delivered in form, and everything was immediately arranged to the best

advantage on either side. From that moment my resolutions changed respecting Governor Hamilton's 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 thought of making any further proposals (*than*) that of (*his*) surrendering at discretion, he should know it by the flag—if not, to be on his guard at a certain beat of the drum. No offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. Agreed to, and we parted.

What had passed being made known to our officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions. The following articles were sent to the garrison and an answer immediately returned:

In the course of the afternoon of the 24th the following articles (Major Bowman's MS. journal) were signed and the garrison capitulated:

1. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc.

2. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war and march out, with their arms and accoutrements, etc.

3. The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock to-morrow.

4. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

Signed at Post St. Vincent [Vincennes], 24th February, 1779.

Agreed, for the following reasons: The remoteness from succor, the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency, the honorable terms allowed, and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON,
Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent.

The business being now nearly at an end, troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison and patroled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. The re-

mainder, off duty, lay on their arms, and, for the first time for many days past, got some rest.

During the last conference a party of about twenty warriors who had been sent to the falls for scalps and prisoners, were discovered on their return, as they entered the plains near the town, and, there being no firing at this time, they had no suspicion of an enemy. Captain John Williams was ordered 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-whoop and came on with all the parade of successful warriors. Williams did the same, approaching each nearer. The Indians fired a volley in the air; the captain did so, approacning within a few steps of each other; the chief stopped, as being suspicious; Captain Williams immediately seized him. The rest (*of the Indians*) saw the mistake and ran. Fifteen of them were killed and made prisoners. Two partisans and two prisoners were released and the Indians tomahawked by the soldiers and flung into the river.

We after this learned that but one of this party ever returned who got off, so that seventeen must have been destroyed. It was known by us that mostly the whole of them were badly wounded, but, as we yet had an enemy to contend with of more importance than they were, there was no time for pursuit, and (*spent*) but a few moments in executing the business before Captain Williams drew off his party and returned. Of course, the Indians who did not immediately fall, or were taken, got off.

One reason why we wished not to receive the garrison until the following morning was its being late in the evening before the capitulation was signed, and the number of prisoners that we should have, when compared to our own small force, we doubted the want of daylight to arrange matters to advantage, and we knew we could now prevent any misfortune happening.

On viewing the inside of the fort and stores, I was at first astonished at its being given up in the manner it was, but weighing every circumstance I found that it was prudent, and a lucky circumstance, and prob-

ably saved the lives of many men on both sides. As the night passed we intended to attempt undermining it, and I found it would have required diligence to have prevented our success. If we had failed in this, on further examination I found that our information was so good that in all probability the first hot shot, after the arrival of our artillery, would have blown up the magazine, and would at once have put an end to the business, as its situation and the quantity of powder in it was such that it must have nearly destroyed a great part of the garrison. We yet found ourselves uneasy. The number of prisoners we had taken, added to those of the garrison, was so considerable when compared to our own numbers, that we were at a loss how to dispose of them so as not to interfere with our future operations.

Detroit opened full in our view—not more than eighty men in the fort, great part of them invalids, and we found that a considerable number of the principal inhabitants were disaffected to the British cause. The distance of any succor they could get, except the Indians, was very considerable. The Indians on our route we knew would now 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. (*With*) possession of Detroit, and a post of communication at Guihoga (*Cuyahoga ?*), supplies might be always easily sent through that channel from Pittsburg, and Lake Erie we might easily have in our possession, which would completely put an end to all our troubles in this quarter, and perhaps open a door to further advantageous operations. Those were the ideas that influenced us at present. We could now augment our forces in this quarter to about four hundred men, as near half the inhabitants of St. Vincent would join us. Kentucky we knew could, perhaps, furnish immediately two hundred men, as there was a certainty of their receiving a great addition of settlers in the spring; with the addition of our own stores, which we had learned were safe on their passage, added to those of the British, there would not be a single article wanting for such an attempt, and supplies of provisions might be got at Detroit. For some time we privately resolved to embrace the object that

seemed to court my acceptance without delay, giving the enemy no time to recover from the present blows they had received, but wished it to become the object of the soldiery and the inhabitants before we should say anything about it; but it immediately became the common topic among them, and in a few days (*they*) had arranged things so that they were, in their imaginations, almost ready to march. They were discountenanced in such conversation, and such measures taken as tended to show that our ideas were foreign from such an attempt, but at the same time (*we*) were taking every step to pave our way. The great quantity of public 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, except some Indian medals that were kept in order to be altered for public use. The officers received nothing except a few articles of clothing they stood in need of. The soldiers got almost rich; others envied their good fortune, and wished that some enterprise might be undertaken to enable them to perform some exploit. Detroit was their object. The clamor had now got to a great height; to silence it and to answer other purposes they were told that an army was to march the ensuing summer from Pittsburg to take possession of Detroit, although from the last fall's proceedings we knew that no such thing was to be apprehended.

A complete company of volunteers from Detroit of Captain Lamothe's, mostly composed of young men, was drawn up, and when expecting to be sent off into a strange country, and probably never again returning to their connections, were told that we were happy to learn that many of them were torn from their fathers and mothers and (*sent*) on this expedition; others, ignorant of the true cause in contest, had engaged from a principle that actuates a great number of men—that of being fond of enterprise—but that they now had a good opportunity to make themselves fully acquainted with the nature of the war, which they might explain to their friends, and that, as we knew that sending them to the states, where 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, etc. A great deal was said to them on this subject. On the whole, they were discharged, on taking an oath not to bear arms against America until exchanged, and received an order for their arms, boats and provisions to return with. The boats were to be sold and (*proceeds*) divided among them when they got home. In a few days they set out, and, as we had spies who went among them as traders, we learned that they made great havoc to the British interest on their return, publicly saying that they had taken an oath not to fight against Americans, but they had not sworn not to fight (*for*) them, etc., and things were carried to such a height that the commanding officer thought it prudent not to take notice of anything that was said or done. Mrs. McComb, who kept a noted boarding-house, I understood, had the assurance to show them the stores she had provided for the Americans. This was the completion of our design in suffering the company to return. Many others that we could trust we suffered to enlist in the cause, so that our charge of prisoners was much reduced. Finding that ten boats loaded with goods and provisions were daily expected down the Wabash, and, for fear of the British who had them in charge getting intelligence and returning, on the 26th Captain Helm, Majors Bosseron and Legras, with fifty volunteers, were sent in three armed boats in pursuit of them.

On the 27th our galley arrived all safe, the crew much mortified, although they deserved great credit for their diligence. They had, on their passage, taken up William Myers, express from government. The dispatches gave much encouragement. Our own battalion was to be completed and an additional one to be expected in the course of the spring, but in the end proved unfortunate, and, on first reading, gave both pleasure and pain. We had but a day or two time to study on the subject, to fix on the plan of operation; that we were almost certain of success in case we without delay made the attempt on Detroit, as we knew our own strength and supplies, and wanted no farther information respecting that post; but, on the other hand, we

were flattered with the prospect of an immediate reinforcement. A council was called on the subject.

I laid before the officers my plans for the immediate reduction of Detroit, and explained the almost certainty of success and the probability of keeping possession of it until we could receive succor from the states, which we might reasonably suppose they would make every exertion to furnish on receiving the intelligence which we could easily convey to them in a reasonable time. If we awaited the arrival of the troops mentioned in the dispatches (from the governor of Virginia), the enemy in the meantime 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 were to make the attempt at this time; and in case we should be disappointed in the promised reinforcement, we might not be able to effect it at all. There were various arguments made use of on this delicate point. Every person seemed anxious to improve the present opportunity, but prudence appeared to forbid the execution, and induced us to wait for the reinforcement. The arguments that appeared to have the greatest weight were, that with such a force we might march boldly through the Indian nations; that it would make a great (*impression*) on them as well as the inhabitants of Detroit, and have a better effect than if we were now to slip off and take the place with so small a force, which was certainly in our power; that the British would not wish to weaken Niagara by sending any considerable reinforcements to Detroit; that it was more difficult for that post to get succor from Canada than it was for us to receive it from the states; that the garrison at Detroit would not be able to get a reinforcement in time to prevent our executing our designs, as we might, with propriety, expect ours in a few weeks. In short, the enterprise was deferred until the —— of June, when our troops were to rendezvous at Post Vincennes. In the meantime every preparation was to be made, procuring provisions, etc.; and, to blind our designs, the whole, except a small garrison, should march immediately to the Illinois; and orders were sent to Kentucky to prepare them-

selves to meet at the appointed time. This was now our proposed plan, and directed our operations the ensuing spring.

March 5th, Captain Helm, Majors Bosseron and Legras, returned from their journey up the river with great success. They came up with the enemy in the night, discerning their fires at a distance; waited until all was quiet; surrounded and took the whole prisoners, without the firing of a gun. Those (*British*) gentlemen were off their guard, and so little apprehensive of an enemy in that part of the world that they could hardly persuade themselves that what they saw and heard was real. This was a valuable (*prize*)—seven boats loaded with provisions and goods to a considerable amount. The provisions were taken for the public, and the goods divided among the whole, except about £800 worth (*of*) cloth (*for?*) the troops we expected to receive in a short time. This was very agreeable to the soldiers, as I told them that the state should pay them in money their proportion, and that they had great plenty of goods. This reservation was a valuable idea, for the troops, on their arrival, what few there were, (*were*) almost entirely naked.

On the 7th of March, Captains Williams and Rogers set out by water with a party of twenty-five men to conduct the British officers to Kentucky, and, farther to weaken the prisoners, eighteen privates were also sent. After their arrival at the falls of the Ohio, Captain Rogers had instructions to superintend their route to Williamsburg and be careful that all manner of supplies be furnished them on their way, and to await the orders of the governor.

Poor Myers, the express, got killed on his passage and his packet fell into the hands of the enemy, but I had been so much on my guard that there was not a sentence in it that could be of any disadvantage to us for the enemy to know, and there were private letters from soldiers to their friends, designedly written to deceive in case of such accidents. This was customary with us, as our expresses were frequently surprised. I sent a second dispatch to the governor, giving him a short but full account of what had passed and our views. The copy of this packet has been long since lost among

many other papers, but I expect the original might be recovered among the public papers of those times.

I sent letters to the commandant of Kentucky directing him to give me a certain, but private, account of the number of men he could furnish me in June.

The weather being now very disagreeable, and having some leisure, our time was spent in consultation, weighing matters, and arranging things to the best advantage. A number of our men now got sick—their intrepidity and good success had, until this, kept up their spirits, but things falling off to little more than common garrison 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 these valuable men fell a sacrifice, and few others were yet perfectly recovered (*from*) it.

I had yet sent no message 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 Tobacco's Son, were always familiar with us. Part of the behavior of this grandee, as he viewed himself, was diverting enough. He had conceived such an inviolable attachment for Captain Helm, that on finding that the captain was a prisoner and not being as yet able to release him, he declared himself a prisoner also. He joined his brother, as he called Captain Helm, and continually kept with him, condoling their condition as prisoners in great distress, at the same time wanting nothing that was in the power of the garrison to furnish. Governor Hamilton, knowing the influence of Tobacco's Son, was extremely jealous of his behavior, and took every pains to gain him by presents, etc. When anything was presented to him, his reply would be, that it would serve him and his brother to live on. He would not enter into council, saying that he was a prisoner and had nothing to say, but was in hopes that when the grass grew, his brother, the big knife, would release him, and when he was free, he could talk, etc. 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 pond while in captivity. In short, they could do nothing with him, and the moment he heard of our arrival, he paraded all the warriors he had in his village (joining St. Vincent), and was ready to fall in and attack the fort, but for reasons formerly mentioned, was desired to desist.

On the 15th of March, 1779, a party of upper Piankeshaws and some Pottawattamie and Miami chiefs made their appearance, making great protestations of their attachment to the Americans, begged that they might be taken under the cover of our wings, and that the roads through the lands might be made straight and all the stumbling blocks removed, and that their friends, the neighboring nations, might also be considered in the same point of view. I well knew from what principle all this sprung, and, as I had Detroit now in my eye, it was my business to make a straight and clear road for myself to walk, without thinking much of their interest or anything else but that of opening the road in earnest—by flattery, deception or any other means that occurred. I told them that I was glad to see them and was happy to learn that most of the nations on the Wabash and Omi (*Maumee*) rivers had proved themselves to be men by adhering to the treaties they had made with the big knife last fall, except a few weak minds who had been deluded by the English to come to war; that I did not know exactly who they were, nor much cared, but understood they were a band chiefly composed of almost all the tribes (such people were to be found among all nations), but as these kind of people, who had the meanness to sell their country for a shirt, were not worthy of the attention of warriors, we would say no more about them and think on subjects more becoming us. I told them that I should let the great council of Americans know of their good behavior and knew that they would be counted as friends of the big knife, and would be always under their protection and their country secured to them, as the big knife had land enough and did not want any more; but if ever they broke their faith, the big knife would never again trust them, as they never hold friendship with a people who they find with two hearts; that they were witnesses of the calam-

ities the British had brought on their countries by their false assertions and presents, which was a sufficient proof of their weakness: that they saw that all their boasted valor was like to fall to the ground, and they would not come out of the fort the other day to try to save the Indians that they flattered to war and suffered to be killed 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 to be otherwise—that it was not only the case on the Wabash, but everywhere else; that they might be assured that the nations who would continue obstinately to believe the English would be driven out of the land and their countries given to those who were more steady friends to the Americans. I told them that I expected, for the future, that if any of my people should be going to war through their country that they would be protected, which should be always the case with their people when among us, and that mutual confidence should continue to exist, etc., etc.

They replied that, from what they had seen and heard, they were 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 diffuse what they had heard through all the nations, and made no doubt of the good effect of it, etc., etc.; and, after a long speech in the Indian style, calling all the spirits to be witnesses, they concluded by renewing the chain of friendship, smoking the sacred pipe, exchanging belts, etc., and, I believe, went off really well pleased, but not able to fathom the bottom of all they had heard, the greatest part of which was mere political lies, for, the ensuing summer, [Captain James] Shelby, with his own company only, lay for a considerable time in the Wea town, in the heart of their country, and was treated in the most friendly manner by all the natives that he saw, and was frequently invited by them to join and plunder what was called "the King's 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 a letter from Captain George.

Things now being pretty well arranged, Lieutenant Richard Brashear

was appointed to the command of the garrison, which consisted of Lieutenants Bailey and Chapline, with one hundred picked men; Captain Leonard Helm commandant of the town, superintendent of Indian affairs, etc.; Moses Henry, Indian agent, and Patrick Kennedy, quartermaster. Giving necessary instructions to all persons I left in office, on the 20th of March, I set sail on board of our galley, which was now made perfectly complete, attended by five armed boats and seventy men.

The waters being very high, we soon reached the (*Mississippi?*),* and the winds favoring us, in a few days we arrived safely at Kaskaskia, to the great joy of our new friends, Captain George and company, waiting to receive us.

On our passage up the Mississippi, we had observed several Indian camps which appeared to us fresh, but had been left in great confusion. This we could not account for, but were now informed that a few days past a party of Delaware warriors came to town and appeared to be very impudent; that in the evening, having been drinking, they swore they had come there for scalps and would have them, and flashed a gun at the breast of an American woman present. A sergeant and party, that moment passing by the house, saw the confusion and rushed in. The Indians immediately fled. The sergeant pursued and killed (*some*) of them. A party was instantly sent to route their camps on the river. This was executed the day before we came up, which was the sign we had seen.

Part of the Delaware nation had settled a town at the forks of the White river, and hunted in the counties on the Ohio and Mississippi. They had, on our first arrival, hatched up a kind of peace with us, but I always knew they were for open war but never before could get a proper excuse for exterminating them from the country, which I knew they would be loth to leave; and that the other Indians wished them away, as they were great hunters and killed their game. A few days after this, Captain Helm informed me, by express, that a party of traders who were going by land to the falls were killed and plundered by the

* Copy says Missouri, but probably a mistake.

Delawares of White river, and that it appeared that their designs were altogether hostile, as they had received a belt from the great council of their nation. I was sorry for the loss of our men, otherwise pleased at what had happened, as it would give me an opportunity of showing the other Indians the horrid fate of those who would dare to make war on the big knives, and to excel them in barbarity I knew 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 Delawares; to use every means in their power to destroy 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 were attacked in every quarter where they could be found; many fell, and others were brought to St. Vincent and put to death, the women and children secured, etc. They immediately applied for reconciliation, but were informed that I had ordered the war for reasons that were explained to them, and that they dare not lay down the tomahawk without permission from me, but that if the Indians were agreed, no more blood should be spilled until an express should go to Kaskaskia, which was immediately sent. I refused to make peace with the Delawares, and let them know that we never trusted those who had once violated their faith, but if they had a mind to be quiet, they might; and if they could get any of the neighboring Indians to be security for their good behavior, I would let them alone, but that I cared very little about it, etc., privately directing Captain Helm how to manage.

A council was called of all the Indians in the neighborhood; my answer was made public. The Piankeshaws took on themselves to answer for the future good conduct of the Delawares; and the Tobacco's Son, in a long speech, informed them of the baseness of their conduct, and how richly they had deserved the severe blow they had met with; that he had given them permission to settle that country, but not kill his friends; that they now saw the big knife had refused to make peace with them, but that he had become security for their good conduct, and that they might go and mind their hunting, and that if they ever did any more mischief—pointing to the sacred bow

that he held in his hand—which was as much as to say that he himself would for the future chastise them. The bow is decorated with beautiful feathers—an eagle's tail, and all the grandeur of the pipe of peace, all the gaudy trinkets that can be put about it. At one end is a spear about six inches long, dipped in blood. When Tobacco's Son pointed the Delawares towards it, he touched it with his hand. This bow is one of the most sacred emblems known to the Indians, except the pipe of peace. It is only allowed to be handled by chiefs of the greatest dignity.

Thus ended the war between us and the Delawares in this quarter, much to our advantage, as the nations about said that we were as brave as the Indians, and not afraid to put an enemy to death.

June being the time for the rendezvous at (*Post Vincennes*), every exertion was made in procuring provisions of every species, and making other preparations. I received an express from Kentucky, wherein Colonel (*John*) Bowman informed me that he could furnish three hundred good men. We were now going on in high spirits, and daily expecting troops down the Tennessee, when, on the ——, we were surprised at the arrival of Colonel Montgomery with one hundred and fifty men only, which was all we had a right to expect from that quarter in a short time, as the recruiting business went on but slowly, and, for the first time, we learned the fall of our paper money.

Things immediately put on a different appearance. We now lamented that we did not march from St. Vincent to Detroit, but as we had a prospect of a considerable reinforcement from Kentucky, we yet flattered ourselves that something might be done—at least we might maneuver in such a manner as to keep the enemy in hot water and in suspense, and prevent their doing our frontiers much damage. We went on procuring supplies and did not yet lose sight of our object, and, in order to feel the pulse of the enemy, I detached Major Linetot, who had lately joined us, and a company of volunteers, up the Illinois river under the pretense of visiting our friends. He was instructed to cross the country and call at the Wea towns, and then

proceed to Opost (*Post Vincennes*), making his observations on the route. This, we expected, would perfectly cover our designs, and, if we saw it prudent, we might, on his return, proceed. Early in June, Colonel Montgomery was dispatched, by water, with the whole of our stores. Major (*Joseph*) Bowman marched the remainder of our troops by land. Myself, with a party of horse, reached Opost in four days, where the whole safely arrived in a short time after.

Instead of three hundred men from Kentucky, there appeared about thirty volunteers, commanded by Captain McGary. The loss of the expedition was too obvious to hesitate about it. Colonel (*John*) Bowman had turned his attention against the Shawanee towns, and got repulsed and his men discouraged.

The business, from the start, had been so conducted as to make no disadvantageous impression on the enemy in case of a disappointment, as they could never know whether we really had a design on Detroit, or only a finesse to amuse them, which latter would appear probable. Arranging things to the best advantage was now my principal study. The troops were divided between St. Vincent, Kaskaskia, Cahokia and the falls of Ohio. Colonel Montgomery was appointed to the command of the Illinois; Major Bowman to superintend the recruiting business—a number of officers were appointed to that service; Major Linetot and captains to superintend the Indian business, and myself to take up my quarters at the falls (*of the Ohio*) as the most convenient spot to have an eye over the whole.

Each person marching to his post in August, I arrived by land at the [manuscript torn] as far as White river in a few days.

Our movement during the summer had confused the enemy, consequently the commanding officers at Michilimackinac had sent an expedition, via St. Joseph, to penetrate the Illinois to drive the American traders out of it. On their arrival at St. Joseph, while Major Linetot was on the way up the river, it was reported that an American army was approaching. The Indians immediately fled from the English. Being asked the occasion, (*the English were*) told that they were invited to see them and the big knives fight, and, as it was

like to be the case, they had withdrawn to a height in order to have a full view of the engagement. Finding there was little dependence in the Indians, they withdrew to the mouth of the river St. Joseph and formed a strong camp, but on their first learning this intelligence they had sent an express to Mackinaw. A troop being dispatched off with provisions, and, coming within full view of their camp at the mouth of the river—supposing that it was the Americans, who had captured their friends at St. Joseph, and had taken post there. All the signs they could make could not bring the vessel to. She returned with the disagreeable news, and the poor fellows had to starve until they could get an answer to a second express.

In the meantime, Mr. Linetot, knowing of all this, had changed his route to the Weaugh, which caused a conjecture that the whole body of us was directing our course to Detroit, which caused much confusion through the whole.

The summer was spent to advantage, as we were careful to spread such reports as suited our interest. I remained at Louisville until the spring following, continually discharging the multiplicity of business that was constantly brought from every quarter. I fully acquainted the governor of Virginia that, as the new settlers now peopling Kentucky were quite numerous, I was in hopes that they were fully able to withstand any force the enemy could send against her, and, perhaps, act on the offensive.

We now began to feel the effect of the depreciated state of the paper currency. Everything was at two or three prices, and scarcely to be had at any price. We set out on a plan of laying up, this fall, great quantities of jerked meat for the ensuing season, but as Detroit had pretty well recovered itself, the Shawanees, Delawares and other prominent Indian tribes were so exceedingly troublesome that our hunters had no success. Numbers being cut off, and small skirmishes in the country were so common that but little notice was taken of them. Colonel Rogers, who had been sent to the Mississippi for a very considerable quantity of goods, getting a reinforcement at the falls, on his passage to Pittsburg, a little above Licking creek, got

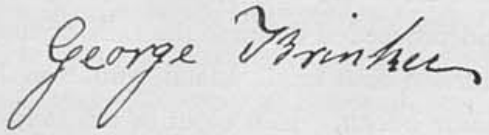
totally defeated; himself and almost the whole of his party, consisting of about seventy men, were killed or made prisoners. Among the latter, of note, were Colonel John Campbell and Captain Abraham Chapline. A small boat made her escape, which was all that was saved.

(END OF CLARK'S MEMOIR.)

MAJOR BOWMAN'S LETTERS AND JOURNAL.

A full sketch of Major Joseph Bowman, the writer of the two letters and the journal next given, will be found in the body of this work. He was undoubtedly one of the principal officers in the campaigns which resulted in the reduction of the British posts, and the only one who died in the service in the conquered country. He died in the fort at Vincennes a few months after its capture, his death probably hastened by an injury received in the explosion of the batteries of the fort the day the Americans took possession. He was buried at Vincennes.

The first of the following letters has never before been published. It was written to George Brinker of Frederick county, Virginia, the husband of his sister Rebecca. The original letter, which is now in the author's possession, is badly faded and the paper so broken, where folded, as to be difficult to decipher, but is substantially correct as here next given.



BOWMAN'S LETTER TO BRINKER.

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

*Redstone, Pennsylvania, on the Monongahela river.

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 (*Prairie du Rocher*). 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 (*Cahokia*), 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 everything 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 [some words here are 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.

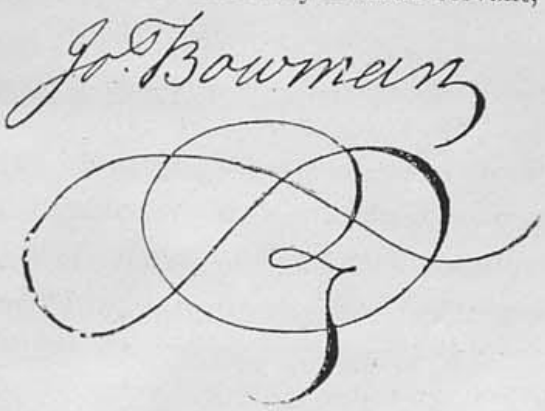
As for any other particulars, I must refer you to my brother Isaac. I am sorry that it is not in my power to hear from you, but as I am now at the distance of about twelve or thirteen hundred miles from home, I can't much expect to hear from you or any other of my friends, but if any opportunity should offer, I should expect to be

*Words here indistinct.

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,

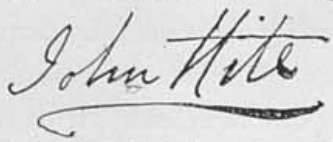


BOWMAN'S LETTER TO HITE.

On the same day the foregoing letter was written, Major Bowman wrote another letter, very much of the same tenor, to Colonel John Hite, also of Frederick county, Virginia. This Colonel Hite was Bowman's uncle and an ancestor on the mother's side of the author of this work. The letter was furnished for publication by Colonel Hite and appeared, probably, first in a Baltimore paper, and certainly in a publication of high character in London, England, known as "Almon's Remembrancer, an Impartial Repository of Public Events for the Year 1779," and it is this copy from which historians have generally quoted. The following is the letter in full:

BALTIMORE, December 29, 1778.

Copy of a letter from Captain Joseph Bowman at a place called Illinois Kaskaskia, upon the Mississippi, to his friend, Colonel John Hite, of Frederick county, Virginia, dated 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 the Big Kanawha, 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 two hundred. They killed

one man in the fort and wounded one or two more, but, finding themselves not likely to succeed in their attempt, they endeavored to kill all their cattle and then make toward Greenbrier, 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 quantity 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 4th 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 Rochblave) 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 Michilimackinac, to set the Indians upon us, with great rewards for our scalps, for which he has a salary of £200 sterling per year. This town consists of about 250 families, sufficiently fortified to have resisted a thousand men, but, coming upon them by surprise, 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 Mississippi. The first is called Parraderushi, about fifteen miles from Kaskaskia, 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 surprise to them, in consequence of which they were willing to comply with any terms I should propose. From thence I proceeded to St. Philips, 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 Cauhou, about forty or fifty miles above St. Philips, 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 oath 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 everything 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 Mississippi, 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, etc.,

JOSEPH BOWMAN.

BOWMAN'S JOURNAL.

The narrative known as "Bowman's Journal" first appeared in print November 24, 1840, in a newspaper in Louisville, Kentucky, known as "The Louisville Literary News," with the following introduction:

Journal kept by Major Bowman during a portion of the campaign—the taking of Post St. Vincent (Vincennes)—and revised by some unknown "person who was in the expedition." The manuscript of this journal was at one time in the possession of the Historical Society of Kentucky, but has unfortunately been lost:

We publish below a journal of the expedition of General Clark against the British post at Vincennes in 1779, commencing with his march from Kaskaskia. It was kept by Joseph Bowman, one of the captains in the expedition, and is referred to by Mr. Butler in his "History of Kentucky" as "Major Bowman's Journal," the writer having subsequently held the rank of major.

At the time when this journal commences Clark was in possession of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Vincennes had once been gained over to him through the influence of a French priest, M. Gibault, but as Clark had not soldiers to spare sufficient to maintain a garrison there, it had been retaken by Governor Hamilton. The journal will explain the sequel.

The original manuscript of this journal—much defaced and in some places illegible—is in possession of the Kentucky Historical Society. The Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society has a

copy, which we transcribed for them and for the use of our friend, Judge Law, of that place.

JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF GEORGE R. CLARK, FROM THE 27TH JANUARY, 1779, TO MARCH 20TH INST. (1779).

Mr. Vigo, a Spanish subject, who has been at Post St. Vincent on his lawful business, arrived and gave us intelligence that Governor Hamilton, with thirty regulars and fifty volunteers and about four hundred Indians, had arrived in November and taken that post, with Captain Helm and such other Americans who were there with arms, * * (two or three words illegible), * * and disarmed the settlers and inhabitants, on which Colonel Clark called a council of his officers, and it was concluded to go and attack Governor Hamilton at St. Vincent for fear, if it was let alone till spring, that he, with all the force that he could bring, would cut us off * * (a part of a leaf is here torn off from the MS.).

Jan. 31st. Sent an express to Cahokia for volunteers and other extraordinary things.

Feb. 1st. Orders given for a large batteau to be repaired and provisions got ready for the expedition concluded on.

2d. A pack-horse master appointed and ordered to prepare pack-saddles, etc., etc.

3d. The galley or batteau finished; called her The Willing. Put her loading on board, together with two four-pounders and four swivels, ammunition, etc., etc.

4th. About ten o'clock Captain McCarty arrived with a company of volunteers from Cahokia, and about two o'clock in the (*after*) noon the batteau set off, under the command of Lieutenant Rogers, with forty-six men, with orders to proceed to a certain station near St. Vincent till further orders.

5th. Raised another company of volunteers, under the command of Captain Francis Charleville, which, added to our force, increased our number to one hundred and seventy men * * (torn off) * * artillery, pack-horses, men, etc.; about three o'clock we crossed the

Kaskaskia with our baggage, and marched about a league from town. Fair and drizzly weather. Began our march early. Made a good march for about nine hours; the road very bad, with mud and water. Pitched our camp in a square, baggage in the middle, every company to guard their own squares.

8th. Marched early through the waters, 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 which, our men were in great spirits, though much fatigued.

9th. Made another day's march. Fair the part of the day.

10th. Crossed the river of the Petit Fork upon trees that were felled for that purpose, the water being so high there was no fording it. Still raining and no tents. Encamped near the river. Stormy weather.

11th. Crossed the Saline river. Nothing extraordinary this day.

12th. Marched across Cot plains; saw and killed numbers of buffaloes. The road very bad from the immense quantity of rain that had fallen. The men much fatigued. Encamped on the edge of the woods. This plain or meadow being fifteen or more miles across, it was late in the night before the baggage and troops got together. Now twenty-one miles from St. Vincent.

13th. Arrived early at the two Wabashes. Although a league asunder, they now made but one. We set to making a canoe.

14th. Finished the canoe and put her into the river about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

15th. Ferried across the two Wabashes, it being then five miles in water to the opposite hills, where we encamped. Still raining. Orders not to fire any guns for the future, but in case of necessity.

16th. Marched all day through rain and water; crossed Fox river. Our provisions began to be short.

17th. Marched early; crossed several runs, very deep. Sent Mr. Kennedy, our commissary, with three men to cross the river Embarras, if possible, and proceed to a plantation opposite Post St. Vincent,

in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About an hour, by sun, we got near the river Embarras. Found the country all overflowed with water. We strove to find the Wabash. Traveled till 8 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 returned. Found it impossible to cross Embarras river. We found the water falling from a small spot of ground; staid there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and dark weather.

18th. At break of day heard Governor Hamilton's 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 four men to cross and go up to town and steal boats, but they spend day and night in the water to no purpose, for there was not one foot of dry land to be found.

19th. Captain McCarty's company set to making a canoe, and at 3 o'clock the four men returned, after spending the night on some old logs in the water. The canoe finished, Captain McCarty, with three of his men, embarked in the canoe and made the third attempt to steal boats, but he soon returned, having discovered four large fires about a league distant from our camp, which seemed to him to be fires of whites and Indians. Immediately Colonel Clark sent two men in the canoe down to meet the batteau, with orders to come on day and night, that being our last hope and (*we*) starving. Many of the men much cast down, particularly the volunteers. No provisions of any sort, now two days. Hard fortune!

20th. Camp very quiet but hungry; some almost in despair; many of the creole volunteers talking of returning. Fell to making more canoes, when, about twelve o'clock, our sentry on the river brought to a boat with five Frenchmen from the post, who told us we were not as yet discovered; that the inhabitants were well disposed towards us, etc. Captain Willing's brother, who was taken in the fort, had made his escape to us, and that one Maisonville, with a party of Indians, was then seven days in pursuit of him, with much news ; more news to our favor, such as repairs done the fort, the

strength, etc., etc. They informed us of two canoes they had seen adrift some distance above us. Ordered that Captain Worthington, with a party, go in search of them. Returned late with one only. One of our men killed a deer, which was brought into the camp; very acceptable.

21st. At break of day began to ferry our men over in our two canoes to a small hill called (*Mammelle?*). Captain Williams, with two men, went to look for a passage, and were discovered by two men in a canoe, but could not fetch them to. 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 stopped on the next hill of the same name, there being no dry land on any side for many leagues. Our pilots say we can not get along—that it is impossible. The whole army being over we encamped. Rain all this day; no provisions.

22d. Colonel Clark encourages his men, which gave them great spirits. Marched on in the waters. Those that were weak and famished from so much fatigue went in the canoes. 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!

23d. Set off to cross the plain called Horse-shoe Plain, about four miles long, all covered with water breast high. Here we expected some of our brave men must certainly perish, having frozen in the night, and so long fasting. Having no other resource but wading this plain, or rather lake, of waters, we plunged into it with courage, Colonel Clark being first, taking care to have the boats try to take those that were weak and numbed with the cold into them. Never were men so animated with the thought of avenging 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 hill of dry land called Warren's (*Warrior's*) Island, where we took a prisoner hunting ducks, who informed us that no person sus-

pected our coming at that season of the year. Colonel Clark wrote a letter by him to the inhabitants, in the following manner:

To the Inhabitants of Post St. Vincent:

GENTLEMEN—Being now within two miles of your village with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request 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, who are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the *Hair-buyer General* (alluding to the fact that Governor Hamilton had offered rewards for the scalps of Americans), and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets, for every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat as an enemy.

(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

In order to give time to publish this letter we lay still till about sundown, when we began our march, all in order, with colors flying and drums braced. After wading to the edge of the water breast high we mounted the rising ground the town is built on about eight o'clock. Lieutenant Bailey, with fourteen regulars, was detached to fire on the fort while we took possession of the town, and ordered to stay till he was relieved by another party, which was soon done. Reconnoitered about to find a place to throw up an entrenchment. Found one, and set Captain Bowman's company to work. Soon crossed the main street, about one hundred and twenty yards from the first gate. We were informed that Captain Lamath (Lamothe), with a party of twenty-five men, was out on 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 Captain Maisonville, a principal man, the rest making their escape under the cover of the night into the fort. The cannon played smartly. Not

one of our men wounded. Men in the fort badly wounded. Fine sport for the sons of Liberty.

24th. As soon as daylight, the fort began to play her small arms very briskly. One of our men got slightly wounded. About nine o'clock the colonel sent a flag with a letter to Governor Hamilton. The firing then ceased, during which time our men were provided with a breakfast, it being the only meal of victuals since the 18th inst.

COLONEL CLARK'S LETTER, AS FOLLOWS:

SIR—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you I order you to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, etc., etc., etc. For, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession; for, by heavens, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

ANSWER FROM GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into an action unworthy of British subjects.

The firing then began very hot on both sides. None of our men wounded; several of the men in the fort wounded through the port-holes, which caused Governor Hamilton to send out a flag with the following letter:

Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time he proposes there shall be no defensive work carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe, on his part, a like cessation of any offensive work. That is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be, and promises that whatever may pass between these two, and another person mutually

agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes that whatever the result of their conference, it may be to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON.

24th February, 1779.

COLONEL CLARK'S ANSWER.

Colonel Clark's compliments to Governor Hamilton, and begs to inform him that he will not agree to any other terms than that of Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church with Captain Helm.

February 24, 1779. G. R. C.

The messenger returned with the above answer, during which time came a party of Indians down the hill behind the town, who had been sent by Governor Hamilton to get some scalps and prisoners from the falls of the Ohio. Our men having got news of it, pursued them, killed two on the spot, wounded three, took six prisoners—brought them into town. Two of them proving to be white men that they took prisoners, we released 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 Colonel Clark and Governor Hamilton met at the church. Governor Hamilton produced certain articles of capitulation, with his name signed to them, which were refused. The colonel told him he would consult with his officers and let him know the terms he would capitulate on. Terms as follows:

1. That Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc., etc., etc.

2. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accoutrements, etc., etc.

3. The garrison to be delivered up at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

4. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed the necessary baggage, etc., etc.

Signed at Post St. Vincent, 24th February, 1779.

Agreed to, for the following reasons: The remoteness from succor, the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency, the honorable terms allowed, and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON,
Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent.

25th. About ten o'clock Captain Bowman's and Captain McCarty's companies paraded on one side of the fort gate. Governor Hamilton and his garrison marched out, while Colonel Clark, Captains Williams' and Worthington's companies marched into the fort, relieved the sentries, hoisted the American colors, secured all the arms. Governor Hamilton marched back to the fort, shut the gate. Orders for thirteen cannon to be fired, during which time there happened a very unlucky accident, through mismanagement. There blew up twenty-six six-pound cartridges in one of the batteries, which burned Captain Bowman and Captain Worthington much, together with four privates. No account of our batteau yet.

26th. Rain all day. Captains Helm, Henry and Major Legare, with fifty men of the militia, ordered to proceed up the river with three boats, with a swivel each, to meet ten boats that were sent in October last, for provisions and stores, to Omi, and take the same in custody.

27th. The Willing, our batteau, arrived, to the great mortification of all on board, that they had not the honor to assist us. In the same came William Mires, from Williamsburgh, with very good news.

Captain Bowman receives a major's commission enclosed from the governor.

28th. Nothing extraordinary.

March 1st. The officers discharged on parole. Nothing extraordinary.

2d, 3d and 4th. Wet weather.

5th. About ten o'clock Captain Helm arrived. His party took seven boats, loaded with provisions and bale goods, etc., taken from the enemy, with the following prisoners: Mr. Dejean, grand judge of Detroit; Mr. Adimar, commissary, with thirty-eight privates. Letters taken from the enemy, dated Detroit, the 6th February, say they are much afraid of our people in the spring. Pray Governor Hamilton to come back again. War was not as yet declared between France and England. Sent off a party of volunteers to Kaskaskia.

6th. A very rainy day. Nothing extraordinary.

7th. Captain Williams and Lieutenant Rogers, with twenty-five men, set off for the falls of Ohio, to conduct the following prisoners, viz., Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Major Hays, Captain Lamothe, Mons. Dejean, grand judge of Detroit; Lieutenant Shiflin, Dr. McBeth, Francis Maisonville, Mr. Bellefeuille, with eighteen privates. Nothing extraordinary.

8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th and 14th. Cloudy weather and rain all the foregoing week. This morning Mr. Mires set off for Williamsburg with two men.

15th. A party of Peaians and Meami Indians waited on Colonel Clark and assured him of fidelity, etc., to the Americans, and begged protection. In the meantime, there arrived an express from Kaskaskia, by which we learn that Captain George, with forty-one men, had arrived there from New Orleans and taken command of Fort Clark, and also that James Willings had resigned his command to the said Captain George and that he and Captain Mackintire had embarked for Philadelphia. William Mires returned, not being able to go by land to the falls of Ohio, the country overflowing with 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 France and the thirteen United States.

17th. Nothing extraordinary.

18th. Snow and rain the best part of the day.

19th. Orders for six boats to be made ready to return to Kaskaskia with prisoners.

20th. The boats ready and loaded. Captain McCarty takes command of The Willing; Captain Keller, Captain Worthington, Ensign Montgomery, Ensign Lorraine, each to take charge of one boat. Sergeant and six men to take the small boat called The Running Fly. About 4 o'clock the whole embarked, leaving Lieutenant Brashear in command of the fort, with Lieutenant Bailey, Lieutenant Chapline, forty men, sergeant and corporals included, to the care of the garrison till relieved from Kaskaskia. Captain Helm commands the town in all civil matters and superintendent of Indian affairs; Mr. Moses Henry, Indian agent; Mr. Patrick Kennedy, quartermaster. The boats, after rejoicing, are run out of sight. God send them a good and safe passage.

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 written 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, shows what might have been 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 have gone through for their liberty and freedom. Particularly the back settlers of Virginia may bless the day they sent out such a commander, officers and

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men. 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 will soon be taken and sent to congress.*

God save the commonwealth.

FINIS.

'79.

[On the next blank page:] God save the commonwealth, this 15th day of August, 1779.

*This writer, of course, meant that "the leaders of these murderers" should be sent to the seat of government to receive the punishment congress might order.

CLARK'S DIARY.

Diary of George Rogers Clark, from December 25, 1776, to November 22, 1777.

Harrodsburgh, Dec. 25, 1776.

December 25.—Ten men going to the Ohio for powder, met on the waters of Licking creek by Indians and defeated. John G. Jones, William Graden and Josiah Dixon killed. 29th. A large party of Indians attacked McClelland's fort and wounded John McClelland, Charles White, Robert Todd and Edward Worthington—the first two mortally. 30th. Charles White died of his wound.

January 6, 1777.—John McClelland died of his wound. 30th. Moved to Harrodsburgh from McClelland's fort.

February.—Nothing remarkable done.

March 5.—Militia of the county embodied. 6th. Thos. Shores and William Ray killed at the Shawanee Spring. 7th. The Indians attempted to cut off from the fort a small party of our men. A skirmish ensued; we had four men wounded and some cattle killed. We killed and scalped one Indian and wounded several. 8th. Brought in corn from the different cribs until the 18th day. 9th. Express sent to the settlement. Ebenezer Corn and company arrived from Captain Linn on the Mississippi. 18th. A small party of Indians killed and scalped Hugh Wilson, about half a mile from the fort near night, and escaped. 19th. Archibald McNeal died of his wounds received on the 7th inst. 28th. A large party of Indians attacked the stragglers about the fort. Killed and scalped Garret Pendergrest; killed or took prisoner, Peter Flin.

APRIL 7.—Indians killed one man at Boonesborough and wounded one. 8th. Stoner arrived with news from the settlement. 16th. Doran Brown and company arrived from Cumberland river. 19th. John Todd and Richard Callaway elected burgesses. James Berry married to widow Wilson. 20th. Ben Linn and Samuel Moore sent express to the Illinois. 24th. Forty or fifty Indians attacked Boonesborough, killed and scalped Daniel Goodman, wounded Captain Boone, Captain Todd, Mr. Hite and Mr. Stoner. Indians, 'tis thought, sustained much damage. 29th. Indians attacked the fort and killed Ensign McConnell.

MAY 6.—Indians discovered placing themselves near the fort. A few shots exchanged—no harm done. 12th. John Cowan and Squire Boone arrived from the settlement. 18th. McGarry and Haggin sent express to Fort Pitt. 23d. John Todd and company set off for the settlement. 23d. A large party of Indians attacked Boonesborough fort; kept a warm fire until eleven o'clock at night; began it next morning and kept a warm fire until midnight, attempting several times to burn the fort; three of our men were wounded—not mortally; the enemy suffered considerably. 26th. A party went out to hunt Indians; one wounded Squire Boone and escaped. 30th. Indians attacked Logan's Fort; killed and scalped William Hudson, wounded Burr Harrison and John Kennedy.

JUNE 5.—Harrod and Elliott went to meet Colonel Bowman and company; Glenn and Laird arrived from Cumberland; Daniel Lyons, who parted with them on Green river, we suppose was killed going into Logan's Fort. John Peters and Elisha Bathey we expect were killed coming home from Cumberland. 13th. Burr Harrison died of his wounds received the 30th of May. 22d. Ben. Linn and Samuel Moore arrived from Illinois; Barney Stagner, Sen., killed and beheaded half mile from the fort. A few guns fired at Boone's.

JULY 9.—Lieutenant Linn married—great merriment. 11th. Harrod returned. 23d. Express returned from Pittsburg.

AUGUST 1.—Colonel Bowman arrived at Boonesborough. 5th. Surrounded ten or twelve Indians near the fort—killed three and wound-

ed others; the plunder was sold for upwards of £70. 11th. John Higgins died of a lingering disorder. 25th. Ambrose Grayson killed near Logan's Fort and wounded two others; Indians escaped.

SEPTEMBER 2.—Colonel Bowman and company arrived at this place; court held, etc. 8th. Twenty-seven men set out for the settlement. 9th. Indians discovered; a shot exchanged; nothing done. 11th. Thirty-seven men went to Joseph Bowman's for corn; while shelling they were fired on; a skirmish ensued; Indians drew off, leaving two dead on the spot and much blood; Eli Gerrard was killed on the spot and six others wounded. 12th. Daniel Bryan died of his wounds received yesterday. 17th. Express sent to the settlement; Mrs. Sanders died. 23d. Express arrived from Boone's, and say that on the 13th Captain Smith arrived there with forty-eight men—150 more on the march for this; also that General Washington had defeated Howe. Joyful news, if true. 26th. Brought in a load of corn; frost in the morning. 29th. Bought a horse, price £12; swapped with I. Shelby,* boot £10. Silas Harland and James Harrod, debtor to eighteen pounds of powder, twenty-two lead. 30th. Intended to start for settlement; horses lost.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1. I start for the settlement—twenty-two men; got to Logan's, twenty miles. 2d. Captain Montgomery arrived at Logan's with thirty-eight men, and say that Captain Watkins would be in in a day or two. 3d. Started on our journey; Captain Powlin and company likewise, seventy-six in all, besides women and children, and took beeves from Whitley of G———; camped at Pettit's, sixteen miles. 4th. Rain in the morning; camped on Skaggs' creek, eighteen miles. 5th. Early start; spies killed a buffalo; camped one-half mile from the Hazle Patch, nine miles across Rockcastle river, twenty miles, all safe. 6th. Early start; camped on Laurel river; marched fourteen miles; killed a beef. 7th. Waited for Scaggs; he not coming to us, we killed a few deer. 8th. Scaggs came to us and went back for his skins. 9th. Lost our beeves; marched three miles; crossed Laurel river and camped on the bank.

* Isaac Shelby, afterward Governor of Kentucky.

10th. Early start; camped on Richland creek, seventeen miles, where we met Captain Charles G. Watkins on his march to Boone's, with fifty men and families; scarce of food. 11th. Marched to Cumberland ford, eighteen miles; killed two buffaloes; Indians about us. 12th. Crossed the R. and C. mountains; encamped in Powell's valley, four miles from the gap, in the whole nineteen miles. 13th. Late start; got to Martin's, eighteen miles. 14th. Left Captain Pertin; marched fifteen miles. 15th. Crossed Powell's river; marched twenty miles; camped on the south side of Powell's mountain. 16th. Got to the Rhye Cox, nine miles. 17th. To Blackamoore's, six miles. 18th. Parted with the company; lodged at More's fort, twenty miles. 19th. Lodged at Captain Kincaid's, twenty-two miles. 20th. Crossed Clinch mountain; met Mr. Maulding and heard from my friends; lodged at Colonel Campbell's, twenty-four miles. 21st. Lodged at Jasper Kindser's; got my horse shod on the way; breakfast and fed, one shilling three pence, twenty-two miles. 22d. Cloudy morning, no rain; lodged at Sawyer's; expense, one shilling three pence; twenty-eight miles. 23d. Falling in company with Captain Campbell, an agreeable companion, we traveled thirty-three miles; lodged at Cook's; poor fare; expenses, six shillings six pence. 24th. Sold my gun to Mr. Love, fifteen pounds; swapped horses with I. Love; gave seven pounds ten shillings boot; lodged at H. Neelie's, twenty-five miles. 25th. Received a letter from Captain Bowman, informing me that he had an order of court to carry salt to Kentucky——; lodged at Bottetourt, twenty-five miles—four hundred and twelve miles from Harrodsburg. 26th. Rain; staid at Lockhart's tavern. 27th. Rain; expenses, one pound four shillings. 28th. Rain; start after breakfast; rained slowly all day; lodged at Bartlett's; expenses, four shillings; twenty-five miles. 29th. Parted with my companion, Captain Campbell; lodged at J. McLung's, five shillings; twenty-eight miles. 30th. Crossed the Blue Ridge; lodged at Black's, at foot of the mountain, five shillings; twenty-three miles. 31st. Bought a pair of shoes in Char-

lottsville; lodged at ———, thirty-five miles, fifteen miles from Charlottsville.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1.—Got to my father's at about ten o'clock at night; all well; fifty-five miles, in the whole, 620 miles from Harrodsburgh. 2d. Staid at my father's. 3d. Started for Williamsburg; lodged at Mr. Gwathmey's, forty miles. 4th. Lodged at Warren's; 1s. 6d., twenty-nine miles. 5th. Got to Williamsburgh; lodged at Anderson's; had a confirmation of Burgoyne's surrender. 6th. Bought a ticket in the state lottery, £3, No. 10,693, first class. 7th. Went to the auditor's; laid before them the Kentucky accounts: they refused to settle them without the consent of the council. 8th. Got an order from the council to settle them. 9th. Sunday, went to church. 19th. Passed the accounts with the auditors, except my own, which they refuse to settle without the consent of the council. 18th. Settled with the auditors; drew the money of the treasurer, £726; bought a piece of cloth for a jacket, price £4 15s.; buttons, etc., 3s. 19th. Left Williamsburg after breakfast, expenses £9 18s.; lodged at Warren's. 20th. Got to Mr. Gwathmey's, expenses 13s. 21st. Staid at Gwathmey's. 22d. Came to my father's.

LIST OF BRITISH TROOPS

CAPTURED WITH LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HAMILTON, AT VINCENNES, FEBRUARY 24, 1779.

OFFICERS.

John Hay, Militia Major.
William Lamothe, Capt. Volunteers.
Jacob Schieffelin, Lieut. Volunteers.
Charles Reaume, Capt. I. Dept.
—— Chabert, Lieut. I. Dept.
I. B. Gaffee, Commissary Provisions.
I. McBeth, Surgeon.
L. F. Bellefeuille, French Interpreter.
Nicholas Lasselle, Store-keeper.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

George Moorhead, Corporal.
John Adamson, Mattross(?).

KING'S REGIMENT.

James Parkinson, Sergeant.
John Chapman, Sergeant.
Abel Leazenby, Corporal.

Privates.

William Sadler.
Alexander Prescott.
James Harrison.
Ruben Veasey.
James Duckworth.
William Perry.
Richard McDade.
John Horn.
Charles Morgan.
*William Drinkwater(?).
Robert Bryant.
Benjamin Pickering.
Patrick Maher.
John Sutherland.
Owen Gallagher.
Thomas Leany.
Isaac Booth.
James Macmullen.
John Joynes.
George Spittle.
John Wall.
William Malboy.
John Grimshaw.
Richard Baker.
Charles Mason.
Samuel Watkins.
*Belser Devins(?) or Givine.
Christ. McCraw.
John Fraser.
Thomas Keppel.

Captain Lamothe's Volunteers.

Joseph Baron, Sergeant.
Francois Magnian, Sergeant.

*Name indistinct.

John McKivors, Sergeant.
Alex. Bigras, Corporal.
Francois Minie, Corporal.
(*dit l' enfant.*)

Pierre Longueville.
Jacques Gagnier.
I. B. Dubord.
I. B. Rapin.
I. Robert.
I. B. Quimette.
I. B. Beaudouin.
Joseph Lasonde.
Louis Viaux.
John McMichel.
Pierre Dolphin.
Pierre St. Andre.
Louis Demoushelle.
I. B. Daunois.
William Scott.
Francois Arquoite.
William Taylor.
Samuel Caffee.
I. B. Valade.
Nicolas Vinette.
Thomas Connolly.
John Brebonne.
I. B. St. Pierre.
Edward Shelly.
Patrick McKindlar (or McKinlie).
Jean Daine.
I. B. Leroux.

Militia Volunteers.

Paul Gamelin.

Carpenters.

Amos Ainsley.
Jacob Bogerts.
Andrew Young.

Ten or twelve days after the surrender of Fort Sackville, forty British prisoners were captured on the Wabash by an expedition commanded by Captain Helm. Mons. Dejean, called the Grand Judge of Detroit, and Mr. Adimar, the commissary, were among the prisoners.

END OF VOL. I.

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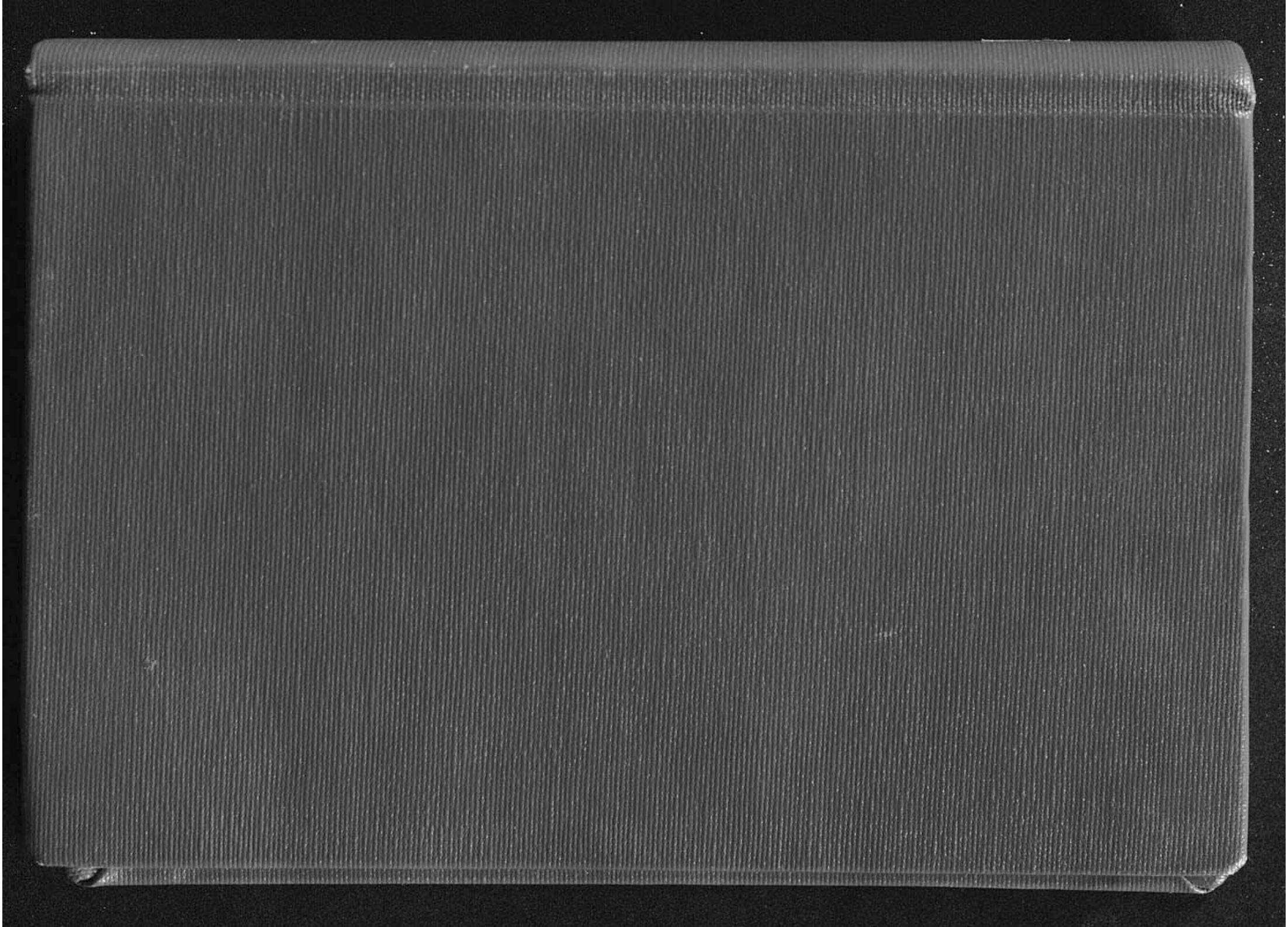
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