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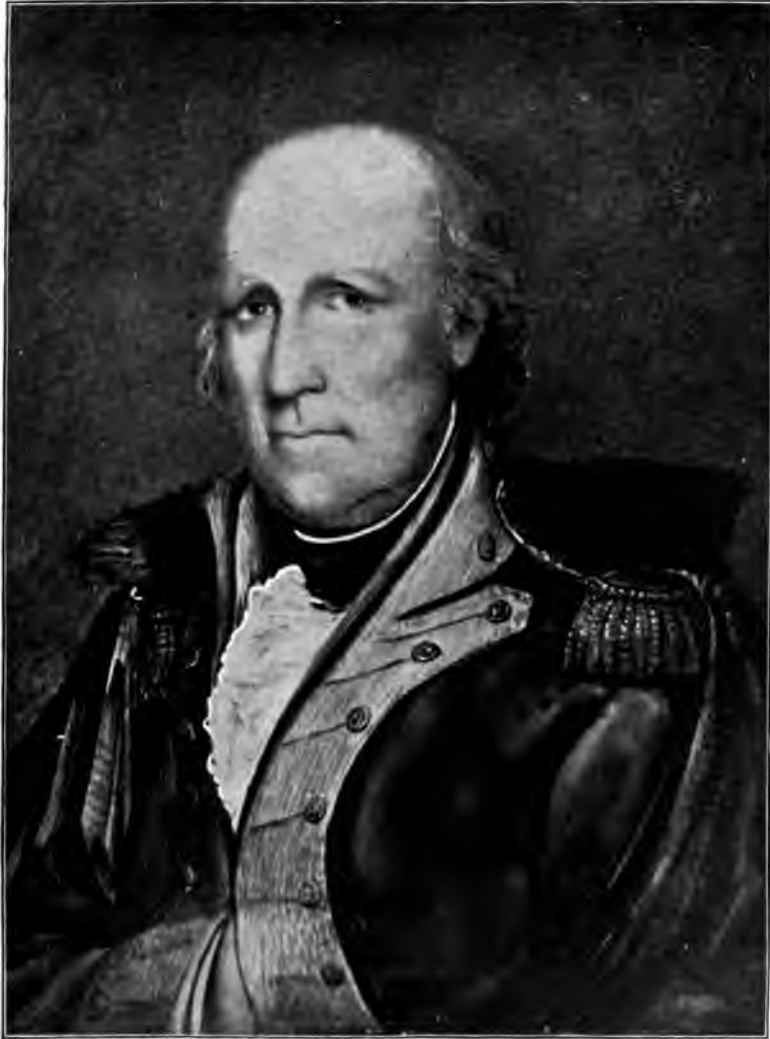
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GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

Taken from a miniature in possession of Jefferson K. Clark, Esq., of St. Louis, Mo.



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 II.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., AND KANSAS CITY, MO.
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1896.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

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**Conquest of the
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THE capture of the British boats on the Wabash river, with all the stores and valuable papers intended for Hamilton, as narrated in Chapter XII, added to his already overwhelming humiliation. The night after signing the agreement to surrender Fort Sackville he says he spent "in assorting papers and preparing for the disagreeable ceremony of the next day. Mortification, disappointment and indignation had their turns." It was but the begin-

ning of the unfortunate lieutenant-governor's trials and sorrows according to the narrative of his numerous and long-continued troubles as given in his report to his superior officers, to which reference has already been frequently made. There is no doubt this account was colored and in some respects exaggerated to suit his side of the case, but, at the same time, it is evident that he was very forcibly made to realize what it is to be in an enemy's hands as a prisoner of war, towards whom special resentment is felt. He was certainly not allowed to sleep on a bed of roses.

He realized what was in store for some of his comrades, and possibly for himself, at the very beginning. "The evening of the day we capitulated," says he, "Colonel Clark ordered neck-iron fetters and handcuffs to be made which, in our hearing, he declared were designed for those officers who had been employed as partisans with the Indians. I took him aside and reminded him that these prisoners were prisoners of war included in the capitulation which he had so lately set his hand to. He said his resolution was formed; that he had made a vow never to spare man, woman or child of the Indians, or those who were employed with them. I observed to him that these persons, having obeyed my orders, were not to be blamed for the execution of them; that I had never known that they had acted contrary to those orders, by encouraging the cruelty of the savages; on the contrary, and that if he was determined to pass by the consideration of his faith and that of the public, pledged for the performance of the articles of capitulation, I desired he might throw me into prison, or lay me in irons, rather than the others. He smiled contemptuously, turned away

and ordered three of these persons to the guard till the irons should be made. The scalps of the slaughtered Indians were hung up by our tents; a young man of the name of Rainbault was brought into the fort with a halter about his neck, and only for the interposition of the volunteers from the Illinois, some of whom were his relations, would infallibly been hanged without any crime laid to his charge but his having been with a scouting party. He was half strangled before he was taken from the tree. Our soldiers told us that some of the rebels had sworn solemnly to destroy Major Hay and myself the first opportunity. As we could not guard against any attempt in the situation we then found ourselves, we thought it best to appear unacquainted with any such resolution, but we were twice in the night obliged to fly for security to Colonel Clark's quarters in the fort, two men that were intoxicated, and whose names had been given us, attempting to shoot us in our tent. The attempt was proved but no punishment ensued. We were kept in the dark as to the day of our departure, though I had repeatedly asked it, that we might have bread baked and prepare what was necessary."

He was not kept in suspense as to the time of his departure very long, for, on the 7th of March, according to Bowman's journal, " Captain Williams and Lieutenant Rogers, with twenty-five men, set off for the falls of Ohio, to conduct the following prisoners, viz.: Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton, Major John Hay, Captain William Lamothe, Monsieur Dejean (grand judge of Detroit), Lieutenant John Schieffelin, Doctor I. McBeth, Francis Ma-

sonville, Mr. L. F. Bellefeuille (French interpreter), with eighteen privates.”

Clark's memoir says: “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, to furnish them with all the necessary supplies on their way, and to await the orders of the governor.” By weakening the prisoners, Colonel Clark, of course, meant to lessen the number he had to look after and take care of.

These prisoners seem to have been turned over temporarily by Captain Williams to Captain Harrod, presumably at the falls of the Ohio, who executed the following receipt for the same: “Received of Captain Williams, the within mentioned prisoners, in number twenty-six, March the 31st, 1779. Wm. Herrod, captain.” In addition to the names of the eight officers, above mentioned by Bowman, the list, accompanying the receipt, gives the names of Sergeant James Parkinson and Corporal Abel Leazenby, and sixteen privates, as follows: Robert Bryant, George Spittal, John Fraser, John Sutherland, Thomas Keppel, John Wall, Christ Macgra (McCrow), John Brebin (Brebbonne), William Taylor, Patrick Mackinlie, Reuben Vesey, Amos Ainsley, Benjamin Pickering, John Horne, William Perry and Belser Givine (?).*

*The given names were not mentioned in the receipt, but have since been added. The list contains twenty-six names.

Captain John Rogers, a kinsman of Clark, as already stated, seems to have been charged with the duty of seeing that the prisoners were conveyed from the falls of the Ohio to the capital of Virginia. The following instructions were issued to him by Colonel Clark: "You are to accompany Captain Williams to the falls of the Ohio and to accompany the prisoners from thence to Williamsburg. They will be guarded and conducted by the Kentucky militia. You are to be careful that they want no necessaries if possible to procure them. You will draw bills on the treasury for the expenses of your journey, and render a just account thereof to His Excellency, the governor."

As evidence in contradiction of the charge made by Hamilton that Clark treated the British prisoners cruelly, it will be observed that special instructions were given the officer in charge to "be careful that they want no necessaries, if possible to procure them."

The account given by Hamilton of the departure and journey is that "on the 8th day of March, we were put into a heavy oak boat, being twenty-seven in number, with our provision of flour and pork at common rations, and fourteen gallons of spirits for us, and our guard, which consisted of twenty-three persons, including two officers. We had before us three hundred and sixty miles of water carriage, and eight hundred and forty to march to the place of our destination, Williamsburg, Virginia. The 10th, in the afternoon, we reached the Ohio, whose waters were out in an uncommon and astonishing degree. The depth above the banks eighteen feet, with such a swift current as made it very fatiguing to row, which we all did,

in turn, while our guards were distributed in four light boats. At night we were obliged to lie in our boat, making it fast to a tree, for the flood extended as far in the woods as the eye could reach. We made a miserable shift with our mast and oars to throw a cover over head, to keep out the rain, and lay like swine close jammed together, having not room to extend ourselves. We presently found the discipline of our guards such as would have enabled us to seize their arms and escape to the Natchez. This was agitated among us, but the idea was given up on the persuasion that our companions left in the hands of the rebels at St. Vincennes would be sufferers for it.

“We fell in with four Delaware Indians, who were hunting, having only their bows and arrows; our escort obliged them to accompany us part of the way, but they disappeared one day, and we were given to understand that they were quietly knocked in the head.

“Arrived at the falls of the Ohio the 30th of March. Here we found a number of settlers who live in log houses in eternal apprehension from the Indians. It is remarkable that the party from St. Vincennes had been so vigilant that the news of Fort Sackville falling into our hands the 17th of December was only known on the 27th of March. Colonel Clark had promised to send fifteen horses to this place for our use on the march, but that never was performed. He had apprised us that there was but little chance of escaping with our lives, the people on the frontiers were so exasperated by the inroads of the Indians, and in this we found he had told us the truth, being often threatened upon the march and waylaid at different times. Our

guards, however, behaved very well, protected us and hunted for us, else we must have starved, for our rations were long since expended and our allowance of bear's flesh and Indian meal was frequently very scanty. The people at the fort are in a wretched state—obliged to enclose their cattle every night within the fort, and carry their rifle to the field when they go to plow or cut wood. On our long march we had frequently hunger and thirst to encounter, as well as fatigue. At length we gained the settled country, and at Lynch's ferry, on the James river, were put into canoes and continued our progress by water."

The news of Clark's wonderful success and the approach of the British prisoners was now spreading all over the country, creating great excitement and enthusiasm, especially in Virginia. Governor Patrick Henry wrote "in haste" from Williamsburg to Richard Henry Lee on the 19th of May, that "Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, is a prisoner, with the judge of that country, several captains, lieutenants and all the British who accompanied Hamilton in his conquest of the Wabash. Our brave Colonel Clark (sent out from our militia) with one hundred Virginians besieged the governor in a strong fort with several hundreds, and with small arms alone fairly took the whole corps prisoners and sent them into our interior country. This is a most gallant action, and I trust will secure our frontiers in great measure. The goods taken by Clark are said to be of immense amount, and I hope will influence the Indians to espouse our interests. Detroit now totters; and if Clark had a few of McIntosh's forces the place would be ours directly. I've late sent the French there

all the state papers, translated into their language, by the hands of a priest who I believe has been very active. I can not give you the other particulars of Clark's success, his messenger to me being killed and the letters being torn by the Indians.

"Adieu, my dear sir. May you continue your labors for the public good, which has been so much forwarded by you for so long a time.

"Yrs in haste,

"P. HENRY."*

"On the 20th of May," says Hamilton, "being on shore to get refreshments, we were agreeably surprised to find ourselves at Brigadier (Alexander) Hamilton's quarters, who endeavored by his kindness and hospitality to make us forget our hardships. The same evening, halting at the house of a rebel, Colonel Lewis, we had the good fortune to see two officers of the convention army. Captain Freeman, aid-de-camp to General Reidevel (Riedsel), was so obliging as to be the bearer of a letter to General Phillips, as also one for your excellency containing the capitulation and some returns. On the 26th a rebel captain with a guard marched us from Beaverdam to Richmond, from thence to Chesterfield, where we remained until the 15th of June (1779)."

The time had now arrived when Hamilton and his principal officers were subjected to much harsher treatment than they had before encountered. This proceeded from several causes, which, no doubt, seem less forcible to us now than they did to the Americans of that day. At the time

*Life of Patrick Henry by his grandson, Vol. 2, p. 31.

of the surrender of Burgoyne many thousand British prisoners had been sent into Virginia, where they were treated with great liberality and kindness, largely on account of the influence exercised in their behalf by Thomas Jefferson, afterwards governor of that state, and president of the United States.

Instead of this clemency inspiring a like liberal treatment of Americans held as prisoners by the British, it is a matter of well authenticated history that they were, in many instances, treated with unwonted neglect and cruelty. Especially was this true of the great number of American prisoners forced into prison ships in New York harbor, then in possession of the British, and elsewhere, who were treated with absolute barbarity. General Heath, in his memoir, said that the American prisoners in New York were "crowded in prisons and sugar-houses; they fell sick and died in the most shocking manner. It was common, on a morning, for the cartman to come and take away the bodies for burial by cart loads." Another writer says "from ten to twenty died daily, and their remains were thrown into pits without a single rite of burial. In the old provost, where officers chiefly were incarcerated, so closely were they packed that when their bones ached at night from lying on the hard planks, and they wished to turn, it was done by the word of command, and the whole human mass turned at once. In Wallabout bay, across the river, the hulk of the Jersey, an old sixty-four gun ship, unseaworthy, with masts and rigging gone, was a scene of human suffering which even now, at the end of a century, chills the hand that would draw a pen picture, however in-

adequate. No warmth in winter, no screen from the scorching summer sun, no physician, no clergyman soothed or consoled the dying in that center of contagious disease, which was never cleansed, and constantly replenished with new victims. It is estimated that eleven thousand of its dead were buried on the Brooklyn shore. Many a New York citizen tried to alleviate the horrors of the prisons and prison-ships, for there were several of the latter, but military law prevailed; no communication with prisoners was allowed, and aid conveyed to them by stealth only doomed the benefactor to a similar fate.”*

The American commissioner of prisons, Elias Boudinot, it is said, made the astounding statement which seems almost incredible, “that in one prison-ship alone, called the Jersey, which was anchored near New York, eleven thousand American prisoners died in eighteen months; almost the whole of them from the barbarous treatment of being stifled in a crowded hold with infected air, and poisoned with unwholesome food.” Joel Barlow, who was quite prominent in his day, and at one time United States Minister to France, recorded in his book, called the *Columbiad*, that Mr. Boudinot made the above statement to him, and Mr. Barlow adds, that the cruelties exercised by the British armies on American prisoners during the first years of the war were unexampled among civilized nations.†

Of like character were the atrocities perpetrated upon American women and children, and unarmed men on the frontiers, by ungovernable savages, organized, encouraged,

*Mrs. Lamb's *History of the City of New York*, p. 208.

† Barlow's *Columbiad*, note 37, p. 171, Vol. 2, edition of 1809, Philadelphia.

and rewarded, in some instances, by British officers. Foremost among these officers was said to have been Hamilton, now thrown, by the fortunes of war, into the hands of this same Thomas Jefferson, who had only a short time before been chosen governor of Virginia. Smarting under the apparent ingratitude of the British, and the cruelties inflicted on the western frontiers, and on the American prisoners in the east, Governor Jefferson decided it to be a duty he owed his country to treat Hamilton and a few of his immediate officers with a return of severity; not only because, as he avers, they deserved it, but also because by retaliation he hoped to force the British to a greater leniency in the treatment of prisoners. His justification of this action has been fully written by Mr. Jefferson himself, and the author prefers in this account to use mainly the words of the distinguished parties themselves.

To that end will first be given the continuation of Governor Hamilton's grievances. He says that at Chesterfield an officer met the party, "having a written order under the hand of the governor of the province, Thomas Jefferson, for taking me in irons to Williamsburg. I was accordingly handcuffed, put upon a horse, and, my servant not being suffered to go with me, my valise was fastened behind me. Captain Lamothe was ordered to accompany me, being in like manner handcuffed. The fatigues of the march heated my blood to a violent degree. I had several large boils on my legs; my handcuffs were too tight but were eased at a smith's shop on the road; thus, some-

times riding and sometimes walking, we arrived the second evening at Williamsburg, having come sixty miles. We were conducted to the palace where we remained about half an hour in the street at the governor's door, in wet clothes, weary, hungry, and thirsty, but had not even a cup of water offered us. During this time a considerable mob gathered about us, which accompanied us to jail. On our arrival there we were put into a cell, not ten feet square, where we found five criminals and Mr. Dejean, who was also handcuffed. This poor man could not refrain from tears on seeing our equipment. We had the floor for a bed, the five felons were as happy as rum could make them, and so we were left to our repose for that night. The next day we three were taken out about eleven o'clock, and before a number of people our handcuffs taken off and fetters put on in exchange. I was honored with the largest, which weighed eighteen pounds eight ounces."

While the fetters were being put on Hamilton, he embraced the occasion to pour out a torrent of abuse of the Americans, which, while probably natural, was not calculated to excite sympathy in his behalf, with the men who had him in charge. "When our fetters were properly fixed," he continues, "we were remanded to our dungeon from which the five felons were removed. The light we received was from a gate, which faced the court of twenty feet square, with walls thirty feet high. The prison having been built sixty years, it may be conceived we were subject to one very offensive inconvenience, in the heat of summer almost suffocating; our door was only opened to give us water. We were not allowed any candle, and from the first to the



HAMILTON AND LAMOTHE SENT IN IRONS TO WILLIAMSBURG.

last of our confinement, we never could find that the governor or council had ordered provision of any kind to be made for us except water, with which we were really very well supplied. The variety of vermin to which we were a prey, bad air, chagrin, and want of exercise began to produce their effect on my companions."

His account shows that, in some respects, the order as to his treatment was not very rigorously enforced, for he procured pen, ink and paper from the jailer, and proceeded to write furiously to the Virginia authorities. These communications, it seems, remained unanswered. He complains that the jailer searched his papers, but it appears not to have been a search of a very rigid character, as he says he was successful in keeping his journal, and other useful papers, concealed.

He continues: "August 31st, Major Hay, with the other prisoners from Chesterfield, arrived at Williamsburg. The soldiers were confined in the debtor's room, the officers, five in number, were put into the dungeons with us, which made the heat intolerable. At eleven at night we were obliged to alarm the prisoners in the next cell, who passed the word to the guard for the jailer, our surgeon being on the point of suffocating, an asthma to which he was subject having seized him at this time, with that violence that he lost his pulse for ten minutes. We had tried by wafting a blanket to draw some air through the gate, but this was insufficient, and if he had not had presence enough of mind to open a vein, he would probably have expired, for the state of the air was such that a candle, with which we had lately been indulged, would barely live, if held near the top of the cell. The jailer took Mr. McBeath out

and suffered him to sleep in his own room, and I must declare, in justice to him, that in several points he showed more feeling by far than his employers. The door of our cell continuing shut for several days, the poor prisoners, young and old, men and women, offered to be locked up and debarred the use of the court if we might be allowed that liberty which at length we had."

Having now given Hamilton's version of his grievances let us hear the version of the other side. Governor Jefferson appears not to have acted hastily in the matter, or entirely on his own volition. He was advised by the executive council of Virginia, and the reason for their action as set out, at some length, in their proceedings, is here given:

"IN COUNCIL, June 18, 1779.

"The board proceeded to the consideration of the letters of Colonel Clark, and other papers relating to Henry Hamilton, Esq., who has acted for some years past as lieutenant-governor of the settlement at and about Detroit, and commandant of the British garrison there, under Sir Guy Carleton, as governor-in-chief; Philip Dejean, justice of the peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers, prisoners of war, taken in the county of Illinois."

"They find that Governor Hamilton has executed the task of inciting the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the citizens of the United States, without distinction of age, sex or condition, with an eagerness and avidity which evince that the general nature of his charge harmonized with his particular disposition. They should have been satisfied, from the other testimony adduced, that these enormities were committed by savages acting under

his commission; but the number of proclamations which, at different times, were left in houses, the inhabitants of which were killed or carried away by the Indians, one of which proclamations is in possession of the board, under the hand and seal of Governor Hamilton, puts this fact beyond a doubt. At the time of his captivity, it appears he had sent considerable bodies of Indians against the frontier settlements of these states, and had actually appointed a great council of Indians to meet him at Tennessee, to concert the operations of this present campaign.

“They find that his treatment of our citizens and soldiers, taken and carried within the limits of his command, has been cruel and inhuman; that in the case of John Dodge, a citizen of these states, which has been particularly stated to this board, he loaded him with irons, threw him into a dungeon, without bedding, without straw, without fire, in the dead of winter and severe climate of Detroit; that, in that state, he wasted him with incessant expectations of death; that when the rigors of his situation had brought him so low that death seemed likely to withdraw him from their power, he was taken out and somewhat attended to, until a little mended, and before he had recovered ability to walk was again returned to his dungeon, in which a hole was cut seven inches square only, for the admission of air, and the same load of irons again put on him; that appearing, a second time, in imminent danger of being lost to them, he was again taken from his dungeon, in which he had lain from January till June, with the intermission of a few weeks only, before mentioned.

“That Governor Hamilton gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners, which induced the Indians, after making their captives carry their baggage into the neighborhood of the fort, there to put them to death and carry in their scalps to the governor, who welcomed their return and success by a discharge of cannon.

“That when a prisoner, brought alive, and destined to death by the Indians, the fire already kindled, and himself bound to the stake, was dexterously withdrawn, and secreted from them by the humanity of a fellow-prisoner, a large reward was offered for the discovery of the victim, which having tempted a servant to betray his concealment, the present prisoner, Dejean, being sent with a party of soldiers, surrounded the house, took and threw into jail the unhappy victim and his deliverer, where the former soon expired under the perpetual assurances of Dejean that he was again to be restored into the hands of the savages; and the latter, when enlarged, was bitterly reprimanded by Governor Hamilton.

“It appears to them that the prisoner Dejean was on all occasions the willing and cordial instrument of Governor Hamilton, acting both as judge and keeper of the jails, and instigating and urging him, by malicious insinuations and untruths, to increase rather than relax his severities, heightening the cruelty of his orders by his manner of executing them; offering at one time a reward to one man to be hangman for another, threatening his life on refusal, and taking from his prisoners the little property their opportunities enabled them to acquire.

“It appears that the prisoner, Lamothe, was a captain of the volunteer scalping parties of Indians and whites, who went from time to time under general orders to spare neither men, women nor children. From this detail of circumstances, which arose in a few cases only, coming accidentally to the knowledge of the board, they think themselves authorized by fair deduction to presume what would be the horrid history of the sufferings of the many who have expired under their miseries (which, therefore, will remain forever untold), or who have escaped from them, and are yet too remote and too much dispersed to bring together their well-founded accusations against the prisoners.

“They have seen that the conduct of the British officers, civil and military, has in the whole course of this war been savage and unprecedented among civilized nations; that our officers taken by them have been confined in crowded jails, loathsome dungeons and prison-ships, loaded with irons, supplied often with no food, generally with too little for the sustenance of nature, and that little sometimes unsound and unwholesome, whereby such numbers have perished that captivity and death have with them been almost synonymous; that they have been transported beyond seas, where their fate is out of the reach of our inquiry, have been compelled to take arms against their country, and by a refinement in cruelty, to become murderers of their own brethren.

“Their prisoners with us have, on the other hand, been treated with humanity and moderation; they have been fed on all occasions, with wholesome and plentiful food, suffered to go at large within extensive tracts of country,

treated with liberal hospitality, permitted to live in the families of our citizens, to labor for themselves, to acquire and enjoy profits, and finally to participate of the principal benefits of society, privileged from all burdens.

“Reviewing this contrast, which can not be denied by our enemies themselves, in a single point, and which has now been kept up during four years of unremitting war, a term long enough to produce well-founded despair that our moderation may ever lead them to the practice of humanity; called on by that justice we owe to those who are fighting the battles of our country, to deal out, at length, miseries to their enemies, measure for measure, and to distress the feelings of mankind by exhibiting to them spectacles of severe retaliation, where we had long and vainly endeavored to introduced an emulation in kindness; happily possessed, by the fortune of war, of some of those very individuals who, having distinguished themselves personally in this line of cruel conduct, are fit subjects to begin on, with the work of retaliation—this board has resolved to advise the governor, that the said Henry Hamilton, Philip Dejean and William Lamothe, prisoners of war, be put in irons, confined in the dungeons of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded all converse except with their keeper. And the governor orders accordingly. ARCH. BLAIR, C. C.”

This action in relation to Hamilton made quite a sensation, and, as was natural, the Americans generally commended it, and the British condemned it. Letters of remonstrance were forwarded to Governor Jefferson by the

British authorities, and to one of these he prepared the following vigorous, but rather voluminous, reply from Williamsburgh, July 22, 1779, to the governor of Quebec:*

“Your letter on the subject of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton’s confinement came safely to hand. I shall, with great cheerfulness, explain to you the reason on which the advice of council was founded, since, after the satisfaction of doing what is right, the greatest is that of having what we do approved by those whose opinions deserve esteem.

“We think ourselves justified in Governor Hamilton’s strict confinement, on the general principle of national retaliations. To state to you the particular facts of British cruelty to American prisoners would be to give a melancholy history from the capture of Colonel Ethan Allen, at the beginning of the war, to the present day, a history which I will avoid, as equally disagreeable to you and to me.

“I, with pleasure, do you the justice to say that I believe those facts to be very much unknown to you, as Canada has been the only scene of your service in America, and in that quarter we have reason to believe that Sir Guy Carleton, and the other officers commanding there, have treated our prisoners (since the instance of Colonel Allen) with considerable lenity. What has been done in England, and what in New York and Philadelphia, you are probably uninformed; as it would hardly be made the subject of epistolary correspondence.

* This is the address given in the Virginia State Papers. In the edition of *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, published by G. P. Putnam’s Sons, the address is, “Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada.” Governor of Quebec is probably right. See Mr. Brymner’s letter near close of this chapter.

“I will only observe to you, sir, that the confinement and treatment of our officers, soldiers and seamen have been so vigorous and cruel as that a very great proportion of the whole of those captured in the course of this war, and carried to Philadelphia while in possession of the British army, and to New York, have perished miserably from that cause only; and that this fact is as well established with us as any historical fact which has happened in the course of the war. A gentleman of this commonwealth in public office, and of known and established character, who was taken on sea, carried to New York and exchanged, has given us lately a particular information of the treatment of our prisoners there.

“Officers taken by land, it seems, are permitted to go on parole within certain limits on Long Island, till suggestions shall be made to their prejudice by some Tory refugee, or other equally worthless person, when they are hurried to the provost in New York, without inquiring ‘whether they be founded upon positive facts, be matter of hearsay, or taken from the report of interested men.’ The example of inquiring into the truth of charges of this nature according to legal principles of evidence has surely not been set us by our enemies. We inquired what these provosts were, and were told they were the common miserable jails, built for the confinement of malefactors. Officers and men taken by sea were kept in prison ships infested with —— been —— on by the crowd* from five to ten a day.

“When therefore we are desired to advert to the possible consequences of treating prisoners with rigor, I need only

*Parts of one use and all of a nation at bottom of the page lacking.

ask when did these rigors begin? Not with us, assuredly. I think you, sir, who have had as good opportunities as any British officer of learning in what manner we treat those whom the fortune of war has put into our hands, can clear us from the charge of rigor, as far as your knowledge or information has extended.

“I can assert that Governor Hamilton’s is the first instance which has occurred in my own country, and if there has been another in any of the United States, it is unknown to me. These instances must have been extremely rare, if they have ever existed at all, or they could not have been altogether unheard of by me. When a uniform exercise of kindness to prisoners on our part has been returned by as uniform severity on the part of our enemies, you must excuse me for saying it is high time, by other lessons, to teach respect to the dictates of humanity. In such a case retaliation becomes an act of benevolence.

“But suppose, sir, we were willing still longer to decline the drudgery of general retaliation, yet Governor Hamilton’s conduct has been such as to call for exemplary punishment on him personally. In saying this I have not so much in view his particular cruelties to our citizens, prisoners with him (which, though they have been great, were of necessity confined to a small scale), as the general nature of the service he undertook at Detroit, and the extensive exercise of cruelties which they involved.

“Those who act together in war are answerable to each other. No distinction can be made between the principal and ally by those against whom the war is waged. He who employs another to do a deed makes the deed his own.

If he calls in the hand of the assassin or murderer, himself becomes the assassin or murderer. The known rule of warfare of the Indian savages is an indiscriminate butchery of men, women and children. These savages under this well-known character are employed by the British nation as allies in the war against the Americans. Governor Hamilton undertakes to be the conductor of the war. In the execution of that undertaking, he associates small parties of whites under his immediate command with large parties of the savages, and sends them to act, sometimes jointly and sometimes separately, not against our fort or armies in the field, but the farming settlements on our frontiers. Governor Hamilton then is himself the butcher of men, women and children. I will not say to what length the fair rules of war would extend the right of punishment against him; but I am sure that confinement under its strictest circumstances, as a retaliation for Indian devastation and massacre, must be deemed lenity.

"I apprehend you had not sufficiently adverted to the expression in the advice of the council, when you suppose the proclamation there alluded to to be the one addressed to the inhabitants of the Illinois, afterwards printed in the public papers and to be confirmed to contain—
 denunciations * — proclamation there alluded to, contained nothing more than an invitation to our officers and soldiers to join the British arms against those whom he is pleased to call rebels and traitors. In order to introduce these among our people were put into the hands of the Indians, and in every house where they murdered or



carried away the family they left one of these proclamations. Some of them were found sticking in the breasts of the persons murdered; one, under the hand and seal of Governor Hamilton, came to our hands. The Indians being the bearer of the proclamations under the hand and seal of Governor Hamilton (no matter what was the subject of them), there can be no doubt they were acting under his direction, and, as including this proof, the fact was cited in the advice of the council. But if you will be so good as to recur to the address of the Illinois, which you refer to, you will find that though it does not in express terms threaten vengeance, blood and massacre, yet it proves that the governor had made for us the most ample provision of all these calamities.

“He there gives in detail the horrid catalogue of savage nations, extending from south to north, whom he had leagued with himself to wage combined war on our frontiers; and it is well known that that war would of course be made up of blood and general massacre of men, women and children. Other papers of Governor Hamilton have come to our hands, containing instructions to officers going out with scalping parties, of Indians and whites, and proving that that kind of war was waged under his express orders. Further proof in abundance might be added, but I suppose the fact too notorious to need them.

“Your letter seems to admit an inference that, whatever may have been the general conduct of our enemies towards their prisoners, or whatever the personal conduct of Governor Hamilton, yet, as a prisoner by capitulation, you consider him as privileged from strict confinement. I

do not pretend to an intimate knowledge of this subject. My idea is that the term 'prisoners of war' is a generic one, the specification of which is, first, prisoners at discretion; and, second, prisoners on convention of capitulation. Thus, in the debate in the House of Commons of the 27th November last, on the address, the minister speaking of General Burgoyne (and in his presence) says he is a 'prisoner,' and General Burgoyne calls himself a 'prisoner under the terms of the convention of Saratoga,' intimating that, though a prisoner, he was a prisoner of particular species entitled to certain terms. The treatment of the first class ought to be such as to be approved by the usage of polished nations; gentle and humane, unless a contrary conduct in an enemy or individual render a strict treatment necessary. The prisoners of the second class have nothing to exempt them from a like treatment with those of the first, except so far as they shall have been able to make better terms by articles of capitulation. So far then as these shall have provided for an exemption from strict treatment, so prisoners on capitulation have a right to be distinguished from those at discretion. I do not propose

*—— history furnishes, where certain causes antecedent thereto, though such instances might be produced from English history too, and in one case when the king himself commanded in person. Marshal Boufflers, after the taking of the Castle of Namur, was arrested and detained a prisoner of war, by King William, though by an article in the capitulation it was stipulated that the officers and soldiers of the garrison in general, and Marshal Boufflers, by

*Some words at bottom of page gone.

name, should be at liberty. However, we waive reasoning on this head, because no article in the capitulation of Governor Hamilton is violated by his confinement.

“ Perhaps not having seen the capitulation, you were led to suppose it a thing of course that, being able to obtain terms of surrender, they would first provide for their own treatment. I enclose you a copy of the capitulation, by which you will see that the second article declares them prisoners of war, and nothing is said as to the treatment they were to be entitled to. When Governor Hamilton signs indeed, he adds a flourish, containing the motives inducing him to capitulate, one of which was confidence in a generous enemy. He should have reflected that generosity on a large scale would take side against him. However these were only his private motives and did not enter into the contract with Colonel Clark.

“ Being prisoners of war then, with only such privileges as their capitulation had provided, and that having provided nothing on the subject of their treatment, they are liable to be treated as other prisoners. We have not extended our order as we might justifiably have done to the whole of this corps. Governor Hamilton and Captain Lamothe alone, as leading offenders, are in confinement. The other officers and men are treated as if they had been taken in justifiable war; the officers being at large on their parole, and the men also having their liberty to a certain extent.

“ Dejean was not included in the capitulation, being taken eight days after on the Wabash, 150 miles from St. Vincennes.

“I hope, sir, that being made more fully acquainted with the facts on which the advice of council was grounded, and exercising your own good sense in cool and candid deliberation on these facts, and the consequences deduced from them according to the usage and sentiments of civilized nations, you will see the transaction in a very different light from that in which it appeared at the time of writing your letter, and ascribe the advice of the council, not to want of attention to the sacred nature of public conventions, of which I hope we shall never in any circumstances lose sight, but to a desire of stopping the effusion of ye unoffending blood of women and children, and the unjustifiable severities exercised on our captive officers and soldiers in general by proper severities on our part.”*

It will be observed that Hamilton and the other British prisoners, now in “*durance vile*,” had been captured by Virginia troops, and were being held as prisoners of that state, under the order of the governor and council. The relations between the states and the general government were then chaotic, and in transition, but as the right to so treat these prisoners was vigorously denied by the British authorities, in letters of remonstrance to the governor and otherwise, Governor Jefferson, not being at all familiar with the technicalities of military affairs, communicated all the facts to General Washington, the commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, for the purpose of advising him of the situation and eliciting his views, intending to conform

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 321, 322, 323, 324. Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 2, pp. 248 to 256, inclusive: Putnam & Sons, 1893.



his action with whatever advice might be given. The following is the letter, dated Williamsburg, July 17, 1779:

“I, some time ago, enclosed to you a printed copy of an order of council, by which Governor Hamilton was to be confined in irons, in close jail, which has occasioned a letter from General Phillips, of which the enclosed is a copy.

“The general seems to think that a prisoner on capitulation can not be put in close confinement, though his capitulation should not have provided against it.

“My idea was, that all persons taken in war were to be deemed prisoners of war. That those who surrender on capitulation (or convention) are prisoners of war also, subject to the same treatment with those who surrendered at discretion, except only so far as the terms of their capitulation or convention shall have guarded them.

“In the capitulation of Governor Hamilton (a copy of which I enclose), no stipulation is made as to the treatment of himself, or those taken with him. The governor, indeed, when he signs, adds a flourish of reasons inducing him to capitulate, one of which is the generosity of his enemy.

“Generosity, on a large and comprehensive scale, seemed to dictate the making a signal example of this gentleman; but waiving that, these are *only the* private motives inducing him to surrender, and do not enter into the contract of Colonel Clark. I have the highest idea of those contracts which take place between nation and nation, at war, and would be the last on earth to do anything in violation of them.

“I can find nothing in those books usually recurred to as testimonials of the law and usages of nature and nations,

which convicts the opinions I have above expressed of error. Yet there may be such an usage as General Phillips seems to suppose, though not taken notice of by these writers.


“I am obliged to trouble your excellency on this occasion, by asking of you information on this point. There is no other person whose decision will so authoritatively decide this doubt in the public mind, and none with which I am disposed so implicitly to comply. If you shall be of opinion that the bare existence of a capitulation, in the case of Governor Hamilton, privileges him from confinement, though there be no article to that effect in the capitulation, justice shall most assuredly be done him.

“The importance of this point, in a public view, and my own anxiety under a charge of violation of national faith by the executive of this commonwealth, will, I hope, apologize for my adding this to the many troubles with which I know you to be burdened.”*

On the 6th of August, 1779, General Washington, then at West Point, answered Governor Jefferson’s letter, saying:

“I have been honored with your letter of the 17th of July, upon the case of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton. This subject, on more mature consideration, appears to be involved in greater difficulty than I apprehended. When I first received the proceedings of the council upon it, transmitted in your excellency’s letter of the 19th of June, I had no doubt of the propriety of the treatment decreed against Mr. Hamilton, as being founded in principles of a just re-

* Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 1, p. 225 (Published by Taylor & Maury, 1853, and referred to hereafter for brevity as *Jefferson’s Works*).



taliation. But, upon examining the matter more minutely, and consulting with several intelligent general officers, it seems to be their opinion, that Mr. Hamilton could not, according to the usage of war, after his capitulation even in the manner it was made, be subjected to any uncommon severity under that idea, and that the capitulation placed him under a different footing from that of a mere prisoner at discretion.

“Whether it may be expedient to continue him in his present confinement from motives of policy, and to satisfy our people, is a question I can not determine ; but if it should be, I would take the liberty to suggest, that it may be proper to publish all the cruelties he has committed or abetted, in a particular manner, and the evidence in support of the charges, that the world, holding his conduct in abhorrence, may feel and approve the justice of his fate. Indeed, whatever may be the line of conduct towards him, this may be advisable.

“ If, from the considerations I have mentioned, the rigor of his treatment is mitigated, yet he can not claim of right upon any ground the extensive indulgence which General Phillips seems to expect for him ; and I should not hesitate to withhold from him a thousand privileges I might allow to common prisoners. He certainly merits a discrimination ; and although the practice of war may not justify all the measures that have been taken against him, he may unquestionably, without any breach of public faith or the least shadow of imputation, be confined to a room. His safe custody will be an object of great importance.” *

*Writings of Washington (Sparks), Vol. 6, p. 315.

It will be seen from this letter that although General Washington at first considered the rigorous treatment of Hamilton entirely proper, and "founded on a just retaliation," he finally came to the conclusion "that the capitulation (as a prisoner of war) placed Hamilton under a different footing from that of a mere prisoner at discretion." The general could not determine, however, whether it would be expedient to continue Hamilton's present confinement as a matter of policy and to satisfy the wishes of the Americans, but appears to have thought he deserved much of the punishment he was receiving, and that "a thousand privileges" which might properly be allowed common prisoners should be withheld from him. Hamilton's safe custody was a matter of great importance and he should, at least, "be confined to a room."

The letter, as a whole, seemed to advise some relaxation in the severity of the treatment Hamilton had been receiving, and to this suggestion Governor Jefferson and his council conformed. The latter took the following action on the 29th of September:

"The board having been, at no time, unmindful of the circumstances attending the confinement of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Captain Lamothe and Philip Dejean, which the personal cruelties of those men, as well as the general conduct of the enemy, had constrained them to advise; wishing and willing to expect that their sufferings may lead them to the practice of humanity, should any future turn of fortune in their favor submit to their discretion the fate of their fellow-creatures; that it may prove an admonition to others, meditating like cruelties, not to rely for im-

punity in any circumstances of distance or present security, and that it may induce an enemy to reflect what must be the painful consequences should a continuation of the same conduct on their part impel us again to severities, while such multiplied subjects of retaliation are within our power; sensible that no impression can be made on the event of the war, by wreaking vengeance on miserable captives; that the great cause which has animated the two nations against each other is not to be decided by unmanly cruelties on wretches who have bowed their necks to the power of the victor, and by the exercise of honorable valor in the field, earnestly hoping that the enemy, viewing the subject in the same light, will be content to abide the event of that mode of decision, and spare us the pain of a second departure from kindness to our captives; confident that commiseration to our prisoners is the only possible motive to which can be candidly ascribed in the present actual circumstances of the war the advice we are now about to give—the board does advise the governor to send Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Captain Lamothe and Philip Dejean to Hanover Court-House, there to remain at large, within certain reasonable limits, taking the parole in the usual manner. The governor orders accordingly. Ordered that Major John Hay be sent also, under parole, to the same place.”

Governor Jefferson enclosed these orders of council to General Washington, on the 1st of October, and at the same time answered the general's previous letter as follows:

“On receipt of your letter of August 6th, during my absence, the council had the irons taken off the prisoners

of war. When your advice was asked, we meant it should decide with us; and, upon my return to Williamsburg, the matter was taken up and the enclosed advice given. A parole was formed, of which the enclosed is a copy, and tendered to the prisoners. They objected to that part of it which restrained them from *saying* anything to the prejudice of the United States, and insisted on 'freedom of speech.' They were, in consequence, remanded to their confinement in the jail, which must be considered as a voluntary one, until they can determine with themselves to be inoffensive, in word as well as deed. A flag sails hence to-morrow to New York, to negotiate the exchange of some prisoners. By her, I have written to General Phillips on this subject, and enclosed to him copies of the within; intending it as an answer to a letter I received from him on the subject of Governor Hamilton."*

On the next day Governor Jefferson again wrote General Washington, saying:

"Just as the letter accompanying this was going off, Colonel Mathews arrived on parole from New York, by the way of headquarters, bringing your excellency's letter on this subject, with that of the British commissary of prisoners. The subject is of great importance, and I must, therefore, reserve myself to answer after further consideration.

"Were I to speak from present impressions, I should say it was happy for Governor Hamilton that a final determination of his fate was formed before this new information. As the enemy have released Captain Willing from

*Jefferson's Works, Vol. 1, p. 230.



his irons, the executive of this state will be induced, perhaps, not to alter their former opinion. But it is impossible that they can be serious in attempting to bully us in this manner. We have too many of their subjects in our power, and too much iron to clothe them with, and I will add, too much resolution to avail ourselves of both, to fear their pretended retaliation. However, I will do myself the honor of forwarding to your excellency the ultimate result of the council on this subject.

“In consequence of the information in the letter from the British commissary of prisoners, that no officers of the Virginia line should be exchanged till Governor Hamilton’s affair should be settled, we have stopped our flag, which was just hoisting anchor with a load of privates for New York. I must therefore ask the favor of your excellency to forward the enclosed by flag, when an opportunity offers, as I suppose General Phillips will be in New York before it reaches you.”*

On the 8th of the same month Governor Jefferson wrote still another letter to General Washington:

“In mine of the second of the present month, written in the instant of Colonel Mathews’ delivery of your letter, I informed you what had been done on the subject of Governor Hamilton and his companions, previous to that moment.

“I now enclose you an advice of council, in consequence of the letter you were pleased to enclose me, from the British commissary of prisoners, with one from Lord

*Jefferson’s Works, Vol. 1, p. 231.

Rawdon; also a copy of my letter to Colonel Mathews, enclosing, also, the papers therein named.

“The advice of council to allow the enlargement of prisoners, on their giving a proper parole, has not been recalled, nor will be, I suppose, unless something on the part of the enemy should render it necessary. I rather expect, however, that they will see it their interest to discontinue this kind of conduct. I am afraid I shall hereafter, perhaps, be obliged to give your excellency some trouble in aiding me to obtain information of the future usage of our prisoners.

“I shall give immediate orders for having in readiness every engine which the enemy has contrived for the destruction of our unhappy citizens, captured by them. The presentiment of these operations is shocking beyond expression. I pray Heaven to avert them; but nothing in this world will do it but a proper conduct in the enemy. In every event, I shall resign myself to the hard necessity under which I shall act.”*

The following is the enclosure referred to in the foregoing letter :

“IN COUNCIL, October 8, 1779.

“The governor is advised to take proper and effectual measures for knowing, from time to time, the situation and treatment of our prisoners by the enemy, and to extend to theirs, with us, a like treatment, in every circumstance; and, also, to order to a proper station the prison ship fitted up on recommendation from Congress, for the recep-

*Jefferson's Works, Vol. 1, p. 232.



tion and confinement of such prisoners of war as shall be sent to it.”

About this time Captain Lamothe and Mr. Dejean, two of the imprisoned British officers, accepted the parole, which they had at first rejected, probably under the influence of Hamilton. The latter continued for a long time to reject all paroles offered him, apparently without any very well founded reason. He was, therefore, continued in close confinement, with Hay and four others who pursued a similar course.

Washington wrote, from his headquarters at West Point, on the 23d of November, to Jefferson, fully approving this action. He said: “The measure of the council in remanding Governor Hamilton and his companions back to confinement on their refusing to sign the parole to them, is perfectly agreeable to the practice of the enemy. The particular part objected to, I have always understood, enters into the paroles given by our officers. In regard to your letter of the 8th, I would hope, with your excellency, that there will be no necessity for a competition in cruelties with the enemy. Indeed, it is but justice to observe that of late, or rather since Sir Henry Clinton has had the command, the treatment of our prisoners has been more within the line of humanity, and in general very different from that which they experienced under his predecessors. I shall not fail, however, as a matter of duty, to pay proper attention to such deviations from this conduct as may appear the result of mere wantonness or cruelty, and have not been incurred by the irregularities of our prisoners.”*

*Writings of Washington (Sparks), Vol. 6, p. 407.

The extreme anxiety which the British authorities manifested for the welfare of Hamilton, and their great desire to secure his liberty, soon attracted the attention of American prisoners of like rank, and inspired them with hope that it might lead to their own release by exchange. Friends of American prisoners, as well as the prisoners themselves, interceded with Washington and Jefferson to that end. To an application of that character by "Colonel Dubuysson, a French officer in the family of Baron De Kalb," General Washington wrote in reply that "the state of Virginia, sensible of the dangerous influence which Governor Hamilton holds over the Indians, have absolutely refused to exchange him on any terms, for the present at least, and, as I have never deviated from a rule, which I laid down at the beginning of the war, of exchanging officers in course, according to the time of their captivity, I can not, without manifest injury to several gentlemen of your rank, who have been prisoners for more than three years, propose your exchange in preference to theirs. I am glad to find that you seem to be aware of this difficulty in your letter from Philadelphia." *

Some time before this Governor Jefferson wrote a letter to Mrs. Byrd, a member of a well-known Virginia family, who had apparently written him favoring an exchange of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton for Colonel Mathews, in which he said: "I think he (Hamilton) will not be exchanged on any terms during the war." The following is a fac-simile of this letter, the original of which is now in the author's possession:

*Writings of Washington (Sparks), Vol. 7, p. 240.





Madam

Williamburg Oct. 24. 1776

Your letter of the last week found me much engaged on it should
then have been answered you were ~~not~~ ^{not truly} informed as to the purpose
for which Colo Matthews came out of New York. The purpose expressed
was that himself should be permitted to remain in Virginia on parole
if least. Col^o Hamilton were permitted to go to New York on parole;
and from this it was seen that he was pointed out as a proper exchange
for Hamilton, their rank being the same. It was determined that Colo
Hamilton should not go to New York, & Col^o Matthews was so sensible
of the propriety of this that he rather advised it & returned perfectly satis-
fied it is believed that the capture & detention of Hamilton has solely pre-
-vented the laying our frontiers in blood this summer which might have
been expected from the very extensive combination of Indians he had
engaged in his service I think he will not be exchanged on any terms
during the war.

The two surveys which you were pleased to enclose me plots of,
I filed in the Register's Office grants will be made out as soon as the Register
can be furnished with authentic evidence to whom he might have passed ^{any} if
you will be so good as to inclose me a copy of Colo Byrd's will, ^{which} which

I suppose ~~the~~ Mrs Harvie will see to whom they are devised or any other paper pointing out the title. I will have the grants issued accordingly. The two entries which were enclosed at the same time require a more troublesome process the original warrants were warrants must be obtained on which these entries were founded, and on being delivered to the Register he will give other warrants in exchange for them, on which the surveyor will survey the lands entered for, and a grant issue. an opportunity occurring yesterday to Col Preston the surveyor of Montgomery. I wrote to desire he would enclose to me by a safe hand the original warrants which I take for granted were lodged with him as soon as I receive them. I will exchange them with the Register for others & do myself the pleasure of enclosing these ^{to you} copy of these entries is returned to you herein as it can be no further useful till the new warrants are obtained, and I was afraid it might get mixed among my papers.

Mrs Jefferson presents her respects to yourself & the young ladies I am Madam with much respect

Your most obed^t. humble serv^t.





The Colonel Mathews here alluded to is, presumably, the same referred to in a letter written by General Sullivan in relation to the battle of Germantown, in which he says:

“A regiment commanded by Colonel Mathews advanced with rapidity near the town; but not being supported by some other regiments, who were stopped by a breast-work near Lucan’s Mills, the brave colonel, after having performed great feats of bravery, and being dangerously wounded in several places, was obliged with about a hundred of his men to surrender.”*

Governor Jefferson addressed an important letter to Colonel Mathews, October 8, 1779, in which he said:

“The proceedings respecting Governor Hamilton and his companions, previous to your arrival here, you are acquainted with. For your more precise information, I enclose you the advice of council of June 16th, of that of August the 28th, another of September the 19th, on the parole tendered them the 1st instant, and Governor Hamilton’s letter the same day, stating his objections, in which he persevered; from that time his confinement has become a voluntary one. You delivered us your letters the next day, when the post being just setting out, much business prevented the council from taking them into consideration. They have this day attended to them, and found their resolution expressed in the enclosed advice, bearing date this day.

“It gives us great pain that any of our countrymen should be cut off from the society of their friends and tenderest connections, while it seems as if it was in our power

**Writings of Washington (Sparks)*, Vol. 5, p. 463.

to administer relief. But we trust to their good sense for discerning, and their spirit for bearing up against, the fallacy of this appearance.

“Governor Hamilton and his companions were imprisoned and ironed. 1st. In retaliation for cruel treatment of our captive citizens by the enemy in general. 2d. For the barbarous species of warfare which himself and his savage allies carried on in our western frontier. 3d. For particular acts of barbarity, of which he himself was personally guilty, to some of our citizens in his power. Any one of their charges was sufficient to justify the measures we took.

“Of the truth of the first, yourselves are witnesses. Your situation, indeed, seems to have been better since you were sent to New York; but reflect on what you suffered before that, and knew others of your countrymen to suffer, and what you know is now suffered by that more unhappy part of them who are still confined on board of the prison ships of the enemy.


“Proofs of the second charge we have under Hamilton’s own hand; and of the third, as sacred assurances as human testimony is capable of giving. Humane conduct on our part was found to produce no effect; the contrary, therefore, was to be tried. If it produces a proper lenity to our citizens in captivity, it will have the effect we meant; if it does not, we shall return a severity as terrible as universal. If the causes of our rigor against Hamilton were founded in truth, that rigor was just, and would not give right to the enemy to commence any new hostilities on their part; and all such new severities are to be considered, not as retaliation, but as original and unprovoked. If those

causes were not founded in truth, they should have denied them.

“ If, declining the tribunal of truth and reason, they choose to pervert this into a contest of cruelty and destruction, we will contend with them in that line, and measure out misery to those in our power in that multiplied proportion which the advantage of superior numbers enables us to do. We shall think it our particular duty, after the information we gather from the papers which have been laid before us, to pay very constant attention to your situation and that of your fellow-prisoners.

“ We hope that the prudence of the enemy will be your protection from injury; and we are assured that your regard for the honor of your country would not permit you to wish we should suffer ourselves to be bullied into an acquiescence, under every insult and cruelty they may choose to practice, and a fear to retaliate, least you should be made to experience additional sufferings. Their officers and soldiers, in our hands, are pledged for your safety; we are determined to use them as such. Iron will be retaliated by iron, but a great multiplication on distinguished subjects; prison ships for prison ships, and like for like, in general.

“ I do not mean by this to cover any officer who has acted or shall act improperly. They say Captain Willing was guilty of great cruelties at the Natchez; if so, they do right in punishing him. I would use any powers I have, for the punishment of any officer of our own who should be guilty of excesses unjustifiable under the usages of civilized nations. However, I do not find myself obliged to



believe the charge against Captain Willing to be true, on the affirmation of the British commissary, because in the next breath he claims no cruelties have as yet been inflicted on him. Captain Willing has been in irons.

“I beg you to be assured, there is nothing, consistent with the honor of your country, which we shall not at all times be ready to do for the relief of yourself and companions in captivity. We know that ardent spirit and hatred for tyranny, which brought you into your present situation, will enable you to bear up against it with the firmness which has distinguished you as a soldier, and to look forward with pleasure to the day when events shall take place against which the wounded spirits of your enemies will find no comfort, even from reflections on the most refined of the cruelties with which they have glutted themselves.”*

On the 9th of October, 1779, the British soldiers were transferred from the jail to the barrack, and were allowed to cut wood both for themselves and the officers in the prison when cold weather arrived. “Even the American soldiers on guard,” says Hamilton’s narrative, “though miserably bare of clothing themselves, used to spare a part of their own fuel for the dressing of our victuals.” On Christmas day the British soldiers were marched away to King William county. “The weather at this time became so intensely cold that we could not rise from the floor, but continued day and night in our blankets. The scurvy began to make its appearance and our legs to swell. The jailer then concluded we could not survive the severity of

*Jefferson’s Works, Vol. 1, p. 233.

the cold in our present situation, took us to an upper room in the jail where prisoners had formerly been kept. This, though it had no windows, but an open grate, was more tolerable than the dungeon; we could light a fire in the chimney and by sacrificing part of our blankets to stop the grated window and stuff the cracks in the ceiling we made a shift to endure in the daytime; at night we were remanded to our dungeon.

“April 18th, 1780, Lieutenant Schieffelin made his escape in company with Monsieur De Rochblave and after great risks and difficulties got to New York.

“June 1st, Mr. Maisonville destroyed himself.

“August 1st, we were marched from Williamsburg. Major Hay and I sent to the jail at Chesterfield. The surgeon and Mr. Bellefeuille to King William Court-House.”

He states that while “at Chesterfield, our confinement was rendered very tolerable, and several of the military and others who were convinced of the injustice and illiberality of our treatment, showed by their behavior what opinion they had of the executive power. In this jail, Major Hay and I had a very severe, though short, attack of fever, which was pretty generally felt through the country. We were well attended. We had liberty to walk about in the neighborhood of the jail.”

He had persistently refused all paroles offered, until in the fall of 1780, when word was sent him by the British authorities that he was not likely to be exchanged at all, unless he accepted the parole. This caused him to accept, and he signed substantially the same parole which had at all times been open to him for a year. To some readers

it may look as if from some personal motive of his own he preferred imprisonment during that period to being released, as he could have secured his liberty when the parole was first offered him, on substantially the same terms he now secured it, but it is more likely he was brought to accept it by the advice of friends, the irksomeness of long confinement, and the probability of facilitating an exchange. Here is the parole as given by him, and his account of how he came to sign it:

“ On the 23d, Lieutenant-Colonel Towles who had been a long-time prisoner to the English on Long Island, arrived at Chesterfield. He had had hopes of procuring an exchange, and got permission to come to Virginia to effect it, if practicable. He brought me letters from my friends at York, which gave me to understand that, unless I accepted the parole, there was little probability of my procuring an exchange. Having therefore written to Brigadier (Alexander) Hamilton to request the continuance of his kindness to the prisoners now removed to Frederic Town, I, with Major Hay, accepted the parole, following:

“LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HENRY HAMILTON PAROLE.

“October 10, 1780.

“ I, Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor and superintendent of Detroit, do hereby acknowledge myself a prisoner of war to the commonwealth of Virginia, and having permission from His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, governor of the said commonwealth, to go to New York, do pledge my faith and most sacredly promise upon my parole of honor, that I will not do, say, write or cause to be done, said or written, directly or indirectly, in any respect what-

soever, anything to the prejudice of the United States of America, or any of them, until I shall be enlarged from my captivity by exchange, or otherwise, with the consent of the said governor of Virginia, or his successors, and that I will return, when required by the said governor or his successors, to such place within the commonwealth as he shall point out, and deliver myself up again to him or the person acting for or under him.

“In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at Chesterfield, this 10th day of October, 1780.

“HENRY HAMILTON. [L. S.]”

It must be admitted that there was a sudden change about this time in the position of Governor Jefferson as to holding Hamilton as a prisoner until the close of the war. It will be seen that he still held that position on the 26th of September, 1780, when he wrote as follows to General Washington:

“I was honored yesterday with your favor of the 5th instant, on the subject of prisoners, and particularly Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton. You are not unapprised of the influence of this officer with the Indians; his activity and embittered zeal against us. You also, perhaps, know how precarious is our tenure of the Illinois country, and how critical is the situation of the new countries on the Ohio.

“These circumstances determined us to detain Governor Hamilton and Major Hay within our power, when we delivered up the other prisoners. On a late representation from the people of Kentucky, by a person sent here from that country, and expressions of what they had reason to

apprehend from these two prisoners, in the event of their liberation, we assured them they would not be parted with, though we were giving up our other prisoners.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Dubuysson, aid to Baron De Kalb, lately came here on his parole, with an offer from Lord Rawdon, to exchange him for Hamilton. Colonel Towles is now here with a like proposition for himself, from General Phillips, very strongly urged by the general.

“These, and other overtures, do not lessen the opinion of the importance of retaining him; and they have been, and will be, uniformly rejected. Should the settlement, indeed, of a cartel become impracticable without the consent of the states to submit their separate prisoners to its obligation, we will give up these two prisoners, as we would anything, rather than be an obstacle to a general good. But no other circumstance would, I believe, extract them from us.

“These two gentlemen, with a Lieutenant-Colonel Elligood, are the only separate prisoners we have retained, and the last only on his own request, and not because we set any store by him.

“There is, indeed, a Lieutenant-Governor Rochblave, of Kaskaskia, who has broken his parole, and gone to New York, whom we must shortly trouble your excellency to demand for us as soon as we can forward to you the proper documents.

“Since the forty prisoners sent to Winchester, as mentioned in my letter of the 9th ultimo, about one hundred and fifty more have been sent thither, some of them taken by us at sea, others sent on by General Gates.

“The exposed and weak state of our western settlements, and the danger to which they are subject from the northern Indians, acting under the influence of the British post at Detroit, render it necessary for us to keep from five to eight hundred men on duty, for their defense. This is a great and perpetual expense. Could that post be reduced and retained, it would cover all the states to the southeast of it.”

Within a month from the time this was written there seems to have been a change on both sides. Hamilton had signed the parole he so long refused, and the governor had consented that he might go to New York on parole and join his British comrades. This is the permission given him by the governor:

“The within mentioned Henry Hamilton, having signed a parole of which this is a copy, has permission to go to New York and to remain within such parts of that state as are in possession of the armies of his Britannic majesty, until he shall be exchanged, or otherwise liberated with consent of the governor of Virginia for the time being, or until he shall be recalled by him.

“Given under my hand and seal of the commonwealth of Virginia, at Richmond, date within written.

“TH. JEFFERSON. [L. S.]”

The following is the explanation made of the matter in a note Governor Jefferson sent General Washington from Richmond on the 25th of October:

“I take the liberty of enclosing to you letters from Governor Hamilton, for New York. On some representations received by Colonel Towles, that an indulgence to Gov-

ernor Hamilton and his companies to go to New York, on parole, would produce the happiest effect on the situation of our officers in Long Island, we have given him, Major Hay, and some of the same party at Winchester, leave to go there on parole. The two former go by water the latter by land.”*

Washington promptly replied from “Headquarters Passaic Falls,” the eighth of the next month, saying: “I am glad to hear that you have permitted Governor Hamilton and Major Hay to go to New York; while they remain there upon parole, they will be less capable of concerting mischief than in Virginia, and it will deprive the enemy of a pretext for complaining that they are treated with rigor.”†

Released from a dungeon, and all the hardships and annoyances of being a prisoner in the immediate charge of his enemies, and clothed with the authority of the governor to join his comrades in New York, it would seem that Hamilton ought now to have been out of trouble. But, according to his account, there was no happiness for him as long as he remained in this country. “Having accepted this parole,” says he, “we hastened to Williamsburg, on our way to Hampton, and there were stopped by the lieutenant-governor, who, as General Leslie had just arrived, thought it not advisable to let us pass, and gave orders for our being escorted back to Richmond. This treatment I resented, telling them they might march me back a pris-

*Jefferson's Works, Vol. 1, p. 267.

†Writings of Washington (Sparks), Vol. 7, p. 291.

oner, but that this was a step they might judge imprudent in the present juncture.

“They seemed to think so, for we had liberty to proceed. As soon as I had given certificates, recommending to General Leslie such of the inhabitants as had shown an attachment to government, or had been kind to us in our distress, we proceeded to York, where some turbulent people were reminded to set a guard over us and stop our progress. At length we got to Hampton. This short journey cost us one thousand pounds, such was the depreciated state of the paper money at that time.

“At Hampton the people were civil to us; furnished us with a canoe, which to our inexpressible satisfaction put us on board of His Majesty’s sloop *Delight*, Captain Inglis, who by his kind reception of us presently recruited our lowered spirits. We next went to wait on Captain Grayton, commander of the squadron.

“The cartel vessel, which was to have conveyed us from Hampton to New York, had been taken and the master’s certificate not appearing genuine, he with the vessel were detained.

“Having paid our respects to General Leslie, who received us with the greatest politeness, we returned to the *Romulus*, Captain Grayton’s ship. The cartel master was suffered to go to Hampton to prepare for his voyage. The stores which General Leslie and Captain Grayton had most liberally supplied us, were plundered by the Americans on shore, for we did not choose to risk ourselves out of a king’s ship. At length we set off from the *Romulus* in our cartel, a little miserable sloop of thirty-six feet keel,

for a passage in which we were obliged to pay four hundred hard dollars. A violent gale of wind obliged us to anchor off Smith's Islands, where we were very near perishing; our crew was three hours at work to get the anchor out of the ground; at last we got in home, leaving one fluke behind, and to our no small mortification were obliged to put back to Hampton.

“Here we were on the point of being detained by order of General Wilson, who had assembled some militia, but our skipper being desirous to get away, and having got another anchor, we once more set sail for New York. A very severe gale of wind took us near the capes of Delaware, when our skipper, not having a log line on board, laid the vessel to, and we had reason in the morning to admire our good fortune, for the wind was right on shore, and it was twelve at night when we lay to, judging by the sun that we were opposite Delaware Bay, as it proved, for we had driven seven leagues up the bay from the time of laying to.”

But the disagreeable journey came to an end at last; the party landing in New York, as Hamilton, says, “very squalid spectacles, not having had any sleep for three days and nights, our clothes ragged, shoes broken, and so altered in face and figure that our acquaintances could scarcely recollect us.”

Consolation, however, speedily came from Sir Henry Clinton, General Phillips and Lord Rawdon, and finally an exchange was secured for Hamilton, and he was, at last, entirely free; but this did not take place until the 4th of March, 1781. He sailed for England on the 27th of May,

of that year, but did not arrive there until the 21st of the next month.

He established himself in St. Jermyns street, London, at which place, on the 6th of July, he dates his account and attempted justification of his far-reaching defeat. He hopes "to be more pitied than blamed," and attributes his overthrow largely to the treachery of the Canadians, creoles and French, and admits that "the difficulties and danger of Colonel Clark's march from Illinois were such as required great courage to encounter, and great perseverance to overcome. In trusting to traitors he was more fortunate than myself; whether on the whole he was entitled to success is not for me to determine."

And so ended the long captivity of Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton and his active connection with the affairs of the American Revolution. Whatever diverging views may be taken on the different sides of the Atlantic of his remarkable career on American soil, patriotic citizens of the United States must ever rejoice that Clark evidenced the better and more successful generalship, and forced him to a complete and full surrender of the vast territory now so important a part of the American union of states; and however objectionable he may have been to Americans, and whatever animosities were naturally and justly aroused against him because of his course in using the savages against the unprotected settlements of the frontiers, it can not be denied that he was at least ever true and loyal to his king and country.

The author tried in every direction to procure his portrait for this volume but was not successful in finding it. Know-

ing the thorough information of Mr. Douglas Brymner, the custodian of the Canadian archives, upon such subjects, a letter was addressed to him inquiring as to the existence of any portrait of Governor Hamilton, and as to his history after his return to Canada. Mr. Brymner promptly replied: "I do not know of any portrait of Henry Hamilton. He was lieutenant-governor of Quebec (Canada was then the province of Quebec) from the 14th November, 1784, till the end of 1785, having only the civil authority, the civil and military having been separated in the retirement of his predecessor, General Haldimand. On the 13th August, 1785, the secretary of state notified Hamilton that the king had no further need of his services. On the 20th, Hope was informed that he was to succeed. Hope's first letter as lieutenant-governor is dated 12th October, 1785. Hamilton became lieutenant-governor of Bermuda on the 16th September, 1788, and governor on the 11th January, 1790; he was afterward appointed governor of Dominica, the date of his appointment being the 23d of April, 1794. 'Henry Hamilton, Esq., to be captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Island of Dominica, *vice* Orde.' He assumed the duties on the 30th of November, 1794. The date of his death I have not ascertained." From other sources the author ascertained that Hamilton died at Antigua, in September, 1796.

The author also sought the portrait and information as to Hamilton in England, and through the kindness of Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, United States ambassador, and of Benjamin F. Stevens, Esquire, United States government dispatch agent in London, received copies of

several valuable papers from the public records there relating to Hamilton, and also the information that "he was the fourth son of Gustavus Frederick, seventh Viscount Boyne." A letter from Mr. Stevens, dated "London, October 17, 1895, says," "I am writing to the present Viscount Boyne on the possible chance of a portrait of Governor Hamilton being preserved in the family. If any information is obtained I shall have pleasure in repeating it to you." If received, and in time, the portrait will be in this volume.





CHAPTER XV.

COLONEL CLARK RETURNS TO THE FALLS OF OHIO—CONDITION OF AFFAIRS THERE.

Fort near mouth of Ohio determined upon—Develops his plans in a general order—Also in a letter to Governor John Todd—Letter of Todd to Governor Jefferson approving Clark's plans—Clark proceeds to mouth of Ohio early in 1780—Builds Fort Jefferson a few miles below—Intended for a settlement and garrison combined—Besieged by Indians—Heroic defense—Captain George Owens and his descendants—Garrison finally relieved—Indians withdraw from its vicinity—Perilous journey made by Clark from Fort Jefferson to Harrisburg—British and Indians invade Kentucky—Clark's campaign against the Indians at old Chillicothe and Piqua—Distressing particulars of death of Joseph Rogers—Clark returns to Kentucky—Deplorable condition of affairs there, at Fort Jefferson and the Illinois—Official letters on the subject—Sketch of George Slaughter and Silas Harlan—Fort Jefferson finally abandoned—La Balme's defeat.

WHEN Colonel Clark returned to the falls of the Ohio, at the close of the summer of 1779, he found that quite an accession had been made to the population of that vicinity, and of Kentucky generally, and he at once took steps to further the public interests in every possible way. The garrison left on Corn island had already removed to the main land on the Kentucky side, and a rude stockade fort had been constructed, probably near where Twelfth street in Louisville now intersects the river.

He not only devoted himself to matters pertaining to the defense of the country, but took great interest in promot-

ing the welfare of the settlement at the falls of the Ohio, which his keen foresight realized was destined to develop into a place of much importance.

He has the honor of being the founder of the important city of Louisville, which has a justifiable pride in having such an illustrious founder. A well informed historian of that city says, "to him belongs the honor of settling our city as clearly as belongs to him the glory of the capture of Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia."* It was a high compliment to the falls of the Ohio as a desirable location that he started a settlement there and made it his depot of supplies in the spring of 1778, when he had so many other beautiful and desirable sites on the Ohio to select from, and that he confirmed his first judgment by returning to it after the capture of the Wabash and Illinois country from the British, and established his headquarters permanently there, "as the best place," as he tells us, "of having a general supervision over the whole." This action, and the security given by the forts he caused to be built there, attracted the first settlers, and fixed the future destiny of Louisville, Jeffersonville and New Albany. Had he chosen the mouth of the Kentucky river, as he was urged to do, the first settlers would have naturally been attracted to that point. Clark undoubtedly gave the matter much thought, and looked far into the future in making this selection. He expected two great cities to arise some day at the falls: first Louisville, to be followed later, as the country became populous, by one on the other side of the river, which he hoped would bear

* R. T. Durrett in Centenary of Louisville, p. 42.

his name.* But, until Virginia made the grant for Clarksville, the planning of what he expected would be a great city at Louisville absorbed his attention. The wisdom and far-reaching benefits of the plan he then drew up for the city is now generally conceded, and where it has been departed from generally deplored. Upon this subject one of the most competent judges says: "When General George Rogers Clark returned from the conquest of the Illinois country in the fall of 1779, and took up his abode in Louisville, he drew a plan of the proposed town of Louisville, and made a map of the public and private divisions of the land as he thought they ought to be established. This map is still preserved, and it shows the wonderful sagacity of General Clark. From his little room in the fort, at the foot of Twelfth street, he looked far into the future and saw the need of public grounds for breathing places when the city should become populous. His map shows all the ground between Main street and the river, from First to Twelfth streets, marked 'public.' Also a strip of ground half a square in width, just south of Jefferson street, running the whole length of the town, marked 'public.' Also two whole squares, where the court-house now stands, marked 'public.' If this plan of the town had been accepted by the trustees and adhered to by their successors, Louisville would be one of the handsomest cities on the

*In view of the progress and development at the falls since 1778, what greater cities may be expected there when another like period shall have passed away. Possibly the day may yet come when the, now comparatively little, vacant ground between Jeffersonville, Clarksville and New Albany will all be built up, and the three places be united in one city. Then, if the name of Clark should be substituted for the present names, his dream of the future city on the north side of the river would at last be fully realized.

continent to-day. The trustees, however, either for want of capacity to see the advantages of holding this property for the public, or from necessity to pay debts against it, sold all this property, except the court-house square and the grave-yard. It brought but little when sold. It would be worth millions now in the shape of park property, with a number of grand old forest trees upon it. This map of General Clark only extends to Jefferson street, but tradition says that it was part of his plan to have the strip of ground it shows south of Jefferson repeated at intervals of every three squares as the city should enlarge.”* It is a singular coincidence that when William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana territory, and Isaac Bowman, one of Clark’s officers, requested President Jefferson to draw the plan for a town at the falls, to be laid off on land on the north side of the river, which Bowman had donated, to be called Jeffersonville, that Mr. Jefferson should have adopted the same liberal ideas as to public squares and grounds that had been adopted by General Clark for Louisville, and that in both instances the plans should have been abandoned. Yet such is the fact.

But other points than the falls of the Ohio were also receiving Colonel Clark’s attention.

The establishment of a strong fort near the mouth of the Ohio had been for some time considered as essential to American success. Governor Henry, as far back as January, 1778, wrote that it was “in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio, with cannon to fortify it.” Thomas Jefferson, who succeeded Henry as governor

* R. T. Durrett in Centenary of Louisville, pp. 42-43.

on the 1st of June of that year, renewed the project, and followed it up, vigorously, until consummated. The object, in part, was to strengthen the American claim to the country as far west as the Mississippi, and a line of forts was contemplated from Fort Jefferson northwardly, towards the lakes. Colonel Clark warmly approved the building of the fort near the mouth of the Ohio, and did what he could to carry it into execution, but it progressed slowly, of necessity. Some Kentuckians did not seem to favor it because it would weaken the settlements by drawing off a portion of the militia much needed nearer home.

Colonel Clark's plan was not only to build and garrison a fort, but to induce families to settle there by liberal grants of land. He issued the following order, to that end, to Captain Silas Martin, soon after his return to the falls:

“SEPTEMBER 30, 1779.

“*G. R. Clark to Captain Silas Martin, etc., Commander of Militia Headquarters Falls of Ohio:*

“By George Rogers Clark, Esq., Colonel of the Illinois Battalion, Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia Forces in the Western Department, Etc., Etc.

“Whereas a fort is intended immediately to be built near the mouth of Ohio, and a number of artificers wanting to carry on the works, as well other inhabitants,

“I do, by the virtue of the power and authority to me given, authorize you to raise any number of persons that you can get to become settlers at said post, the whole to be under pay as militia as long as necessary. You are to ren-

devious at this place by the first day of December next. Given from under my hand."

The fall and winter passed without building the fort, but in March, 1780, Colonel Clark reviewed the situation and developed his plans in the following letter to Colonel John Todd, the then governor of the Illinois country: "By the account from every post in the Illinois so nearly corresponding, I make no doubt of the English regaining the interest of many tribes of Indians, and their designs against the Illinois, perhaps on Governor Hamilton's plan, and without some speedy check may prove fatal to Kentucky and the total loss of the western country on the Mississippi. I am not clear but the Spaniards would fondly suffer their settlements in the Illinois to fall into ours for the sake of having the opportunity of retaking both. I doubt they are too fond (of) territory to think of restoring it again.

"Although there are but few British troops on the lakes (the) deficiency is fully replaced by the immense quantity of goods they have, the effects of which among the savages you well know. Not being apprehensive of a visit, I make no doubt of their having planned some expedition of importance against our posts, which, if they gain, may be attended with greater consequences than I have hinted at. They have greater opportunities of knowing our situation than we have of theirs, which you know they could not deprive us of. You well know the difficulties we have labored under with our joint efforts to maintain our ground, and support our interest among the savages in that department, and the reason why—which is now greater than ever as the bad crops and the severity of the winter hath

rendered it impossible for the towns in the Illinois to make any further supplies until next harvest.

“The troops being entitled to a discharge in a few weeks, except those that have re-enlisted when joined by Captain Rogers—when armed will not amount to more than one hundred and fifty, which is too few, under our present circumstances, to think of defending the different posts we now occupy. Letters from His Excellency, and a promising account from our recruiting officers may, perhaps, soon alter our apparent circumstances, but, as yet, receiving no advice from either, already meeting with many disappointments in my expectations, much to the disadvantage of the department, a few weeks’ hesitation may be productive of long future disadvantage. I think it best to act as though we had no expectation of being assisted either with men or provisions. Your counsel, not only necessary, but which you know I prize, is what I want.

“If we were tolerably formidable at any one post that we could subsist at, it might have a great and good effect. As I hinted to lay aside all expectations of a re-enforcement, I see but the one probable method of maintaining our authority in the Illinois, which is this; by immediately evacuating our present posts, and let our whole force center at or near the mouth of Ohio, which will be too contemptible to answer the good effect proposed, without we fall upon some method to draw off a considerable re-enforcement from Kentucky of militia.

“Families would be of the greatest service, as they are always followed by two or three times their numbers of young men. They would with their store of provisions be

able to victual great part of our troops in proportion to their number, which, if only one hundred, by the ensuing fall would be able to victual a regiment, besides establishing a post that His Excellency is very anxious for, the reason I imagine we are both acquainted with, and the interests of all the western country call for.

“One hundred families, their followers, the troops we have already engaged, those whose time of service is or shortly will expire, that would remain at the place, when joined, would be considerable. The report of which by the time it reached our enemies would be augmented, perhaps, to treble our numbers, as such intelligence is always aggravated by the Indians; and I don't doubt but that it would put a stop for some time to their proceedings, as I know it would greatly confuse the Indians they are like to win from us, as our temporary force, with the French militia, probably counting the Spaniards, would be too considerable for them to tamper with.

“Our only chance at present to save that country is by encouraging the families, but I am sensible nothing but land will do it. I should be exceedingly cautious in doing anything that would displease government, but their present interest, in many respects obvious to us both, call so loud for it, that I think, sir, that you might even venture to give a deed for forty or fifty thousand acres of land at said place, at the price that government may demand for it. It interferes with no claim of our friendly Indians (and would be) the greatest barrier to the inhabitants of the Illinois against the southern Indians—security of the general commerce and perhaps the saving of the country to the state,

and probably in a few months enable us to act again on the offensive.

“I should be against suffering families to settle promiscuously in any part of the Illinois at present, but the establishment of the said post is so necessary, and as it can not be complete without the families, I think it your duty to give the aforesaid encouragement and such instructions as would confine the people for some time to a fort. Before you could consult government it might be too late. Sustenance for some time will be procured with difficulty.

“I can not think of the consequences of losing possession of the country without a more determined resolution to risk every point rather than suffer it, for they, the English, can not execute any matter of very great importance among the savages without it. I know your concern to be equal to mine; if you concur with me in sentiment, let me know immediately, or such amendment as you might think more advantageous.” *

Colonel Todd approved these suggestions, and acted upon them, as will be seen from his letter to Governor Jefferson, in which he said: “On consulting with Colonel Clark, we found it impracticable to maintain so many posts in the Illinois with so few means and concluded it better to draw them all to one post. The land at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi was judged best situated for the purpose as it would command the trade on an extensive country on both sides of each river and might serve as a check to any encroachments from our present allies, the Spaniards, whose growing power might justly put us upon our guard :

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 338.

and whose fondness for engrossing territory might otherwise urge them higher up the river upon our side than we would wish.

“The expenses in erecting this new post and victualing the men would have been obstacles insurmountable without a settlement contiguous to the garrison to support it, where adventurers would assist the soldiers in the heavy work of building their fortifications. I therefore granted to a certain number of families four hundred acres to each family, at a price to be settled by the general assembly, with commissions for civil and military officers, and the necessary instructions. Copies of the principal of which I herewith send you. The other being agreeable to the printed forms heretofore delivered me by the governor and council.

“Lest the withdrawing our troops from St. Vincennes might raise suspicions among the citizens, to our disadvantage, I have sent to Major Bosseron, the then district commandant, blank commissions, with powers to raise one company and put them in possession of the garrison, with assurances that pay and rations should be allowed them by the government. When Colonel Clark left the falls, his officers and men, to the amount of perhaps one hundred and twenty, were all well clothed except in the article of linens.

“Mr. Isaac Bowman, with seven or eight men and one family, set off from Kaskaskias the 15th November last, in a batteau, attended by another batteau with twelve men and three or four families in it, bound to the falls of Ohio. I judged it safer to send to the falls many articles belonging to the commonwealth by Bowman than to bring them myself


by land. Bowman's batteau fell into the hands of the Chickasaw Indians, and the other arrived in March or April at the French Lick on Cumberland, with the account that Bowman and all the men except one Riddle (Ruddell) were killed and taken. I enclose Your Excellency a list of such articles as belonged to the state, as well as I can make out from my detached memorandums. My books and many necessary papers being also lost. Many necessary articles of intelligence yet remain unmentioned. I will enjoy no leisure until I shall have fully acquainted Your Excellency with the situation of the Illinois." Bowman was not killed as stated in this letter of Colonel Todd, but was captured by the Indians, as will be fully related further on.

Early in 1780 Colonel Clark, with a small force—from one hundred and twenty to two hundred men—proceeded to a place on the Mississippi river called Iron Banks, four or five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, where they erected several block-houses and a fort, in what is now Ballard county, Kentucky, which was called Fort Jefferson, in honor of Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia. From inadvertence, or cause not now known, the consent of the Indians had not been obtained for the erection of the fort, and, as they had not relinquished the land, it naturally offended them, and led to skirmishes and such acts of hostility as prevented settlements outside the fort, and thus defeated the carrying out of an important part of Colonel Clark's plan of having a self-sustaining settlement and fort combined.

Finally the Choctaw and Cherokee Indians united, and over one thousand warriors, under the leadership of a Scotchman, named Colbert, who had obtained, and whose descendants long held, great power among them, laid siege to the fort, which had then, from various causes, been reduced to a garrison of only about thirty men. Much sickness prevailed in that region, and the Americans were badly prepared to make resistance; but, notwithstanding these disadvantages, they made a most gallant defense.

The Indians continued the siege, in vain, for five or six days, which was an unusually long time for Indians to hold together in such an attempt. Their principal camp was on an island near the fort and the mouth of Mayfield creek, now known as Island Number One. The Americans were reduced to great extremities. There was not only sickness in the fort, but scarcity of water and food, the latter being finally reduced to unripe pumpkins. But, worn out as they were with loss of sleep, and the constant strain of watching and fighting, day and night, there was no thought of surrender.

Finally the Indians made a desperate night assault on the fort, but were entrapped into a position within reach of the fire of a cannon, or swivel, heavily loaded with rifle and musket balls. This had been planted by Captain George Owens in a place unsuspected by the Indians, and was fired when they were crowded together in close range of the gun. The carnage was terrific, and the survivors withdrew in hot haste. Colbert was wounded, and the attack was not renewed. But the Indians did not retire entirely from that part of the country until the arrival of Colonel



Clark with re-enforcements and provisions, when they gave up the contest and returned to their respective villages.

CAPTAIN GEORGE OWENS.

Captain George Owens, a native of Pennsylvania, and the chief actor in this slaughter of the Indians, came to a sad end a few years later, and the savages had a terrible revenge. They captured him near the falls of the Ohio, in what is now Indiana, as he was hunting, or attempting to pass between the falls and Vincennes, and, after torturing him in the most frightful manner, finally burned him to death at the stake at or near the Wea towns (Ouiatanon). It is said he himself had some Indian blood in his veins. His descendants settled in Scott county, Indiana. The author knew them intimately, and when a young man heard Captain Owens's sons, George and Thomas, then old men, speak of these events. Their hatred of the Indian race was so vehement that the people of Lexington, then the county seat of Scott county, had much difficulty in keeping them from killing two friendly Indians who happened at that place half a century after Captain Owens's death, and long after the Indian wars in that region were ended. The author was present and remembers the circumstances distinctly. Abednego Owens, who died in Scott county, in 1894, at an advanced age, and Thomas Owens, who removed to Texas many years before that date, were grandsons of this historic Captain George Owens, and there were other grandchildren whose names are not now remembered.

The author was intrusted by the family with a number of papers which had belonged to Captain Owens, and among them is the following peculiarly worded receipt given by John Montgomery, who was a prominent officer in Clark's Illinois campaigns: "This is to certify that George Owens and me have settled acumpts and have received full satisfaction of all demands from the beginning of the world to this day. I say received of me.

"March 24, 1787.

JOHN MONTGOMERY."

But it was not the southern Indians alone that were giving trouble about the time of the unsuccessful siege of Fort Jefferson. The northern Indians, as Colonel Clark knew, were preparing, under British leadership, to attack the American frontiers; probably in furtherance of Hamilton's original plan of a united movement, which was expected to sweep everything before it.

Knowing this, and vigilant ever, he determined to meet it by a counter movement against the enemy. To that end he made his stay short at Fort Jefferson, and started across the wilderness for Harrodsburg with only one or two companions. It was an exceedingly fatiguing and perilous journey on foot, and they had to cross many swollen streams by swimming, or on rafts made of logs bound together by grape vines. There were no roads, and the country was full of roving bands of Indians. To deceive them, Clark and his companions painted their faces and dressed like the savages, which artifice came near getting them into serious trouble, as they finally met a party of whites who were firing at them before their identity was made known.

They lived on buffalo and other game, and finally arrived at Harrodsburg at a fortunate time for Clark's purposes, as there was a large assemblage of men, for that period, who had gathered there to enter lands in the surveyor's office. Clark took the responsibility of temporarily closing the office, and proceeded at once to enrolling volunteers, and was quite successful, although there was some grumbling among the land speculators at his arbitrarily closing the land-office. He adopted other necessary, but equally positive measures, such as sending a small force to a point on the wilderness road, then the principal outlet from Kentucky, to turn back or disarm every one trying to leave the country at this time of peril.

In the spring of 1780 the Americans in the west were in great danger in several quarters. In addition to the formidable invasion of Kentucky by the British and Indians under Colonel Bird, a movement against Cahokia and St. Louis was inaugurated by the Illinois river and more western routes than had before been followed. Of this contemplated expedition Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair, British commandant at Michilimackinac, wrote General Haldimand, the 29th of May, saying:

"Your Excellency was informed by my letter of February last, that a party was to leave this place on the 10th of March to engage the Indians to the westward in an attack on the Spanish and Illinois country. Seven hundred and fifty men, including traders, servants and Indians, proceeded with them down the Mississippi for that purpose on the 2d day of May.

“During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at La Prairie du Chien, detachments were made to watch the river to intercept crafts coming up with provisions and to seize upon the people working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident.

“Thirty-six Minomies, at first intended as an escort, have brought to this place a large, armed boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men and a rebel commissary. From the mines they have brought seventeen Spanish and rebel prisoners, and stopped fifty tons of lead ore, and from both they obtained a good supply of provisions. The chiefs Machiquawish and Wabasha have kindled this spirit in the western Indians.

“Captain Langlade, with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians, will join a party assembled at Chicago, to make his attack by the Illinois river, and another party are sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi.

“I am now in treaty with the Ottawas about furnishing their quota to cut off the rebels at Post St. Vincents, but as they are under the management of two chiefs, the one a drunkard and the other an avaricious trader, I met with difficulties in bringing it about. Thirty Saguinah warriors are here in readiness to join them, and the island band can furnish as many more. . . .

“A part of the Menominis who are come here, some Puants, Sacks and Rhenards, go away immediately to watch the lead mines. Orders will be published at the Illinois for no person to go there who looks for receiving quarter, and the Indians have orders to give none to any without a British

pass. This requires every attention, and support being of the utmost consequence.”

Some damage was done by the invaders on the Spanish side of the river, but, in the main, the expedition proved a failure. An exaggerated account is given in a letter written by Sinclair to Haldimand on the 8th of July, 1780, which says :

“I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the two vessels sent into Lake Michigan have returned. They fortunately carried from this a force sufficient to enable the party retiring from the Illinois by Chicago to pass with safety through a band of Indians in the rebel interest and to embark in security, some in canoes and some on board the vessels. The others retired in two divisions, one by the Mississippi with Monsieur Calve, who allowed the prisoners taken by the Sacks and Outagamies to fall into the hands of the enemy. The other division penetrated the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, and are arrived here with their prisoners. Two hundred Illinois cavalry arrived at Chicago five days after the vessels left it. On the 26th of May Mr. Hesse, with the Winipigoes, Scioux, Ottawa, Ochipwa, Iowa, and a few of the Outagamies, Sacks, Mascoutins, Kickapous and Potawatamies.

“Twenty of the volunteer Canadians sent from this, and a very few of the traders and the servants, made their attack against Pencour and the Cahokias. . . .

“The Winnipigoes had a chief and three men killed, and four wounded, I fear one of them mortally. They are the only sufferers.

“The rebels lost an officer and three men killed at the Cahokias, and five prisoners.

“At Pencour sixty-eight were killed and eighteen blacks and white people made prisoners, amongst whom several good artificers. Many hundreds of cattle were destroyed and forty-three scalps are brought in. There is no doubt can remain from the concurrent testimony of the prisoners that the enemy received intelligence of the meditated attack against the Illinois, about the time I received a copy of my Lord George Germain’s circular letter.”

Colonel Clark was sent for in great haste to aid in repelling this threatened invasion, but exactly what part he took in it is not definitely known. There seems to have been a well-laid plan to attack the Americans simultaneously in different places, as at about the time of the invasion of the Illinois country a very formidable raid was made into Kentucky by a large force of British and Indians, principally the latter, under a British officer named Byrd, which naturally created great excitement and alarm among the residents of the frontier, and caused some, in despair, to desire to leave the country. It was, indeed, for that period, a formidable expedition, and might have proved far more calamitous to the Kentucky pioneers than it did. It was not only strong in numbers but in cannon and munitions of war, which, if properly handled, would undoubtedly have been disastrous to the American settlements. After capturing, by overwhelming force, Ruddell’s and Martin’s stations on the 22d of June, as before related, the British and Indians, for some cause never explained with certainty, hastily retired from the country by the same route

they had come, killing some of the prisoners and taking the rest, with the plunder of the stations, which the prisoners were made to carry with them.

Colonel Clark, realizing the bad effect the terror inspired by this raid was having upon the settlements, vigorously pushed forward his contemplated expedition into the enemy's country, not only to punish them, but to restore confidence to his own people. He selected the mouth of the Licking river as the place where all his forces were to meet, and there was a general turn out of all the men capable of bearing arms in Kentucky, in many instances leaving only the boys, very old men and women to provide food for themselves and guard the stations. From the interior came volunteers under such well-known Indian fighters as Harrod, Kenton and John Floyd. Clark moved the troops which had been gathered at the falls up the river, some in skiffs, some on foot, and some on horses marching and riding along the river bank. It is understood that, besides ammunition, each man carried a quantity of dried meat and six quarts of parched corn.

The only mishap to any of the troops while on the way to the mouth of the Licking was to a small number of men under Hugh McGary, celebrated alike for his rashness and his bravery, who were attacked, and roughly handled by the Indians on the north bank of the river, probably in Indiana, but the exact place is not now known. Several were badly wounded.

Clark left the mouth of the Licking for the Indian town of old Chillicothe with slightly less than a thousand men, and with one small cannon carried on a pack horse. About

forty men were left at the river, as a guard to the boats and other property, not carried into the interior. Some of these had been wounded at the time the Indians attacked the party led by Hugh McGary.

The Indians getting warning of Clark's approach, abandoned Chillicothe before his arrival. He burned the houses and pushed on to Piqua, not far distant, where he arrived on the morning of the 8th of August. Piqua was quite a town, with log houses stoutly built, and a strong block-house well constructed for defense. The cabins were generally surrounded with "truck patches" used for raising corn, beans, etc. The celebrated Simon Girty and his brother, it is said, were there with the Indians, of whom there were several hundred.

The American forces were divided into four divisions, Clark taking command of two and Colonel Benjamin Logan two. The latter was directed to make a detour and attack the village in the rear, but unfortunately failed to accomplish it in time to be of service. The fighting was mainly done by the divisions under Clark and continued, in a skirmishing way, for the most of the day; the Indians taking advantage of a grove of bushes and trees in the vicinity, as well as of the shelter and protection of the block-house and cabins. The cannon was finally brought into use, in an effective way, and the Indians successfully retreated, taking advantage of a ravine, and losing altogether only six or eight men, and the whites seventeen and quite a number wounded. The town was destroyed and also a large quantity of growing corn. Another village was also destroyed and the troops then marched back to the mouth of the Licking, most of them having

been out about four weeks. The expedition is said to have been beneficial to the Americans, notwithstanding they had more men killed than their opponents. It discouraged and cowed the Indians for a time, coupled with Byrd's singular retreat from Kentucky only a short time before, and the rest of the year they remained quiet.

DEATH OF JOSEPH ROGERS.

A most pathetic and tragic event occurred at the time of the fight at Piqua, which overwhelmed Colonel Clark with sorrow and regret: Joseph Rogers, a brother of John Rogers, who commanded The Willing in the campaign against Vincennes, and a favorite cousin of Colonel Clark, was a prisoner with the Indians at Piqua. The manner of his being made a prisoner, and the sad ending of his life, is thus related by his nephew, Hon. Joseph Rogers Underwood, formerly United States Senator from Kentucky, in a letter to Mrs. B. Kinkead, also a relative, a copy of which has kindly been furnished the author, and which, as far as he is aware, has never before been published.

The letter of Senator Underwood says, "there was great intimacy between the family of my grandfather, George Rogers, and that of his sister, Ann Clark. After (her son) George Rogers Clark, had been in Kentucky some time, he returned to Virginia, and in visiting his relations he persuaded my uncle, Joseph Rogers, to return with him to Kentucky." This was the time the governor and council of Virginia furnished Clark with five hundred pounds of powder which he undertook to convey to Kentucky for its defense in 1776, as related in a previous chapter.

“On reaching Maysville, then called Limestone,” continues Mr. Underwood, “the powder was hid and the party started for the settlements around Lexington and Harrodsburg. General Clark raised a party with means to transport the powder from its hiding place, and sent my uncle, Joseph Rogers, his first cousin, with the party to show where the powder was hid. This little band of pioneers was attacked by Indians on their way to Limestone, and defeated. Joseph Rogers was made a prisoner by them, taken to their homes north of the Ohio river, and, according to their custom, initiated into one of their families, to become one of them. Of course he was painted and dressed as an Indian.

“General Clark crossed the Ohio in the summer of 1780 and on the 8th of August of that year attacked the Indian village at Piqua. My uncle entered the fight with the Indians, but when the Indians retreated, instead of running away with them, he ran towards Clark’s army, shouting as he went, ‘I am a white man! I am a white man!’ But, unfortunately, he was shot down as he went. The wound was mortal and he died in a few hours. He desired that General Clark might be sent to him. The general came and they had a most affectionate interview, in which Rogers told him to say to his soldiers that he (Rogers) hurt none of them in the fight, having purposely overshot them all the time, and that he had lost his life in his anxiety to join them.”

The unfortunate Joseph Rogers died in the twenty-fifth year of his age. There was always some doubt whether he was shot by Clark’s men supposing him to be an Indian



DEATH OF JOSEPH ROGERS.

or by the Indians who saw he was trying to escape from them. It is to be hoped it was the latter, as there is something horrible in the idea that he was killed, even innocently, by his own friends, to whom he was trying to escape. Colonel Clark, naturally, would have felt intense sorrow at the death of any countryman under such circumstances. What then must have been his feelings when he realized it was the bright and beloved son of his mother's brother, whom he had influenced to leave his home in Virginia, only to find captivity, death and an unknown grave in the western wilderness.

During the absence of Colonel Clark in Kentucky and on the Piqua campaign against the Indians affairs were not going on very well, either in the Illinois country or at Fort Jefferson. In the former the principal dissatisfaction was on account of the worthless paper currency forced on the earlier inhabitants by the "new comers," and conflicts of authority between the old order of things and the military authorities. The bad condition of affairs is forcibly presented in the following letter, written from the latter place on the 1st of August, 1780, by John Dodge, an Indian agent, to Governor Jefferson: "The few troops that are now here are too inconsiderable to guard themselves; nor are the inhabitants much better, notwithstanding they remain in great spirits in expectation of relief from government, and have with great bravery defeated a very large party of savages, who made a regular attack on the village at daybreak on the morning of the 17th ult. Colonel Clark has divided his few men in the best manner possible, so as to preserve the country. The apprehension of a large

body of the enemy in motion from Detroit towards the falls of Ohio has called him there with what men he could well spare from this country, before he had well breathed, after the fatigues of an expedition up the Mississippi; and Colonel Crockett, not arriving with either men or provisions, as was expected, has really involved both the troops and settlers in much distress, and greatly damped the spirits of industry in the latter, which till lately was so conspicuous.

“I see no other alternative, from the present appearance of our affairs, but that the few goods I have left, after supplying the troops, must all go for the purchase of provisions to keep this settlement from breaking up; and how I shall ever support my credit, or acquit myself of the obligations I have bound myself under, to those of whom I have purchases for the troops before the arrival of the goods, I know not. Our credit is become so weak among the French inhabitants, our own, and the Spaniards on the opposite side of the Mississippi, that one dollar’s worth of provisions or other supplies can not be had from them without prompt payment, were it to save the whole country; by which you will perceive that, without a constant and full supply of goods in this quarter, to answer the exigencies of government, nothing can ever be well effected but in a very contracted manner.”

Matters grew worse as the fall advanced. On the 24th of October Captain Robert George, in command at Fort Jefferson, wrote Colonel Clark, describing the situation and imploring him to return. “Our present distress,” said he, “puts me under the necessity of informing you by

express, the absolute necessity of your presence at this place; we are reduced to a very small number at present, occasioned by famine, desertion, and numbers daily dying. We have but a very small quantity of provisions at present. Colonel Montgomery, on his way to New Orleans, called on us. He says that Captain Dodge has purchased one thousand bushels of corn and ten thousand pounds of flour, which is all that is to show from a cargo of eleven thousand hard dollars' worth of goods sent by Mr. Pollock to you, together with about five or six thousand dollars' worth from this place. We are informed they are entirely expended.

“I expect Captain Philip Barbour up every day with a quantity of goods for this state, and should be glad of directions from you, that they may not be exhausted in the manner we have no reason to doubt the first was. It's rather tedious to mention the conduct at the Illinois since your departure, as nothing but your presence can rectify it. If necessity detains you from us, pray send an express as soon as possible. The inhabitants (are) chiefly gone down the river, and what there is left is very much distressed. Lieutenant Clark sets off to Kaskaskia this morning to know the certainty of the provisions being purchased. It appears there was a pirogue sent down sometime ago, loaded with corn and flour, with eight men, who deserted with it down the river. I doubt the greatest part of this battalion will sure turn merchants, all for the want of your presence here, if there is not some steps taken to prevent it.

“Lieutenant Dalton is gone down the river with Colonel Montgomery, in order, if possible, to secure deserters. Captain Williams has arrived here with Colonel John Montgomery, and assumed the command, which I refused to give up, without further orders from you. Major Harlan is out hunting, but is at a loss for want of horses. I sent for all the state horses at Kaskaskia, but it appears there (are) but few. What’s gone with them God knows, but I believe there will be a very disagreeable account rendered to you of them, as well as many other things, when called for. The poor, distressed remains of this little borough joins in prayers for your presence once more at this place.”

Four days later Captain John Williams wrote him from the same place that: “On the 23d of this instant I arrived at this post by order of Colonel John Montgomery, to take the command, but from the character he at present bears Captain George did not think proper to give him or any other person the command at this post until he (is) properly relieved by your order. I, for my part, seeing times so precarious, and what might ensue from the least contest or umbrage between Captain Robert George and myself, am determined to remain as retired as possible until your arrival here.

“I commanded at Cahokia since the expedition up the Mississippi, till ordered to this post, and here I found both the soldiers as well as the inhabitants in the most desolate situation imaginable; not so much by reason of sickness as for the want of good provisions. There is a quantity of provisions purchased at present, but the difficulty we labor

under here is sickness; and lowness of water prevents us getting any provisions down at this time, by which reason we are kept constantly starving. As I am convinced before the reception of this you are satisfied from government in regard to my majority, I would be glad you would give me instructions by the first opportunity in what matter to act," etc.

Captain George continued "to hold the fort," as we find him writing from there on the 15th of February, 1781, to Colonel George Slaughter: "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 23d January last, and am happy to find you are so abundant as you express, as out of your great abundance I shall expect to receive frequent and large supplies, more especially in the commissary way. The small supplies you have sent us have been of infinite services, and if you frequently repeat them they will be of singular advantage, as we look to you for it; but those supplies I beg may be of a better quality than what is yet come to hand. The beef is really of the poorest kind—ill-cured, and not half salted. The barrels being bad, the pickle became wasted, if any had been put on, and though the meat does not absolutely stink, it wants little of it.

"Major Harlan will give you the news of the place. As I have to purchase supplies in the Illinois, it draws away the liquor from me fast; besides I am to send a supply to the Opost,* and Major Linitot has made a heavy draft on me for six hogsheads and the half of my ammunition for the use of the Indian department, and three hogsheads more to purchase eight months' provisions for twenty-five

*Vincennes.

men, which I have sent for the protection of the Opost, under the command of Captain Bayley.

“The credit of the state is so bad that nothing can be had either there or at Kaskaskia without prompt payment, and when our little stock is exhausted, I know not what we shall do except you take some care of us. Send us as much whisky as you please, as we are forced to expend our taffia for provisions. The enemy are approaching the Opost, and fortifying themselves at Miamis, so that the inhabitants of the Opost have petitioned me (for) an officer and men to uphold the honor of the state there, which I have complied with. . . . I have taken notice of your song and learned it. It is so good I wish you had sent more of it. I am under the necessity of putting a stop to the men’s rations of liquor in order to purchase provisions.”

COLONEL GEORGE SLAUGHTER.

Colonel George Slaughter to whom the foregoing letter was addressed, and Major Harlan mentioned therein, were both men of high standing. George Slaughter, the son of Robert Slaughter, was born in Culpepper county, Virginia, in 1739. He was in the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774, probably in the regiment of his father-in-law, Colonel John Fields, who was killed in that battle. He came to Kentucky after that and raised some corn there, but speedily returned to Virginia and joined the army under Washington, serving, it is said, as captain in Muhlenburg’s celebrated Eighth Virginia Regiment. He was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown in 1777; a colonel of volunteers in 1778, in Shelby’s Chickamauga campaign; at Vincennes

in May, 1779, and at the falls of the Ohio in November of that year. He was with Clark in the campaign against Piqua in 1780, and continued in service through 1781-2. Returned for a time to Virginia and was a member of the legislature of that state in 1784. Came west again and settled, first in Jefferson county, Kentucky, but finally removed to Charlestown, Indiana, where he continued to reside until his death, June 17, 1818, leaving his widow, Mary, but no children. She died at Warsaw, Kentucky, in extreme old age, and in the receipt of a pension. She was alive in 1836, at which time she was eighty-five years of age.

MAJOR SILAS HARLAN.

The Major Harlan referred to in the letter was Silas Harlan, after whom one of the counties of Kentucky was named. "He was born in Berkeley county, Virginia, near the town of Martinsburg. He came to Kentucky in 1774, and took a very active part in the battles and skirmishes with the Indians. He commanded a company of scouts under General George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaigns of 1779, and proved himself a most active, energetic and efficient officer. General Clark said he was one of the bravest and most accomplished soldiers that ever fought by his side. About the year 1778, he built a stockade fort on Salt river, seven miles above Harrodsburg, which was called 'Harlan's Station.' He was a major at the battle of Blue Licks, and fell in that memorable contest at the head of the detachment commanded by him. He was never married. In stature he was about six feet two inches, of fine

personal appearance, and was about thirty years old when he was killed. He was universally regarded as a brave, generous and active man.”*

The sickness which seemed to be so universal at that day in the locality of Fort Jefferson; the difficulty of keeping it supplied with provisions, because of the lack of families in the vicinity to cultivate the soil, and the more urgent need of troops in other places, finally led to its abandonment. This was probably some time in 1781. Some eighty-two or three years afterwards, the caving in of the bank of the Mississippi at or near the site of the fort exposed a long iron cannon which had apparently been buried when the fort was abandoned. This was found in possession of the owner of the land, during the Civil War, and was carried off by a party of Union soldiers, but the author has been unable to learn what afterwards became of this interesting relic of old historic Fort Jefferson.

In the fall of 1780 a native of France, named Augustin Moltin de la Balme, who claimed to have come to America with Lafayette and to have been a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in France and colonel in the continental army, embarked in an expedition from the Illinois country against the British posts on the lakes. † He succeeded in enlisting forty or fifty followers at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The number was slightly increased at Vincennes, but the whole number at no time exceeded one hundred. They succeeded in getting as far as the present site of Fort Wayne,

* Collins's Kentucky, Vol. 2, p. 320.

†Early Chicago and Illinois, p. 337.

at, or near, which they plundered the traders at the Indian villages of their goods, and not only exasperated the



LITTLE TURTLE.

traders, but the Indians as well. The latter, under the leadership of Little Turtle, the great chief of the Miamis, watched for a favorable opportunity, which they found at night, and not only defeated, but almost annihilated La Balme's entire party, and thus put an end to this rash and disastrous undertaking.

A letter to Colonel John Todd, the county lieutenant of the Illinois country, from his deputy, Richard Winston, gives some information of La Balme and his movements at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. The letter is dated Kaskaskia, October 21, 1780, and says:

“There passed this way a Frenchman; called himself Colonel de la Balme; he says, in the American service. I look upon him to be a malcontent, much disgusted at the Virginians, yet I must say he (did) some good, he pacified the Indians. He was received by the inhabitants just as the Hebrews would receive the Masiah—was conducted from the post here by a large detachment of the inhabitants as well as different tribes of Indians. He went from here against Detroit, being well assured that the Indians were on his side. Got at this place and the Kahos about fifty volunteers; are to rendezvous at Ouia (Ouiatenon). Captain Duplasi, from here, went along with him to Philadelphia, there to lay before the French ambassador all the grievances this country labors under by the Virginians, which is to be

strongly backed by Monsieur de la Balme. 'Tis the general opinion that he will take Baubin, the great partisan at Miamis, and from thence to Fort Pitt. . . . He passed about one month here without seeing Colonel Montgomery, nor did Montgomery see him.'* *

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 380.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTEMPLATED CAMPAIGN AGAINST DETROIT IN 1781— LOCHRY'S DEFEAT.

Council of war to consider an expedition against the British at Detroit, or "the Floridians on the Mississippi"—Early action delayed—Clark visits Virginia and aids in driving out the British—Secures Governor Jefferson's approval of an expedition against Detroit—Is commissioned brigadier-general thereof—Letter from General Washington approving the expedition, promising military stores and Continental troops—Letters of Jefferson and others on the subject—Colonel Gibson's regiment promised to Clark—Promises not fulfilled and expectations not realized—Country weary of war—Troops and army supplies hard to secure—Draft made but unsatisfactory—Clothing scarce—Paper money nearly worthless—Letters of Clark upon the discouraging situation—Bears up bravely under disappointments—Starts from Pittsburgh with but four hundred of the two thousand men expected—Events of voyage to falls of the Ohio—Colonel Lochry's command fails to join Clark at the appointed time and place—Follows on and is disastrously defeated—Distress of Colonel Clark at the defeat of Lochry and failure of campaign against Detroit—Colonel Crocket's letter defending Colonel Clark's conduct.

IT will be remembered with what concern Colonel Clark abandoned a campaign against Detroit after the capture of Vincennes. It was only an abandonment for that particular time, for it continued to be a chief aim of his military life during a long period, and its final failure was one of the chief regrets of his after life. He resumed its consideration on his return to the falls of the Ohio, and convened a council of war there, in the autumn of that year, to consider important military questions in connection with an expedition against the British, either at Detroit or the

Floridas, then in British possession. The author has the original proceedings of that important council, and gives it here, with a fac-simile of the signatures of the officers who signed it :

“At a council of war held at the falls of Ohio, this 16th November, 1779, by order of Colonel George Rogers Clark, colonel of the Illinois-Virginia regiment, and commander-in-chief of the western department, viz.:

“Present, Captain Robert George, president; Captain Thomas Quirk, Captain Edward Worthington, Captain Richard Harrison, Captain John Baily.

“The following propositions being presented from the colonel to the council, to wit: The gentlemen officers of the Illinois regiment present are requested to assemble in council at Bachelor’s hall, at twelve o’clock, for the consideration of the following propositions, and give in their opinions thereon, to wit :

“1st. What number of troops would enable us to reduce Detroit or the Floridians on the Mississippi ?

“2d. How are those troops to be supported with provisions ?

“3d. If those troops are to draw their subsistence from the Illinois, what would it require annually ?

“4th. If by tobacco lodged in French or Spanish posts, what quantity would be sufficient ?

“5th. What fortifications necessary for the Illinois, and where, their strength, etc. ?

“6th. What provisions might be furnished by the inhabitants of the Illinois ?

“Falls, November 16th, 1779.

“(Signed)

G. R. CLARK.

“Which propositions being duly considered, the council came to the following resolves thereon, that is to say :

“In answer to the 1st proposition, ‘what number of troops would enable us to reduce Detroit or the Floridians on the Mississippi?’ the council, considering the present state of Detroit and the well-affected dispositions of the adjacent inhabitants, do conceive that that post might be reduced by a few well-disciplined troops, but as these troops have a long, tedious and fatiguing march all the way through a hostile country, exposed to frequent interruptions and attacks from the savages, our natural enemy, as well as many unforeseen accidents, consequently attendant on long marches, they are unanimously of opinion that not less than one thousand troops would be requisite for effecting that purpose—which number they conceive would be amply sufficient, as well as for holding the same. . . . The reductions of the Floridians on the Mississippi the council conceived to be by no means either of so difficult or dangerous a nature as that of Detroit. When they consider that there are few or no savages to encounter with, the descent speedy and rapid, without fatiguing the troops, the inhabitants being finally well affected towards us; the great probability of the enemy being much weakened for want of the necessary supplies and re-enforcements. Add to all, the certainty of war being declared between Spain and Great Britain, and of the enemy being blocked up or narrowly watched at Mobile and Pensacola, from whence all the supplies and re-enforcements, if on the Mississippi, must come. These considerations induce them to be unanimously of opinion that the Floridians would become a safe and easily conquest with five hundred troops, well

disciplined, who would also be sufficient to protect a country, etc.

“In answer to the second proposition, ‘how are those troops to be supported in provisions?’ the council are of opinion that supplies of bread kind can be furnished from the Illinois country; but as to the meat species, it must come from some part of the Ohio or waters east thereof.

“The council are unable to ascertain the sum it would require annually in case the troops should draw their subsistence from the Illinois as mentioned in the third proposition, because they do not think the Illinois can furnish a sufficiency of the meat species, besides the price of provisions, as well as all other necessaries in that country, is so variable, fluctuating and uncertain.

“The fourth proposition, ‘if by tobacco lodged in French or Spanish ports, what quantity would be sufficient?’ has been answered by the foregoing, as the council know of no standard price for either tobacco or provisions to make just calculations.

“To the fifth proposition, ‘what fortifications for the Illinois and where, their strength, etc.?’ the council (say) that ’tis their opinion three fortifications are sufficient, viz.: one at Kahokia, one at Post St. Vincent, one at Auabache, and one at or near the mouth of the Ohio, in the most convenient place on the banks of the Mississippi, each fortification to be one hundred feet square in the clear within the walls, to be built of earth dug out of an entrenchment ten feet deep, with earth thrown upon the inside of said entrenchment, must form a wall of ten feet high and eight feet thick, which with the entrenchment, which will form a wall of twenty feet perpendicular, on the top

of which they conceive it necessary there should be a wooden wall of sawed or hewn timber ten feet high, twelve inches thick, with bastions at each corner so proportioned that one shall clear another. The garrison at Kahokia to consist of one hundred and fifty troops, and the garrison at Post St. Vincent of one hundred and fifty troops, and the garrison at or near the mouth of Ohio, two hundred troops.

“The sixth proposition inquires, ‘what provisions might be furnished by the inhabitants of the Illinois?’ to which the council answer as their unanimous opinion that the Illinois inhabitants might supply five hundred troops in provisions of the bread kind yearly, but as to the meat species they can not conceive that any dependence can be placed on them for that article.”

John Boling Capt
 R. D. Harrison Capt. Sr.
 Co. d. Worthington Capt
 Tho. Duval Capt
 M. G. George Capt. Presd.

The building of Fort Jefferson, its siege by the Indians, occurrences in the Illinois country, the invasion of Ken-

tucky by the British and Indians under Byrd, Clark's own campaign against the Indians at Piqua, and other stirring events, occurring in rapid succession, delayed action in relation to a campaign against Detroit, but he did not, for a moment, contemplate giving it up. He realized that further assistance from the Virginia authorities was absolutely necessary, and that personal interviews with them were essential to success. To that end he repaired to Virginia towards the close of 1780.

We know that he was there at the time Virginia was invaded by the British, under Benedict Arnold, and that he rendered important services in aiding to drive them from the country. On this subject the life of Patrick Henry, by his grandson, says: "The enemy's fleet of twenty-seven sail, having aboard the traitor Arnold, with a force estimated at one thousand men, aided by wind and tide, ascended the James with slight obstruction, and he reached Richmond on January 5, 1781. The governor had commenced to remove the public property on January 2. The enemy destroyed the stores that remained, and pushed on to Westham, seven miles above on the river, where there was a foundry for casting cannon, and a laboratory; they burned the public buildings and the stores which had not been removed. On January 6, Arnold commenced his retreat, reaching Westover on the next day. By that time Colonel Nicholas, with three hundred men, was six miles above him. General Nelson had collected two hundred at Charles City Court-House, eight miles below; between two and three hundred men at Petersburg had placed themselves under General Smallwood, who happened to be

passing through the state, and Baron Steuben and General Gibson had eighteen hundred men on the south side of the James hastening to intercept the invaders. At Hood's, Colonel George Rogers Clark, with an advanced party, drew some of the British into an ambuscade, killed seventeen, and wounded thirteen. This was the only blood shed."

Colonel Clark had already secured the approval of Governor Jefferson to the proposed expedition against Detroit, as will be seen from a letter Clark wrote him from Richmond, Virginia, on the 18th of January, 1781, in which he said: "I have examined your proposed instructions. I don't recollect of anything more that is necessary except the mode of paying the expenses of the garrison of Detroit, in case of success, as supporting our credit among strangers may be attended with great and good consequences, and my former experiences induce me to wish it to be the case where I have the honor to command.

"I would also observe to Your Excellency that I could wish to set out on this expedition free from any reluctance, which I doubt I can not do without a satisfactory explanation of the treatment of the Virginia delegates in congress to me, in objecting to an appointment designed for me, which Your Excellency can not be a stranger to. I could wish not to be thought to solicit promotion; and that my duty to myself did not oblige me to transmit these sentiments to you. The treatment I have generally met with from this state hath prejudiced me as far as consistent in her interest and wish not to be distrusted in the execution of her orders by any continental colonel who may be in the

countries that I have business in, which I doubt will be the case, although the orders of the commander-in-chief is very positive." *

What is meant by his reference in this letter to the objection of the Virginia delegates to an appointment designed for him is, presumably, explained in a letter of General Washington to Governor Jefferson next hereafter quoted. He appears to have wanted some appointment or promotion on the continental establishment, or some action that would prevent his being outranked, or interfered with by any "Continental colonel" in the same locality, where he might happen to be. If his desire was to be promoted as an officer of the state of Virginia he was soon gratified, for three or four days after this letter was written Governor Jefferson issued to him a commission as "brigadier-general of all the forces to be embodied in an expedition westward of the Ohio;" a deserved promotion which met with general approval.

The governor also did everything in his power to facilitate the expedition. He had written to General Washington some time before asking his co-operation, which was cheerfully granted, as will be seen by his letter to Governor Jefferson, dated at "New Windsor, December 28, 1780," in which he said: "Your Excellency's favor of the 13th reached me this day. I have ever been of opinion, that the reduction of the post of Detroit would be the only certain means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier, and I have consequently kept my eye upon that object; but, such has been the reduced state of our conti-

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 441.

mental force, and such the low ebb of our funds, especially of late, that I have never had it in my power to make the attempt.

“I shall think it a most happy circumstance, should your state, with the aid of continental stores which you require, be able to accomplish it. I am so well convinced of the general public utility with which the expedition, if successful, will be attended, that I do not hesitate a moment in giving directions to the commandant at Fort Pitt to deliver to Colonel Clark the articles which you request, or so many of them as he may be able to furnish. I have also directed him to form such a detachment of continental troops as he can safely spare, and put them under the command of Colonel Clark. There is a continental company of artillery at Fort Pitt, which I have likewise ordered upon the expedition, should it be prosecuted. The officers of this company will be competent to the management of the mortar and howitzers.

“I do not know for what particular purpose Colonel Clark may want the six-pound cannon; but, if he expects to derive advantage from them in the reduction of works of any strength, he will find himself disappointed. They are not equal to battering a common log block-house, at the shortest range. This we have found upon experience. I would, therefore, advise him to consider this point, and leave them behind, unless he sees a probability of wanting them in the field. I have enclosed the letter for Colonel Brodhead commanding at Fort Pitt, which Colonel Clark may deliver whenever he sees fit. It is possible that some

advantage may arise from keeping the true destination of the expedition a secret as long as circumstances will admit. If so, the fewer who are intrusted the better.

“The matter which the house of delegates have referred to my determination stands thus. A board of general officers in the year 1778 determined that officers bearing continental commissions should take rank of those having state commissions only while their regiments continued upon a state establishment; but that, when such regiments became continental, the officers should be entitled to receive continental commissions from the date of their state appointments. Thus, you see, it is not in my power to recommend them to congress for continental commissions, while in state regiments, without infringing an established rule.

“As to the second point, ‘whether such officers shall have promotion in the line, or be confined to the said two regiments,’ I think that they had best, for the sake of peace and harmony, be confined to the two regiments. For many of those officers left the continental line in very low ranks and obtained very high ranks in that of the state. This created much uneasiness when the troops came together in service; and it was with difficulty that many of the continental officers could be made to brook being commanded by those who had been their inferiors the preceding campaign. I am, therefore, of opinion, that an attempt to introduce those gentlemen now into the continental line would create a source of infinite discontent and uneasiness, more especially as you have a sufficient number of officers at home and in captivity (and vacancies ought in justice to

be reserved for such of the latter as wish to serve again), for the quota of continental troops assigned to the state by the last establishment." *

In his letter to Colonel David Broadhead, referred to in the previous letter, General Washington indorses the expedition to the fullest extent, as he does also Colonel Clark, although not knowing him personally. He said: "The state of Virginia has determined to undertake an expedition which I have ever had in view, and which I wished to carry into execution by a continental force; but you are sufficiently acquainted with the situation of our affairs, both as to men and supplies, to know that it has been impossible to attempt it. It is the reduction of the post of Detroit.

"His Excellency Governor Jefferson informs me that he thinks they shall be able, with the aid of some artillery and stores already at Fort Pitt, to accomplish this most desirable object; and that, should they even fail of carrying their point, much good will result from creating a diversion and giving the enemy employ in their own country. The artillery and stores required by Governor Jefferson are four field-pieces, and sixteen hundred balls suited to them; one eight-inch howitzer, and three hundred shells suited to it; two royals; grape-shot; necessary implements and furniture for the above; five hundred spades; two hundred pick-axes; one traveling-forge; some boats, should the state not have enough prepared in time; some ship-carpenter's tools.


"Colonel Clark, who is to command the expedition, will probably be the bearer of this himself; and you are to deliver to him, or his order, at such times as he shall require

* Sparks's Washington, Vol. 7, p. 341.

them, all or so many of the foregoing articles as you shall have it in your power to furnish. You will likewise direct the officers with the company of artillery to be ready to move when Colonel Clark shall call for them; and as it is my wish to give the enterprise every aid which our small force can afford, you will be pleased to form such a detachment as you can safely spare from your own and Gibson's regiments, and put it under the command of Colonel Clark also. I should suppose that the detachment can not be made more than a command for a captain or major at most. You know the necessity of confining it to a continental officer of inferior rank to Colonel Clark.

“Your good sense will, I am convinced, make you view this matter in its true light. The inability of the continent to undertake the reduction of Detroit, which, while it continues in possession of the enemy, will be a constant source of trouble to the whole western frontier, has of necessity imposed the task upon the state of Virginia, and of consequence makes it expedient to confer the command upon an officer of that state.

“This being the case, I do not think the charge of the enterprise could have been committed to better hands than Colonel Clark's. I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman, but, independently of the proofs he has given of his activity and address, the unbounded confidence which I am told the western people repose in him is a matter of vast importance; as I imagine a considerable part of his force will consist of volunteers and militia, who are not to be governed by military laws, but must be held by the ties of confidence and affection to their leader.



“I shall conclude with recommending to you, in general, to give every countenance and assistance to this enterprise, should no circumstances intervene to prevent its execution. One thing you may rest assured of, and that is, that, while offensive operations are going forward against Detroit and the Indians in alliance with the British in that quarter, your posts with small garrisons in them and proper vigilance will be perfectly secure. For this reason, and the expedition depending upon the supplies here required, I shall expect a punctual compliance with this order, and am, with real esteem and regard, etc.”*

Governor Jefferson followed up General Washington's efforts in the same quarter, and on the 13th of February, 1781, wrote General Clark that, “Still having at heart the success of the expedition at the head of which you are placed, we have obtained leave from Baron Steuben for Colonel J. Gibson to attend you as next in command, and, of course, to succeed to your office in the event of your death or captivity, which, however disagreeable in contemplation, yet, as being possible, it is our duty to provide against. I have added my most pressing request to Colonel Broadhead that he permit Colonel Gibson's regiment to be added to your force for the expedition, a request which I hope will be successful as coinciding with the spirit of General Washington's recommendations. Colonel Gibson is to go by Baltimore to see the powder conveyed to Fort Pitt. The articles which were to be sent from this place to Frederic county were duly forwarded a few days after you left us.”†

* Spark's Washington, Vol. 7, p. 343.

† Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 511.

The Colonel Gibson referred to in this letter was Colonel John Gibson, afterwards the first secretary of Indiana territory, and for a time acting governor. His selection was

John Gibson

entirely satisfactory to General Clark, and all that now seemed to be required was the raising

of two thousand men, which was the number thought to be necessary to make the expedition a success.

But this was the zenith of his expectations and his prospects, for, notwithstanding the favor shown the enterprise by Washington and Jefferson, two of the foremost men of that day, unavoidable difficulties and disappointments began to appear, and continued to make themselves felt with crushing pertinacity to the end, and all the facts at command evidence that this was in no way due to any fault of his own.

The truth is, the long continuance of the War of the Revolution had brought the people to realize that it was a very serious matter and military zeal and desire to engage in military campaigns had very much abated. This was particularly true in Virginia and Pennsylvania, where the horrors of the war had been brought within their own state limits, and it was in the former, mainly, that he expected to raise his troops. The fighting population felt they were needed nearer home, and, besides, continental money had become so worthless that pay was not likely to be at all adequate.

Finally it was undertaken to draft militia for the expedition, and the following letter, written to Governor Jefferson, February 9, 1781, by Colonel John Smith, the county

lieutenant of Frederic, will show what the result was in that county :

“The orders for a draught of two hundred and eighty men from the militia from that country to serve under Colonel Clark has been executed, so far as to direct the men to hold themselves in readiness. But the difficulty will be to compel these men to march, owing to their aversion to this expedition.

“Even should this be accomplished, he can not procure twenty guns in the country, and without arms they could do nothing. Colonel Clark has been informed of this difficulty, and says arms can be procured in Philadelphia. Major Hunter, the bearer of this, will give further particulars in regard to the sentiments of the people of the county.”*

The same condition of affairs prevailed in other counties, and there seemed to be a general feeling of indifference, or repugnance, as to going off on such a distant campaign. Besides, the deplorable financial condition of Virginia at that time prevented suitable clothing and equipments being promptly furnished the troops when they were raised. Colonel Joseph Crockett wrote the governor from Shepardstown, on the 4th of March, that “By orders received from Colonel Clark, we have just returned from Frederic town to this place, in hopes to get the regiment equipped for the western expedition. I must beg leave once more to mention to Your Excellency the great distress the regiment is in for want of clothing, the soldiers being almost naked for want of linen, and entirely without

* Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 502.

shoes. Colonel Clark informs me he expects a considerable quantity of linen at Winchester, of which we shall have a part. As for shoes, I know not where to apply.

“This will be handed to Your Excellency by Captain Cherry, paymaster to the western battalion, who will wait on the treasurer for a sum of money due the officers, agreeable to a late act of assembly, and also will with cheerfulness obey any commands Your Excellency may please to lay on him, in order to serve the regiment in forwarding clothing, money, etc.”*

The trouble was that when the money did come it was usually in paper, and of little or no value. Colonel John Gibson, writing to the governor of Virginia (Nelson) September 18, 1781, says: “He had been ordered the winter before by Governor Jefferson from Richmond to Philadelphia, in order to forward a supply of powder to Fort Pitt, for the expedition under General Clark. The money sent through Ensign Tannehill to defray the expenses incident to this duty ‘would not pass at any rate’ in that country, and he now returns it by Mr. Boreman, with the request that it be exchanged, etc.”†

General Clark bore up under all these vexations and disappointments with remarkable fortitude. Foiled at one point he turned hopefully to another and never relaxed his efforts. The severest blow came in Broadhead's failure to assign him Colonel Gibson and his regiment as had been requested by Jefferson and Washington. Clark fully realized the danger of this failure, but did not despair. From Fort

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 572.

†Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 458.



Pitt he wrote earnest appeals to both. On the 20th of May he wrote this feeling letter to General Washington: "Reduced to the necessity of taking every step to carry my point the ensuing campaign, I hope Your Excellency will excuse me in taking the liberty of troubling you with this request. The invasion of Virginia put it out of the power of the governor to furnish me with the number of men proposed for the enterprise to the west, but informed me he had obtained leave from the Baron Steuben, and agreeable to your letters, for Colonel John Gibson and regiment and Heth's company to join my forces, an addition of men with them the militia we were disappointed of.

"On consulting Colonel Broadhead he could not conceive he was at liberty to let them go, as your instructions were pointed, respecting the stores and troops to be furnished by him. From Your Excellency's letters to Colonel Broadhead I supposed him at liberty to furnish what men he pleased. Convinced he did not think as I do, or otherwise he would have had no objections, as he appeared to wish to give the enterprise every aid in his power.

"The hopes of obtaining a grant of these troops has induced me to address Your Excellency myself, as it is too late to consult Governor Jefferson farther on the subject, wishing to set out on the expedition early in June, as our store of provisions is nearly complete. If our force should be equal to the task proposed I can not conceive but that this post with every small garrison even of militia will be in any danger, as it is attached to a populous country, and during our time in the enemy's (country), McIntosh and

Wheeling will be useless, or might also be garrisoned by small parties of militia.

“These I know to be Your Excellency’s ideas. If you should approve of the troops in this department joining our forces, though they are few the acquisition may be attended with great and good consequences, as two hundred only might turn the scale in our favor.

“The advantages which must derive to the states from our proving successful is of such importance that I think (it) deserved greater preparations to insure it. But I have not yet lost sight of Detroit. Nothing seems to threaten us but the want of men, but even should (we) be able to cut our way through the Indians and find that they have no re-enforcements at Detroit, we may probably have the assurance to attack it, though our force may be much less than proposed which was two thousand, as defeating the Indians with inconsiderable loss on our side would almost insure us success. Should this be the case a valuable peace will probably ensue.

“But on the contrary, if we fall through in our present plans and no expedition should take place, it is to be feared that the consequences will be fatal to the whole frontier, as every exertion will be made by the British party to harass them as much as possible—disable them from giving any succor to our eastern or southern forces. The Indian war is now more general than ever—any attempt to appease them will be fruitless. Captain Randolph waits on Your Excellency for an answer to this letter, which I flatter myself you will honor me with immediately. Colonel Gibson who commands in the absence of Colonel Broadhead will

keep the troops in readiness to move at an hour's warning; conducting myself as though this request was granted, impatiently waiting for the happy order." *

Three days later he wrote from "Yahogania C. H." the following letter to the governor of Virginia: "A few days past I received dispatches from the Illinois, Kentucky, etc., of a late date. I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that near one hundred thousand pounds of beef at the Kentucky is spoilt by the persons engaged to procure it. About the same quantity on hand excellent good, and two hundred and fifty head of cattle promised by the inhabitants. The Indians have done considerable damage there. The enclosed copies are all that is worth your notice from the Illinois, but what you already knew of by former letters from that country.

"You will see the measures that have been taken respecting Shannon and Moor and the issue. Colonel Broadhead would not agree to suffer Colonel Gibson's regiment to go on the expedition, as he said he could not answer for it. I have written to General Washington in consequence as per enclosed copies. The continental officers and soldiers of this department to a man (are) anxious for the expedition supposed against the Indians. The country in general wishing it to take place, but too few think of going, and so great a contrast between the people of the two states in this quarter that no method can be taken to force them to war.

"We are taking every step in our power to raise volunteers. What number we shall get I can't as yet guess. I doubt too few. The disappointment of seven hundred men

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 108.

from Berkeley and Hampshire I am afraid is too great a stroke to recover (from), as in fact the greatest part of this country is in subordination neither to Pennsylvania or Virginia. General Washington informs me that he had received information that Colonel Connelly had left New York with a design to make a diversion in the countries to be re-enforced by Sir John Johnson in Canada.

“I doubt, sir, we shall as usual be obliged to play a desperate game this campaign. If we had the two thousand men first proposed, such intelligence would give me pleasure. The greatest part of our stores have come to hand, the remainder I shortly expect. By the greatest exertions and your timely supplies of money we have the boats and provisions expected in this quarter nearly completed.

“I propose to leave this about the 15th of June, if we can embody a sufficient number of men by that time. I do not yet despair of seeing the proposed object on tolerable terms, although our circumstances (are) rather gloomy. Colonel Crockett and regiment arrived a few days past who informed me that a company or two (of) volunteers might be expected from Frederick and Berkeley. I am sorry we are so circumstanced as to be glad to receive them.”*

Colonel John Gibson, then in command at Fort Pitt, offered General Clark every facility in his power, but he plainly foresaw that he was not likely to secure the number of men necessary to the success of a campaign against Detroit, and he foreshadowed as much, on the 30th of May, in a letter to Governor Jefferson, in which he said:

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 116.



“General Clark will write Your Excellency by this opportunity and I make no doubt give you every information relative to the intended expedition. I am much afraid he will not be able to get many of the militia from this quarter, as I have just heard that three hundred men from the counties of Monongahela and Ohio have crossed the Ohio at Wheeling, and are gone to cut off the Moravian Indian towns; if so they will hardly turn out on their return.

“Indeed it appears to me they have done this in order to evade going with General Clark. The Moravians have always given the most convincing proofs of their attachment to the cause of America, by always giving intelligence of every party that came against the frontiers; and on the late expedition they furnished Colonel Broadhead and his party with a large quantity of provisions when they were starving. For the news of this post, permit me to refer Your Excellency to the bearer, Ensign Tannehill.” *

General Clark expected to have left Fort Pitt by the 15th of June with two thousand men, but they could not be secured, notwithstanding he made the most strenuous efforts to that end, and delays were unavoidable. The failure to secure the continental troops, under Gibson, was followed by the failure to procure seven hundred men expected to be raised in Hampshire and Berkeley counties, in Virginia, and those from Frederick dwindled away to only a small part of the number anticipated. These, and other disappointments and difficulties, delayed his departure, and

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 131.

finally he started down the river with only about four hundred, instead of two thousand men, as intended. Some additional troops were expected to overtake him but never did, as will be seen later.

Clark was at Wheeling on the 4th of August, on which day he wrote the following gloomy letter to the governor of Virginia: "I make no doubt but it was alarming to you that I had not left this country. Whoever undertakes to raise an army in this quarter will find himself disappointed—except the law was of greater force, and not depending on the wills of the populace. This country calls aloud for an expedition, wishing me to put it into execution, but (the people are) so strangely infatuated that all the methods I have been able to pursue will not draw them into the field. We have made draughts to no purpose. Governor Reed also wrote to them, but to no effect.

"From the time I found I was to be disappointed in the troops ordered by government I began to suspect the want of men, which is now the case when everything else is prepared. I could not get Colonel Gibson's regiment, otherwise I should have been gone long since—had to make up the deficiency by volunteers, but finding that no arguments are sufficient, I determined to quit them, leaving no stone unturned by which they might hereafter excuse themselves. To save the garrison of Pittsburgh from being evacuated, I have been obliged to spare them a considerable quantity of flour, but yet have enough to do something clever had I men.

"I have relinquished my expectation relative to the plans heretofore laid, and shall drop down the river with what



CLARK'S DEPARTURE FROM PITTSBURGH.
Reproduced from the original taken from the south side of the Monongahela by Louis Brantje, Esq.

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men I have, amounting to about four hundred; consisting of Crockett's regiment, Craig's artillery, volunteers, etc. If I find a prospect of completing my forces in any other country I shall do it, and make my strokes according to circumstances. If I find it out of my power to do anything of importance, I shall dispose of the public stores to the greatest advantage and quit all further thoughts of enterprise in this quarter.

“I do not yet condemn myself for undertaking the expedition against Detroit. I yet think, had I near the number of men at first proposed, should have carried it. I may yet make some stroke among the Indians before the close of the campaign, but at present (that is) really to be doubted.

“I have been at so much pains to enable us to prosecute the first plan, that the disappointment is doubly mortifying to me, and I feel for the dreadful consequences that will ensue throughout the frontier if nothing is done. This country already begins to suspect it and to invite me to execute some plans of their own, but I shall no longer trust them.

“I shall hereafter transmit to Your Excellency copies of all the public letters sent and received respecting the expedition, by which you will see the very great pains that have been taken with the inhabitants of this country to little purpose. The unsettled state of the government is very hurtful to public measures among them. I have spared to Colonel Harrison £126581 17s to enable him to go on with his business, which he is to settle with the auditors.

Be pleased to order me credit for it on their books. I think Colonel Harrison has done himself honor in conducting his business.”*

LOCHRY'S DEFEAT.

Part of the troops which General Clark expected would join him at Wheeling, Virginia, where there was then a fort, called Fort Henry, were recruited largely in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, by Colonel Archibald Lochry, the county lieutenant of that county. In the command of Colonel Lochry were a company of volunteer riflemen raised by Captain Robert Orr, two companies of rangers under Captains Samuel Shannon and Thomas Stockley, and a company of horse under command of Captain William Campbell; but these companies could not have been full, as there were but one hundred and seven men in the party when they passed down the Ohio river.

Colonel Lochry started with his command from Carnahan's block-house, eleven miles west of Hannastown, Pennsylvania, late in July or early in August, 1781, to join General Clark's forces. It is pretty certain that the date of departure from Carnahan's was not earlier than the 24th of July, or later than the 3d of August, and all accounts agree that the party reached Wheeling on the 8th of the latter month, coming by land as far as Pittsburgh, and from thence by water.

There had, apparently, been unexpected and unavoidable delay, which proved to be most unfortunate, as will be seen in the sequel. General Clark waited at Wheeling

* Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 294.

five days longer than was intended, and, finding further delay dangerous, as his troops were restless and many deserting, he left Wheeling the day before the arrival of Colonel Lochry's party, hearing nothing from them, and dropped down the river "about twelve hours," leaving provisions and boats for their use, with directions to follow him.

But here was another serious delay, for they did not arrive at the place below, to which Clark had gone, until ten days later, having been detained, mainly, by preparation of additional boats for the transportation of men and horses. Again they were one day too late, as General Clark had departed the day before for the mouth of the Kanawha river, where he expected to await their arrival, and he left Lieutenant Creacraft and some men, with a boat, but, unfortunately, did not leave ammunition and provisions, of which the Lochry party were now in great need, although that fact was probably not known by General Clark.

Misfortunes were still pursuing them. So much dissatisfaction had developed among the troops with General Clark that there was danger of the force being greatly reduced by desertions, a party of nineteen having already deserted, and therefore he decided not to remain at the mouth of the Kanawha, for the Lochry party to come up, as he had intended. He left a letter, suspended from a pole, directing the party to come down the river. But the river was low, and none of the Lochry party seemed familiar with the channel, and their supplies having run short they now felt themselves in such bad condition that they lost hope of overtaking Clark with their whole force,

but decided to send Captain Shannon, with seven men in a swift moving boat, to overtake him, if possible, and inform him of the situation.

This, under ordinary circumstances, was a wise determination, and would doubtless have been successful but for an overwhelming and unexpected disaster which occurred to Captain Shannon and most of his men. They were captured by the Indians, and with them a letter to Clark, disclosing the situation of Lochry's party, which before was unknown to the Indians and their British leaders, who supposed that Clark and Lochry's forces were coming down the river together.

This capture was the greatest misfortune that had yet befallen the Americans. Their weak and divided condition was now definitely made known to the enemy, who promptly decided to take advantage of the opportunity. They had long been advised of the intended expedition against Detroit, and were watching Clark's voyage down the river, but overestimated both his force and the number of his cannon, and, thus far, had made no attack. Now they were better informed, and determined, when the right time came, to attack Lochry's party.

They watched their opportunity, and finally collected, about eleven miles below the mouth of the great Miami river, three hundred strong, under able leaders. The celebrated chief, Brant, is said to have been one of them, but this is not entirely certain.

The Indians, with their usual cunning, forced and persuaded Shannon's party, under promise of release, to station themselves at a prominent place on the north side of the

river to hail the Lochry party as they descended and induce them to surrender, on the ground that resistance against such an overwhelming force would result in certain destruction, whereas if they surrendered their lives would be spared. It is said the prisoners (of course with guards near enough to prevent escape) were stationed at the head of an island about three miles below a creek flowing into the Ohio, now the dividing line between Dearborn and Ohio counties, in the state of Indiana, and called Lochry, as is also the island, after the unfortunate commander of this division of the expedition.

The Indians, however, attacked the Lochry party before reaching this point, probably at or near the mouth of the creek before referred to, there being some dispute as to the exact spot where the attack was made. The fighting appears to have been brought on earlier and a little higher up than the Indians intended, because of the Americans having stopped their boats here to take the horses on the shore to graze, feed for them on the boats being exhausted.

Lieutenant Isaac Anderson, who had command of Captain Shannon's company, and was taken prisoner, kept a journal of the campaign, from which the following extracts are taken:

August 8, 1781. Arrived at Wheeling fort, and found Clark was settled down the river about twelve hours.

August 9th. Colonel Lochry sent a quartermaster and officer of the horse after him, which overtook him at Middle island and returned; then started all our foot troops on seven boats and our horses by land to Grave creek.

August 13th. Moved down to Fishing creek; we took Lieutenant Baker and sixteen men, deserting from General Clark, and went that day to middle of Long Reach, where we staid that night.

August 15th. To the Three islands, where we found Major Creacroft waiting on us with a horse-boat. He, with his guard, six men, started that night after General Clark.

August 16th. Colonel Lochry detailed Captain Shannon with seven men and letter after General Clark, and moved that day to the Little Kanawha with all our horses on board the boats.

August 17th. Two men went out to hunt who never returned to us. We moved that day to Buffalo island.

August 18th. To Catfish island.

August 19th. To Bare Banks.

August 20th. We met with two of Shannon's men, who told us they had put to shore to cook, below the mouth of the Siotha (Scioto), where Shannon sent them and a sergeant out to hunt. When they got about half a mile in the woods they heard a number of guns fire, which they supposed to be Indians firing on the rest of the party, and they immediately took up the river to meet us; but, unfortunately, the sergeant's knife dropped on the ground and it ran directly through his foot, and he died of the wound in a few minutes. We sailed that night.

August 21st. We moved to Two islands.

August 22d. To the Sassafras bottom.

August 23d. Went all day and all night.

August 24th. Colonel Lochry ordered the boats to land on the Indiana shore, about ten miles below the mouth of the Great Meyamee (Miami) river, to cook provisions and cut grass for the horses, when we were fired on by a party of Indians from the bank. We took to our boats, expecting to cross the river, and were fired on by another party in a number of canoes, and soon we became a prey to them. They killed the colonel and a number more after they were prisoners. The number of our killed was about forty. They marched us that night about eight miles up the river and encamped.

August 25th. We marched eight miles up the Meyamee river and encamped.

August 26th. Lay in camp.

August 27th. The party that took us was joined by one hundred white men under the command of Captain Thompson and three hundred Indians under the command of Captain McKee.

August 28th. The whole of the Indians and whites went down against the settlements of Kentucky, excepting a sergeant and eighteen men, which were left to take care of sixteen prisoners and stores that were left there. We lay there until the 15th of September.

September 15, 1781. We started toward the Shawna towns on our way to Detroit.

Lieutenant Anderson was first taken to Detroit, then to Fort Niagara, finally to Montreal, where he escaped, reaching his home in Pennsylvania just one year after his departure on the unfortunate expedition.



LOCHRY'S DEFEAT.

The place where the attack on Colonel Lochry's party was made was where a sand bar projected far out from the shore making the river, which was then at a low stage of water, very narrow at that point. As the Indians knew perfectly well that they were three times as strong in numbers as the party they were going to attack, it is believed that they had a portion of their force on each side of the river, so as to take advantage of the advance or retreat of the Americans in either direction; and the attack was probably made from both sides, which has led to some confusion as to where the fight began. The evidence, however, is positive that the main attack, and the slaughter and capture of Lochry's party was on the Indiana side, at, or near, the mouth of Lochry's creek.

General Clark had already passed on down the river in safety, and was entirely ignorant of the threatened calamity to Colonel Lochry's command. It is not likely the latter had any idea the Indians were near in such force, or that he was in immediate danger. However, as Captain Shannon had not returned, it seems somewhat strange that he, and his command, did not act with greater caution and make a better defense, but their helpless condition should be remembered, and that they had no positive evidence of Indians being in the immediate vicinity.

They were in a strange country, on a part of the river unknown to them, out of provisions, and almost out of ammunition. The horses were starving and were landed at a favorable spot to feed upon the luxuriant grass and pea vines growing in that locality. The men, too, were greatly in need of food, and had killed a buffalo, which some of

them were cooking when the Indians rushed upon them with such impetuosity and overwhelming numbers that all the Americans were either killed or captured.

This was the sad and deplorable ending of Colonel Lochry's unfortunate expedition, and it was more destructive and disastrous to the whites than any conflict with the Indians that had ever before occurred on what is now Indiana soil—or probably any that had occurred in the western country. Forty-one Americans were killed and the rest taken prisoners. Of the whole number who left Pennsylvania on the expedition only a month before, less than half returned to their homes. The mournful tidings did not reach Pennsylvania for several months but when it did “their misfortunes threw the people of the country into the greatest consternation and despair, particularly Westmoreland county, Lochry's party being all the best men of their frontier.” *

But it was not in Pennsylvania alone that the sad news filled the hearts of the people with sorrow. It was mourned and deplored by sympathizing Americans everywhere; but by none more sincerely than by General Clark, and for many reasons, not the least of which was that it was the finishing blow that extinguished, forever, all hope of a successful campaign against Detroit, which he had so long and so fondly cherished, as well as all hope of any immediate campaign against the Indians.

His distress was increased by unjust criticism of some of the people of Pennsylvania who thought he ought to have prevented Lochry's defeat, which censure was the out-

*Letter of General Irvine to General Washington.

growth of the strong prejudice and unfriendly feeling existing between certain parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia at that period, on account of the disputed boundary line between the two commonwealths. This condition of affairs had much to do in preventing General Clark from getting the men he expected to join him at Pittsburgh. Major William Croghan, writing from that place to Colonel William Davis, speaks of General Clark's departure with only four hundred men, and says: "The reason so few went with him from this place is owing to the dispute that subsists here between the Virginians and Pennsylvanians respecting the two bounds of the latter. And the general, being a Virginian, was opposed by the most noted men here of the Pennsylvania party." It should not be forgotten, however, that the reason assigned by Major Croghan did not operate in Berkeley, Hampshire and Frederick counties, in Virginia, where the failure was equally marked and disappointing.

General Clark's conduct in this matter, as well as in the contemplated expedition against Detroit, appears to need no defense; but if it did, it is amply given in a letter written to the governor of Virginia (Harrison) by Colonel Joseph Crockett, who was in the expedition, and familiar with all the circumstances. The following is an extract from this letter:

"I received Your Excellency's letter of the 16th instant, the purport of which I am at loss to answer as clearly as I could wish. As for General Clark's conduct, last campaign whilst I had the honor to serve under his command, as touching his military character, I can not think he is

deserving censure; his greatest misfortune and loss of useful operations of this campaign was the want of men, although the general strained every nerve in his power to raise a sufficient number to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country, and was assisted by a small number of good men, to complete his laudible design. It appeared to me to be out of the power of any human existence to cause a sufficient number to enter the field, or subject those few that were already there to good order. The general often told them of the evils that has already (befallen) them, if that campaign miscarried.

“One place of general rendezvous was Wheeling, where the general expected to be joined with a thousand militia from the counties over the mountains; out of which two hundred and fifty only joined, and the half of them deserted, after drawing a quantity of arms, blankets, leggins, shirts, etc., etc.; the greatest part of those (who) did not desert threatened mutiny for several days.

“Nor was this all of the general's disappointment. There was a certain quota of men to be sent him from the counties of Berkeley, Frederick and Hampshire, of which he never received one.

“I know the general is much censured in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt for the loss of Colonel Laugherry's party, for whom he waited five days at Wheeling; disappointments being so frequent, he lost all hopes of his coming, and moved down the river. The colonel, coming to Wheeling the next day, sent a boat after, with a letter to the general that he would be glad if he would wait for

him, as he had one hundred and thirty men without provisions.

“The general sent a small boat with ten kegs of flour, and wrote the colonel he would leave boats enough at a certain island, under a small guard, for the reception of his men, with a quantity of flour, ammunition, etc.; to prevent desertion, he would move slowly down the river. The unhappy colonel, without proper caution, landed his men at the mouth of the Miami, at which place was a large number of Indians, who destroyed the whole of the colonel's party.”

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 358.

CHAPTER XVII.

BAD CONDITION OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS IN KENTUCKY AND THE ILLINOIS.

Memorial of the people of Vincennes—Letter of Captain Bailey, commandant of the post there—Colonel John Floyd writes of the situation in Kentucky—Colonel Floyd killed by Indians—Colonel Slaughter and others write gloomily of the situation—Clark immediately engages in putting matters into better shape—Ascertains strength of the Kentucky militia—Builds Fort Nelson—Suggests to the governor of Virginia a system of armed boats on the Ohio—Uses a gun-boat between the falls and the Licking—Indian depredations continue—Disastrous battle of Blue Licks in August, 1782—Rising of the people to carry the war into the enemy's country—General Clark marches, at the head of a thousand men, against the Indian towns on the Little Miami and destroys them—Indians amazed at unexpected development of the strength of the Americans and never afterwards invade Kentucky in force—An appropriate ending of the successful part of General Clark's military career.

GENERAL CLARK arrived at the falls of the Ohio with his forces the latter part of August, 1781. Things had gone on badly during his long absence, both in Kentucky and the Illinois country. There was trouble in both. Colonel Todd, the civil governor, returned to Kentucky, leaving the Illinois country to the management of his lieutenant, Winston, with positive instructions to avoid coming in conflict with the military authorities. This was advice thrown away, as disagreements, under the circumstances, were unavoidable. The military officers had no money with which to purchase army supplies but the

worthless continental paper, which the inhabitants refused to receive, and consequently provisions and other requisite things were sometimes of necessity taken without compensation and by force. This, of course, produced not only bad feeling, but conflicts of authority. Finally Winston boldly charged some of the leading military officers with dishonesty and crime, and in turn was imprisoned by them.

He left a written memorandum of this indignity offered the civil authority, represented in his person, in which he records, in very bad English, that on the 29th of April, 1782, at ten o'clock in the morning, he was taken out of his house "by tyrannic military force without making any legal application to the civil magistrates." He says it was done "by Israel Dodge, on an order given by John Dodge, in despite of the civil authority," and "on the malicious accusation of James Williams and Michael Pevante." *

Todd had instructed Winston that "during my absence the command will devolve upon you as commander of Kaskaskia—if Colonel Clark should want anything more for his expedition, consult the members of the court upon the best mode of proceeding; if the people will not spare willingly, if in their power, you must press it, valuing the property by two men upon oath. Let the military have no pretext for forcing property. When you order it, and the people will not find it, then it will be time for them to interfere. By all means keep up a good understanding with Colonel Clark, and the officers. If this is not the case, you will be unhappy."

*Early Chicago and Illinois, p. 289.

That he disregarded Todd's instructions is not unlikely, but whether he did or not it is quite certain that he became "unhappy."

What the outcome was of this imprisonment of the highest civil magistrate then in that part of the country, "by tyrannic military force," he does not record; but, whatever it was, it doubtless increased the bad feeling already existing between the American troops and the people. It had been growing ever since Clark left Vincennes, and even before.

There was now much dissatisfaction and trouble at Vincennes, and on the 30th of June, 1781, the principal inhabitants set forth their grievances in the following memorial to the governor of Virginia: "The undersigned have the honor to present to Your Excellency the very serious grievances to which they have been exposed, since the arrival of Virginia troops in this country, and especially since Captain (Colonel) Clark left this town have we experienced most horrible treatment from a people who professed to be friends, and who were generously received as such. But things have totally changed since the departure of that officer. He left in command Colonel Montgomery, who, with his officers, have failed to carry out his friendly policy. We have with promptitude furnished provisions and goods as far as was in our power. Colonel Clark drew bills on the treasurer of Virginia, which remain unpaid.

"The accredited officers of finance and others have assured us that continental money was of equal value with coin, and we accepted the same in good faith. When the Virginians gave us cause to be suspicious of their money,

we remonstrated with Colonel Clark and the officers of the garrison, who, notwithstanding this fact, claimed for this money its value in Spanish coin. Mr. John Todd, in accord with Captain Leonard Helm, commanding the fort at this town, has required by public order that this money be received as of equal value with specie, threatening punishment of all who refused it. As soon as we had furnished provisions and goods for this money, the Virginians appeared to think they could take by force our property, our supplies, and even the little we had reserved to keep ourselves alive.

“Your Excellency must also be informed that, in addition to these annoyances, they have perpetuated others of a more serious character, by killing our cattle in the fields and our hogs in our yards, taking our flour from the mills and the corn in our garners, with arms in their hands, threatening all who should resist them, and the destruction of the fort we built at our own cost. When they left the town they carried off the artillery, powder and balls, thereby depriving us of the only means of defending ourselves against the fury of the savages, whom they have excited against us. This you perceive is the conduct Virginians have pursued in this country. Your Excellency may be assured this is the exact truth, and Mr. Vaucherer is charged with the duty of representing the matter to Your Excellency, of demanding the satisfaction due to us as citizens and friends of the states, and to make adequate return for the money we have received as of the value of specie. We beseech Your Excellency to require the troops to put an end to the troubles they continue to produce.

We are unwilling longer to submit to the exactions incident to their lawless proceedings, it being apparent to His Excellency that the Virginians have entirely ruined us already.

“If it be thus you treat your friends, pray what have you in reserve for your enemies? We must insist that Your Excellency put a stop to our misfortunes, and render us the justice our patience deserves.

“Assuring you of our profound respect, we have the honor to be, etc.”

This memorial was signed by the principal citizens of Vincennes of French descent, and there was scarcely any other kind there at that period. Fac-similes of the signatures of two of them, F. Bosseron and J. M. P. Legrace, have already been given, and they had both rendered important services to the American cause, as has already been



shown. Another signer was Phillibert, a man

of affairs who for a long period, in the absence of a regular Catholic priest, performed some of the functions of that office. Then there

was Pierre Gamelin, whose family, for at least a generation after-



wards, was distinguished in the history of that locality. He was one of the men appointed by Colonel John Todd to

act as judges in the Illinois country. Bosseron, Legrace and L. E. Deline, who was a signer of the memorial, were also judges of this court. One of the judges of the court,

Pierre Queres, did not sign the memorial, and perhaps for good reason, as he seems to have signed other papers only by making his mark. Additional signatures to the memorial were Pierre Guerin, P. Mallet, Jean Batiste Vallaite, Pierre Cournoyer, Dagenet, Ja. Barois, Godefroy Linetot, Major P. Barron, Israel Ruland, Moses Henry and Gabriel Legrand. Ruland and Henry were presumably not of French descent. Legrand was an important appendage of the court, being both sheriff and clerk.

He had been a notary from 1776 to 1778, and Winthrop Sargent, acting governor of the Northwest Territory, July 31, 1790, wrote General Washington in relation to land claims about Vincennes, saying of Legrand's books and papers that "the records have been so falsified, and there is such gross fraud and forgery, as to invalidate all evidence and information which I might otherwise have acquired from the papers."* It

*Laws Colonial Vincennes, p. 108.

will be observed, however, that while the inference is somewhat pointed he does not attribute the frauds and forgeries to Legrand personally in direct language. The court here referred to was the first held within the limits of what is now the state of Indiana after the conquest of the country from the British, and fac-similes are given in this work of the signatures of the clerk and all the judges, except the one who does not seem to have written his name. It is presumed without evidence to the contrary that this court in a general way dispensed justice in a simple, informal, but substantial manner, so as to satisfy the pioneer community of that day, but the judges assumed the right to grant public lands, and exercised it to their own advantage in a way entirely unjustifiable. This can not be better explained than it was by Judge Law, who lived and died at Vincennes, and possessed the best opportunity for procuring accurate information. In his *Colonial Vincennes* he says:

“Todd (then governor of the Illinois and Wabash country) went to Kaskaskia in 1779, where he issued his proclamation descriptive of the fertility and beauty of the ‘Valley of the Wabash,’ and strongly intimating that ‘authority was meant to be implied’—if not expressly given—to the governor, by Virginia, to make grants of land. That the executive authority under Virginia in the northwestern territory had the same right to make concessions of land as was claimed by the French and British commandants. Mr. Le Gras, his substitute at the ‘post,’ seems to have had fewer scruples upon the subject of the right than his superior, Governor Todd. Not only did he exercise the power of disposing of the public domain, but he *delegated*

it to the county court, composed of four judges, organized under the act of Virginia, and who held their sessions at Vincennes. They did a wholesale business in the way of disposing of the domain—not only to others, but to themselves—not only by the ‘arpent,’ but by ‘leagues.’ The way it is stated to have been done is this: Three of the four judges were left on the bench, while one retired. The court then made a grant of so many ‘leagues’ of land to their absent colleague, which was entered of record. He returned as soon as the grant was recorded, and another of these ‘ermined’ gentlemen left the bench while the chief justice and the other judges made a similar grant to their *absent friend*. After the grant was made and duly recorded, he returned, the third departed, and a similar record was made for his benefit; and so with the fourth. In this wholesale transfer of the public land, if continued, Virginia would have had but a small donation to make her sister states of the confederacy, when she gave up the empire she held in the northwestern territory ‘for the common benefit.’ Governor Sargent complains of their wholesale plunder of the public domain, in his letter to General Washington in 1790, and among the documents accompanying that letter is the answer of the judges to his inquiry, ‘by what right these concessions were made,’ and is as follows:

“ ‘*To the Honorable Winthrop Sargent, Esquire, Secretary in and for the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, and Vested with all Powers of Governor and Commander-in-Chief:*

“ ‘SIR—As you have given orders to the magistrates who formerly composed the court of the district of Vin-



cennes, under the jurisdiction of Virginia, to give you their reasons for having taken upon them to grant concessions for the lands within the district, in obedience thereto, we beg leave to inform you that their principal reason is, that since the establishment of the country the commandants have always appeared to be vested with powers to give land. Their founder, Mr. Vincennes, began to give concessions, and all his successors have given lands and lots. Mr. Le Gras was appointed commandant of 'Post Vincennes' by the lieutenant of the county and commander-in-chief, John Todd, who was in the year 1779 sent by the state of Virginia *for to regulate the government of the country*, and who substituted Mr. Le Gras with his power. In his absence Mr. Le Gras, who was then commandant, assumed that he had in quality of commandant authority to give lands according to the ancient usages of other commanders, and he *verbally* informed the *court* of 'Post Vincennes,' that when *they* would judge it proper to give lands or lots to those who should come into the country to settle, or otherwise, they might do it, and that he gave them permission so to do. These are the reasons that we acted on, and, if we have done more than we ought, it was on account of the little knowledge which we had of public affairs. (Signed)

“ ‘F. BOSSERON.

“ ‘L. E. DELINE.

“ ‘PIERRE GAMELIN.

“ ‘PIERRE QUEREZ, his X mark.

“ ‘Post Vincennes, July 3, 1790.’

“The following is a translation of one of these grants issued by ‘Legrand, Greffier de la Cour’ to Henry Coop-
rider, but is written ‘Coupraiter’ by the clerk :

“‘The court, knowing the power given to them by “Sig-
nor John Todd, colonel and civil grand justice of the
United States,” after having examined and duly deliberated
on the absolute necessity, not only to the “city of Vin-
cennes” but to the whole country, that the lands here-
abouts should be settled, for the supply and commerce of
the “county of Illinois and Vincennes,” and seeing the great
quantity of land uncultivated, which has never been settled
nor granted to any one, the court, by virtue of the powers
given to them, the Signor Le Gras, colonel commandant,
and president of said court, has responded favorably to the
written request of “Henry Coupraiter” and directed me,
“Gabriel LeGrand, clerk of the court,” to grant and accord
to said Coupraiter four hundred arpents of land, bounded,
etc. He, the said Henry Coupraiter, submitting to all
regulations made between a *potentate and subject.*’ ”

These grants occasioned a good deal of trouble and loss
to purchasers, but the claims were sold and traded at merely
nominal rates and were never confirmed by the government.

The sentiments expressed by the judges and other signers
of the memorial to the governor of Virginia were doubtless
the general sentiment of the community, and it can not but
be admitted that there was just ground for their complaint.

The before-mentioned Colonel Legrace wrote the gov-
ernor of Virginia, May 22, 1780, that

“The inhabitants of St. Vincennes and the country of
the Illinois, ignorant of the act of congress, have sold their

harvest to the army of Colonel Roger Clark, and have received in payment piastres of the continent,* upon the footing and for the value of the Spanish piastres.† Persons in authority (by your orders) have circulated them as such, and have assured us authentically that there would be nothing lost. They have even passed counterfeits. In the position of magistrate of this district my duty and benevolence prompt me to beg you to take pity upon a people who, by this loss, find themselves reduced to the most urgent necessities. In addition to this, there has been published at St. Vincennes an order, by command of Colonel Jean Todd, to oblige the residents to receive this money as Spanish piastres, and many have been imprisoned for having refused. Some time later the before-mentioned Colonel John Todd required me, as it appears from his letter, to stop the circulation, in view of the quantity of counterfeit orders that many are circulating, which I have done, to avoid confusion, without lessening (or preventing) the value of the goods. Earnestly hoping that the states will pay this money according to the denomination, I have the honor, etc.” ‡

That the native inhabitants of the Wabash and Illinois country were mistreated there can be no question. They were not only neglected by the government, but positively imposed upon in many ways. The complaints made about worthless paper money being forced upon them was strictly true. It was not only forced by the army officers, but by

* That is continental paper money.

† Coin.

‡ Foot note Early Chicago and Illinois, p. 328.

the government, for in March, 1781, Virginia went into the forcing business generally, by passing a law "That all the paper bills of credit which hath been emitted or shall hereafter be emitted by congress, and all bills of credit which have been heretofore emitted by this state, also all bills of credit that the governor with advice of council hath been empowered to emit, as well as all such bills as shall be emitted by any act or vote of this present session of assembly, shall to all intents and purposes be a legal tender in discharge of all debts and contracts whatsoever, except specific contracts, expressing the contrary." *

The value of the paper thus made a legal tender is shown by another law of the Virginia legislature, also passed in 1781, fixing a "scale of depreciation" for it, as compared with silver and gold, in settlement of debts created at the following periods: Close of year 1777, two and a half for one; close of 1778, six for one; close of 1779, forty for one; close of 1780, seventy-five for one, and at the close of 1781, one thousand for one; so that at the time of the memorial of the inhabitants of Vincennes, and of Colonel Legrace's letter, "the piastres of the continent" forced on these poor and confiding people, for property taken, under the assurance they were as good as coin, proved utterly worthless, and it is no wonder that for these and many other wrongs they felt deeply aggrieved. They had been true friends of the Americans when their friendship was of vital importance and had received only neglect and injury in return.

On the 6th of August, Captain John Baley, commandant of the garrison at Vincennes, wrote from that place giving

*Hening's Statutes, Vol. 10, p. 398.

an account of a recent attack upon a party of Americans, in which quite a number were killed, wounded or captured, and also explaining the deplorable conditions of affairs. "I am sorry," said he, "to inform you of the following news. The boat commanded by Captain Coulson, started from this the 11th July, was defeated within seventy-five miles of the falls of Ohio. The captain was killed and three of his men; several others wounded; the remainder of the company came back and gave me the unhappy news. They retreated to the mouth of Wabache, left the boat and came by land, the enemy being close in the rear of them. Four days ago I received news from Detroit that they were much annoyed by the Americans coming against them, also that they were weak—about one hundred men. Provisions scarce and dear, and goods plenty. The Indians greatly exasperated against them not meeting with the treatment as they had formerly done.

"Sir, I must inform you once more that I can not keep garrison any longer, without some speedy relief from you. My men have been fifteen days upon half allowance; there is plenty of provisions here but no credit. I can not press, being the weakest party. Some of the gentlemen would help us, but their credit is as bad as ours, therefore, if you have not provisions, send us whisky, which will answer as good an end. I hope if my express gets in you will not detain him. Pray use the Indian well, having no other to send. I expect his return in twelve days from the date, and for some one man to come with him to this post. It appears that the communications is to stop between Canada

and Detroit, from the commencement of this year, by accounts from thence.” *

It is certainly creditable to General Clark's course and management that during the time he was in the Illinois and Wabash country no such unfortunate state of affairs existed as described in these letters. He always arranged to take care of his soldiers without offending or coming in conflict with the inhabitants. As already stated, the principal cause of the troubles referred to in these letters grew out of the military chest being only provided with depreciated, in fact worthless, continental paper, which the inhabitants knew nothing about and refused to take in exchange for supplies the troops were compelled to have, and which they therefore, from necessity, were driven to take by force. Trouble and conflict were, of course, unavoidable under such circumstances.

Trouble equally disquieting, but of a different character, also existed on the south side of the Ohio.

The settlements in Kentucky were kept in a constant state of alarm by the Indians, instigated by the British, and sometimes led by white men. Besides, there was a great scarcity of provisions, as well as of ammunition, both being indispensable in their isolated and unprotected situation. Colonel John Floyd laid the condition of affairs in Kentucky, and especially in Jefferson county, before the governor of Virginia, in April, by letter. He said: “We are all obliged to live in forts in this country, and notwithstanding all the caution that we use, forty-seven of the inhabitants have been killed and taken by the savages, besides a number

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 338.



wounded since January last. Amongst the last is Major William Lynn.

“Whole families are destroyed without regard to age or sex. Infants are torn from their mothers’ arms and their brains dashed out against trees, as they are necessarily moving from one fort to another for safety or convenience. Not a week passes and some weeks scarcely a day without some of our distressed inhabitants feeling the fatal effects of the infernal rage and fury of these execrable hell-hounds.

“Our garrisons are dispersed over an extensive country, and a large proportion of the inhabitants are helpless indigent widows and orphans, who have lost their husbands and fathers by savage hands, and left among strangers, without the most common necessaries of life. Of those who have escaped, many have lost all their stock, and have not any land of their own, nor wherewithal to purchase. Our dependence to support our families is upon getting wild meat and this is procured with great difficulty and danger; and should it fall to the lot of some in this county who are thus situated to serve as regular soldiers according to law, their families must inevitably starve.

“Our garrison at the falls is made sufficient to stand an attack with light cannon, but our numbers which will risk themselves in it will by no means be sufficient to defend it from an army which we are frequently threatened with from Detroit. Our inhabitants being so dispersed that they could not be collected to any one place in the country in less than fifteen days.

“The confidence the people here have in General Clark’s vigilance; his enterprising spirit and other military virtues,

together with their inability to remove, have been barely sufficient to keep this country from being left entirely desolate. Major Slaughter, at the falls of Ohio, has about five hundred pounds of powder and lead in proportion, which is all the public ammunition in this country; none of that delivered to Colonel Bowman last winter having been sent me, and there is very little in the country of private property.

“There is not at this time, I am informed and believe, more than fifty thousand pounds of beef in this county, Fayette and Lincoln; upwards of one hundred thousand weight of that laid up in this county being entirely rotten and lost. Corn is plenty in Lincoln and Fayette but there is no flour in any of these counties. The men you order for General Clark’s expedition will be raised without much difficulty, notwithstanding all the disadvantages the county is under. The canoes also shall be ready in time, though one-fourth of the militia must guard while they are on hand. Salt may be had here sufficient for an army of two thousand men six months and perhaps more.” *

Little did Colonel Floyd think at the time of writing the foregoing letter that he would be dangerously wounded, a few months later, by these same Indians, and in two years would be in his grave from injuries received at their hands. Yet such was his unfortunate fate.

“In (September) 1781, hearing of the disaster to the settlers at ‘Squire Boone’s Station (near Shelbyville) while removing for safety to the stronger settlements on Beargrass, Colonel Floyd collected twenty-five men, and with noble

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 48.

promptitude hurried to relieve the whites and chastise the Indians. He fell into an ambuscade—in spite of the precaution of dividing his force, and marching with great care—and was defeated by a body of two hundred Indians, losing half his men, although but nine or ten Indians were killed. While himself retreating on foot, closely pursued by Indians, and much exhausted, Captain Samuel Wells (who had retained his horse), dismounted and gave it to Floyd, and ran by his side to support him. This magnanimity was greatly enhanced because of previously personal hostility between those officers—which was thus canceled forever; they lived and died friends.”*

In Jefferson county, Kentucky, on the turnpike road between Middletown and Simpsonsville stands the monument here shown which bears the following inscription, viz.:



MONUMENT ERECTED BY STATE OF KENTUCKY
TO FOURTEEN SOLDIERS WHO FELL
UNDER CAPT. JOHN FLOYD.

“Erected by the commonwealth of Kentucky to the memory of fourteen brave soldiers who fell under Captain John Floyd in a contest with the Indians in 1783.”

“On April 12, 1783, Colonel Floyd and his brother Charles, not

suspecting any ambush or danger from the Indians—for

*Collins's Kentucky.

there had recently been serious trouble with them, and they were supposed to have retreated to a safe distance—were riding together, some miles from Floyd station, when they were fired upon, and the former mortally wounded. He was dressed in his wedding coat of scarlet cloth, and was thus a prominent mark. His brother, abandoning his own horse, which was wounded, sprang up behind his saddle, and, putting his arms around the colonel, took the reins and rode off with the wounded man to his home, where he died in a few hours. Col.



DEATH OF COLONEL JOHN FLOYD.

Floyd had a remarkable horse that he usually road which he claimed had the singular instinct of knowing when Indians were near, and always gave to the rider the sign of their presence. He remarked to his brother Charles, "if I had been riding Pompey, to-day, this would not have happened." *

Another writer describes the terrible condition of affairs along the border lines, in 1781, in these words :

"The frontiers of this county along the Ohio river is two hundred and seventy-seven miles, by computation, and the inhabitants greatly dispersed and cooped up in small forts

*Collins's Kentucky.

without any ammunition. Eighty-four of the inhabitants of this county have been killed and captured since last spring, and many more wounded. We are now so weakened in the most exposed parts of the county, by having so many men killed, and others removing to Lincoln for safety, that when any murder is done we can not pursue the enemy without leaving the little garrisons quite defenseless. The most distressed widows and orphans, perhaps in the world, make up a great part of our inhabitants."

Three days after the commandant of the garrison at Vincennes wrote the letter already quoted, stating that he could not hold that garrison longer without speedy relief, Colonel George Slaughter wrote substantially the same thing as to the garrison at the falls of the Ohio, where he was in command. He said :

"The situation of my little corps at this place at present is truly deplorable ; destitute of clothing, victuals and money, the commissaries have furnished them with little or no provisions these three months past, don't give themselves the least concern about it, and, unless unexpected and immediate supplies of clothing and provisions are obtained, I shall evacuate this post. We are neglected in every respect—no dispatches from government or General Clark for such a length of time that patience is almost at an end. In short, sir, the service must be painful and disagreeable to any man of sensibility." *

On General Clark's return to the west, he at once devoted himself to ascertaining the true condition of affairs,

* Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2. p. 306.

with a view of bettering them as rapidly as possible. But it was a difficult undertaking, and required time to secure favorable results. He called the military officers within reach to meet him in consultation at the falls of the Ohio early in September, shortly after his return to that place. It was found that the militia strength of the three counties, Jefferson, Lincoln and Fayette, into which Kentucky was then divided, amounted to only seven hundred and sixty men, but this did not include the regular soldiers brought down the river by Clark or those in the several stations. The council thought two-thirds of the militia could be spared to go with General Clark on an expedition, but rather advised against its being undertaken just then, deeming the establishment of garrisons on the Ohio more important.

The council favored locating a strong fort at the mouth of the Kentucky river, but General Clark thought the falls of the Ohio a better location. His preference prevailed and a stronger fort was finally built on the Kentucky side at that point than had been there before, and was called Fort Nelson, after a governor of Virginia. When the people who were left on Corn island by Colonel Clark removed to the main land on the Kentucky shore, in the winter of 1778-9 and the following spring, a small fort was erected near the mouth of Beargrass creek. Another fort was erected at the foot of what is now Twelfth street in the city of Louisville, and this was the principal point around which the first settlements were made. This fort was quite large for the period, being one hundred and fifty by two hundred feet, and it continued in use until Fort Nelson was

built in 1782, between Sixth and Eighth streets, north of Main.

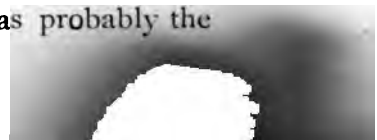
Collins's History of Kentucky says that "Seventh street passed through the foot-gate, opposite the headquarters of General George Rogers Clark. The fort contained about an acre of ground, and was surrounded by a ditch eight feet deep and ten feet wide, intersected in the middle by a row of stump pickets. This ditch was surmounted by a



FORT NELSON.

breast-work of log pens, filled with earth obtained from the ditch, with pickets ten feet high planted on the top of the breast-

work. Next to the river, pickets were deemed sufficient, aided by the long slope of the bank. In 1844, in excavating for a cellar, on the north side on Main street, opposite the Louisville Hotel, the remains of the timbers forming the base of General Clark's block-house were discovered. It appears from this that the south facade of the fort was on Main, extending from Sixth to Seventh streets as far as the northeast corner of the tobacco warehouse—with its pickets extending eastward, so as to enclose a never-ending spring of water, which may yet be seen about one hundred and ninety feet from Main and a little west of Fifth street; this spring has been neglected for many years and fallen into disuse." It was probably the



only fort in the far west, except Fort Chartres, strong enough to be cannon-proof, and it seems to have been fairly well provided with munitions of war for that day and that remote point. An inventory, quoted in "The Centenary of Louisville," shows a pretty good stock on hand in 1783, such as four cannon, eight swivels, and a general assortment of shells, balls, grape shot, and other corresponding war material.

A long letter from Colonel John Todd to the Governor of Virginia, in October, 1781, shows that he and Colonel Ben Logan opposed locating the fort at the falls or calling on the militia to aid in its construction. * It was constructed under General Clark's auspices, however, notwithstanding this opposition, and the result demonstrated the excellence of his judgment in the matter, for it proved so formidable that the enemy never dared to attack it. There was about this time a good deal of jealousy between the militia and the regular troops.

General Clark wrote the governor of Virginia on the 7th of March, 1782, pointing out the value of armed boats in preventing incursions of hostile Indians on the south side of the Ohio. With a reasonable number of these, properly manned and equipped, he thought there would be no apprehension of serious damage being done to the Kentucky country. He represented that no vessel the enemy could bring across the portage from the lakes could compete with such boats as he suggested, and he asked for them, or means to construct them.

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2. p. 562.

The following extract from the war records gives an amusing but all-sufficient explanation of the reason why General Clark did not get the boats; and it also shows the kind of difficulties he had to encounter: "War Office, April 22, 1782. Colonel Davies informs the executive that Major Harding is willing to supply boats on the Ohio for General Clark if the money can be furnished to pay for them. The governor replies from the council chamber, 'I am sorry to inform you that we have but four shillings in the treasury, and no means of getting any more.'"*

Disappointed, as he had often been before, in receiving the means necessary to execute desirable plans, he acquiesced cheerfully, and did the next best thing, which was to construct a gun-boat himself, mounted with cannon, which aided in keeping off the Indians, by patrolling the river from the falls to where Cincinnati is now situated. This was a novel achievement for that day, especially in western waters, but it rendered good service, bearing efficient testimony as to Clark's fertility of resources.

The fall, winter and early spring passed without the occurrence of any event of special interest, but in May, 1782, twenty-five Indians attacked Estill's station in Kentucky, and after killing one American and taking another prisoner retired, but were followed by about an equal number of white men. A fierce fight ensued, in which Captain Estill and eight of his men were killed and four wounded. The Indians lost about the same number.

In the following August several hundred Indians, headed by Simon Girty and other white men, made an attack on

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 133.

Bryant's station, and continued it for several days, but only succeeded in killing four men and wounding three, whereas their own loss was four or five times that number. On the fourth day they withdrew from the vicinity. The Kentuckians speedily assembled, one hundred and eighty-two in number, under the leadership of some of their most prominent citizens, and pursued the Indians, overtaking them near the lower Blue Licks, when a battle ensued, which, although fought with great impetuosity and bravery by the whites, was particularly destructive to them—especially in prominent officers. Among the distinguished men killed was Colonel John Todd, the senior commanding officer on the occasion, and the lieutenant-commandant of the Illinois country as before stated. The result was exceedingly disastrous, over one-third of the whole command having been killed, and they among the bravest of the brave. Among the officers killed was also Major Harlan who had served with General Clark in the Illinois campaign.*

The whole country was aroused to action by this disaster, and General Clark at once assumed the command of the forces, now gathering in all directions, with Colonels Floyd and Logan to assist him. The falls of the Ohio and Bryant's station were selected as the places for the troops to meet, from which points they moved forward as mounted riflemen, a thousand strong, to the mouth of the Licking, where they remained some time perfecting their organization.

From thence they marched early in November, 1782, against the leading Indian towns, on the Miami river,

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 562.

north of the Ohio, but the enemy fled on their approach, and left them nothing to do but destroy the villages and provisions, which they did thoroughly at Chillicothe, Pickawa, Wilston, and other places. Ten Indians were killed, seven taken prisoners, and two white captives recovered; but this was of little consequence, in breaking the spirit of the Indians and preventing future depredations, in comparison to the destruction of their homes and their food supplies. It was at a season of the year when such a loss was particularly distressing, and Clark literally took away or destroyed everything of value in a wide scope of country. Their women and children were left without shelter, or food, in the face of the storms of winter, and this brought them to effectually realize that they had nothing to gain by continuing the contest with the Americans.

“We surprised the principal Shawanee town,” says General Clark, “on the evening of the 10th (of November), immediately detaching strong parties to different quarters. In a few hours two-thirds of the town was laid in ashes, and everything they were possessed of destroyed, except such articles as might be useful to the troops. The enemy had no time to secrete any part of their property which was in the town.

“The British trading-post at the head of the Miami and carrying-place to the waters of the lake shared the same fate, at the hands of a party of one hundred and fifty horse, commanded by Colonel Benjamin Logan. The property destroyed was of great amount, and the quantity of provisions burned surpassed all idea we had of the Indian stores.

“The loss of the enemy was ten scalps, seven prisoners, and two whites retaken. Ours was one killed and one wounded. After lying part of four days in their towns, and finding all attempts to bring the enemy to a general action fruitless, we retired, as the season was far advanced and the weather threatening.” *

The wholesale destruction of the provisions and homes of the Indians by General Clark's forces on this occasion, coupled with their display of numbers and anxiety to fight, so soon after the disaster of Blue Licks, had great influence in keeping the Indians quiet for a considerable time.

They were content, thereafter, to remain on the northern side of the Ohio, and this expedition ended forever all formidable Indian invasions of Kentucky. That this desirable result should follow and date from a campaign conducted by George Rogers Clark was a fit ending of the successful portion of his military life, and will ever stand, creditably linked with his other notable achievements.

* Clark's letter to governor of Virginia, November 27, 1782.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ALL PROSPECT OF THE BRITISH CONQUERING THE COLONIES TERMINATES WITH SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

Negotiations ended in treaty of peace of 1783—These negotiations called attention more particularly to the great benefit General Clark's services had been to the country—He had captured from the enemy a vast territory, and being in possession it was included in the boundaries of the new government—But for this the boundary might have been the Ohio river, or the Alleghany mountains—Importance of the conquest—Triumph of Clark and his soldiers—Seal of the Northwest Territory—Importance of that territory.

IT is quite probable that one reason, and perhaps the principal reason, why formidable expeditions were not made against the frontier settlements after the campaign of General Clark against the Indians in November, 1782, referred to in the last chapter, was because for some time thereafter they were not instigated, led and supported by the British.

All their hopes of conquering the so-called "rebels" vanished with the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, on the 19th of October, 1781. From that time on it was evident to all thinking people that the Americans would be successful, and the British authorities recognized the, to them, humiliating fact, by signing provisional articles of peace with the United States, November 30, 1782, a few weeks after this campaign of General Clark.

A cessation of hostilities was agreed to at Versailles, France, January 20, 1783, and a proclamation of the fact was made by congress, April 11th of that year. The formal and definitive treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, September 3, 1783, and ratified by congress January 14, 1784.

It was when the terms of this treaty came to be considered, and the northern and western boundary of the United States debated, that the general public began more fully to realize the important services General Clark had rendered the country. When the boundary was finally established, it was plainly seen he had provided the means of securing for the country a territory which was, in itself, an empire in extent and material resources. But for his services, and that of the little band of soldiers composing his Illinois regiment, the boundary of the United States on the northwest might have been the crest of the Allegheny mountains, or the southeast bank of the Ohio river.

The claim is not made for General Clark that there were no other grounds, and no other agencies, favoring the boundaries as finally established, but the paramount agency, however, was the fact that the Illinois and Wabash country had been captured from the British by Clark, held in continuous possession thereafter, and was in actual possession at the time the treaty was made; and but for these circumstances the territory, in all probability, would not have been included within the boundaries of the United States.

The American commissioners, John Adams, John Jay and Benjamin Franklin, were hampered in negotiating the

terms of the treaty by an unwise restriction imposed by their own government, in effect that they were to undertake nothing, in the negotiations for peace, without the knowledge and concurrence of the king of France, which restriction they finally disregarded, much to the benefit of the United States.

It required no profound statesmanship, or knowledge of human nature, to understand that France had been influenced in joining in the war quite as much, and perhaps more, from interested motives, to humble and cripple England, her ancient rival and enemy, as to build up a great republic in America. As against England, both France and Spain, from these local and selfish considerations, were for the new American government, but they were for themselves first of all.

They were both more than willing to see the boundary of the United States contracted in the north and west, and hence the great importance of the fact that the Americans, as a result of Clark's achievements, were then in actual possession of the Illinois and Wabash country. If the invasion by Clark had not been made, and the British had remained in actual possession during the war, is it at all likely this territory would have been given to the Americans by the treaty? The author believes, as already foreshadowed, that it was the well-established *uti possidetis*—state of actual present possession—that prevailed, much more than the vague and shadowy claims based upon ancient charters, or any other pretension.

The old charter grants to the colonies, reading "from sea to sea," were issued at a time when comparatively

nothing was known of the wilderness to the north or west, or of the sea beyond, and, while technically England had ceded proprietary rights over the whole country covered by the grants, that cession was not sufficient of itself to be a controlling factor in securing the boundary, although its justice could not consistently be disputed by England. If the charter grants had a controlling influence, why did the United States boundary stop at the lakes and the Mississippi? Why did it not extend from "sea to sea," so as to include the same territory covered by a literal continuation of these pretentious grants? The country was never reduced by the Americans to peaceable possession beyond the Ohio, or to any other kind of possession, for that matter, other than the military occupancy of Clark and his soldiers, when they wrested the Illinois and Wabash country from the British and held it, in connection with civil officers appointed by Virginia, not so much by charter rights, or any other claim, as by force of arms, and so continued to the time of making the treaty of peace.

It was enough to know that the Spaniards were in possession of the country west of the Mississippi, and the Americans of the country on the east, to fix that part of this river as the western boundary of the United States. Of course every possible phase of claim was presented and urged, in the exhaustive discussion which took place between the contracting parties, but a review of the lengthy debate and negotiation is not necessary here and does not fall within the scope of this work.

General Clark's possession of the Illinois and Wabash country was not only good as against the British, but also

against the Spaniards, and there is scarcely a doubt that the latter would have seized the French towns, and occupied the territory, if it had not already been in actual American possession. The Spaniards did make a raid, to that end, in the winter of 1780-81, and captured St. Joseph on the east shore of Lake Michigan, but they made no attempt to hold the country. It was a raid, and nothing more.


The result of the treaty was a great triumph for the United States, not only in securing independence and retaining the country held in actual possession when the war began, but in retaining also the territory taken possession of during the war. It was a vindication of the foresight of Thomas Jefferson, who said, from the beginning, that Clark's expedition into the Illinois and Wabash country "would, if successful, have an important bearing ultimately in establishing our northwestern boundary;" and it was by his wise statesmanship that a vast territory west of the Mississippi was subsequently acquired, and its value demonstrated by an exploration through the then wilderness to the Pacific ocean, conducted, with marked ability, by Merriwether Lewis and the distinguished William Clark, youngest brother of General George Rogers Clark.

It was especially a triumph for General Clark, although he was at that time not enjoying any benefits from these important and far-reaching achievements, as will presently be shown; and it was none the less a great and important triumph because it was accomplished with but few men and meagre resources, and without the shedding of much blood.

Measured by the standard of great results, the map of the magnificent territory, acquired mainly through his

agency, speaks louder in behalf of General Clark and his little army, than any words of praise. Without intending the slightest disparagement to the other states, it may truthfully be said that to take from the map of the American Union the states created out of the old Northwest Territory conquered from the British would be to strike out the very heart of the republic. Without this acquisition, what might have been the destiny of the great country to the south and west—between it and the Pacific ocean—now forming so important a part of the United States with such magnificent prospects for the future? Look at the vast proportions of the old Northwest Territory. Compare it with the territory now embraced within the boundaries of the original thirteen states or that of Great Britain and Ireland combined, or with France or Germany. Contemplate its mighty rivers, and its wonderful fresh water lakes; its genial climate, productive soil, immense prairies, great forests of valuable timber; its coal, iron, copper, lead, building stone, minerals, salt, oil, and natural gas. Where can be found so large a country with so little worthless land, or better provided with all the material elements of prosperity? And where may be seen a country that has advanced more rapidly, not only in material prosperity, but in the higher lines of an enlightened, progressive and refined civilization?

Such is the country embraced within the boundaries of the historic "Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio," acquired in the manner related in these volumes, and out of which has sprung the great states of





**MAP SHOWING
SIZE OF THE OLD N.W. TERRITORY AND
THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES.**

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and, in part, Minnesota.

In the political organization of this vast territory under the ordinance of 1787 will be found some of the wisest provisions ever incorporated in a territorial government, and from which has resulted great benefits to all the people of the United States, and, to some extent, the whole human family. For example, the following far-reaching articles of "compact between the original states and the people and states of said territory":

"Article 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in the said territory.

"Art. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall beailable, unless for capital offenses, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate, and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or

have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with, or affect, private contracts or engagements, bona fide and without fraud, previously formed.

“Art. 3. Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them. . . .

“Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.” . . .

A history of “The Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio” does not fall within the scope of the author’s present volumes, but it may be of some interest to give here some account of an investigation made as to the official seal of the territory.

“THE SEAL OF THE TERRITORY OF THE U. S., N. W. OF
THE RIVER OHIO.”

Great difficulty was experienced in procuring a full and clear impression of this seal. Various impressions were

found upon official documents, but unfortunately some part was indistinct in all of them. In this condition of uncertainty recourse was had to the department of state, at Washington, through the kind intervention of President Harrison, and his private secretary, Mr. Halford. The author enclosed a sketch of the seal, as far as he was able to decipher it, which was returned with the following letter:

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

“WASHINGTON, September 14, 1891.

“*The Honorable William H. English, Indianapolis, Ind.:*

“SIR—At the request of Mr. Halford, whose letter of the 1st instant to me is enclosed, I have pleasure in informing you that the seal of the Northwest Territory found among the papers of that territory in this department gives only the following inscription in addition to that read by you:

“‘*Meliorem lapsa locavit.*’

“The words have been inserted in your pencil sketch of the seal herewith returned.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“WILLIAM F. WHARTON, Acting Secretary.”

“(Enclosed: Mr. Halford to Mr. Wharton, September 1, 1891. Pencil sketch of the seal of the Northwest Territory).”

A more formal drawing of the seal, including the Latin inscription mentioned in Mr. Wharton's letter, was forwarded the department, which elicited the following reply on the 15th of October following: “Referring to your letter to Mr. Wharton of the 30th ultimo, I have to return herewith enclosed the drawing of the seal of the Northwest Territory transmitted by you and to send you

an imperfect reproduction of the seal from which the size of the type, the location of the inscription, and the character of the lines can be determined, with the exact size of the seal. As it is impossible to make an exact reproduction of the seal, I will have sent you, as soon as they can be obtained, photographs of different impressions of the seal, which will show the only things omitted from your drawing, a coiled snake in the foreground and two boats in the middle distance. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“JOHN H. HASWELL, Acting Chief Clerk.”

The photographs referred to were subsequently received with a letter, which said: “In reply to your letter of the 11th instant, I have to enclose herewith certain photographs of the seal of the Northwest Territory, which I trust will be of some assistance to you. There is no perfect impression of the seal among the papers in the department.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“SEVELLON A. BROWN, Chief Clerk.”

There were enclosed in this letter no less than six of these photographs of seals on official documents, and presumably the most perfect there, one being that “affixed to the journal for July, 1790.” In some of the photographs the seal was represented actual size, in others enlarged so as to better develop the inscription, the department evidently rendering every possible assistance in securing a correct impression.

In addition to the six photographs there was enclosed an impression made by rubbing with a pencil, and on this was indorsed as follows: “a lead pencil rubbing of the seal of the Northwest Territory made from an impression of the seal

on a paper in the department of state." Below the impression was written: "Note.—This shows both bounding lines of the seal to be beaded. It will give proper size of type and position of sun."

As this correspondence disclosed that the department had possession of "the journal for July, 1790," the author inferred that the entire executive journal of the Northwest Territory was there, and that an examination of the earlier record might disclose the action designating what the seal should be, or for making the die, and that possibly not only the order for making it, but the die itself might be found.


He, therefore, ventured to ask the department, as the time approached for this work to go to press, to make a thorough search for this information also, which was promptly done, but without success, as will be seen by the following letter:

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

“WASHINGTON, August 9, 1895.

“*Honorable William H. English, President of the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana:*

“SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant. In regard to the seal of the Northwest Territory: The impression of which you have photographs is affixed to the certified copy of the executive journal of the territory, sent at different times and in separate parts to Charles Thomson, as secretary of congress, by Winthrop Sargent. Sargent transmitted to Thomson copies of the acts or proceedings of the legislative body of the territory also, but these do not bear the impression of the seal. After the establishment of the Federal government such documents were addressed to the president.



“Concerning the order for the seal or for making the die, the department regrets that it can not help you. Examination of the journal, and of other possible sources of information on this point does not disclose the authority for the seal, nor any order for making the die. The earliest mention of use of the seal is in St. Clair’s proclamation of July 26, 1788. Could not Marietta college aid you in this search? The impression here is that the seal must have been fully discussed there, particularly at the time of the Marietta centennial.

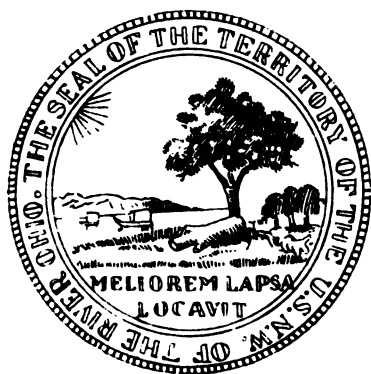
“In the course of these examinations attention has been drawn to certain manuscripts relating to Indiana’s history, and a list is enclosed of such as are at present known to exist, which may be of service to you, should the papers enumerated not have been brought to your notice before.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“ALVEY A. ADEE, Acting Secretary.”

Following this suggestion a letter of inquiry was addressed “The President of Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio,” but no reply has been received, and no information on the subject was found in the official published proceedings of the Marietta centennial.

The impression of the seal here given is the result of the information furnished by the state department, as well as the author’s careful investigation of every other source of information available, and is believed to be entirely re-



liable. Nothing has been found showing the descriptive official record of the seal, the order for making the die, or what became of the die itself. It is hoped that this publication may call such attention to the subject as will lead to the discovery of this additional information if it be in existence.

The impression of this and the other seals given in the frontispiece of the first volume of this work are, of course, *fac-similes*, reduced in size, but that of "The Seal of the Territory of the U. S., N. W. of the River Ohio," on the preceding page, is believed to be an exact reproduction, in every respect, of the original seal.

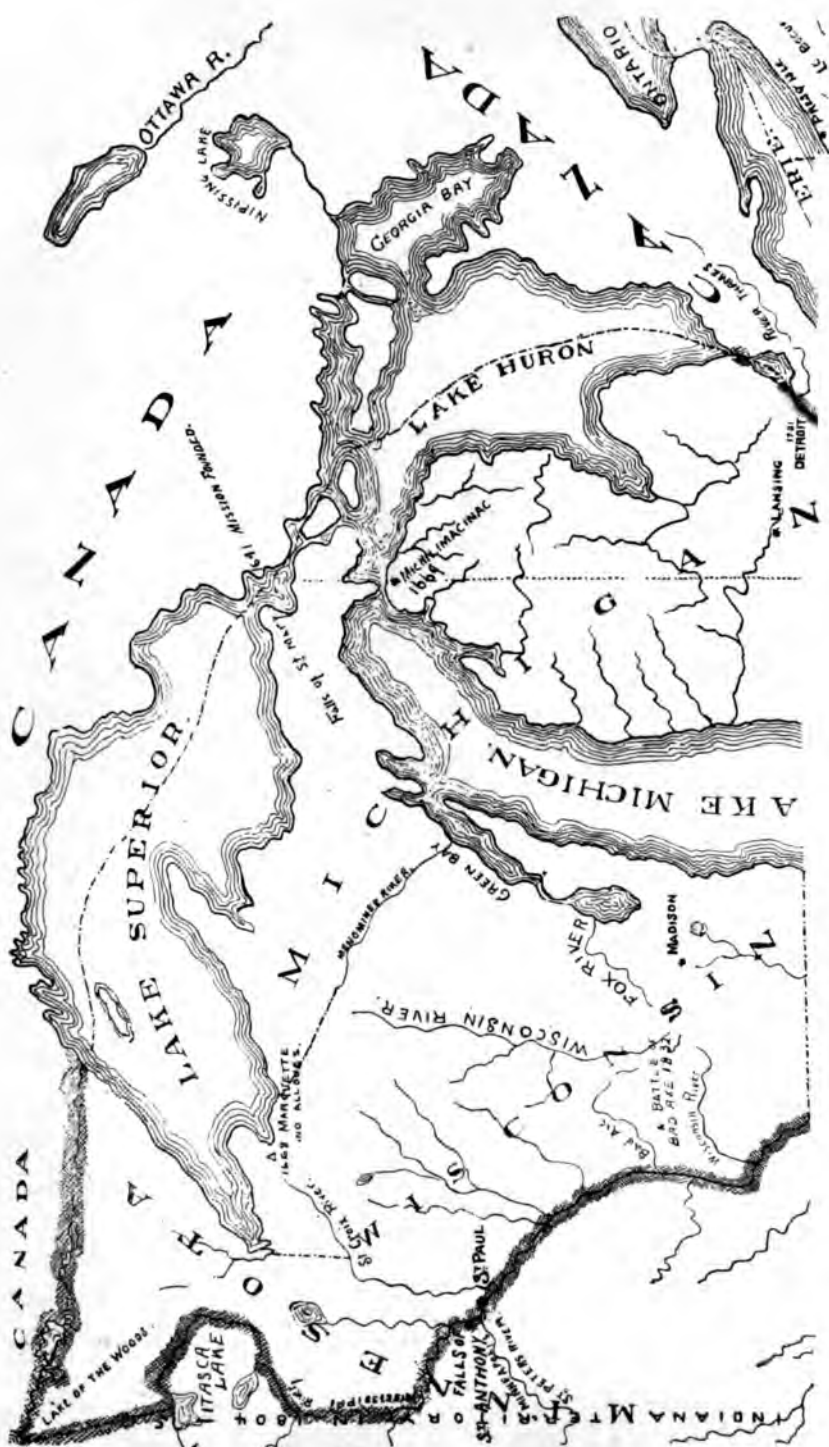
It is naturally difficult to place any design in so small a compass that would have great significance, but a study of this historic seal will show that it is far from being destitute of appropriate and expressive meaning. The coiled snake in the foreground and the boats in the middle distance; the rising sun; the forest tree felled by the ax and cut into logs, succeeded by, apparently, an apple tree laden with fruit; the latin inscription "*Meliorē lapsa locavit*," all combine to forcibly express the idea that a wild and savage condition is to be superseded by a higher and better civilization. The wilderness and its dangerous denizens of reptiles, Indians and wild beasts, are to disappear before the ax and rifle of the ever-advancing western pioneer, with his fruits, his harvests, his boats, his commerce, and his restless and aggressive civilization.

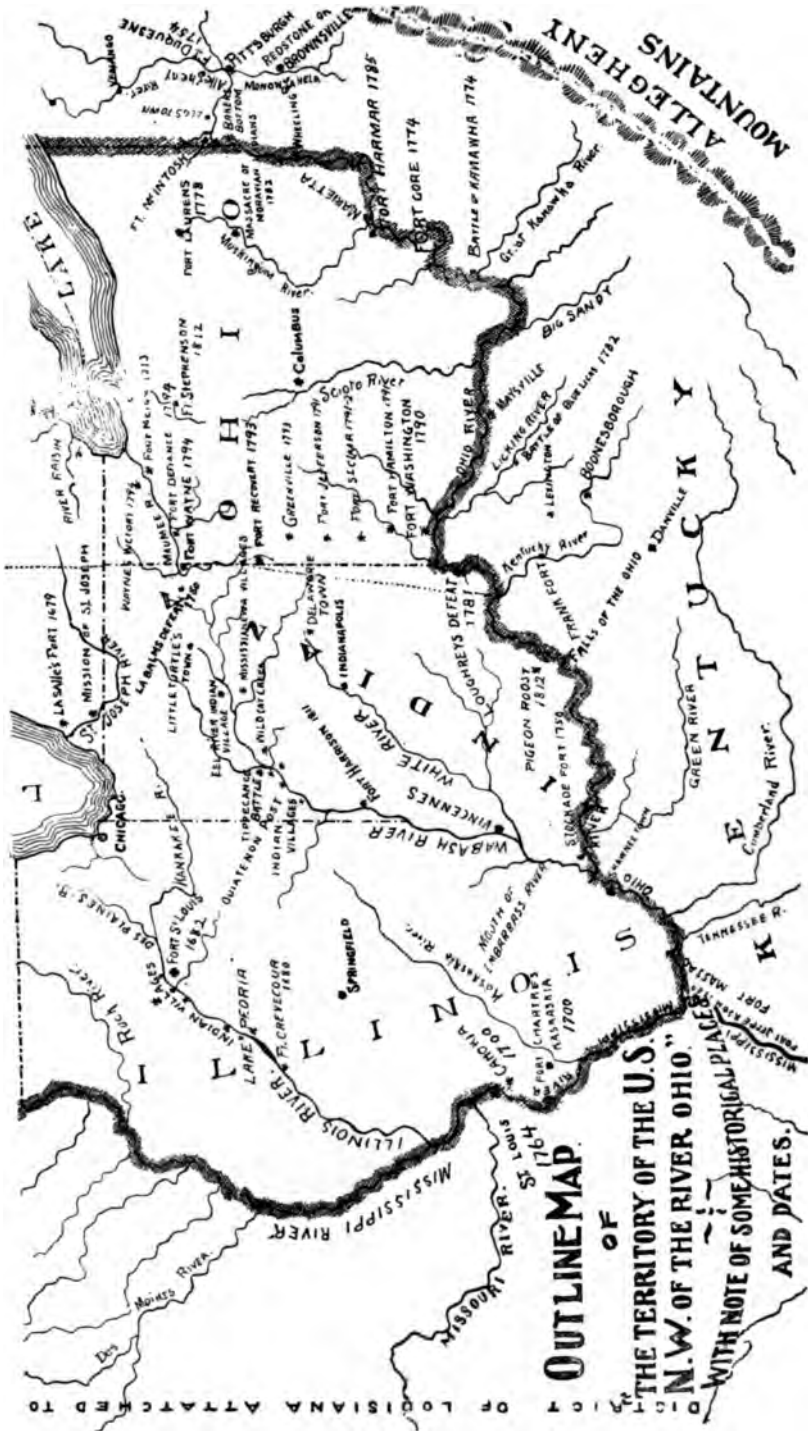
"*Meliorē lapsa locavit!*"

"He has planted a better than the fallen."

And for all he has subdued and destroyed, he has bettered humanity beyond expression by what he has substituted, for where in the world's history can be found progress and development surpassing that which has taken place in the country northwest of the river Ohio since the adoption of this seal, and what may fairly be anticipated of it when another like period shall be numbered with the past? In the light of these grand results, much is due the memory of the men who so materially contributed to it by the reduction of the British posts northwest of the Ohio river as related in these volumes, and especially to George Rogers Clark, who certainly originated, planned, and executed the successful expedition. That he shed but little blood in its accomplishment, and had but few men, and but meagre resources, is to his credit rather than his disparagement.

If there be any inclined to think lightly of these campaigns which resulted in "the Conquest of the Northwest," because few men were engaged and few lives sacrificed, they should remember that to win victories and accomplish great results with but little sacrifice of life shows the very highest order of ability and good generalship; and, as to numbers, that Xerxes and his army of two and a half million Persians do not occupy as high a place in history as the little band of Greeks who fought for their country at Thermopylæ.





OUTLINE MAP.
OF
THE TERRITORY OF THE U.S.
N.W. OF THE RIVER OHIO.
WITH NOTE OF SOME HISTORICAL PLACES
AND DATES.

OF LOUISIANA ATTACHED TO

CHAPTER XIX.

CLARK, RELIEVED FROM MILITARY SERVICE, RETIRES DIS- APPOINTED AND DISTRESSED.

Virginia, exhausted by the war, failed, for a time, to sufficiently provide for Clark's troops—He is finally retired from service—Letter of governor of Virginia to Clark—Letter from Clark to the governor, disclosing his financial distress—Asks, in vain, for a portion of what is due him—Similarity of treatment of Clark and Vigo—Letter from Vigo to Clark—Comments on the treatment of Clark—Retires to Kentucky neglected, disappointed and distressed—Injurious effect on his health and habits—Important letters to his brother Jonathan—Remains in comparative obscurity until made a commissioner in 1785 to treat with certain Indian tribes—Some incidents attending the treaty.

THE general assembly of Virginia proposed by act of January 2, 1781, to cede to congress, for the benefit of the United States, all her claim to lands northwest of the Ohio river on certain conditions. Congress did not accept these conditions until September 13, 1783, and the transfer was not formally made until March 1, 1784; still it was pretty well understood from the time of the proposed cession at the beginning of 1781 that the transfer would, in some way or other, be consummated. From that time, consequently, if not before, Virginia realized that she had no special and separate interest in maintaining, at her own cost entirely, possession of the country northwest of the Ohio which the troops under Clark had conquered. Whether this had anything to do with the failure of Virginia to promptly furnish Clark the amount of money and supplies needed to prosecute his later campaigns can not be positively stated.

It probably was from inability only, but it is nevertheless true that there was great neglect of the western troops in General Clark's department, and it is due to the truth of history that the fact of his want of means and proper army supplies should be known.

December 11, 1781, Robert Todd, a captain in his regiment, and acting paymaster, and subsequently a brigadier-general in Wayne's campaign, plainly stated the deplorable condition of affairs in a letter to the governor of Virginia. He said: "As an officer in Clark's regiment and paymaster of late, it becomes a part of my duty to represent the wretched situation of the few troops remaining westward. Many of them have been in the service for two years past and have never received a shoe, stocking or hat, and none of them any pay. What other clothing not here mentioned, received at Fort Jefferson, are now worn out. Their being in this condition may perhaps be in some measure owing to bad economy in the application of the public clothing, which I think would not be improper to inquire into. Whatever dispositions Your Excellency should please to make, whether kept where they are or removed, clothing will be absolutely necessary. Without it, no great service can be expected from them." *

The lack of supplies and efficient government support extended into 1782, and from this, or some other cause, Clark wrote a letter to the governor asking to be relieved from service in that department. This letter was evidently not favorably considered, if received, as the request was certainly not granted. Some supplies were furnished late in

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 651.

the summer, just in time to save the remnant of the army from desertion, at least so wrote Clark from Kentucky, in October. He said, "I had the pleasure of receiving your letter by Major Walls and Mr. Karney the 30th of July past, at which time the gentlemen arrived with the stores all safe, surmounting uncommon difficulties. They just arrived in time to save what few troops was remaining, for desertion was so common and impossible to prevent that I believe, in a few weeks more, scarcely any would have been left. I have endeavored, as far as in my power, to comply with the orders of government that you enclosed to me (see the enclosed). I could have wished to be present at the meeting of the officers you mentioned. I have received but a faint information of their report.

"As for dissipation and . . . prevailing in Colonel Slaughter's corps, however agreeable such conduct might have been to their sentiments, I believe they seldom had the means in their power, for they were generally in a starving situation. Colonel Slaughter suffering his garrison to be ridiculed by the inhabitants of the town occasioned disorder among the whole. Nothing would excuse him on this point but his dependence on such a set of people for everything he could get to subsist on." *

The supplies referred to in the foregoing letter were soon exhausted and the troops again in a suffering condition. In the following February, a meeting of officers was held at Fort Nelson to consider the situation. "The officers, after consultation and mature deliberation, find that the garrison in its present situation is by no means equal to the impor-

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 347.

tance of the place; that there is not above one-third of the men necessary for its defense, and in a short time the unavoidable casualties will reduce the number to not more than twenty or thirty men; that there is not more than three months' flour in store, not one pound of meat, and no possibility of procuring a sufficiency by the usual method of hunting; that there is not a sufficiency of lead to defend the garrison twenty-four hours in case of an assault—some parts of the fortifications going to wreck, and not men to make the necessary repairs. Also that the men appear to be on the verge of mutiny in consequence of having served so long without receiving pay and other necessaries, and no prospect for an alteration for the better." *

This narrative of the bad condition of affairs in General Clark's department at this period as to army supplies is not made to reflect on the Virginia authorities, for that commonwealth had been thoroughly exhausted by the long struggle of the Revolutionary War, and besides, the western territory was far away, and had drifted into a transitional and uncertain status; but the truth of history requires that the many difficulties he had to encounter should be fully stated. On one occasion—the contemplated expedition against Detroit—it was his misfortune to have means, without sufficient men; but generally his great need was current money and army supplies.

General Clark, who had so materially contributed to the acquisition of the vast territory northwest of the Ohio river, was a Virginia officer only, and, unfortunately, held no position in the organization created by congress, known as

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 437.

the Continental Army. It was also evident, after the capture of Cornwallis, October 19, 1781, that the war with England was virtually ended, as it was soon in fact, for hostilities were suspended the next year, and treaty of peace signed a year later.

Under these circumstances, and with her resources entirely exhausted, the executive of Virginia determined to reduce her separate military organizations, and, accordingly, General Clark was relieved of his command, July 2, 1783.

Benjamin Harrison

The disagreeable duty of informing General Clark of this action de-

volved on Benjamin Harrison, then governor of Virginia, which he did in these words: "The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the state, with respect to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone I have come to a determination to give over all thoughts for the present of carrying an offensive war against the Indians, but before I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks, and those of my council, for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on a successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so justly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the executive." *

* Dillon's History of Indiana, p. 179.

This was a sugar-coated pill, but a very bitter one, no doubt, to Clark, in his then distressed condition. Nor was it calculated, in the least, to relieve him from the financial embarrassment from which he was suffering, to say nothing of the humiliation of being thus unceremoniously dismissed from a public service with which he had so long and so prominently been associated.

At the very time this crushing blow was inflicted by Virginia, upon her son, who had won for her a vast territory, and for himself imperishable renown, he was in dire distress for even the common decencies and necessities of life. In 1783, the exact time not being known, "the conqueror of the British forces at Kaskaskia and at Vincennes made a long and lonesome journey, in a condition of poverty, from the west, through the wilderness, to Richmond, Virginia." On his arrival at that place, in his forlorn and pitiable situation he addressed, on the 27th of May, the following touching appeal to the governor of Virginia:

"SIR—Nothing but necessity could induce me to make the following request to Your Excellency, which is to grant me a small sum of money on account; as I can assure you, sir, that I am exceedingly distressed for the want of necessary clothing, etc., and don't know of any channel through which I could procure any except of the executive. The state, I believe, will fall considerably in my debt. Any supplies which Your Excellency favors me with might be deducted out of my accounts.

"I have the honor to be Your Excellency's obedient servant,

G. R. CLARK.

"His Excellency, Governor Harrison." *

* Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 487.

And the state did "fall" in his "debt," for on an adjustment of his accounts over fifty years after he was retired from the service, and some twenty years after he was in his grave, over thirty thousand dollars were allowed the administrator of his estate. This was largely absorbed in fees, and the distribution of the balance was made the subject of long litigation among the collateral heirs, he having neither wife nor children. A small pension (four hundred dollars per year) was granted him, at last, by Virginia, but this was nearly twenty years after his dismissal from her service, and when he was a paralyzed and helpless cripple, and only five or six years before his death.

The reader who remembers the closing years of the life of Francis Vigo, as already given in these pages, his poverty by reason of the neglect of government to pay what was justly due him, and its payment long after his death to the administrator and not to a descendant, can not fail to recognize the close resemblance between his case and that of General Clark. The greatest sympathy and closest friendship existed between these old compatriots until the last days of their lives. Letters passed between them when both were old and feeble, and Clark, stricken with paralysis, was lingering upon the very verge of the grave. A letter is here given from Clark, in reply to one received from Vigo, which, as will be seen, is sad and touching in the extreme:

"LOCUST GROVE, NEAR LOUISVILLE,

"August 1, 1811.

"DEAR SIR—A letter from a man who has always occupied a distinguished place in my affection and esteem must

insure the warmest and most cordial reception—an affection, the result not so much of being associates in the placid stream of tranquillity and the benign sunshine of peace, as companions amidst the din of war and those struggles when the indefatigable exertion of every muscle and nerve was demanded. But may it be enough to remark, that while the one is the effect of your uniformly discreet and irreproachable conduct in the intricate path of civil and domestic life, the other is wrought by a strong sense of that gratitude due from your adopted country, having myself both witnessed and experienced the signal advantages flowing to our common country from your inestimable conduct, and what is more enhancing to such services, having rendered them at a time when the cloud on which our fate hung assumed the most menacing aspect.

“When I contemplate the glowing affection with which your letter is fraught, and only the revival of such you in past times, ah! better times, troublous as they were, were wont to evince for me, I am so filled with correspondent feelings that I am at a loss for words to express them. How happy would I be could these sentiments of entreaty to a trustful Providence, in the conclusive part of your letter, for a serene and happy evening be realized. But that Providence, submitting as I do with manly patience to his decrees, has long since denied me that boon. He has cut asunder the life’s tenderest string.

“With sentiments of the warmest regard, I remain,

“GEORGE R. CLARK.” *

*This letter was doubtless dictated by Clark, but hardly written by him, as he was then paralyzed.

For less services than George Rogers Clark rendered his country, men of inferior merit have been ennobled by other governments and granted great pensions and vast estates; but Clark, a poor young man when he entered the public service, not only made nothing out of his position, but expended all he had, and involved himself in debt, in forwarding the interests of his government, which indebtedness caused him great trouble and loss. He had not, in his life, even the half-pay, or five years' full pay in lieu of it, which was granted to all the officers of the continental army. He was on the Virginia establishment only, and Virginia turned him adrift, poor and in distress, with absolutely nothing but the vague promise of a few thousand acres of land, in the future, out of the almost innumerable millions he had conquered.

From this period of sore trouble and bitter disappointment aggravated by bodily pains, incurred by exposure in the field, dates the use of liquor to excess by General Clark. As far as the author's knowledge extends there is not an instance to be found where he used liquor to that extent before this time; a fact which should be remembered in charity, when considering the only weakness of this neglected old soldier's life. Nor will it be forgotten that the habit of drinking, in those days, was almost universal, especially in the army.

General Clark made no complaint before the public, but that he keenly felt the ingratitude and neglect of his government, and the injustice which had been done him, especially in the failure to pay what was justly his due, there can be no question. He confided his feelings more

freely to General Jonathan Clark, his elder brother, than to any one else, and in a letter, which he doubtless never expected would meet any other than his brother's eye, he said of his claim against the government, that "it is as just as the book we swear by," and he proceeded in bitter and forcible language to express what were undoubtedly his real feelings.

This important letter is now before the author, through the kindness of Temple Bodley, Esquire, a descendant of General Jonathan Clark, and is now given to the public for the first time. It is directed to his brother at Spottsylvania, Virginia, the date being Beargrass, May 11, 1792, and is as follows:

"DEAR BROTHER—Since my last to you nothing uncommon hath happened among us. The Indians are spreading fire and the tomahawk through the frontiers without much resistance, and I believe will continue to do so, for I see very little probability of their being opposed in force—at least until next fall, if then. From observations on the whole of their conduct for several years past, as far as I could penetrate into it, I am, as well as many others, led to believe that those at the helm of affairs on your side of the mountains either know nothing about the business or wish to prolong the war, except they are deceived by their servants on this side of the world. Various are the ideas of the most knowing men in Indian affairs on those points. It is a pity that the blood and treasure of the people should be so lavished, when one campaign, properly directed, would put a final end to the war; and a well-directed line



of conduct, after such event should take place, might establish harmony between us and the Indians that might exist for many years. Two armies hath already been defeated, and I doubt (not) the third will share the same fate, if the greatest precaution is not made use of. We are suing the Indians for peace. This convinces them that we are beat and cowed, and, of course, will cause nations not yet at war to join the confederacy, and, if they treat at all, their demands will be so great that it will be as dishonorable for the states to grant as it is for them. I wrote you on the subject of Lanetot's (?) bill. It was settled in Shannon's account when he was on the assembly, which may appear in the auditor's office, and a bill passed the house for the settlement of those accounts; the bill I have seen myself. This I have from Captain Shannon, who hath been in the woods surveying all this spring, but is to meet me next court on that and other business. If you should be at Richmond, pray examine, and perhaps the matter may be easily settled, as I don't know where the doubt lies. It is as just as the book we swear by. As to the flour account, it is a shame among other things. I never could, until the time I did it, get this business arranged so as to lay it before the assembly with the same propriety, and to say it ought to have been done sooner is ominous. Why did they not do me the justice at first and enable me to pay for, and take up, those accounts sooner? I have given the United States half the territory they possess, and for them to suffer me to remain in poverty, in consequence of it, will not redound much to their honor hereafter, when the most minute movement of mine, from

first to last, is already committed to paper. . . I am more capable of negotiations and the military life now than ever, because I have until the present day studied it. Suppose my principles would permit me to change sides, don't you think the continent would have cause to tremble? *

"I shall follow your advice and present another memorial this fall—am now making preparations for it. If I meet with another rebuff I must rest contented with it, be industrious, and look out further for my future bread. All the trouble you are at in superintending my business will be gratefully acknowledged by your affectionate brother,

"G. R. CLARK.

"All friends near are well, except my father, who has a pain in the knee, but is getting better. The whole present compliments to your family and friends."

Ten years later he was still struggling on in poverty, with his claim against the government remaining unpaid. Then he wrote another letter to the same brother, saying, in bitterness and despair, "I have lost all prospect of getting my just claims from Virginia. I content myself by viewing their † course with contempt."

For some time after George Rogers Clark's dismissal from service by Virginia he remained in comparative obscurity, giving some attention, however, to the allotment of the land in the Illinois Grant among his soldiers, as will be hereafter shown; but in January, 1785, Clark, Richard

* General Clark wrote so carelessly at times that it is not certain whether he meant should he change sides now, or had changed sides during the war in which he was so important a factor. It is more reasonable to suppose he meant the latter.

† A word here between "their" and "course" is illegible.

Butler and Arthur Lee were the United States commissioners who executed an important treaty at Fort McIntosh with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa Indians.

It is said in Dawson's life of William Henry Harrison that, "at a treaty held at Fort McIntosh, on the Ohio, in the year 1785, Buckongehelas, then the chief warrior (of the Delawares), was present. After the sachems, or peace chiefs, had addressed the commissioners of the United States, who were George Rogers Clark, Arthur Lee and Richard Butler, whom he did not deign to notice, approaching General Clark, and taking him by the hand, he thus addressed him: 'I thank the great spirit for having this day brought together two such great warriors as Buckongehelas and General Clark.'" This may have been a display of too much vanity on the part of this brave, but somewhat self-exalting Indian, but the same author says: "This man possessed all the qualifications of a hero; no Christian knight was ever more scrupulous in performing all his engagements than the renowned Buckongehelas."

On the 31st of the next January, General Clark, Richard Butler and Samuel H. Parsons, acted as United States commissioners in negotiating a treaty with the Shawnees. At this treaty an incident occurred showing Clark's fearless character, and that he knew how to manage the Indians. The event is thus related, in the *Western Sun* of Vincennes, October 21, 1820, and seems to have been copied from an article in the *National Gazette*, written by an old army officer: "The Indians came into the treaty at Fort Wash-

ington in the most friendly manner, except the Shawnees, the most conceited and most warlike of the aborigines; the first in a battle, the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors, set off in all their paint and feathers, filed into the council house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States stockade mustered seventy men.

“In the center of the hall, at a little table, sat the commissioners, General Clark, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders, General Richard Butler, and the Hon. Mr. Parsons. There was present, also, a Captain Denny, who, I believe, is still alive and can attest the story. On the part of the Indians an old council sachem and a war chief took the lead; the latter, a tall raw-boned fellow with an impudent and villainous look, made a boisterous speech, which operated effectually on the passions of the Indians, who set up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify they were prepared for either event, peace or war. Clark exhibited the same unalterable and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, and his elbow resting on the table; he raised his little cane and pushed the wampum off the table, with very little ceremony. Every Indian at the same moment started from his seat with one of those sudden, simultaneous and peculiar savage sounds, which startle and disconcert the stoutest heart, and can neither be described nor forgotten. Parsons, more civil than military, in his habits was poorly fit for an emergency that would probably have



DRIVING THE INDIANS FROM THE COUNCIL CHAMBER. 6

embarrassed even the hero of Saratoga, the brother and father of soldiers. At this juncture Clark rose—the scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrate and insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so apparently involuntarily. They were heard all that night debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned chief was for war, the old sachems for peace; the latter prevailed, and the next morning they came back and sued for peace.”

Some unimportant errors may have crept into this extract, but the incident, no doubt, occurred, substantially, as stated. These treaties would have been of great importance, if they had been faithfully executed by the Indians, as they clearly defined the territories to be occupied by them, and provided against trespassing thereon by the whites, besides containing other salutary provisions. But unfortunately, they were not lived up to in good faith, and there is some reason to doubt whether even those who signed the treaties intended to execute them faithfully. Neither was there unanimity among Indians of the same tribe, as there was a large and restless war party in each, bent on adventure and mischief, and these denied that they were bound by the treaties. In fact there was reason to suspect that the Indians signing them were actuated more by a desire to have a good time attending the councils and receiving presents, than to secure permanent peace. The cessation of hostilities, which for a time existed after the close of the Revolutionary War, was more in the nature of a suspension than an actual ending of the contest.

CHAPTER XX.*

WABASH AND MIAMI INDIANS, ENCOURAGED BY THE BRITISH, BECOME HOSTILE TO THE AMERICANS—CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM DETERMINED UPON.

General Clark placed in command—The situation communicated to the Governor of Virginia by Clark and John May—Officers, Kentucky military district, meet in council—Right to impress military supplies declared—Expedition marches by land to Vincennes—Provisions forwarded by water, delayed and spoiled—Expedition delayed at Vincennes—March in demoralized condition—A portion revolt before reaching enemy and return—Clark overwhelmed with grief—French inhabitants no longer friendly—Clark determines to garrison Vincennes—Is driven by necessity to impress supplies for his troops—Takes some Spanish property—Commissary appointed—Regular accounts kept of property taken—His conduct misrepresented—Virginia and congress, without waiting for his explanations, condemn it—This action hasty and inconsiderate—Opinions of disinterested persons—Clark returns to the falls full of disappointment—Finally meditates an expedition in the interest of the French against the Spaniards on the Mississippi—Accepts French commission—Issues a proclamation—Expedition abandoned—Effect of the movement beneficial in hastening free navigation of the Mississippi—Opinion of Governor Shelby and others.

THE Wabash and Miami Indians were not included in the treaties referred to in the last chapter, and had grown to be very unfriendly to the Americans. Likewise the French inhabitants of the towns, as already shown, had become exasperated against them because of shameful neglect by the government, and impositions to which they

* Reference to Chapter XX in the first volume should read Chapter XXI.

had been subjected, particularly in the taking army supplies without just compensation. But there were numerous other causes conspiring to produce dissatisfaction; and the old sympathy between the French and Indians was revived and strengthened.

Strongest of all was the powerful influence of British officers who still remained in possession of Detroit and other military posts, within the boundary of the United States, in flagrant violation of the treaty of peace, and who did all they could, short of actual participation themselves, to induce the Indians to unfriendly acts against the Americans; not by movements in large force, but by small parties who kept the white settlements on, or near, the frontiers in a constant state of alarm and danger. This was true of all the frontier line, but particularly of Kentucky, where the people, weary with waiting for the United States to enforce remedial measures, finally took the matter in hand themselves.

In determining upon a military leader, in this crisis, the people naturally, in view of the past, turned to General Clark as the most desirable man. He had, in May, 1786, written about the situation of affairs to his old friend Patrick Henry, who had again become governor of Virginia.

“I make no doubt,” said he, “you have long since had a full account of the late Indian treaties at the mouth of Miami. What future effect they may have on the nations treated with is impossible to tell, but some good consequences have already appeared in the peaceable behavior of some of those Indians. Notwithstanding, I don’t think



that this country, even in its infant state, bore so gloomy an aspect as it does at present.

“The loss of Colonel Christian, whom the inhabitants had great future hopes in, hath caused general uneasiness; add to this the certainty of a war already commenced and early this spring declared by the Wabash Indians in general, amounting in the whole, to upwards of fifteen hundred warriors, encouraged by the British traders from Detroit, and their own inclination. When you take a view of our situation, circumstanced as we are, no prospect of support, at best, for several months, so formidable and bloody an enemy to encounter, much irregularity in the country—no power to order the militia out of the state for its protection, and before the assembly meets, or any assistance can be got from congress on your making application to them for it, I doubt great part of these beautiful settlements will be laid waste, without protected by volunteers penetrating into the heart of the enemy's country. Nothing else will do.

“Scouts and forts on the frontiers answer but little purpose and in the end cost more than an army that would do the business effectually at once. Was a sufficient force to appear in their country, after a general action, which I think should take place, they would sue for peace, and agree to any terms you pleased, to save their country from total destruction.

“Such an example would have a great and good impression on these Indians, already treated with, as fear would cause them to be peaceable, when presents make them believe we are afraid of them, and rather an encouragement for them to make war upon us when they get poor.

This is a notorious truth, well known by those that are acquainted with their dispositions. A few days ago, an engagement happened near St. Vincents, on the Wabash, in which twelve of the Indians lay (dead) on the field and a number wounded."

Another letter, written to the governor in the following July, by John May, states the condition of affairs, and the opinion entertained of General Clark by the people, so fully that it is given here in full: "The very interesting intelligence," said he, "which we have lately received from Post St. Vincent, induces me once more to trouble Your Excellency. The Americans living there have been very much distressed by the Indians ever since last winter, and have every reason to believe that they were encouraged to continue hostilities by the French inhabitants, who have not only refused the Americans any assistance, but would not suffer them to make use of the cannon, which were left there for their defense, at a fort which they were obliged to build; and when they, the French, were written to on the subject by General Clark, they returned for answer that they had nothing to do with the United States, but considered themselves as British subjects and should obey no other power.

"I understand that there are British traders among them who keep up this idea, and as congress seems to have totally neglected them, it is not to be wondered at if they should still think themselves under the British government, especially when they see that the several British posts, which they were told were to be delivered up to the Americans, are still in the possession of the British.

“The Americans have been lately attacked by the Indians, but repulsed them, whereupon Colonel Le Gras, or Legrow, for I don't recollect how he spelt his name, issued his proclamation, ordered all the Americans to move away immediately: They are now closely confined within their fort or houses, and have every reason to expect the French will assist the Indians against them, and are under the most dreadful apprehensions of being totally cut off. The Wabache Indians are all at war with us, and most of the Shawnees, and put to death in a most cruel manner all the prisoners who are so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.

“Since Colonel Logan wrote to you in April, there have been a great many murders committed, and we, every two or three days, hear of new murders. There are now letters here from Post St. Vincent requesting in the most moving terms that assistance may be sent to the Americans, to enable them to move away, and offering to give up every shilling's worth of property they possess in order to defray the expenses of moving them.

“There had a party of militia, amounting to one hundred and thirty men, marched a few days before this intelligence came to hand, to attack a party of Indians, who were encamped on the other side of the Ohio, some distance below the falls, but upon General Clark's receiving this letter, he sent expresses after them and requested them to proceed immediately to this post.

“This country had determined to carry on a volunteer campaign against the Indians in August next, but your in-

structions have changed the plan, and they are now preparing for a regular campaign.

“I find it is the unanimous opinion of the inhabitants of this country that General Clark is the properest person to take command here, and notwithstanding the opinion which prevails below, of his not being capable of attending to business, I am of the same opinion with the rest of this country. I have been with him frequently and find him as capable of business as ever, and should an expedition be carried on against the Indians I think his name alone would be worth half a regiment of men.

“It is not expected that the troops will be ready to march before the first of September, as the council of officers will not be held till the 2d of August. . . . Colonel Logan is acquainted with the contents of this letter, and has authorized me to say that in case a general officer should be appointed, he thinks General Clark’s abilities and experience entitle him to the appointment.” *

The council of officers of the district of Kentucky, referred to in this letter, was held at Harrodsburg, at the time mentioned, when it was decided to make a campaign, under General Clark, against the hostile Indians on the Wabash, without waiting longer for the general government to act, as the latter had strangely neglected to give the western frontiers, especially the settlements northwest of the Ohio, proper protection. Patrick Henry, the governor of Virginia, approved of this action. † A foot note in Butler’s Kentucky, p. 154, edition of 1834, indicates that the expe-


*Life of Patrick Henry, by his grandson, Vol. 3, p. 369.

†Winning of the West, Vol. 3, p. 83, and authorities there cited.

dition was inaugurated at a meeting of the inhabitants of the district of Kentucky, at Danville, some time in 1786, and confirmed by the military officers of the district on the 2d of August of that year. The note is important as showing the source from which General Clark derived his authority, and that it was the opinion of the highest legal authorities of Kentucky that the field officers had a legal right to impress all supplies needed. It says: "This expedition was prepared in conformity to resolutions of the inhabitants of the district assembled at Danville sometime in 1786; the month is not mentioned in the proceedings; they are signed by William Kennedy, as chairman. These resolutions, together with an order of the executive of Virginia, were acted on by the military officers of the district, who met at Harrodsburg, on the 2d of August, 1786. These gentlemen, among other resolutions, adopted one appointing 'General George Rogers Clark to act as general officer, and have the command and direction of the army at this time, ordered in offensive operations against our enemy, the Indians.'

"The doubts which were entertained about the legality of impressments for provisions, etc., were submitted by the officers to Judges Muter and Wallace, and the attorney-general, Innes. These officers certified it as their opinion 'that the executive have delegated to the field-officers of this district all their power' in regard to impressments, 'and that they have a right to impress, if necessary, all supplies for the use of the militia that may be called into service.' The opinion is directed to Colonel Benjamin Logan, as president of the board of officers."*

*See the opinion in full in the Appendix.



The militia were to assemble at the falls of the Ohio by the 10th of September, mounted or on foot, as they pleased. They came straggling in during the month under circumstances not at all favorable to the establishment of good discipline.

There was, in fact, no time to efficiently organize and discipline the troops, as they were moved forward from the falls the latter part of that month, across the wilderness to Vincennes. There were between ten hundred and twelve hundred men, brave, but self-willed and independent of restraint, with many disturbing elements among them.

Bad luck seemed to fasten on the expedition from the beginning. The provisions and most of the army supplies were forwarded from the falls to Vincennes by water, and were expected to arrive by the time the troops reached there; but it was a sultry season, with water probably low, and the boats did not arrive until nine days after the soldiers, and then it was found that a large part of the provisions were spoiled. The further delay at Vincennes was unfortunate, as discontent arose and factions were formed during the inactivity, which became disastrous in the end.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of Vincennes joined the Kentucky troops when they marched up the Wabash in October, with a view of attacking the Indians, particularly those in the vicinity of Ouiatenon. The Indians obtained information of the intended movement and prepared to ambuscade the Americans at a favorable point on the contemplated line of march, in the defiles of Pine creek. Those, however, in the region about the mouth

of the Vermilion river deserted their villages as the troops approached that neighborhood, and, in the meantime, the fatigue of the march, lack of provisions, and an absurd rumor that Clark had given the Indians an option to make peace without fighting if they wished, all added to the deplorable insubordination, disorganization and bad feeling, which had been growing from the beginning.

At this point several hundred of the troops resisted the commands, entreaties, and even tears, of General Clark, and marched off in the direction of home. This was an open and disgraceful revolt, but there was so much disaffection and dissatisfaction, generally, that he decided it best not to attempt to enforce obedience; and as there was, in addition, a distressing lack of provisions, nothing was left for him to do but to return to Vincennes, overwhelmed with sorrow and humiliation, at a result which it was not possible for him, under the circumstances, to prevent.

There are, however, those who attribute the result to the unfortunate habit of drinking to excess, which had grown upon him since he was retired from the service of Virginia in 1783, but it should not be forgotten that the very same result happened to General Hopkins, who undertook to lead the same kind of troops against the same Indians, in the same

Sam Hopkins - Illinois country, twenty-six years afterwards, and he was never even accused of drinking to excess. Such results, some times, spring from jealousy and rivalry between officers and companies, and a variety of causes, that, unexpectedly, arise in such combinations as to be irresistible. The result

was, no doubt, occasioned by such causes, in both these instances, and not because of lack of bravery in the troops, or lack of ability in the commanding officers.

To form a correct estimate of the transactions of this period, with which General Clark was connected, the deplorable condition of the Wabash and Illinois country at this time, as already stated, should not be disregarded. The little protection which Virginia had given to the people there practically ceased when that state determined to cede her claim to this territory to the general government; and the latter, up to that period, had, strangely, neglected to extend governmental, or other adequate protection, over them.

The sympathy and aid extended to the Americans by the French and creole inhabitants, at the time of the original conquest by Clark, had been rewarded by neglect, pecuniary loss and oppression, which, naturally, produced resentment, and now they were anything but friends. The American government had apparently forsaken them without any fault of their own, and, in spite of their earnest appeals for help, and they were left, as far as the government was concerned, in almost a state of anarchy.

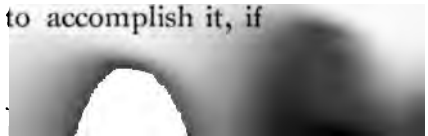
So far had this estrangement gone that Americans not having special permit from the creole court to remain were ordered to leave Vincennes, and there had been almost, if not quite, actual collision, and a dangerous disposition manifested by a part of these inhabitants to join the Indians and British against the Americans. There had been several conflicts with the Indians in the vicinity, in which there was loss of life on both sides, and the condi-

tion of affairs was so unfavorable to the Americans that they were in danger of being all killed or driven out of the country. Of all men Clark was best suited to reconcile the unfortunate differences which had arisen during his long absence from the country, between the French and American inhabitants, and it is a notable and creditable fact, that both sides appealed to him as a mediator in whom they had entire confidence.

Realizing the dangerous situation, with that quick perception which always characterized him, he promptly determined to check the growing evil, and to do a great service to his country, by placing an adequate garrison of American soldiers at Vincennes, and again establishing law, order and good feeling over the Wabash and Illinois country, as had always existed before when he commanded there. He also designed to hold the neighboring Indians in check, and, if possible, establish friendly treaty relations with them. To this end, on his return to Vincennes from the unfortunate campaign against the Indians, he enlisted from the soldiers who had remained faithful one hundred and forty men.

It is true he did this without the direct authority of the government, much in the same spirit that General Jackson established martial law in New Orleans, and his action, like Jackson's, caused many bitter criticisms to be leveled against him. It was a case of emergency, and to have waited until he could communicate with the distant government and procure technical authority would not have afforded the remedy the circumstances required.

In fact it would have been out of the question, as it probably would have required a year to accomplish it, if



it could have been done at all. As evidence of the then imperfect intercourse between the east and the west, it may be mentioned that "the preliminary articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain, which had been signed on the 30th of November, 1782, were not known in Kentucky until the spring of 1783."* The facilities of intercommunication were but little if any better in 1786.

There were no very close obligatory relations at that period between a commander in the western wilderness and the distant home government; all the surroundings necessitated large discretionary powers, which Governor Patrick Henry clearly comprehended, when he wrote to Colonel Clark, in December, 1778, and reminded him that emergencies might arise where the government could not be consulted, and wisely said, "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." General Clark had several times taken such responsibilities, and the result had always proven the correctness of his action. On this occasion he appears to have done that which he thought was right and best under the circumstances, again taking the responsibility, courageously and without hesitation, for which, to say the least, considered from any point of view, he deserved much better treatment than he received.


He did, however, consult such persons in authority as were within consulting distance, who were supposed to be entitled to give advice in the premises. He appropri-

* Butler's Kentucky and Marshall's Kentucky.

ately called together for consultation the field-officers in this expedition. They met in council while at Vincennes in October and "unanimously agreed that a garrison at that place would be of essential service to the district of Kentucky, and that supplies might be had in the district more than sufficient for their support, by impressment, or otherwise, under the direction of a commissary to be appointed for that purpose, pursuant to the authority vested in the field-officers of the district by the executive of Virginia."

Nothing to the contrary appearing it is to be presumed that these field-officers were competent to form a correct judgment when they joined General Clark in advising the establishment of a garrison at Vincennes. That its establishment was intended for the public good has been generally conceded, and, whether regular in every respect or not, it was believed a wise thing for the country, at the time, and was cordially approved by the great mass of the western people.

There remains nothing to base criticism upon except that the command, being wholly destitute of money, provisions and army supplies, were forced, by necessity, to make impressments; in doing which, among others, they took the property of one Bazadone, who claimed to be a Spanish merchant doing business at Vincennes. Impressments for army use were not so unusual at that period, and had frequently been resorted to against the French inhabitants, and it is said that property was impressed in Kentucky, before the troops crossed the Ohio, which, although causing some slight dissatisfaction at the time, good judges considered legal and justifiable.



Armies, it must be admitted, are generally not over-nice about taking what they actually need, if unable to supply themselves otherwise, and a prudent and considerate commander would hardly allow his men to starve with supplies within reach. He would naturally be expected to take them, with the intention that substantial justice would be done afterwards, and he would probably not devote much time considering the question of ownership. Governor Patrick Henry, in the letter to Clark last quoted, said, "there is a cargo of goods at a Spanish post near you belonging either to the continent or the state. Rather than let your troops be naked, you are to take a supply for them out of these goods. But this 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."

That is exactly what Clark did, on this occasion, and he did nothing more. The cases were substantially the same, except that some of the goods taken were claimed to belong to a Spanish merchant doing business in Vincennes. The supplies thus taken were for the public service, being receipted for, and accounted for, by a duly appointed commissary of the garrison, John Rice Jones, a man of great ability and high character, who faithfully and efficiently served the people in many honorable positions afterwards, both in Indiana and Missouri, and left a long line of worthy descendants, who also have filled hon-



John Rice Jones

missary of the garrison, John Rice Jones, a man of great ability and high character, who faithfully and efficiently served the people in many honorable positions afterwards, both in Indiana and Missouri, and left a long line of worthy descendants, who also have filled hon-

orable positions—one of them, Honorable George W. Jones, still living (1895)—an old acquaintance of the author, and a native of Indiana, having long served in the senate of the United States. Mr. John J. Craig was also appointed a commissary.

For the reason that a considerable amount of the property impressed belonged to Bazadone, who claimed to be a Spanish subject, and because the western people at that time were extremely bitter against the Spaniards on account of being denied free navigation of the Mississippi, and there was a possibility of war on that account, which was not favored by a portion of the people of the east, an outcry was raised in that section, and a portion of the west, against Clark's action, and he was charged with intending to make war on the Spaniards, without authority.

Irresponsible and anonymous scribblers have always been found to attack the prominent and successful military men of this country from Washington to Grant, and it is not surprising that General Clark should have shared the same fate. It is surprising, however, and, in the author's judgment, to be regretted, that a paper, without name of writer or receiver, apparently an extract from a private letter written by one citizen to another, and not for publication, assailing General Clark in the most violent terms, should have found a place in such a publication as the "Calendar of Virginia State Papers." As far as appears it was not a state paper, or connected with a state paper. In what sense was this attack, of a nameless person, upon the private character of this renowned son of Virginia, worthy of a place among her published archives? If it



had the responsibility of a name the name should have been given if it was to be put with the official state papers, otherwise it should have been consigned to the waste basket, and not handed down to posterity, through this official medium, to smirch the name and fame of a man who acted such a conspicuous part in the history of that state. And this is said without claiming that General Clark was entirely blameless in the matter referred to.

The publication in this official and public manner having already been done, the injury will not be added to by referring to it here. The paper as it there appears is stated to have been extracted from a letter "written December 12, 1786," from a gentleman in Kentucky to his friend in Philadelphia, neither name given, saying: "Clark is playing hell. He is raising a regiment of his own, and has one hundred and forty men stationed at Opost, already, now under the command of Dalton. Seized on a Spanish boat with twenty thousand dollars, or rather seized three stores at Opost worth this sum, and the boat which brought them up. J. R. Jones, commissary-general, gets a large share of the plunder, and has his family at Opost. Platt comes in for snacks. He brought the baggage and a thousand pounds of small furs at the falls the day I left it. Plunder all . . . means to go to congress to get the regiment put upon the establishment. He is the third captain. The furs, he tells his associates, are necessary to bear his expenses; but he don't return. I laid a plan to get the whole seized and secured for the owners, and Bullett and Anderson will execute it. Clark is eternally drunk, and yet full of design. I told him he would be hanged. He laughed and said he

could take refuge among the Indians. A stroke is meditated against St. Louis and the Natchez." *

The council of Virginia, without waiting to hear any explanation from General Clark, disavowed, not only his acts in impressing the "alleged" Spanish property, but "the existence of a power derived from them to the said Clark to raise recruits, appoint officers, or impress provisions." They also proceeded to immediately apologize, in advance, to his "Catholic Majesty, the king of Spain," because this son of Virginia, who had done so much for her in former service, impressed a few thousand dollars' worth of Bazadone's property, to keep the suffering soldiers from want.

These hastily adopted resolutions of the council were forwarded to the delegates in congress, and congress capped the climax by adopting a resolution "for dispossessing a body of men who had, in a lawless and unauthorized manner, taken possession of Post Vincennes in defiance of the proclamation and authority of the United States." Thus, it will be seen, that congress was anxious to conciliate "His Catholic Majesty, the king of Spain," as well as "His Christian Majesty, the king of France," notwithstanding both had favored leaving the country Clark had conquered from the British out of the boundaries of the United States, at the time of making the treaty of peace with Great Britain. However, this action of the two kings had been really facilitated by congress, as that body had instructed the American peace commissioners "to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 202.



subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the king of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence." Fortunately for their country the commissioners took the responsibility of acting "in defiance" of these instructions, and secured the great northwestern territory to the United States.

Whatever the causes producing it, this action of congress seems to have been most unwise, as was also the further action, instructing the American commissioners to yield to his "Catholic Majesty" all American right to the free navigation of the Mississippi river, and of the majority of still another congress favoring or consenting to a suspension of that right for twenty-five or thirty years. Congress, thus appearing not to be wholly free from error themselves, might have exercised a little more charity for the mistakes of others, especially of a man who had done so much for their country, and who apparently supposed at the time that he was acting in the interests of the people. He was, at least, entitled to a hearing before being subjected to the imputations implied in these hasty resolves. The charge that George Rogers Clark made mistakes may be well founded, but in the estimation of many they were incomparably less mischievous than these of congress, and posterity will not fail to recognize that his deeds resulted in much greater benefit to the country than the deeds of the men who harshly judged and traduced him.

General Clark naturally felt deeply aggrieved over this action of congress and the Virginia council, and earnestly maintaining that his conduct was entirely justifiable wrote to



the governor of Virginia in December, 1786, demanding a court of inquiry. It does not appear, however, that any was ever held. In the same letter he explains that mature reflection satisfied him that, after the retreat, there was more necessity than ever to do something to protect American interests in the Illinois country, and on that account he had recruited a number of troops for one year, fortified Vincennes, and, in the course of four weeks, brought the whole of the Wabash Indians to his own terms. He added that, "the grand treaty would have been held this fall if we had known what articles to have agreed to; for the want of that knowledge from congress it's put off until the last of April next, to be held at St. Vincent, and is thought, by the best judges, that the greatest body of Indians that ever appeared together in that quarter will be embodied. Now what will be done in this case it is impossible for me to determine. If it is prosecuted, there must be a support of men, money and provisions. What the different Indian nations and myself have agreed to is to rest quiet until that time, when it is expected a final peace will take place." *

Several disinterested persons, competent to judge correctly, and near enough to understand the situation, gave accounts of the matter from actual knowledge and examination, but only two of these can be given here from lack of space. It will be seen that these accounts differ materially from the statements on which some of the charges against Clark were founded.

* Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 213.



A committee was appointed, in Kentucky, presumably by one of the several constitutional conventions held about that time, to make a full investigation "respecting the establishment of the corps at Post Vincennes, of the seizure of Spanish property made at that place, and such other matters as they might think necessary." This committee made the following report :*

"They find by inquiry, from General Clark and sundry papers submitted by him to their inspection, that a board of field-officers, composed from the corps employed on the late Wabash expedition, did, in council held at Post Vincennes, the 8th of October, 1786, unanimously agree that a garrison at that place would be of essential service to the district of Kentucky, and that supplies might be had in the district more than sufficient for their support, by impressment or otherwise, under the direction of a commissary, to be appointed for this purpose, pursuant to the authority vested in the field-officers of the district by the executive of Virginia. The same board appointed Mr. John Craig, Jr., a commissary of purchase, and resolved that one field-officer and two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of the company of artillery, to be commanded by Captain Valentine Thomas Dalton, be recruited to garrison Post Vincennes. That Colonel John Holder be appointed to command the troops in this service.


"In consequence of these measures, it appears to your committee that a body of men have been enlisted, and are now recruiting for one year; that General Clark hath taken

* Dillon's History of Indiana, p. 199.

the supreme direction of the corps, but by what authority doth not appear; and that the corps hath been further officered by appointments made by General Clark, who acknowledges that the seizure of the Spanish property was made by his order for the sole purpose of clothing and subsisting the troops; and that the goods seized were appropriated in this way. That John Rice Jones, who acts as commissary to the garrison, had passed receipts for the articles taken.

“The general alleges that the troops were raised for the security of the district; that he considers them subject to the direction of this committee, who may discharge them, if they think proper, but conceives this measure may prevent the proposed treaty, and involve this country in a bloody war. He denies any intention of depredating on the Spanish possessions or property at the Illinois, and declares that he never saw the intercepted letter from Thomas Green. That he understood Green’s object was to establish a settlement at or near the Gaso river, under the authority of the state of Georgia; that his view was, by encouraging the settlement, to obtain a small grant of land; and that he had no idea of molesting the Spaniards, or of attending Green in person.

“He informed the committee that the garrison now at Post Vincennes is about one hundred strong, and that the merchants at the Illinois had determined to support it, for which purpose they had sent for the commissary, Jones, to receive provisions. That Major Bosseron was sent to the Illinois to advise the settlers there of certain seizures made at Natchez, of American property, by the Spanish com-




mandant, and to recommend it to them to conciliate the minds of the Indians, and be prepared to retaliate any outrage the Spaniards might commit on their property; but by no means to commence hostilities.

“THOMAS TODD, Clerk Committee.”

Colonel Benjamin Logan, president of the board of officers at the Danville meeting at the time the campaign against the Indians was determined upon, led a branch of the expedition against the Indians at the Shawnee towns early in October, which was fortunately more successful than the main expedition. He led nearly eight hundred men, and met but little resistance, the principal Indians having gone to oppose Clark's troops. He, however, destroyed the cabins, corn and other provisions, killing ten of the savages and taking about thirty prisoners. The campaign lasted only a few weeks.

Colonel Logan was a man of much experience in these matters and familiar with all the circumstances of Clark's campaign. He wrote a letter to the governor of Virginia December 13, 1786, in which he said: “I have had the opportunity to be in company with General Clark since his return from the expedition on the north side of the Ohio river. He informs me he has agreed with the chiefs of the western tribes that hostilities should cease until the first day of April next, at which time he had appointed to hold a treaty with the nations of the Opost, and that he had ordered an officer to recruit two hundred and fifty men, which orders were nearly complied with. Those men were to keep possession of an American garrison at that place,



and to keep the Indians in terror until a treaty. These proceedings, I think, (were) wise and prudent." *

The severity of the blows, that followed the failure of the campaign against the Wabash Indians, added to his previous dismissal from the service of Virginia three years before, told upon General Clark now with terrible effect. Whatever else may be said he had served his country faithfully and well, and had rendered valuable services, but everything seemed now to have turned against him. He felt that he was not only neglected, misunderstood and misrepresented, but treated with positive injustice.

He now, more frequently than ever, endeavored to drown his disappointments and sorrows in drink, and at last, even



GEORGE R. CLARK.

his countenance took on a sterner and more forbidding look than it wore in his younger and brighter days. This is shown in his portrait taken at this period, now in the Vincennes University, and reproduced here. He was so thoroughly soured and disgusted with it all that, it is said, he at one time meditated removing from the country, and applied for a grant of land in the Spanish territory, with a view of establishing a colony there; but this was probably no more than an angry impulse which he never really intended to carry out. But there is no doubt he was deeply piqued at the neglect and bad treatment which he felt that he had unjustly received.

In a letter written Judge Innes of Kentucky, March 7, 1791, Mr. Jefferson, then secretary of state, said, "Will it

*Virginia State Papers, Vol. 4, p. 202.



not be possible for you to bring General Clark forward? I know the greatness of his mind, and am the more mortified at the cause which obscures it. Had not this unhappily taken place, there was nothing he might not have hoped; could it be surmounted, his lost ground might yet be recovered. No man alive rated him higher than I did and would again, were he to become again what I knew him. '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.' "

He never recovered from these blows, or regained a prominent military position. The nearest he came to it was in 1793 when he accepted from agents of the French government, then in the United States, a commission, with the high sounding title of "major-general in the armies of France and commander-in-chief of the revolutionary legions on the Mississippi." The acceptance of this commission was the greatest mistake of his career. Always before he had been an officer of his own country, and his sword had only been drawn in behalf of his own countrymen.

The ostensible object, as far as Clark was concerned, was to lead a force of two thousand men, in the name of the French republic, against New Orleans and the Spanish possessions on the lower Mississippi, with a view of revolutionizing the Spanish control and government of that region. It is not for a moment reasonable to believe that Clark meant that it should work any injury to his own country, but thought it would open the Mississippi river to American

use which had so long been denied by the selfishness and injustice of Spain. In fact opening the Mississippi to trade was one of the main objects contemplated, as will be seen from the "proposals" for volunteers issued by General Clark which is given here entire. It is as follows:

"GEORGE R. CLARK, ESQUIRE,

"Major-general in the armies of France and commander-in-chief of the French Revolutionary Legion on the Mississippi river.

"Proposals

"For raising volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi, for opening the trade of the said river and giving freedom to all its inhabitants, etc.

"All persons serving the expedition to be entitled to one thousand acres of land. Those that engage for one year will be entitled to two thousand acres—if they served two years or during the present war with France they will have three thousand acres, of any unappropriated land that may be conquered—the officers in proportion; pay, etc., as other French troops. All lawful plunder to be equally divided agreeable to the custom of war. All necessaries will be provided for the enterprise, and every precaution taken to cause the return of those who wish to quit the service, as comfortable as possible, and a reasonable number of days allowed them to return, at the expiration of which time their pay will cease. All persons will be commissioned agreeable to the number of men they bring into the field.

Those that serve the expedition will have their choice of receiving their land, or one dollar per day.

“[A copy.]

G. R. CLARK.”*

The revolution in France had made an entire change in the relations existing between that country and Spain. Then the governments were friendly, now they were hostile. Genet, the minister of the French republic to the American government, presuming upon the universality of revolutionary ideas at that time, as well as the previous friendship between France and the young republic, assumed a tone and an attitude justly offensive to the general government of the United States.

As between France and Spain the sympathy of the Americans was generally with the former, not only because of the old friendly associations, but because of republican ideas then developing in France, the objectionable features of which were not yet known and understood in America; but the strongest reason of all was the dislike of Spain, because of her long and persistent denial of the free navigation of the Mississippi to the Americans.

The Mississippi river was then the only practical route for the products of the west to find a market, and the free navigation of that river was a matter of paramount necessity to the western people. As a natural result their dislike of Spain was almost universal, at the time of this movement of General Clark. The failure of the general government to secure free navigation to the sea led some to believe the government indifferent to the essential interests of the

*Copied into the *Kentucky Gazette* of February 8, 1794, from “the Centinel of the Northwestern Territory, Cincinnati, January 25, 1794.”

west, to such an extent as to cause them to contemplate an independent western state, or some new combination that would secure free trade on that river.

The general feeling against Spain and sympathy with France, for the reasons stated, induced the people to look on Clark's movement with indulgence, notwithstanding it was a technical violation of international law, and severely condemned by the general government, which had requested Isaac Shelby, the governor of Kentucky, to stop the expedition. Governor Shelby, like most Kentuckians, however, was in evident sympathy with General Clark, and he answered the request January 13, 1794, as follows:

“I have great doubts, even if they attempt to carry this plan into execution, provided they manage their business with prudence, whether there is any *legal authority to restrain or to punish* them, at least *before they have actually accomplished it*. For, if it is lawful for any one citizen of the state to leave it, it is equally so for any number of them to do it. It is also lawful for them to carry any quantity of provisions, arms and ammunition. And if the act is lawful in itself, there is nothing but the particular intention with which it is done that can possibly make it unlawful; but I know of no law which inflicts a punishment on intention only, or any criterion by which to decide what would be a sufficient evidence of that intention, even if it was a proper subject for legal censure. . . . I shall also feel but little inclination to take an active part in punishing or restraining any of my fellow-citizens for a supposed intention only, to gratify the fears of the minister of a prince who openly withholds from us an invaluable right,



and who secretly instigates against us a most savage and cruel enemy.”

On the 5th of June, 1794, congress enacted an additional law, intended to prevent such an expedition as the one contemplated by General Clark. The necessity of this new legislation, Governor Shelby claimed, proved the correctness of his position, “and that, until the passage of that law, the offense had not been declared, nor the punishment defined.” The governor was also of opinion that the movement proved beneficial to the country, in showing the authorities of the general government that the people of the west were dissatisfied and terribly in earnest in determining to have the Mississippi opened for commerce and trade. It was regarded as fair warning that they intended to have it, no matter at what cost, and it no doubt spurred on the authorities to more speedy and effective measures to secure it.

Assurances, quietly given, that earnest efforts were now being made in that direction, doubtless proved quite as effectual as anything else in causing the expedition to be abandoned. It is gratifying to believe that, after all, this contemplated expedition of General Clark, unauthorized by government, and irregular as it was, proved a benefit to his country. This was the common belief of the leading men of the west at that time, as well as of Governor Shelby.

The general government, finding that the governor would not interfere, issued a proclamation on the 24th of March following, declaring the proposed movement unlawful, and followed it up by ordering General Wayne to

establish a force at Fort Massac, if needed, to prevent the expedition going down the river. It was not necessary, however; for, in addition to the reason already given, the sober second thought, coupled with the recall of Genet to France, and this action of the general government, caused the expedition to be abandoned. This was the last effort of General Clark's military career, and the last mention of him in connection with any military enterprise, contemplated or otherwise.

That Spain deserved little consideration from the government of the United States is shown by the fact that for years her emissaries intrigued to induce the western people to inaugurate a separate government, using large sums of money to that end, and offering the much-coveted free navigation of the Mississippi, and other valuable rewards. Fortunately for the republic, these efforts were not successful, and the free navigation was at last nominally secured by treaty in October, 1795, but never completely and satisfactorily so until the purchase of Louisiana by the United States in 1803.

CHAPTER XXI.

CLARK'S GRANT—THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE ILLINOIS REGIMENT, AND THE LAND ALLOTTED TO EACH.

IT will be remembered that at the time the Illinois campaign was inaugurated, George Wythe, George Mason and Thomas Jefferson wrote a joint letter to George Rogers Clark, congratulating him upon his appointment to conduct so important an enterprise, and most heartily wishing him success. The letter then gave him this assurance: "We have no doubt that some further rewards 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 as to succeed. We think it just and reasonable that each volunteer, entering as a common soldier in this expedition, should be allowed three hundred acres of land and the officers in the usual proportion, out of the lands which may be conquered in the country now in possession of the Indians, so as not to interfere with the claims of any friendly Indians, or any people willing to become subjects of this commonwealth; and for this we think you may safely confide in the justice and generosity of the Virginia assembly." A fac-simile of this historic letter, dated January 3, 1778, has already been given in a previous

chapter, and these gentlemen, no doubt, exercised all their influence to carry out the assurances then given.

On the 2d of January, 1781, the general assembly of Virginia adopted a resolution providing that, "as Colonel George Rogers Clark planned and executed the secret expedition by which the British posts were reduced, and was promised if the enterprise succeeded a liberal gratuity in lands in that country for the officers and soldiers who first marched thither with him, that a quantity of land not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres be allowed and granted to the said officers and soldiers, and the other officers and soldiers that have been since incorporated into the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio as the majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterwards divided among the said officers and soldiers in due proportion according to the laws of Virginia." *

In 1783 another act was passed by Virginia, "for locating and surveying the one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land granted by a resolution of assembly to Colonel George Rogers Clark, and the officers and soldiers who assisted in the reduction of the British posts in the Illinois:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That William Fleming, John Edwards, John Campbell, Walker Daniel, gentlemen, and George Rogers Clark, John Montgomery, Abraham Chaplin, John Bailey, Robert Todd, and William Clark, officers in the Illinois regiment, shall be and they are hereby constituted a board of commissioners, and that

*Hening, 10, 565.

they, or the major part of them, shall settle and determine the claims to land under the said resolution. That the respective claimants shall give in their claims to the said commissioners on or before the first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four; and, if approved and allowed, shall pay down to the said commissioners one dollar for every hundred acres of such claim, to enable them to survey and apportion the said lands. The said commissioners shall appoint a principal surveyor who shall have power to appoint his deputies, to be approved by the said commissioners, and to contract with him for his fees. That from and after the said first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, the said commissioners, or the major part of them, shall proceed with the surveyor to lay off the said one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land on the northwest side of the Ohio river, the length of which shall not exceed double the breadth; and, after laying out one thousand acres at the most convenient place therein for a town, shall proceed to lay out and survey the residue, and divide the same by fair and equal lot among the claimants; but no lot or survey shall exceed five hundred acres. That the said commissioners, in their apportionments of the said land, shall govern themselves by the allowances made by law to the officers and soldiers in the Continental army. That the said commissioners shall, as soon as may be, after the said one hundred and forty-nine thousand acres shall be surveyed, cause a plat thereof, certified on oath, to be returned to the register's office, and thereupon a patent shall issue to the said commissioners or the survivors of them, who shall hold the same in trust for the respective

claimants; and they, or the major part of them, shall thereafter, upon application, execute good and sufficient deeds for conveying the several portions of land to the said officers and soldiers." *

The land was selected on the north side of the Ohio river, extending from below the falls, a little below Silver creek, up the river to the upper end of Eighteen Mile Island. It is situated in Clark, Floyd and Scott counties, Indiana, but mainly in the first named county. It was, in early times, generally called "Illinois Grant," but now, more frequently, "Clark's Grant," or, simply, "The Grant." The location of the land was vested by the law "in a majority of the officers," but the tract selected was always a favorite locality with General Clark, and his choice was adopted by common consent.

William Clark was appointed principal surveyor of the grant, and he proceeded with a corps of four assistant surveyors, Edmund Rogers, David Steel, Peter Catlett and Burwell Jackson, to lay it off into tracts, intended, generally to contain five hundred acres each, but some of the surveys were very carelessly made. The errors, however, were almost invariably on the side of the soldier, as the tracts often over-ran in quantity, and but seldom if ever fell below it.

Historians have been bothered a good deal to identify this William Clark. Some have supposed he was the William Clark, brother of General George Rogers Clark, who afterwards became very prominent in connection with Merriweather Lewis, in making the first exploration to the Pacific, under the auspices of President Jefferson; others

*Blackford's Indiana Reports, Vol. 1, Appendix.

have supposed he was the William Clark who was one of the first United States judges of Indiana Territory. He was neither. He was the William Clark heretofore referred to as the son of Benjamin Clark, and was the brother of Marston Green Clark, and cousin of George Rogers Clark. He was decidedly a man of affairs and of fine ability. He probably had more to do in formulating the boundaries and allotting the lands in Clark's Grant than any other one person. The official plat was his work, and, besides being principal surveyor, he was one of the commissioners, and sometimes clerk of the board. He was, in fact, the general utility man of the concern, and acquired a considerable estate in lands. His will has never been published as far as the author has been able to learn, and is given here in full, as it throws considerable light upon the members of his branch of the Clark family. He died in November, or early in December, 1791.

THE WILL OF WILLIAM CLARK, THE SURVEYOR.

“In the name of God, amen. I, William Clark, of Jefferson county, and District of Kentucky, late of Clarksville, being of perfect memory and knowing the uncertainty of this life, do make and declare this to be my last will and testament in the manner following. First desiring that my body may be decently interred at the discretion of my executors hereafter named. And as for my temporal estate after all my just debts are paid, I give, bequeath and dispose of in the following manner:

“It is my will and desire that the bond payable to William Croghan may be discharged by a certificate now in my

possession, the residue of said certificate to be applied as far as it will go to the discharge of a bond given to Richard Morris, and that the balance of said bond be discharged by my executors in the most speedy manner they may devise:

“It is my will and desire and I do hereby give my loving brother Marston Greene Clark a tract containing two hundred and fifty acres of land in Jefferson county and lying on Bear Grass, to him, the said Marston Green, his heirs and assigns.

“It is my will and desire, and I do hereby give to my loving brother Benjamin Wilson Clark and my loving sister Lucy Pool a tract containing nine hundred and thirty acres of land, to them and their heirs and assigns, lying in the lands given by the state of Virginia to the officers and soldiers of the Virginia state line, it being a part of my claim for military services performed the last war, to be equally divided in quantity and quality. And if my brother Benjamin Wilson and sister Lucy can not agree on a division my executors are to have a division made for them.

“It is my will and desire, and I do hereby give to my loving brothers Jonathan and Everard Clark, to them, their heirs and assigns, a tract containing one thousand acres of land lying on Russell's creek including a noted burning spring, to be equally divided as above.

“It is my will and desire, and I do hereby give to my loving brother Benjamin Wilson Clark one tract containing four hundred acres in the Illinois Grant, it being part of number thirty-one, to him, his heirs and assigns.

“It is my will and desire, and I do hereby give to my loving brother Jonathan Clark, to him, his heirs and as-

signs, one tract containing five hundred acres in the Illinois Grant, number twenty-four. It is my will and desire, and I do hereby give to my loving brother Everard Clark, to him, his heirs and assigns a tract containing five hundred acres of land in the Illinois Grant, number ninety-six. It is my will and desire, and I do hereby give to my loving sister Lucy Pool, to her, her heirs and assigns, one tract containing five hundred acres of land in the Illinois Grant, number one hundred and sixty.

“ It is my will and desire, and I do hereby give to my loving brother Marston Green Clark all my wearing apparel, a cow and calf, a sorrel mare, my desk, after my executors shall have finished the business of my estate ; also my lots and houses in the town of Clarksville I lend him for the term of three years from the date of my decease, and if either of my brothers or sister comes to this country to live, within the space of three years after my decease, then he or she so coming shall have the lots and houses aforesaid, but if neither of them comes in that time then the lots, etc., are to remain the property of Marston Green Clark, to him, his heirs and assigns. Also I give to said Marston Green Clark one negro man, Lewis, for seven years, at the expiration of which time it is my wish said negro Lewis shall be liberated. It is my will and desire after my decease that my executors present my friend and relation Mrs. Elizabeth Anderson with my watch, as a memorial of my esteem and regard.

“ It is my wish and desire that the remainder of my estate, viz.: Five hundred acres of land in the Illinois Grant number two hundred and seventy-two, two hundred acres in

said grant at the forks of Silver creek, the remainder of my military warrant, seven hundred and thirty-three and two-third acres, together with my gun, my surveyor's instruments, my gray horse, saddle and bridle, be disposed of at the discretion of my executors and the money arising from such sale to be applied to the payment of the bond payable to Richard Morris, and the overplus, if any, be equally divided amongst the above legatees, Marston Green Clark only excepted.

“Lastly, it is my will and desire, and I do hereby appoint my trusty friends, Richard Clough Anderson, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, executors of this, my last will and testament, hereby revoking all other wills. Signed this eleventh day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.”

This will was proven December 6, 1791, in Jefferson county, Kentucky, by the oaths of John Clark, George R. Clark and James O'Fallon, witnesses thereto, and ordered to be recorded.

The Virginia law vested in the same commissioners one thousand acres of land to be platted into half acre lots, with convenient streets, for a town, to be called Clarksville. This was laid off just above where Silver creek empties into the Ohio at the falls, as will hereafter be more particularly shown, with other proceedings in relation to said town. After deducting the town site, one hundred and forty-nine thousand acres remained to be divided between “the officers and soldiers who assisted in the reduction of the British posts in the Illinois,” and, after it was surveyed, a patent

was issued for the land, December 14, 1786, a fac-simile of which, reduced one-half in size, is given in this chapter. The original of this important document is on parchment, with holes eaten in it by mice, or insects, as shown in the fac-simile.

The board met at Louisville, in 1784, for the purpose of allotting the land, and on the 3d of August of that year came to the following important conclusions as to the class of officers and soldiers entitled to share in the same, namely: "That all officers and soldiers who marched and continued in service till the reduction of the British posts on the north-west side of the Ohio, that all who engaged and enlisted in the Illinois regiment afterwards, and served during the war, or three years, are entitled to a share of the grant under the resolution and act of assembly, and that those soldiers who have enlisted in said regiment since the 2d day of January, 1781, for three years, or during the war, are not entitled, as there seems to be no provisions made under the resolution for those who should thereafter be incorporated in the said regiment; that the officers of the regiment are entitled to a share of the land in proportion to the commissions they respectively held on the said 2d day of January, 1781, and not in proportion to the commissions they have since held in consequence of promotions, and that therefore officers commissioned since that period are not entitled at all; and that those soldiers who enlisted to serve twelve months after their arrival at Kaskaskia, agreeable to an act of assembly of the fall session of 1778, for the protection and defense of the Illinois country, who did not re-enlist in the regiment, are not included in said resolution; that

Edmund Randolph Esquire Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia To all
 whom these presents shall come I greet you in the Lord Amen. I have by my
 Letters under the Great Seal of the said Commonwealth unto you
 within the said Grant, there is granted by the said Commonwealth unto W.
 Chapman John Bailey Robert Todd W. Deane Clark James Francis Moore
 and William Fosham as a Bond of Commission to and for the use and purpose of the
 Thousand Acres lying and being on the North West side of the Ohio River and bounded
 first of the Eighteen Mile Island on the Bank of the River running North Forty
 three times and Sunday Branches to black Live white oak and Sugar tree three
 hundred poles to three white oak three South fifty degree West Eighteen times
 East three hundred poles to a poplar white oak and dogwood three South fifty degree
 South forty degree East five hundred poles to a poplar Beech and Ash three
 hundred three South fifty degree East Twelve hundred poles crossing the Sandy
 West Two Thousand eight hundred and fifty poles to two Elm and beech on the
 hundred and twenty poles to the Ohio a poplar and two beeches thence up
 white oak and Ashy near the Mouth of Columbus and come to the one Thousand
 with the line three North one hundred and twenty poles crossing seven
 Twenty six poles crossing the head to three Beech three South forty degree
 six poles to a large Sweet Gum dogwood and Sugar tree thence South one hundred
 fifty eight poles to three beeches thence South Two hundred and eighty poles
 the Beginning with its Appurtenances To have and To hold the said
 John Campbell George Rogers Clark John Montgomery Abraham Chapman John
 Robert Breckenridge Richard Taylor Andrew Clark, Richard Terrell and
 mentioned In witness whereof the said Edmund Randolph Esquire
 Seal of the said Commonwealth To be affixed at Richmond on the Four
 and of the Commonwealth the Eleventh

FAC-SIMILE, reduced one-half, of

VIRGINIA PATENT FOR LAND IN CLARK'S GRANT, INDIANA

NOTE.—This fac-simile occupies two pages. See opposite page.




To whom these presents shall come Reading Knowledge by Virtue of an Act of Assembly
 made for buying the lands granted to the Illinois Company

Establishing a Town

Witnessing John Eames John Campbell George R. Young *Secretary* Abraham
 Breckenridge Robert Breckenridge Richard Taylor Thomas Heath Richard Stone

Said Act a certain Tract or parcel of Land containing one Hundred and Forty Nine
 and four Tenth of an Acre adjoining at white oak Blue oak and Hickory nearly Opposite the upper
 end of Four Thousand Six hundred and Fifty two Poles off the Eastern Side of the
 same West Sixteen Hundred and Forty two Poles to three white oaks the
 first being six Poles to two black oaks and Spanish oak near the mouth of the same South Forty Degrees
 West Two hundred and thirty three Poles to three white oaks on the point of a ridge Thence
 South Forty degrees West Two hundred and thirty three Poles to three white oaks and dogwood
 fork of the River three times to a white oak and two dogwood saplings Thence South Ten degrees
 West Bank of the River Thence South Forty degrees East crossing said River three
 times the River with its Meanders three hundred and forty Poles to a small white Thorn
 and land of agreement to the aforesaid Act of Assembly for a Town thence
 South three to a sweet gum Birch and Sugar tree Thence East Three hundred and
 East Eighty six Poles to a birch and Sugar tree Thence East one hundred and twenty
 and eighty Poles to a Sugar tree and two white oak trees Thence East one hundred and
 six to two white oaks and Hickory on the Ohio Thence up the same with its Meanders to
 Tract or parcel of Land with its Appurtenances to the said William Fleming John Edward
 Massey Robert Todd William Clark James Francis Moore Alexander Breckenridge
 William Hayler to them and their Heirs for ever for the uses and purposes above
 Governour of the Commonwealth of Virginia hath hereunto set his hand and caused the Upper
 tenth of December in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred and Eighty five

 **Randolph.**



FAC-SIMILE, reduced one-half, of
VIRGINIA PATENT FOR LAND IN CLARK'S GRANT, INDIANA

NOTE.—This fac-simile occupies two pages. See opposite page.

those officers who were commissioned under said act and resigned before the expiration of the twelve months are not entitled; last that those who continued during the year and then retired, not having a command, are entitled."

At a meeting of the commissioners, October 10, 1787, the scope of the order was enlarged so as to include "the officers and soldiers who were left at the falls by order of Colonel Clark, when the detachment were going against the Illinois, be allowed quota of land in the grant."

In view of the way the troops were raised, the irregularity of the terms of service, and there being different campaigns, with not the same soldiers in each, it was a difficult and delicate matter to determine, exactly, who "assisted in the reduction of the British posts in the Illinois," or what officers and soldiers were entitled to the share in the land under the law.

The commissioners, however, after long and careful investigation decided who were entitled, and the quantity of land that should be allotted to each; but, in the meantime, many of the land claims had been sold and transferred by the persons designated, and deeds for the land, in such cases, did not issue in their names, but in the names of the persons then owning the claims.

In consequence of this, and the mixing in of the names of persons who only served under Clark in his subsequent campaigns against the Indians, a correct list of the officers and soldiers of the Illinois Regiment who "assisted in the reduction of the British posts," and were allotted land under the law, has never before been published. At least the author, after the most diligent search, has never been

able to find any such list, although he has found several which were clearly misleading and erroneous.

The following roll was made with great care and labor, tracing the title of every tract of land back to the person who served for it. It is confidently believed that it is correct, and that it is the only full and complete list of those who were allotted land in the Illinois Grant, for services under General Clark, ever published. It is quite certain no one is on the list who did not serve, and it is not likely that many, if any, entitled to land, failed to receive it, either in person or by his heirs or assigns. While omissions are possible, they are not at all probable. The board of commissioners were prominent and honorable men, and it was continued in existence, by subsequent legislation, for at least sixty-five years, so that all having proper claims had abundance of time in which to apply.

It will be seen by reference to the roll that opposite the name of each person is given the quantity of land allotted to him, with its descriptive numbers, so that the reader, by referring to the fac-simile of the original plat, which immediately follows the list, can see the exact location of the land; or, by giving the number of any tract, it can, in like manner, be learned who served for it. For example, if it is desired to learn what land was allotted to the celebrated Simon Kenton, a reference to the list and map will show that it was "letter E, tract 198." Or if the reader wishes to know who served for number one, the tract on which the city of Jeffersonville is situated, a similar reference will show it was Lieutenant Isaac Bowman. And so on as to any tract or person.

It will be impossible for the general reader to comprehend the great labor involved in making this list. It was equivalent to making three hundred partial abstracts of title,—aggravated by the fact that the certificate of claim was often assigned before the issuance of the patent, and that the patent frequently issued in the name of the assignee, and not of the soldier. The work is entirely original, and it is hoped its value will compensate for the labor required in its preparation.

ROLL OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS WHO WERE ALLOTTED
LAND IN CLARK'S GRANT (INDIANA) FOR SERVICES UN-
DER GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, "IN THE REDUCTION OF
THE BRITISH POSTS IN THE ILLINOIS." WITH THE
QUANTITY, AND DESCRIPTIVE NUMBERS, OF THE LAND
RECEIVED BY EACH.

OFFICERS.

Clark, George Rogers, Brigadier-General—Nos. 27, 56,
62, 84, 165, 168, 185, 208, 212, 223, 227, 229, 242, 285,
288, 297; 4 acres in 74, and 45 acres in 141. Total,
8,049 acres.*

Montgomery, John, Lieutenant-Colonel—Nos. 35, 40, 51,
143, 167, 202, 239, 270, 283 and B. 141, 351 acres.
Total, 4,851 acres.

Bowman, Joseph, Major—Nos. 5, 49, 97, 125, 140, 186,
193, 237, and B. 32, 312 acres. Total, 4,312 acres.

Lynn, William, Major—Nos. 12, 93, 105, 132, 181, 217,
218, 291, and B. 216, 312 acres. Total, 4,312 acres.

Quick, Thomas, Major—Nos. 21, 70, 163, 204, 215, 233,
265, 284, and B. 276, 312 acres. Total, 4,312 acres.

CAPTAINS.

NOTE.—All captains were allotted 3,234 acres each.

Bailey, John—Nos. 16, 22, 24, 81, 225, 226 and A. 194,
234 acres.

*Each number contains 500 acres unless otherwise indicated. Where a letter
precedes a number it indicates that tract is subdivided and the subdivisions lettered.

- Brashear, Richard—Nos. 68, 111, 112, 114, 134, 236, and B. 194, 234 acres.
- George, Robert—Nos. 17, 137, 146, 159, 172, 275, A. 149, 234 acres.
- Harrod, William—Nos. 91, 99, 164, 234, 261, 264, A. 148.
- Helm, Leonard—Nos. 66, 147, 201, 266, 269, 279, 149.
- Kellar, Abraham—Nos. 71, 120, 156, 173, 238, 295, B. 148.
- McCarty, Richard—Nos. 63, 80, 90, 228, 251, 259, A. 190.
- Rodgers, John—Nos. 11, 72, 207, 235, 282, 296, A. 248.
- Ruddell, Isaac—Nos. 14, 34, 77, 110, 153, 179, and B. 190.
- Shelby, James—Nos. 42, 43, 88, 89, 95, 249, and B. 248.
- Taylor, Isaac—Nos. 109, 129, 144, 151, 253, 293, 101.
- Todd, Robert—Nos. 3, 36, 48, 55, 122, 203, and A. 246.
- Williams, John—Nos. 9, 75, 115, 152, 166, 240, and 101.
- Worthington, Edward—Nos. 33, 67, 69, 131, 176, 199, and B. 246.

LIEUTENANTS.

NOTE.—All lieutenants were allotted 2,156 acres each.

- Bowman, Isaac—Nos. 1, 158, 213, 289, and A. 32.
- Calvit, Joseph—Nos. 41, 50, 61, 161, and A. 216.
- Carney, Martin—Nos. 38, 192, 250, 263, and C. 154.
- Chapline, Abraham—Nos. 145, 180, 222, 267, and A. 276.
- Clark, Richard—Nos. 15, 18, 191, 274, and part 160.
- Clark, William—Nos. 96, 103, 272, 287, and part 160.
- Dalton, Valentine Thomas—Nos. 76, 104, 206, 247, C. 155.
- Davis, James—Nos. 39, 136, 187, 257, and B. 154.
- Floyd, Henry—Nos. 65, 107, 230, 280, and A. 154.
- Gerault, John—Nos. 82, 117, 175, 189, and A. 133.
- Harrison, Richard—Nos. 102, 135, 139, 183, and B. 133.

Merriweather, James—Nos. 26, 92, 150, 214, and A. 106.
Montgomery, James—Nos. 6, 83, 127, 252, and C. 133.
Perault, Michael—Nos. 23, 78, 256, 277, and C. 106.
Robertson, James—Nos. 25, 200, 260, 294, and B. 106.
Slaughter, Lawrence—Nos. 8, 58, 157, 221, and A. 271.
Swan, John—Nos. 37, 98, 100, 209, and B. 156.
Todd, Levi—Nos. 29, 46, 87, 290, and C. 271.
Williams, Jarrott—Nos. 197, 241, 258, 268, and part 160.
Wilson, Thomas—Nos. 10, 45, 47, 298, and A. 169.

ENSIGN.

Vanmeter, Jacob—Nos. 7, 64, 182, 232 and 156 acres in
B. 155. Total, 2,156 acres.

CORNET.

Thurston, John—Nos. 53, 244, 278, 292, and 156 acres in
A. 155. Total, 2,156 acres.

SERGEANTS.

NOTE.—All sergeants were allotted 216 acres each.

Brand, John—16 acres in 169 and 200 acres in D. and E. 130.
Brown, James—16 acres in 169 and 200 in D. and E. 273.
Crump, William—16 acres in 169 and 200 acres in A. 184.
Dewit, Henry—16 acres in 196 and 200 acres in 121.
Elms, William—16 acres in 169 and 200 acres in 108.
Irby, James (or Irley)—16 acres in 169, 200 in A. and B. 138.
Kellar, Isaac—16 acres in 169 and 200 in C. and D. 245.
Key, Thomas—16 acres in 194 and 200 in B. and E. 245.
Merriweather, William—16 acres in 169 and 200 in 4.
Miles, Michael—16 acres in 169 and 200 in A. and B. 85.

Moore, John—16 acres in 169 and 200 in A. and B. 126.
Morgan, Charles—16 acres in 196 and 200 acres in 178.
Oreer, John—16 acres in 160, 100 in C. 211 and 100 in 31.
Parker, Edward—16 acres in 169 and 200 acres in part 4.
Patterson, Robert—16 acres in 169 and 200 in D. and E. 177.
Pittman, Buckner—16 acres in 169 and 200 in D. and E. 171.
Prichard, William—16 acres in 169 and 200 in C. and D. 124.
Rubey, William—16 acres in 169 and 200 in C. and D. 118.
Strode, Sam—16 acres in 169 and 200 acres in 19.
Treat, Beverly—16 acres in 169 and 200 in A. and B. 142.
Vaughan, John—16 acres in 196 and 200 acres in 178.
Walker, John—16 acres in 169 and 200 in A. and B. 130.
Williams, John—16 acres in 169 and 200 acres in B. and
E. 124.

PRIVATEES.

NOTE.—All privatees were allotted 108 acres each.

Allen, David—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 188.
Anderson, Joseph—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 178.
Ash, John—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in 19.
Asher, William—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 59.
Bailey, David—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in B. 195.
Barnet, Robert—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 162.
Batten, Thomas—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 273.
Baxter, James—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 273.
Buckley, William—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in D. 162.
Bell, William—8 acres in part 210 and 100 acres in 184.
Bell, Sam—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 162.
Bentley, James—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 184.
Bentley, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 184.



- Bethey, Elisha—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in E. 108.
Biggar, James—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in 262.
Bilderback, Charles—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in D. 85.
Blackford, Samuel—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 20.
Blankenship, Henry—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in B.
162.
Booton, Travis—8 acres in 248 and 100 acres in C. 85.
Booton, William—8 acres in 248, and 100 acres in B. 44.
Bowen, Ebenezer—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 128.
Boyles, John—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 60.
Bryant, James—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres 188.
Bulger, Edward—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 195.
Burk, Nicholas—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in 113.
Bush, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 219.
Cameron, Angus—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 281.
Camp, Reuben—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 86.
Campbell, John—8 acres in 248 and 100 acres in D. 60.
Camper, Moses—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in E. 52.
Camper, Tilman—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 52.
Conore, Andrew—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 170.
Chapman, William—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 205.
Chenowith, Richard—8 acres in 101 and 100 acres in C. 30.
Clark, Andrew—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 231.
Clark, George—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in E. 205.
Clifton, Thomas—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 188.
Cofer, William—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in B. 286.
Choheren, Dennis—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 231.
Copland, Cornelius—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 60.
Consule, Harman—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in C. 205.
Cowan, John—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 231.

- Cox, Richard—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in B. 59.
Cozer, Jacob (or Coger)—8 acres in 210 and 100 in B. 205.
Cozer, Peter (or Coger)—8 acres in 210 and 100 in B. 52.
Craze, Noah—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in A. 52.
Crosley, William—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in D. 52.
Curry, James—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in D. 205.
Curtis, Rice—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in B. 60.
Davies, Asael—8 acres in 246 and 100 acres in C. 220.
Davis, Robert—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in E. 59.
Dawson, James—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in 113.
Doherty, Frederick—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in A. 220.
Doherty, Neal—8 acres in 101 and 100 acres in D. 30.
Doran, Patrick—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in E. 220.
Dudley, Amistead—8 acres in 210 and 100 acres in E. 60.
Duff, John—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in 86.
Elms, James—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in D. 220.
Elms, John—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in A. 59.
Evans, Charles—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in B. 220.
Faris, Isaac—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in B. 94.
Fear, Edmund—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in C. 73.
Finley, Samuel—8 acres in 32 and 100 acres in D. 30.
Finn, James—8 acres in 32 and 100 acres in E. 94.
Flanaghan, Dominick—8 acres in 141 and 100 in A. 73.
Floyd, Isham—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 188.
Foster, William—8 acres in 32 and 100 acres in A. 30.
Freeman, William—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in E. 73.
Flogget, William—8 acres in 32 and 100 acres in 121.
Frost, Stephen—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in B. 73.
Funk, Henry—8 acres in 141 and 100 acres in D. 73.
Garrot, Robert—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in C. 224.

- Gaskins, Thomas—8 acres in 276 and 100 acres in B. 273.
Gagnia (or Gassnia), Lewis—8 acres in 196 and 100 in 113.
Gaylor, Gasper—8 acres in 194 and 100 acres in D. 224.
Gilmore, George—8 acres in 276 and 100 acres in C. 94.
Glass, Michael—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 121.
Glenn, David—8 acres in 216 and 100 acres in 20.
Godfrey, Francis—8 acres in 276 and 100 acres in A. 94.
Goodwin, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 262.
Gray, George—8 acres in 216 and 100 acres in E. 224.
Greathouse, William—8 acres in 216 and 100 in B. 224.
Green, John—8 acres in 276 and 100 acres in D. 94.
Grimes, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in A. 124.
Guthrie, William—8 acres in 216 and 100 acres in A. 281.
Gwin, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 224.
Hacker, John—8 acres in 148 and 100 acres in B. 28.
Hammet, James—8 acres in 133 and 100 acres in E. 138.
Hardin, Francis—8 acres in 133 and 100 acres in D. 138.
Harland, Silas—8 acres in 190 and 100 acres in D. 13.
Harris, James—8 acres in 190 and 100 acres in D. 28.
Harris, John Maline—8 acres in 106 and 100 acres in E. 128.
Harris, Samuel, Sr.—8 acres in 106 and 100 acres in D. 128.
Harris, Samuel, Jr.—8 acres in 106 and 100 acres in C. 128.
Hatten, Christopher—8 acres in 148 and 100 acres in A. 28.
Hayes, Thomas—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 188.
Henry, David—8 acres in 154 and 100 acres in A. 57.
Henry, Hugh—8 acres in 154 and 100 acres in B. 57.
Henry, Isaac—8 acres in 154 and 100 acres in A. 13.
Henry, John—8 acres in 154 and 100 acres in B. 13.
Higgins, Barney—8 acres in 190 and 100 acres in D. 57.
Holms, James—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in E. 13.

- Honaker, Henry—8 acres in 133 and 100 acres in C. 57.
Honaker, Peter—8 acres in 133 and 100 acres in E. 57.
Hooper, Thomas—8 acres in 149 and 100 acres in part 19.
House, Andrew—8 acres in 148 and 100 acres in E. 28.
Hughes, John—8 acres in 148 and 100 acres in C. 28.
Humphris, Samuel—8 acres in 190 and 100 acres in C. 13.
Isaacs, John—8 acres in 271 and 100 acres in B. 123.
James, Abraham—8 acres in 155 and 100 acres in D. 198.
January, James—8 acres in 271 and 100 acres in C. 198.
Jarrald, James—8 acres in 155 and 100 acres in B. 128.
Johnson, John—8 acres in 271 and 100 acres in E. 170.
Johnston, Edward—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in part 113.
Jones, Charles—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in A. 198.
Jones, David—8 acres in 271 and 100 acres in C. 138.
Jones, John—8 acres in 194 and 100 acres in B. 198.
Jones, Mathew—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in C. 170.
Joynes, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 219.
Kendall, Benjamin—8 acres in 155 and 100 acres in 245.
Kendall, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in D. 44.
Kenton, Simon—8 acres in 155 and 100 acres in E. 198.
Key, George—8 acres in 246 and 100 acres in C. 79.
Leare, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in A. 54.
Lemon, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in A. 119.
Levingston, George—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 86.
Lindsay, Arthur—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in D. 79.
Lockart (or Lockett), Pleasant—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres
in D. 54.
Lovell, Richard—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 219.
Lunsford, George—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 86.
Lunsford, Mason—8 acres in 246 and 100 acres in E. 44.

- Lunsford, Moses—8 acres in 246 and 100 acres in E. 119.
Lusado, Abraham—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in A. 79.
Lutterell, Richard—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in B. 79.
Lines, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in C. 119.
Lyne, Joseph—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in E. 79.
McBride, Isaac—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 130.
McDermet, Francis—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in B. 54.
McDonald, David—8 acres in 248 and 100 acres in A. 211.
McGar (or Gann), John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 219.
McIntire, Alexander—8 acres in 101 and 100 acres in C. 130.
McManus, George—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 286.
McManus, John, Sr.—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 286.
McManus, John, Jr.—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 286.
McMullen, Samuel—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in A. 254.
McNutt, James—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in E. 126.
Mayfield, Micajah—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in D. 184.
Mahoney, Florence—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 281.
Manifee, Jonas—8 acres in 106 and 100 acres in E. 254.
Marr, Patrick—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 219.
Martin, Charles—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 254.
Mershorn, Nathaniel—8 acres in 74 and 100 in C. 254.
Millar, Abraham—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in C. 54.
Montgomery, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 231.
Monroe, James—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in D. 254.
Moore, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in C. 126.
Moore, Thomas—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in A. 123.
Murphy, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 86.
Murry, Edward—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in E. 54.
Myers, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in D. 126.
Nelson, Enoch Gerrard—8 acres in 74 and 100 in E. 85.

- Newton, Peter—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 20.
Oakley, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in 4.
O'Harrow, Michael—8 acres in 149 and 100 in B. 211.
Oreer, Daniel—8 acres in 160 and 100 acres in 31.
Oreer, Jesse—8 acres in 160 and 100 acres in 31.
Oreer, William—4 acres in 210, 4 in 196 and 100 in 31.
Osburn, Ebenezer—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 211.
Oundsley, Charles—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 211.
Pagan, David—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 19.
Paintree, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 177.
Patten, James—8 acres in 101 and 100 acres in B. 30.
Paul, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in 123.
Peters, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 281.
Phelps, Josiah—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 177.
Pickens, Samuel—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in 121.
Piner, Jesse—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 171.
Prather, Henry—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 171.
Priest, Peter—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 171.
Pruitt, Josiah—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 170.
Purcell, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 123.
Pulford, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 31.
Ramsey, James—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 119.
Ray, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 118.
Rubey, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 118.
Ruddle, Cornelius—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 118.
Rulison, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 177.
Ross, Joseph—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 113.
Sartine, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 116.
Sartine, Page—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 116.
Saunders, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 174.

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- Severns, Ebenezer—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 174.
Severns, John—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 195.
Shepard, George—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 116.
Shepard, Peter—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 195.
Sitzer, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 2.
Sitzer, Michael—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 2.
Simpson, Thomas—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 59.
Slack, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 174.
Smith, George—8 acres in 149 and 100 acres in A. 2.
Smith, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in C. 44.
Sworden, Jonathan—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 116.
Snow, George—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 174.
Spear, Jacob—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 174.
Spilman, Francis—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 2.
Spilman, James—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 262.
Stevens, Shep—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 108.
Stephenson, Samuel—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 286.
Swan, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 44.
Swearingen, Van—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 116.
Talley, John—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 142.
Taylor, Abraham—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 142.
Teall, Levi—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 170.
Thompson, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in 262.
Thornton, Joseph—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 2.
Tygert, Daniel (or Lygert)—8 acres in 196, 100 in 108.
Taylor, William (or Tyler)—8 acres in 74, 100 in E. 142.
Vance, Hanley—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 243.
Vanmeter, Isaac—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in C. 243.
Venshioner, George—8 acres in 74 and 100 in B. 119.
Walker, Thomas—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 210.

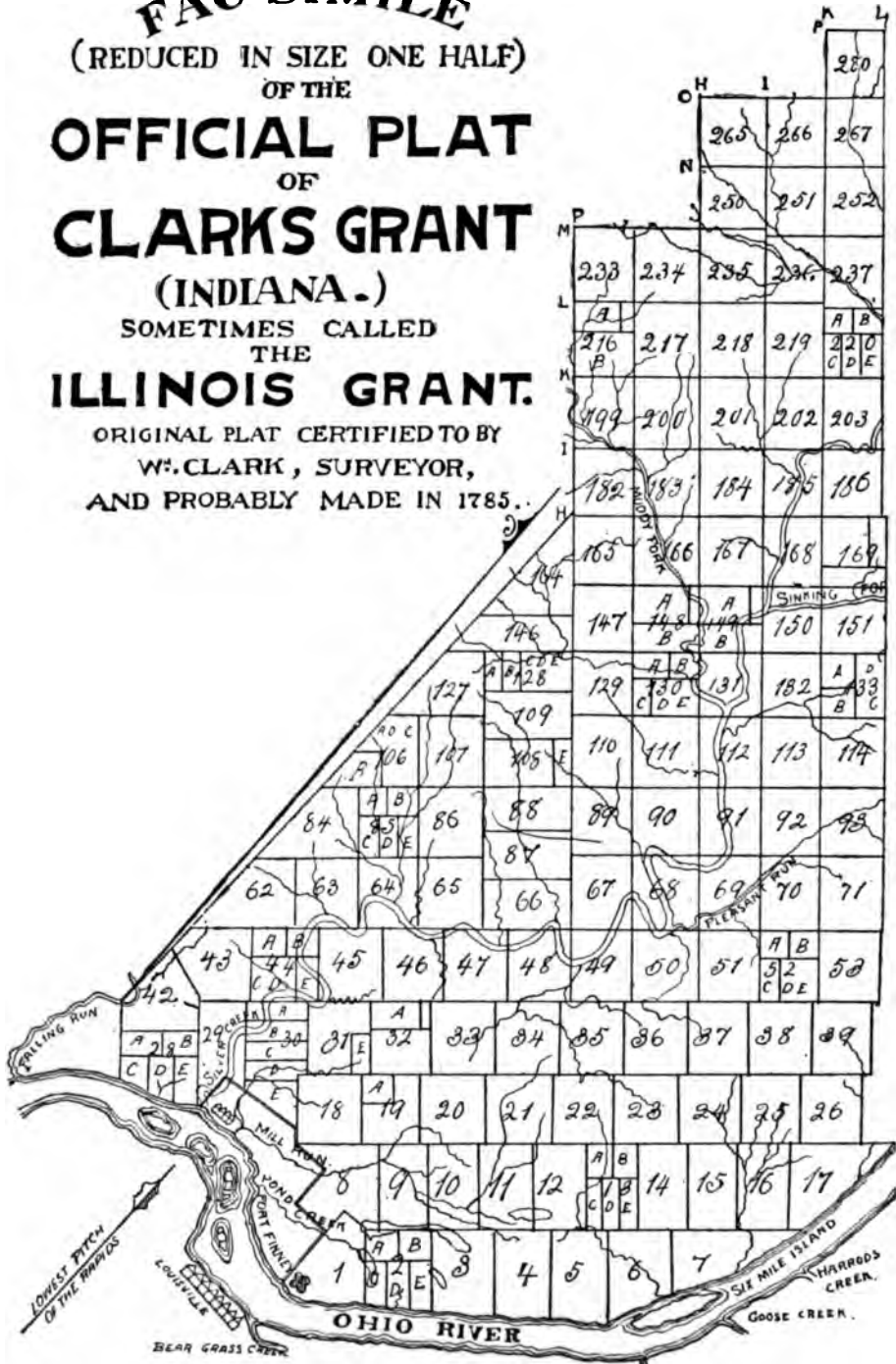
Watkins, Samuel—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 243.
 Walen, Barney—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 255.
 Welch, Dominique—8 acres in 149 and 100 acres in B. 255.
 White, Layton—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in D. 255.
 White, Randall—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in E. 195.
 Whitecotton, James—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in 123.
 Whitley, William—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in 262.
 Whitehead, Robert—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 20.
 Whitehead, William—8 acres in 196 and 100 acres in 20.
 Wilson, Edward—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in A. 255.
 Williams, Daniel—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in E. 243.
 Witt, Robert—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 243.
 Wood, James—8 acres in 169 and 100 acres in C. 255.
 Yates, Isaac—8 acres in 74 and 100 acres in B. 210.
 Zockledge, William (or Zackledge)—8 in 210, 100 in E. 162.

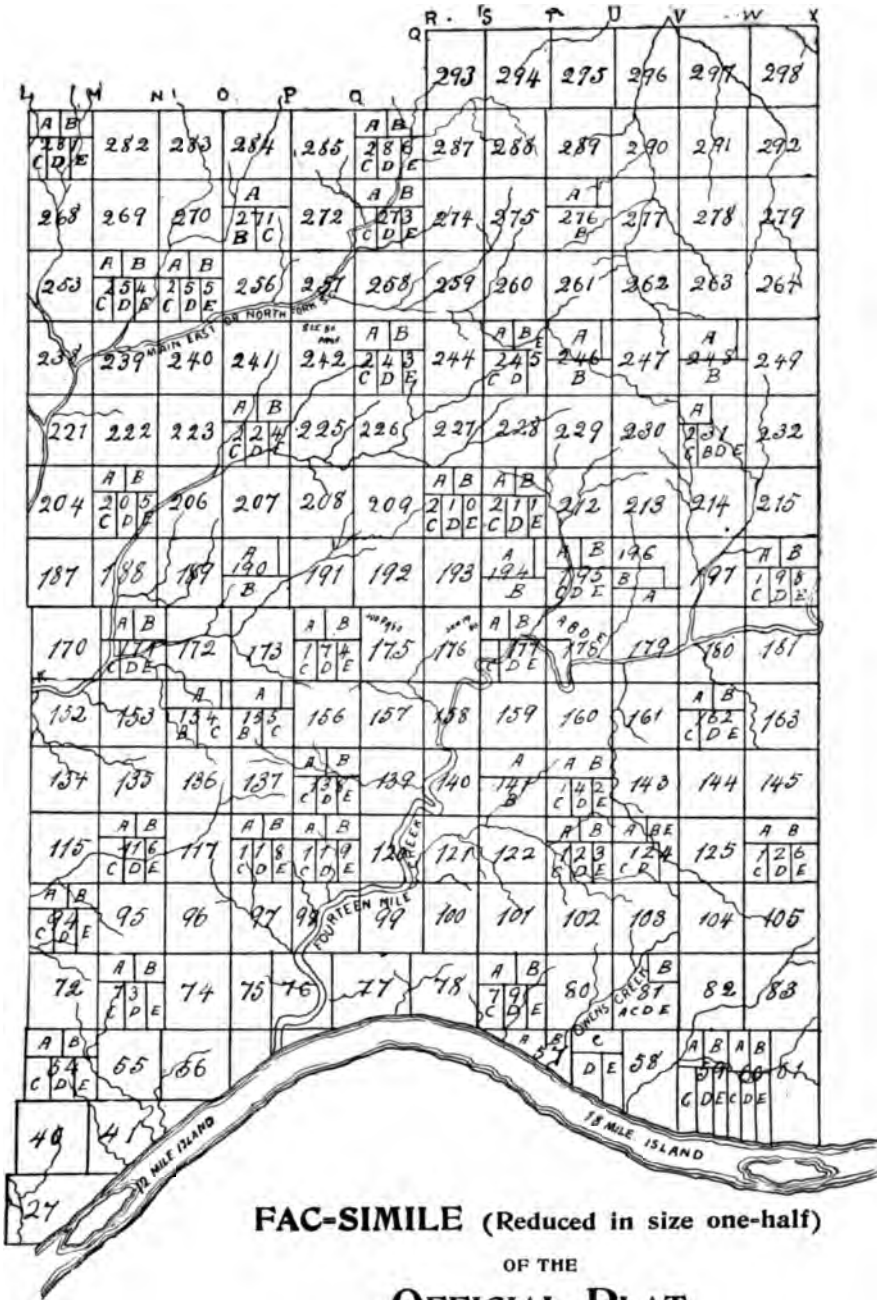
RECAPITULATION :

1 Brigadier-General	-	-	-	-	8,049 acres.
1 Lieutenant-Colonel	-	-	-	-	4,851 acres.
3 Majors (4,312 acres each)	-	-	-	-	12,936 acres.
14 Captains (3,234 acres each)	-	-	-	-	45,276 acres.
20 Lieutenants (2,156 acres each)	-	-	-	-	43,120 acres.
23 Sergeants (216 acres each)	-	-	-	-	4,968 acres.
1 Ensign	-	-	-	-	2,156 acres.
1 Cornet	-	-	-	-	2,156 acres.
236 Privates (108 acres each)	-	-	-	-	25,488 acres.
					<hr/>
300 Men	-	-	-	-	149,000 acres.

NOTE.—This fac-simile occupies two pages. See opposite page.

FAC SIMILE
 (REDUCED IN SIZE ONE HALF)
 OF THE
OFFICIAL PLAT
 OF
CLARKS GRANT
 (INDIANA.)
 SOMETIMES CALLED
 THE
ILLINOIS GRANT.
 ORIGINAL PLAT CERTIFIED TO BY
 W. CLARK, SURVEYOR,
 AND PROBABLY MADE IN 1785..





FAC-SIMILE (Reduced in size one-half)

OF THE

OFFICIAL PLAT

OF

CLARK'S GRANT.


NOTE.—This fac-simile occupies two pages. See opposite page


It will be observed that the quantity of land allotted the private soldiers was only one hundred and eight acres each. It should have been no less than "three hundred," which was the quantity those great statesmen Jefferson, Wythe, and Mason mentioned in their joint letter to Clark at the inception of the campaign, as being "just and reasonable," and what they were likely to receive if it proved successful. There was certainly an implied moral obligation created by that letter which everybody ought to have respected; but even without it "three hundred acres" to each of the men, who aided so materially in acquiring a territorial empire, would have been little enough. More land should have been included in the grant, but even as it was, a division of the one hundred and forty-nine thousand acres, which gave one hundred twenty-three thousand five hundred and twelve acres to sixty-four officers, and only twenty-five thousand four hundred and eighty-eight acres to two hundred and thirty-six privates, does not seem to have been exactly as equitable as it should have been.


As the men who acted as commissioners in the allotment of the land in Clark's Grant were generally men of historic character, it may not be without interest to briefly mention who they were, or at least those who, from time to time, acted as chairmen of the board.

Walker Daniel In the early meetings of the commissioners who were selected to divide and allot this land, Walker Daniel, a native of Virginia, who had emigrated,

only a few years before, to what was then Lincoln county, Kentucky, seems to have been chairman of the board. He was an enterprising business man, a lawyer, and proprietor, or one of the proprietors, of the town of Danville. The minutes of the board show that he was killed by the Indians sometime between August 7th and 16th, 1784, and part of the papers of the board could not be found for some time after his death, and some were probably never found.


At a meeting August 16, 1784,  a brother-in-law of General Clark was selected to succeed Daniel as commissioner. A sketch of Major Croghan will appear further on. He was at one time chairman of the board.


 who succeeded Walker Daniel as chairman, is presumably the John Edwards who was in the United States Senate, from Kentucky, 1792-5, and who before that was several times a member of the state legislature from Bourbon county, and of several conventions, including the one held to ratify the federal constitution; and he was also one of the commissioners to locate the seat of government of Kentucky. He was a native of Virginia.


 who succeeded Edwards, was one of the original proprietors of the city of Louisville, and became quite wealthy. Was an Irishman

by birth, and a man of much force of character. Was a member of the legislature, and of the convention of 1792, which formed the constitution of Kentucky, and died without issue.

After Campbell came James F. Moore, Alexander Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, and Robert Breckenridge, with William Clark serving as chairman at one session only.*


 had been a soldier under Clark and was also a member of the Kentucky house of representatives, from Jefferson county in 1793, and of the senate in 1808.

 was a native of Virginia and removed to Kentucky in 1785. He was a soldier in the War of the Revolution, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel at its close. He also rendered important services in campaigns against the Indians; held several responsible positions in civil life, and had the further distinction of being the father of General Zachary Taylor, the twelfth president of the United States.

 was a member of the legislature of Kentucky from Jefferson county, 1792-6, and speaker of the

*Andrew Heth and Richard Terrell acted as commissioners for a time to fill vacancies.

house of representatives several times. He held many other responsible public positions. It may fairly be inferred that he was a kind-hearted man from a provision in his will in which he sets his slaves, "Isaac, old George, and Polly free."

 and Robert were brothers. The author found the will of the latter recorded in Will Book No. 1, Jefferson county, Kentucky, page 110. It is dated May 16, 1797, and probated June, 1801, and bequeaths to his brother Robert 3,000 acres of land on northwest side of the Ohio river, between the Miami and Sciota, being the land granted for services in "last war"—one-third thereof to be retained by his said brother Robert for his services in locating the land and the other two-thirds to be divided equally between the three sons of the testator, viz.: James, Robert, and Henry Brown Breckenridge, and also to said sons a thousand acres, part of same warrant, "located on the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Saline."

General George Rogers Clark acted as chairman of the board at various times, and seems to have been an attendant of the sessions, with but few exceptions, from the beginning in 1784, down to March 14, 1810, when he signed the minutes for the last time.

This was after he had been stricken with paralysis and



was scarcely able to write his name, as shown by the fac-

simile of his signature here given.* Although he did not die for eight years afterwards, he lingered in a comparatively helpless condition for some time, and finally became entirely so, as will be related further on.

This brings the record down to 1820, by which time nearly all the business had been transacted, but the commission was kept alive by appropriate legislation. The meetings thus far had been held at Louisville, but none was held there afterwards. The next meeting was held at Jeffersonville, August 20, 1825, but there was scarcely anything done at that, or subsequent meetings, only a few being held. The commissioners were new but very substantial men, and all, or nearly all, Indianians, viz.: James Beggs, Benjamin Ferguson, Stephen Hutchins, Orlando Raymond, John D. Shryer, Samuel McCampbell, David W. Dailey, Alexander Mars, and Christopher Cole.



General Joseph Bartholomew, who was wounded at the battle of Tippecanoe, and otherwise distinguished in Indiana history, was chairman in 1825. A county in Indiana bears his name. He was in early days a member of the legislature of that state, serving both in the house of representatives and senate. The original of the portrait here given was furnished the author by his son, W. M. Bartholomew, of Dakota, in 1888.

*This and the other fac-similes of signatures in this chapter, with the exception of Walker Daniel, were taken from the original proceedings of the board.

In 1846, Doctor Andrew P. Hay, at one time a member of the Indiana Legislature, was chairman, and he was the last as far as the author is informed. Dr. Hay left descendants who are prominent citizens of Indiana. He was at one time receiver of the United States land office at Jeffersonville. His sister Ann was the first wife of Jonathan Jennings, the first governor of Indiana.



The full proceedings of this important board, never before published, will be found in the appendix to this volume.

There will also be found in the appendix lists of persons who served under General Clark in some of his campaigns, but who were not allotted land in Clark's Grant; no such claim to accuracy, however, can be made for these rolls, as can justly be made for the one in this chapter of the officers and soldiers who were allotted land in Clark's Grant, for services in reducing the British posts as provided by the law of Virginia. The service rendered by those mentioned in the list in the appendix was mostly against the Indians, and although not falling within the provisions of this law was undoubtedly of great benefit to the country. They each and all deserve to be gratefully remembered.

CHAPTER XXII.


THE LATTER YEARS OF GENERAL CLARK'S LIFE AND HIS DEATH.

Clarksville, Indiana, and vicinity—George Rogers Clark's connection therewith—Is stricken with paralysis at that place—Amputation of his leg—Virginia presents him a sword and pension—The subject of sword presentations to him considered—He lingers long in a feeble, and finally helpless, condition—Dies at his sister's house in Kentucky in 1818—His will—Controversy in relation thereto, and other events connected with his illness and death.

IT will be remembered that the law of Virginia granting land to the officers and soldiers of the Illinois regiment provided that one thousand of the one hundred and fifty thousand acres should be set apart for a town. The commissioners appointed by the law, at their meeting, August 4, 1784, "ordered that John Campbell, George R. Clark, and John Bailey, or any two, with the surveyor, fix on the most convenient place in the grant for the town and lay off the one thousand acres appropriated for the purpose and also draw up and report a plan for the same." The place selected was opposite the lower part of the Ohio falls, above the mouth of Silver creek. The law, most appropriately, required the town to be called Clarksville, but simply "Clark" without the "ville" would have been more fitting.

Great expectations were formed as to the future of the place. It was near the foot of the falls, at the head of an

immensely long line of deep-water navigation, and at a time that transportation by water was the best method known, and it was confidently believed that it was destined to become a great city. General Clark was, of course, much interested in it, and its expected future prosperity was another of the bright dreams of his life which was never to be realized. Coupled with the distribution of the land in Clark's Grant, it, however, gave him employment for many years. Thus, being occupied was in itself a great solace and comfort to his restless spirit.

One of the greatest needs of the time and place was a mill, and one was constructed under the auspices of General Clark. At one of the earliest meetings of the commissioners of the town an order was made, that: "Leave is given General Clark to erect the mill he is now building on a branch above the lots already laid off in Clarksville, and if completed and of public utility the right of the soil to so much land as shall be deemed sufficient for the water shall be confided to him." The mill was built and remained in existence a long time. The author has now in his possession an original letter written by Colonel  Abraham Bow-

man, October 10, 1784, from Lincoln county, Kentucky, to his brother Isaac, in Virginia, in which he relates, among other interesting items of western news, that "General Clark has laid off a town (Clarksville) on the other side of the Ohio, opposite the falls, at the mouth of Silver creek, and is building a saw and grist mill there." * The

*This was the Abraham Bowman who was colonel of the celebrated Eighth Virginia German Regiment after Colonel Muhlenburg was promoted to be a general in the continental service.



RUIN AT CLARKSVILLE.

letter also says, "twenty or thirty families have moved there already." Many years ago J. Gardner, Esquire, of Bedford, Indiana, made a drawing of an old ruin in the locality, which was supposed to be the remains of this old mill. It is reproduced here by his permission.

About the same time, the same gentleman made a

sketch of an old stone chimney standing, solitary and alone, above Clarksville, near the head of the falls, in what is now the lower part of the city of Jeffersonville. It is believed this was a part of old Fort Finney which was constructed in that locality about 1785, and named after an officer of the regular army of that name, but the name was afterwards changed to Fort Steuben.

Colonel John W. Ray, of Indianapolis, who went to Jeffersonville a boy, in 1836, informed the author that the site of this old fort was the play ground for the boys of the vicinity about



OLD CHIMNEY WHICH FORMERLY STOOD IN LOWER PART OF JEFFERSONVILLE — SUPPOSED TO BE PART OF OLD FORT STEUBEN.

that time, and that he found buttons, buckles, bullets and other military relics in the locality. His step-father, Samuel Patterson, made brick on a portion of the site, and the relics were mostly found when the ground was dug up for brick-making purposes. Such quantities were found as to indicate that they were part of a stock intended for trade with the Indians.

In the same locality stood, within the recollection of the author, the house occupied by General Thomas Posey,



GOVERNOR POSEY'S RESIDENCE.

while governor of Indiana territory for several years preceding the organization of the state government in 1816. It was the grand mansion of the place at that day, but disappeared probably a third of a century ago. Colonel Ray

and the author both recognize the cut here given as a correct representation of the old historic residence of the last governor of Indiana territory; a man who acted well his part in both war and peace, and about whose life lingers much interesting romance, which will probably never be fully unveiled.

The law creating Clarksville required that the lots should be sold from time to time at public auction, "the purchasers respectively to hold their said lots subject to the condition of building on each a dwelling-house twenty feet by eighteen, at least, with a brick or stone chimney, to be finished within three years from day of sale." A failure to build forfeited the lots, and the trustees were to use the money derived from the sales "in such manner as they may judge most beneficial for the inhabitants of the said town." The preliminaries were all of the most favorable character, but the town would not and did not prosper for all that, and the grant and matters connected with it have been a source of much vexatious litigation.* There were about twenty houses in the place in 1797, and it made but slight progress afterwards.

General Clark was a citizen of Clarksville many years, and took an active part in elections and public affairs, but, being a bachelor, he divided his time between the Indiana and Kentucky sides of the river, most of his relatives residing in and about Louisville. William Clark, the sur-

* A remarkable decision of the supreme court of Indiana, where the subject of Clarksville and Clark's Grant was fully considered, will be found in Blackford's Reports, Vol. , pp. 160-161, first edition. An extract from it is given in the appendix, from which it would seem that Virginia held the right to legislate in relation to the lands in these places in certain cases even after the admission of Indiana as a state.

veyor, resided on the Indiana side for a time, as did also his brothers, Evard and Marston G. The latter was a judge and member of the legislature in Indiana, and died



MARSTON G. CLARK.

in that state. All three were cousins of General Clark. The author has before him the original tally sheets of the vote taken at Jeffersonville, Indiana territory, September 11, 1804, on the question of whether the people desired the territory to be advanced to the legislative form of government. Thirty-five voted for it and thirteen against it. In the latter list the names of George R. Clark and Evard Clark appear. The full list, showing how every man voted on this question in Indiana territory, will be given in a subsequent volume. It was carried by a small majority on a very light vote. At that time the *viva voce* system of voting prevailed and the tally sheets show not only the name of the voter, but how he voted.

Josiah Espy, who published a journal of western travel, visited Clarksville and General Clark in 1805, and this is what he says about them: "At the lower end of the falls is the deserted village of Clarksburgh (Clarksville), in which General Clark himself resides. I had the pleasure of seeing this celebrated warrior at his lonely cottage seated on Clark's Point.

"This point is situated at the upper end of the village and opposite the lower rapid, commanding a full and delightful view of the falls, particularly the zigzag channel which is only navigated at low water. The general has not taken much pains to improve this commanding and beautiful spot,

having only raised a small cabin, but it is capable of being made one of the handsomest seats in the world.

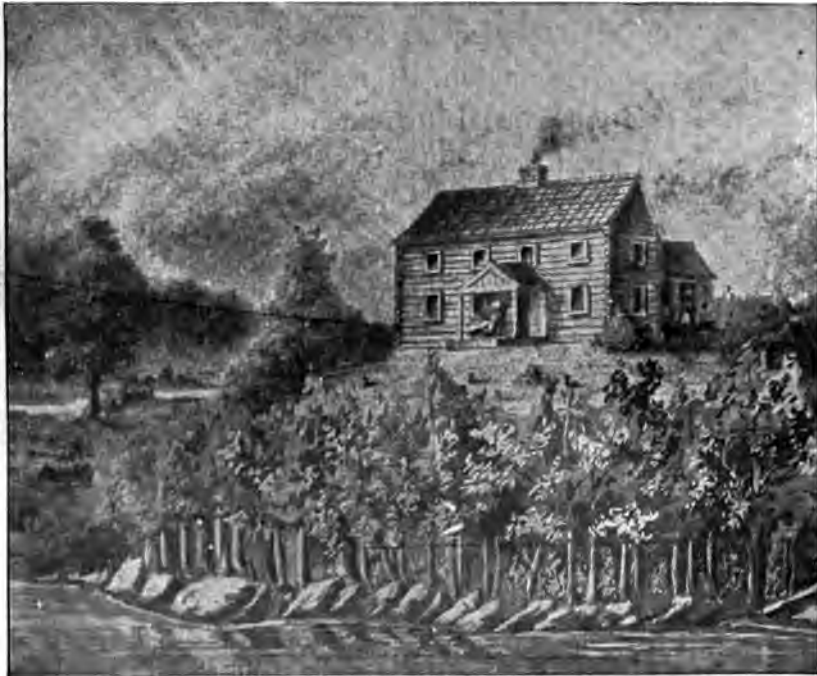
“General Clark has now become frail and rather helpless, but there are the remains of great dignity and manliness in his countenance, person and deportment, and I was struck on seeing him with, perhaps, a fancied likeness to the great and immortal Washington. Immediately above Clark’s point it is said the canal is to return to the river, making a distance of about two miles.” “There appears to be no doubt,” adds Mr. Espy, “but that this canal will be opened.”

Mr. Espy was not alone in entertaining the belief that a canal would be made on the Indiana side of the Ohio, but unfortunately it was not constructed, and since the decrease of water in the river, and the advent of railroads, its importance has greatly lessened. For a long time, however, it was an all-absorbing question at the falls, and, to some extent, in the Ohio valley generally.

The “lonely cottage situated on Clark’s Point,” where Mr. Espy saw General Clark in 1805, was an old-fashioned log house, located near the river. It remained there for about fifty years, and was then taken down, or, as another account says, was destroyed by the ground caving into the river. The spot where the house stood is said to have been about opposite the middle of Rock island. The logs of which it was constructed were made to a smooth surface either by being hewed to a line by the ax, or sawed with a whip-saw, most likely the former. The view was, no doubt, very fine, but the roar of the water passing over the falls

must have been annoying, and the mist and fogs from the river sometimes unpleasant.

In this humble, isolated home, the sturdy old soldier spent many weary and lonesome days and nights, at the



RESIDENCE OF GENERAL CLARK AT CLARKSVILLE.

very period of his life when he most needed the tender care and solace of pleasant companionship. Female companionship he had none,* and the men who were about Clarks-

* In his researches the author has found no evidence that General Clark was ever engaged in any affair of the heart. The nearest to it is a tradition that he was for a time fascinated with a Spanish lady in St. Louis who afterwards took the veil in a Catholic institution in New Orleans, greatly to the disturbance of his peace of mind. It is only tradition, however, and very vague at that. His four sisters all married, as did his brothers Jonathan and William; but the brothers Edmund, John, Richard and George Rogers, seem to have remained single.

ville at that time were generally of the free and easy sort, and a good deal given to dissipation. In fact the habit of drinking was general, everywhere, in that day, and it must be admitted that General Clark, at this period, indulged in it to an extent that was wholly unjustifiable. He had greatly impaired his health by exposures in his military campaigns, and this was now being aggravated by dissipation, and living about the falls, which was notoriously unhealthy in early times.

The heaviest blow came at last, with terrible effect. A party of acquaintances from Kentucky made him a visit on a hunting excursion, and, after spending some time with him in a jovial way, departed on their hunt, leaving him alone in his humble cabin. Some time after their departure he was stricken with paralysis and fell to the floor helpless, and, for a time, unconscious, without any one present to assist him. He fell in front of the old-fashioned log fire-place, in such a way as to burn one of his legs, which brought him to consciousness, but he never recovered from this stroke of paralysis. He lived, however, about ten years after it, but in a helpless condition, and the burn on his leg finally turned into erysipelas, which made its amputation an absolute necessity.

General Clark bore up, for a time, under this terrible infliction with remarkable firmness and bravery. The amputation was performed by Dr. Ferguson amid surroundings that are probably without a parallel.

His namesake, Colonel George Rogers Clark Floyd, afterwards distinguished at the battle of Tippecanoe, and the son of Colonel John Floyd, herein before mentioned,

caused drums and fifes to be played during the operation, in compliance with the request of General Clark to that effect, and the brave old soldier kept time to the music with his fingers. It should be remembered that this was before the advent of anæsthetics. Finally the music stopped, and he asked, "Well, is it off?" He was answered that it was, and the dissevered limb was shown him, which is said to have been the left leg.

The incident of the playing of the drum and fife during the operation is well authenticated. George Rogers Clark Sullivan, who was honorably identified with Indiana history during the territorial period, and left a long line of prominent descendants, one of whom is Mr. Cauthorn of Vincennes, several times mentioned in this work, was with General Clark at the time, and remained with him several months afterwards. On the 24th of April, 1809, young Sullivan wrote a letter from Louisville to Mr. John O'Fallon, a young nephew of General Clark, in which he said:

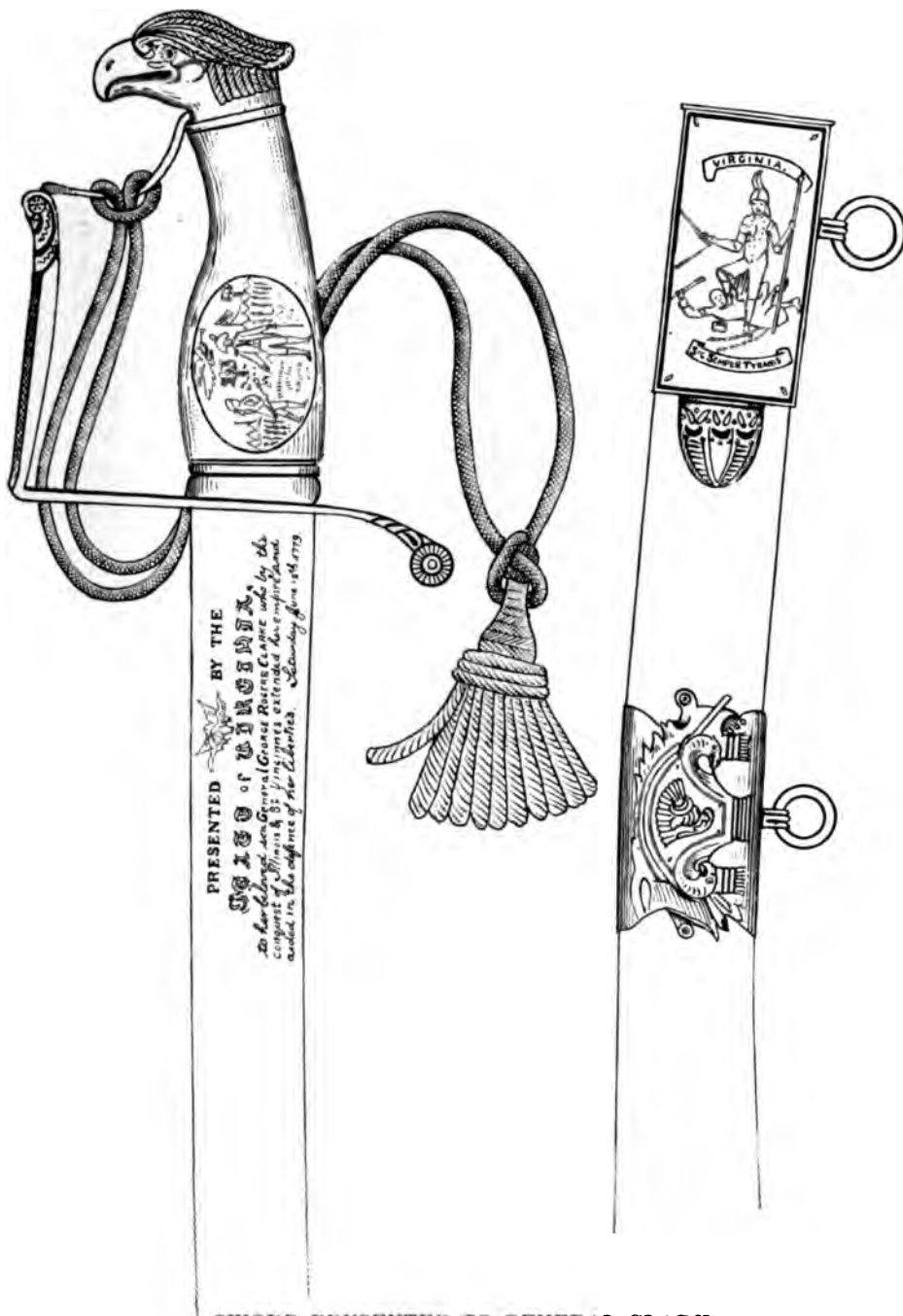
"Your uncle George is with us and in high spirits, and the wound healed up. I have staid with him every night since he has been in town, that is about five weeks. I never knew a man in my life to stand it so well as he, and the day it was taken off he sent for the drummer and fifer to come and play. Floyd then took the hint and had all the men placed around the house with two drums and two fifes, and played for about two hours, and his leg was taken off in the meantime. In the evening they returned and played for about an hour, and then ten at night four elegant violins, two drums and two fifes marched around the house for about an hour, playing elegant marches."

But General Clark's elated spirits were probably assumed; certainly they were of short duration. His paralysis remained and never after left him. About this there can be no question. It was even established in a court, by the testimony of many witnesses, as will be shown later on. He was now without money or resources and utterly helpless.

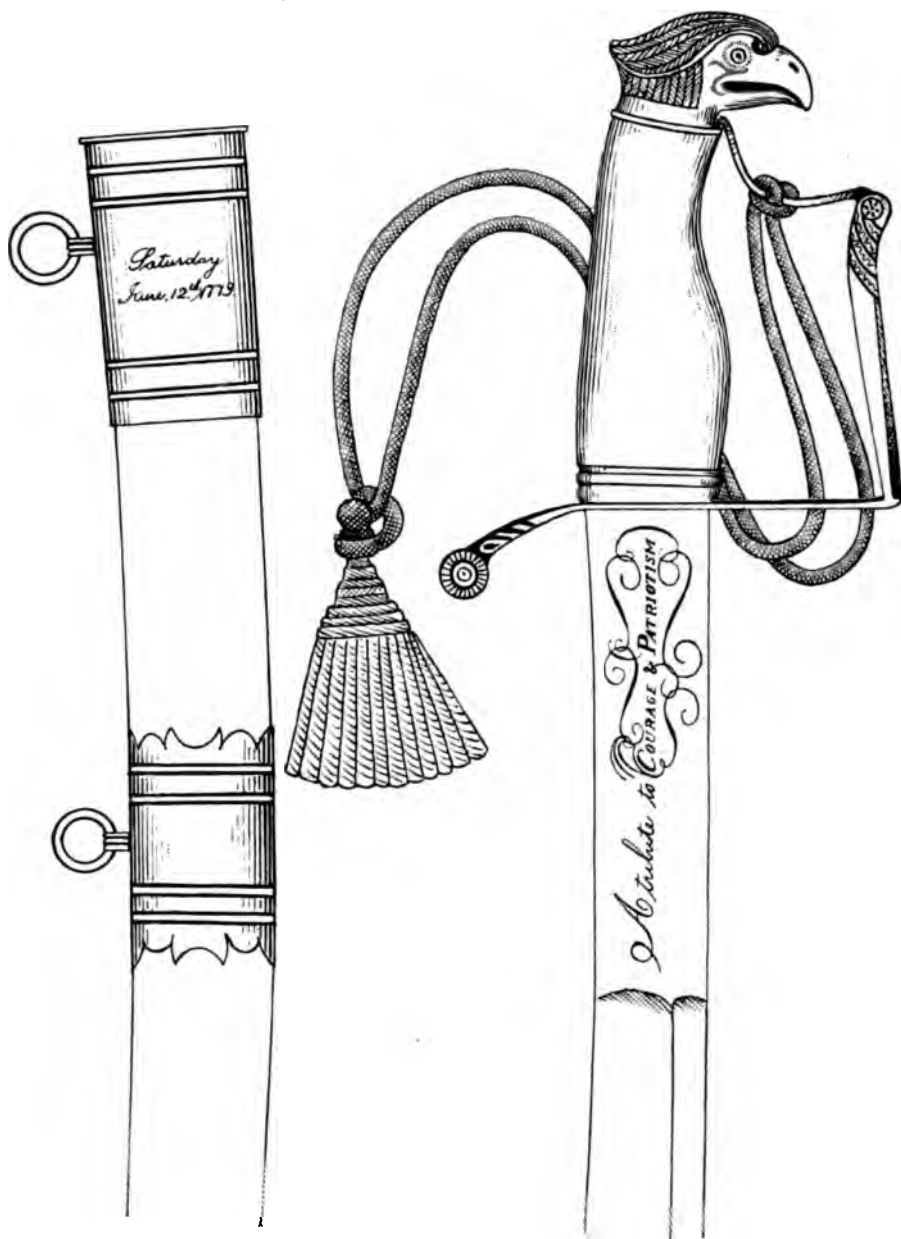
THE QUESTION OF THE SWORDS.

It is a singular fact that two swords were presented to George Rogers Clark by the state of Virginia, and there have been numerous traditions upon the subject, and much uncertainty and conflict of statements, especially as to what became of the swords. Why should Virginia present General Clark with two swords, and why should there be any mystery or uncertainty as to what became of them? The author has investigated the matter as thoroughly as he could, and trusts he has succeeded in clearing up some of the mystery, and at least has been successful in finding one of the supposed lost or destroyed swords. It was in California, in the possession of Mrs. Rodgers,* a descendant of the sister of George Rogers Clark, at whose house he died. In this he was materially aided by William Hancock Clark, Esquire, of Detroit, Michigan. A picture of this sword has already been given at the close of Chapter XIII of this work, and two larger pictures of a portion of it are given here, for the purpose of showing the inscriptions on its sides.

* Mrs. Serena Livingston Rodgers, wife of Augustus F. Rodgers of the United States coast survey department, and grandson of Commodore Rodgers of the U. S. Navy.



**SWORD PRESENTED TO GENERAL CLARK
 BY THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.**



SWORD PRESENTED TO GENERAL CLARK.
(REVERSE SIDE).

But while the discovery of this sword seems to overthrow some traditions and clear up some mysteries, it, at the same time, raises some other questions which remain to be considered. The tradition is universal in the Clark family, as the author knows by direct inquiry, that at some time or other General Clark, feeling deeply aggrieved at what he considered bad treatment by Virginia, destroyed a sword that state had given him, but as to which sword it was, or when, or how destroyed, it varies and is uncertain.

Outside of the family the matter has been related in different ways, but all ending in the statement that he destroyed *a sword*. The sketch of General Clark, in Appleton's American Biography, understood to have been written by Lyman Draper, Esquire, says, "he felt keenly what he considered the ingratitude of the republic in leaving him in poverty and obscurity, and when the state of Virginia sent him a sword he received the compliments of the committee in gloomy silence. Then he exclaimed, 'when Virginia needed a sword, I gave her one. She sends me now a toy. I want bread!' He thrust the sword into the ground and broke it with his crutch."*

Another version is that he said, "Damn the sword! I had enough of that—a purse well filled would have done me some service."

It will be observed that it is not definitely stated in either case when this occurred, or which sword was destroyed, although from the reference to his being in poverty, and breaking the sword with his crutch, it would naturally be inferred that it was the second sword, which was not pre-

*Vol. 1, p. 627.

sented until 1812. The finding of the sword that is pictured here would, at first glance, seem to confirm this view, as it bears an inscription referring to 1779, but does it?

Let us examine the subject further: Vincennes was captured on the 25th of February, 1779, and on the 12th of the ensuing June the legislature of Virginia ordered that the governor be requested to transmit to Colonel George Rogers Clark, by the hands of Captain Rogers, "an elegant sword, in testimony of the merit of his services." A copy of a portion of this law will be found on page 404 of this work, and the letter of Lieutenant-Governor John Page, accompanying the sword, will now be given:

"WILLIAMSBURG, IN COUNCIL, September 4, 1779.

"Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark:

"SIR—I have the honor to inform you, that by Captain Rogers I have sent the sword, which was purchased by the governor, to be presented to you by order of the general assembly, as a proof of their approbation of your great and good conduct, and gallant behavior. I heartily wish a better could have been procured, but it was thought the best that could be purchased, and was bought of a gentleman who had used it but a little, and judged it to be elegant and costly. I sincerely congratulate you on your successes, and wish you a continuation of them, and a happy return to your friends and country; and am, sir, with great regard, your most obedient servant,

"JOHN PAGE, Lieutenant-Governor."

It will be seen from this letter that the first sword was not made especially for George Rogers Clark, but had

been "bought of a gentleman who had used it but a little." It was, therefore, a second-hand sword and, although "elegant and costly," as the lieutenant-governor says, he took care to add, "I heartily wish a better could have been procured;" and no doubt Clark was not enthused with the idea that a second-hand sword was exactly the thing for Virginia to give a man who had done so much for the state. In all probability Virginia came to the same conclusion thirty-three years later, and made reparation by sending him a new sword, manufactured expressly for him at the armory of the state, with all the engraving and ornamentation suitable to the period of his great achievements, as contemplated in the law of 1779. It is not likely Virginia stopped to inquire whether the second-hand sword had been destroyed by Clark in a fit of anger, or would have treasured it against him if she had known it to be true. Nor is it presumable that the first sword, not made for Clark at all, but bought from a gentleman who had already used it as stated, contained such engraving and ornamentation as is on the sword reproduced in these volumes. And, lastly, it seems most probable that the sword now in existence, and pictured here, is *the* sword ordered by the act of the Virginia Legislature of 1812, and that its engraving and ornamentation was made to correspond with the period of the *first* sword, and as a substitute for it. That law provided that,

"Whereas, The General Assembly of Virginia have ever entertained the highest respect for the unsullied integrity, the valor, the military enterprise and skill of General George Rogers Clark, to whom, and to his gallant regiment (aided by the justice of their cause and the favor of

heaven), the state of Virginia was indebted for the extension of her boundaries from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; and, whereas, the general assembly have been informed that the hand of misfortune has overtaken this veteran chief, and that he, whose name was once a host, filling his friends with confidence and his foes with dismay, is now himself a victim of age and of disease, and a dependent on the bounty of his relatives:

“Be it therefore enacted, That the governor of this commonwealth shall be and is hereby authorized and requested to have manufactured, at the armory of this state, a sword, with suitable devices engraved thereon, and to cause the same to be presented to General George Rogers Clark, accompanied with an expression of the gratitude and friendly condolence of the general assembly of Virginia.

“And be it further enacted, That General George Rogers Clark shall be and is hereby placed on the list of pensioners, and that he shall be entitled to receive annually from the public treasury one-half of the full pay which he received as colonel of the Illinois regiment; that is, immediately after the passage of this act, the sum of four hundred dollars, and annually thereafter, on the first day of January of every year, the sum of four hundred dollars; and the auditor of public accounts is required to issue his warrants therefor, payable out of any money in the treasury. This act shall be in force from the passage thereof.

“February 20, 1812.”

Some further interesting details in relation to the origin and passage of the bill directing the presentation of the second sword to General Clark are found in a letter from

Hon. Charles F. Mercer, the member who introduced it, to a friend in Kentucky. It is particularly valuable in showing that the sword then ordered "was intended to replace the sword which had been given to him by this state many years ago, and which, under an impression that Virginia had treated him with injustice, he had proudly broken and thrown away." This additional evidence would seem to be decisive as to the matter in question. The following is the letter in full:

"RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, February 21, 1812.

"*Joseph H. Hawkins, Esq., Lexington, Ky.:*

"I have it in my power to communicate to you one of the most interesting events which has occurred to me in the course of my short public life. Our legislature adjourned this morning, and, in doing so, terminated the longest session which we have had since the foundation of the commonwealth. Yesterday I asked leave to bring in a bill, to be entitled a bill concerning General George Rogers Clark. My object was to secure to him the half pay of a colonel for the residue of his life, and to replace the sword which had been given to him by this state many years ago, and which, under an impression that Virginia had treated him with injustice, he had proudly broken and thrown away. Notwithstanding the nature of my request, the lateness of the session, the prejudices always operating against appropriations of money, the speed with which the law must be hurried through the two houses if it passed at all, I had the happiness to secure its passage through both branches of the legislature on the same day. It was enrolled last night, and subscribed by our speakers to-day. I

am sure this event will give you some part of the satisfaction which I have enjoyed, and I therefore communicate it to you. I have just enclosed to Major Croghan a copy of the law for General Clark. It announces to him that he is entitled to draw from our treasury, when he pleases, the sum of four hundred dollars; and on the first day of January, ever after, a like amount. It apprises him of the high sense which his native state entertains of his integrity as a man, and his undaunted courage and consummate skill and address as a soldier; and it informs him that the governor of this commonwealth will have manufactured, at the armory of Virginia, a sword, with suitable devices engraved upon it, and, when completed, will cause it to be presented to him, with an expression of the condolence of the general assembly of Virginia for his misfortunes, and their gratitude for his meritorious services. I hope what I have done will meet with his approbation. I should not have delayed it till so late a period of the session, but the calamity which I have before mentioned, and other business, either engrossed my time for the last fortnight or incapacitated my mind for any exertion, until yesterday; and I could not but resolve to avail myself of the only opportunity I might ever have, of being instrumental in the accomplishment of so signal an act of justice. That General Clark's feelings might not be hurt by the failure of such an effort in his behalf, I implored the house to deny me leave to bring in the bill which I read, on the motion, unless it would agree afterwards to pass it. Accordingly, on every question to which it gave rise we had a majority, after the leave was

granted, of more than two-thirds of all the members present.

“I could not forbear communicating to you what has interested me so much, as even to withdraw my imagination from the grave of my poor brother.

“Sincerely yours, C. F. MERCER.”

This action of the Virginia assembly was communicated to General Clark by James Barbour, governor of that state, in the following eloquent and appropriate letter:

“COUNCIL CHAMBER, RICHMOND, October 29, 1812.

“SIR—The representatives of the good people of Virginia, convened in general assembly, duly appreciating the gallant achievements during the Revolutionary War of yourself, and the brave regiment under your command, by which a vast extension of her empire was effected, have assigned to me the pleasant duty of announcing to you the sentiments of exalted respect they cherish for you, and the gratitude they feel at the recollection of your unsullied integrity, valor, enterprise and skill. Having learned with sincere regret that you have been doomed to drink the cup of misfortune, they have requested me to tender you their friendly condolence. Permit me, sir, to mingle with the discharge of my official duty an expression of my own feelings.

“The history of the Revolution has always engaged my deepest attention. I have dwelt with rapture upon the distinguished part you acted in that great drama, being always convinced that it only wanted the adventitious aid of numbers to make it amongst the most splendid examples of skill and courage which any age or country has

produced. I feel a conspicuous pride at the recollection that the name of Clark is compatriot with my own. I, too, most sincerely sympathize with you in your adverse fate, and deeply deplore that the evening of your life, whose morning was so brilliant, should be clouded with misfortune. The general assembly of Virginia have placed among their archives a monument of their gratitude for your services, and, as a small tribute of respect, have directed that a sword should be made in our manufactory, with devices emblematic of your actions, and have also directed that four hundred dollars should be immediately paid, as also an annual sum to the same amount. I lament exceedingly that any delay should have occurred in this communication. You will readily believe me when I assure you it arose from the tardiness of the mechanic employed in completing the sword. It is now finished and is sent herewith. I shall take pleasure in obeying your commands as to the transmission of the money to which you are entitled. You will have the goodness to acknowledge the receipt of this as soon as your convenience will permit. I am, sir, with sentiments of high respect,

“Your obedient servant, JAMES BARBOUR.

“General George Rogers Clark, Louisville, Kentucky.

“N. B.—Having been disappointed in the conveyance calculated upon, for the present the sword will be retained for a new opportunity, or until I receive your commands.

“J. B.”*

*Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1812, p. 30.

After General Clark was stricken with paralysis he was taken to the residence of his sister, Mrs. Croghan, in Kentucky, near Louisville, where he remained the rest of his life. When Mr. Barbour's letter arrived General Clark was too much disabled to answer it in person, and it was replied to by his brother-in-law, Major William Croghan, from "near Louisville, Kentucky, December 15, 1812," as follows:

"SIR—General George Rogers Clark, by a paralytic stroke he received about three years ago, being deprived of the use of his right side, and unable to write, requests I would inform Your Excellency that by the last mail he received your very flattering letter of the 29th of October, where you do him the honor of approving in the highest manner his conduct as an officer in the service of the state of Virginia during the Revolutionary War. This letter of yours, with the very honorable manner his name is mentioned by the general assembly in their law of last session, have engraved on his breast sentiments of the highest respect and gratitude. Flattering, indeed, he says, it is to him to find that his exertions, when doing his duty, should meet the approbation of so respectable a body of his fellow-citizens as Your Excellency and the general assembly of Virginia. The general flatters himself that a conveyance will soon offer, by which the sword, voted to him by the general assembly, may be forwarded. Should he hear of any person coming from Virginia to this state, he says he will get them to apply for it. He is much obliged by your polite offer of transmitting to him the money the assembly voted him last session, and says he will probably

take the liberty of troubling you. The general requests me to make a tender to you of his thanks for your very polite and friendly attention to him. I am, with great respect, Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

“W. CROGHAN.”*

This letter of Major Croghan shows conclusively that General Clark was gratified at the action of the Virginia legislature, and that the traditions which attribute to him the destruction of the sword presented at that time are not well founded. It is much more likely that he destroyed the first sword presented him—that is the second-handed one—at about the time he was living on the charity of his relatives, sick and suffering; when, after long years of fruitless appeals for a settlement of his account against Virginia, he wrote his brother, “that it was as just as the book we swear by,” but, at last, gave up in despair all hope of collecting it, saying he must look somewhere else for bread.

It is said that the second sword was presented by General C. F. Mercer, the gentleman who had introduced the measure in the Virginia legislature, and that he made the presentation in a graceful way with some complimentary remarks befitting the occasion. General Clark was then old and decrepit, one leg gone, the other paralyzed, and all the energy and ambition of his younger days had departed. Earthly honors could be of little moment to him then, as he sat there in his invalid chair and listened to the polished Virginian's eloquent words. He took the beautiful unsheathed sword, and holding it before him on his two open

* Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1813, p. 101.

hands, looked at it long and earnestly. Doubtless at the moment his memory dwelt upon the glories of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and it is not likely he either broke the sword or received it with insulting or bitter words.

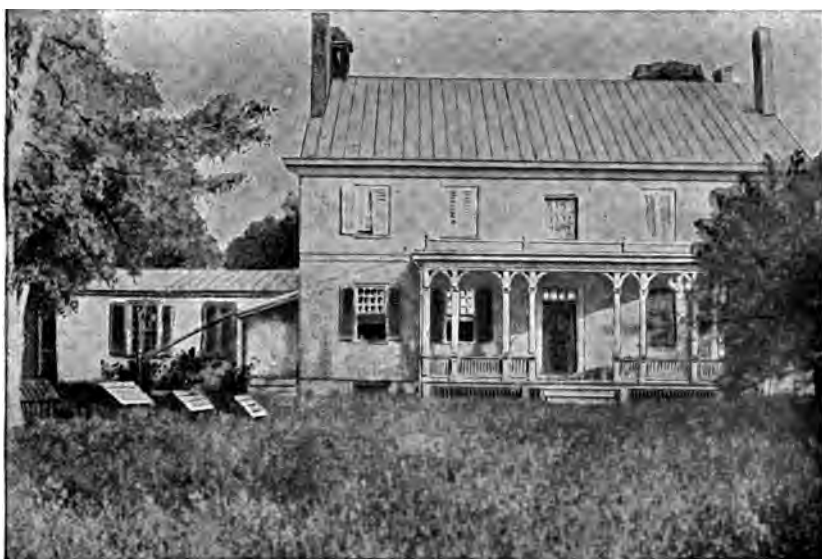
It is much more probable that another version of the presentation is true, and that he simply said, in a feeble voice, broken by tears, "you have made a very handsome address, and the sword is very handsome, too. When Virginia needed a sword, I gave her one. I am too old and infirm, as you see, to ever use a sword again, but I am glad that my old mother state has not entirely forgotten me, and I thank her for the honor and you for your kindness and friendly words."



PRESENTATION OF THE SWORD.



At this time, however, General Clark was in such a feeble and failing condition that the honors of the world had, largely, if not entirely, lost their value to him. He was a paralyzed, and, already, partially dead man; and in that helpless and hopeless condition he lingered on until the final end came on Friday morning, February 13, 1818, when he died at the house of his sister, Mrs. Lucy Croghan,



THE HOUSE WHERE GENERAL CLARK DIED.

at Locust Grove, near Louisville, which had been his home since his terrible affliction. The house is still standing in a fair state of preservation, and a picture of it, from a photograph, is here given.

The death of General Clark, although not unexpected, cast a gloom over the whole community, and steps were promptly taken at Louisville to honor his memory by general attend-

ance and suitable ceremony at his funeral. The newspapers of the day paid glowing tributes to his merit and gave voice to the general grief of the public at his loss. Extracts from only two of these notices will be given here. The *Western Courier* of Louisville, in its first issue after his death, said:

“We are called upon to record the death of another Revolutionary hero!

“General George Rogers Clark, with whose name should ever be associated the worth of philanthropy, the virtue of patriotism, the adroitness and humanity of a general, is no more! He expired on Friday last at his late residence at Locust Grove, in his sixty-sixth year.

“Were we able to represent the hero as he really was, could we make known to his countrymen the dangers, the difficulties he underwent, as a sacrifice for the blessings we now enjoy, what a monument of unerring gratitude would raise to his memory! Could they in any degree be familiar with the scenes of heroism and generalship which characterized him on his military campaigns in the west, the finger of justice would point to him as second only in skill and value of achievement to our immortal Washington.

“Honored at an early period in our history with the command of an army, destined to operate against the British and savage allies, then the sole occupants of these (now) western states, undismayed by the dangers and difficulties that frowned upon him, as he and his little band gallantly sallied forth, he is to be seen at one period humbling the pride of Britain, by subduing her disciplined armies, at another routing the fiercer savages from their

haunts, preparing the fertile regions of the west for the residence of a population who were proud of him as a countryman, and were ready to improve upon a purchase with which his gallantry had blessed them.

“The legislature of his native state testified by several acts their high admiration for him. He was presented by them, on two different occasions, with an elegant sword, and on the last occasion were pleased to add: ‘The legislature of Virginia have ever entertained the highest respect for the unsullied integrity, the valor, the military enterprise and skill of General George Rogers Clark, to whom and to his gallant regiment (aided by the justice of the cause and the favor of heaven) the state of Virginia was indebted for the extension of her boundaries from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.’ But enough; let the historian perform his part, and we will have the greater cause, in consideration of his character, to boast of our being Americans.”

The *Kentucky Reporter* of February 25, 1818, announced his death as follows:

“How are the mighty fallen.

“At the shrine of grief we must once more offer up our sad devotion! It becomes our painful duty to record the death of the father of the western country, the illustrious General George Rogers Clark. He expired at his residence, at Locust Grove, on Friday, the 13th instant, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

“Could our feeble talents enable us to delineate the distinguished acts of patriotism, of valor, and philanthropy,

that characterized the existence of this illustrious chief, what a spectacle would we present to the admiring world. While banqueting in the sunshine of wealth and political glory, can we be unmindful that these are the proud trophies bequeathed us by the toils and valor of this illustrious man? Early in life he embarked in the cause of his country. This western country was the great theatre of his actions. Bold and enterprising, he was not to be dismayed by the dangers and difficulties that threatened him, by a force in numbers far his superior, and removed to a region never before trodden by a civilized American. He estimated the value of its favorable result; he relied on his skill and courage; he knew the fidelity of his little band of associates, and for him it was enough. With this little band of Spartans he is seen piercing the gloom of the sequestered forests, illuminating them in quick succession with the splendor of his victories, and early inviting his countrymen to a residence his courage and skill had purchased for them. The fall of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, etc., will ever remain a monument of his skill and courage.

“The exalted standing he enjoyed in the estimation of the citizens of this town was realized in the grief they displayed on hearing of his death, and the exertions they made to honor the recollection of this distinguished man.”

The court of chancery, which was then in session, participating in the general grief, adjourned; and the following resolutions were adopted by the bar:

‘LOUISVILLE, Friday morning, February 13, 1818.

‘The melancholy intelligence of the death of the illustrious and ever-to-be-lamented General George Rogers Clark,

having been announced, the court of chancery immediately adjourned for the day; and the members of the bar, having convened, adopted the following resolutions:

‘Resolved, That the members of the bar will attend the interment of General Clark.

‘Resolved, That John Rowan, Esq., one of the members of the bar, be and is hereby requested to deliver a funeral oration at the place of interment.

‘Resolved, That the members of the bar, as a testimony of their respect for the memory of General Clark, will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.

‘Resolved, That James D. Breckinridge and Frederick W. S. Grayson wait on Major William Croghan, communicate the foregoing resolutions to him, and request his approbation thereof. WORDEN POPE, Chairman.

‘MINOR STURGUS, Secretary.’

Notwithstanding the disagreeableness of the day of his interment, the crowd that assembled to pay this last tribute to his remains was very great. It was a source of melancholy gratification to those present to see mingling with the crowd a few of his old Revolutionary associates.

General Clark was buried on Sunday the 18th of February. We learn from the papers of the day that “the Reverend Mr. Banks officiated in his professional capacity by offering up an appropriate prayer to the throne of grace, and was succeeded by the Honorable John Rowan, in a pathetic and impressive eulogy on the character of the ever-memorable hero. The peal of artillery announced the commencement of the procession which was to escort the remains of this renowned warrior to his last abode. Minute guns were

fired during the ceremony, and until the mound of earth was raised upon that form which was once the shield of his country and the terror of her foes.”

It is sad to lift the veil covering General Clark's deplorable condition after the paralytic stroke but the requirements of the truth of history make it necessary, at least to a certain extent. After that affliction he was never again sound in body, nor did he entirely retain his usual vigor of mind. On the latter point Samuel Gwathmey, who was a member of the legislative council of Indiana territory, and otherwise prominently connected with the early history of both Indiana territory and Kentucky, testified that “he frequently saw General Clark both before and after this affliction of paralysis, and after said affliction his mind was impaired and memory defective.” Mrs. Clark, another witness in the same case, testified that she knew General Clark “well and intimately, for many years before his death, and that, after he was stricken with paralysis, his bodily infirmities and afflictions had been so great, and bore so heavily upon his mind, and had so impaired his faculties, as to render him almost a child. His afflictions also rendered him incapable of moving about. . . . His speech also became much impaired, so much so that his most familiar friends could scarcely and with difficulty understand him.” Testimony of other witnesses was of like import.

So great was the wreck of this once powerful body and mind that for years before his death he could not even write his name. It will be seen from the following paper, purporting to be his will, that it is signed “G. R. ^{his} × Clark.”
mark

It is dated November 5, 1815, two or three years before his death, and about the same time Major Croghan answered John Barbour's letter, for General Clark, because the general was then unable to write himself, showing, conclusively, that, for many years before his death, he was in a decrepit and helpless condition.

THE WILL OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

On the 15th of November, 1815, a paper was drawn up which was intended to bequeath a part of the property of George Rogers Clark to certain of his relatives. As this document was afterwards considered and its validity determined by the court of chancery, it is copied here in full:

“I, George Rogers Clark, of Jefferson county, of the state of Kentucky, being of sound mind, do constitute and make this my last will and testament.

“Item. I do by these presents give and bequeath unto my friend William Croghan, Senior, three thousand six hundred acres of land situate, lying and being in the county of Bracken, on Locust creek, it being a part of a survey of eight thousand acres surveyed in the name of G. R. Clark and John Crittenden the 13th of June, 1797, on a treasury warrant No. 15,147. Also three thousand nine hundred and twenty acres below Mayfield creek on the Mississippi, which I claim on an entry made in Lincoln office the 24th November, 1781, to him and his heirs and assigns forever.

“Item. I give and bequeath unto my brother William Clark all the lands and claims which I may own or be entitled to northwest of the Ohio river, to him and his heirs and assigns forever.

“Item. I give and bequeath to my nephews, John O’Fallon and Benjamin O’Fallon, my fifteen hundred acre claim of land, part of warrant No. 2,292, allowed me for military services and entered 10th of April, 1785, on Clark river, a branch of Tennessee, said to include a silver mine; also six hundred acres of land, a part of a fifteen hundred acre survey on Cumberland river, at the mouth of Little river, in equal proportions to them and their heirs and assigns forever.

“Item. I give and bequeath to my brother William Clark, my friend Major William Croghan, Owen Gwathmey, and Davis Fitzhugh, my claim to the locator’s fees or part of an entry of one hundred and one thousand acres made by me in the surveyor’s office of Lincoln county, which lands are situated between Tennessee river and the River Mississippi. Also all my lands and claims of every description not otherwise disposed of, to them and their heirs and assigns forever.

“In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, this fifth day of November, 1815.

his
“G. R. × CLARK. [SEAL.]
mark

“Signed, sealed and acknowledged in the presence of Joel Carpenter, John Croghan, Wm. Christy.

“STATE OF KENTUCKY:

“At a county court held for Jefferson county, in the state aforesaid, at the court-house in the city of Louisville, on the fourth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, the foregoing instrument of writing purporting to be the last will and testament of George Rogers Clark, de-

ceased, late of said *said* county was produced in court and proved by the oath of John Croghan, a subscribing witness thereto, and established by the said court to be the last will and testament of the said George Rogers Clark and was ordered to be recorded and is recorded. And on the motion of George Woolfolk, who made oath according to law, administration of the estate of said Clark with his said will annexed was granted by said court to the said Woolfolk, whereupon he gave bond with George C. Gwathney and Samuel Gwathney, his securities, in the penalty of thirty-two thousand dollars, payable to the commonwealth of Kentucky and with the condition thereto annexed required by law.

Teste: WORDEN POPE, Clerk.

“Attest: GEO. H. WEBB, Clerk.

“[A copy.] By G. C. ROBERTS, Deputy Clerk.


“August 10, 1894.”

This will was probably not written by a person learned in the law. It did not cover all the estate, but made specific bequests of certain land claims, and was silent as to his personal property, which, in the absence of any provisions on the subject (if the will would stand at all), would be left to be divided among all his legal heirs, according to the law of descents of the state. It is possible, but not probable, that it was thought at the time that he had no other estate than that specifically disposed of by this document. His brother, General William Clark, and other of the principal heirs, understood it as only intending to dispose of the land claims specifically mentioned in it.

That there was doubt about its validity as a will, and its legal effect, may be inferred from the fact that it was not

presented and proved in court until October 14, 1830, nearly thirteen years after General Clark's death; but, as there was no contest, it was recorded as a matter of course. In the meantime it had become known that large sums, which General Clark always claimed Virginia owed him, but which she failed to pay in his life-time when he was in financial as well as physical distress, might now be collected by the representatives of his estate. It was a similar case to that of the claim of Colonel Francis Vigo, referred to in a previous chapter.

There was now a pressing necessity that it should be judicially determined how this money should be divided so as to do substantial justice between the legal heirs of General Clark, and, to that end, in May, 1835, a suit was brought in the Louisville Chancery Court, asking judgment of the court as to whether the paper, purporting to be the will, was a legal will or not, and, if found not to be that it be set aside, and the estate divided among the legal heirs as though it had never existed. It was, in the main, an amicable suit made necessary by the particular conditions which had arisen. The great number of the heirs, and the complications which arose by deaths, marriages, and intervening interests, kept the matter in court a great many years. Finally, at the November term, 1851, the court, on the finding of the jury, set aside the alleged will; all of which is more fully set forth in the proceedings, which will be found in the appendix. These proceedings contain much valuable information as to General Clark's life and condition after he was stricken with paralysis, and as to who were his legal heirs. The author is under the impression that they have never before been published.



CHAPTER XXIII.

Burial place of George Rogers Clark—Location of the graves of the Clark family in Cave Hill Cemetery—Inscriptions on the grave-stones—Visit of the author to these graves—Reflections upon there being no monument to honor General Clark's memory—Steps taken to secure one in connection with the great Indiana soldiers' monument at Indianapolis—Successful efforts in that direction—Description of the monument—Abortive movements of Kentucky and the United States to erect a monument—Opinions of eminent men of George Rogers Clark and his services to his country.

GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK was buried Sunday, February 15, 1818, in a private burying ground at Locust Grove, the country seat of his brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Croghan, situated a few miles above Louisville. His body reposed in this beautiful but secluded spot for over half a century, when his relatives determined to remove it to the great public cemetery which had been established nearer the city, known as Cave Hill.

Suitable preparations were made for the delicate and interesting event, and on the 29th of October, 1869, it was carried into successful execution. It was not done, however, without some difficulty in finding the body at once, as the author was informed by Colonel Reuben T. Dur-

rett, of Louisville, who was present on the solemn occasion. The grave had neither monument nor head-stone to identify it. If there ever had been anything to mark the grave it had disappeared in the long lapse of years, and other graves had accumulated in the immediate locality where his was supposed to be.

The fact that he had lost a leg, and had been buried in military clothes, made easier what otherwise might have been a difficult or impossible undertaking. It proved perplexing enough, even with these unusual means of identification. A grave was opened, and, as the body was reached, all present were filled with respectful expectation, but it proved not to be the remains of George Rogers Clark. Grave after grave proved alike disappointing, and those engaged in the work were about despairing of success when the ninth grave was opened, and the light once more fell upon all that remained of the body of the conqueror of Kaskaskia and Vincennes.

The military buttons and absence of the left leg above the knee made the identity absolutely certain, but there was nothing of the body left but the skeleton and hair, the latter being of reddish gray, which, it was thought, might have been partly stained by the earth or decaying coffin. The remains were removed to the beautiful Cave Hill Cemetery in October, 1869, and reinterred without ceremony in ground gently sloping to the north, near a prominent drive, section P, lot number 245.

At the same time, or about the same time, the bodies of his brothers, General Jonathan Clark and Captain Ed-

mund Clark, and some other members of the family, were removed from other burying grounds and placed by his side.

While the removal of the remains of General George Rogers Clark to the great repository of the dead of the city of Louisville was proper, there is something sad in contemplating its separation from the bodies of his kindred at Locust Grove, where it had so long reposed, and especially from that of his sister, at whose home he died, and where he lived many years before his death. The house is still standing as it was at that day, and a picture of it, from a photograph, has been given in a previous chapter.

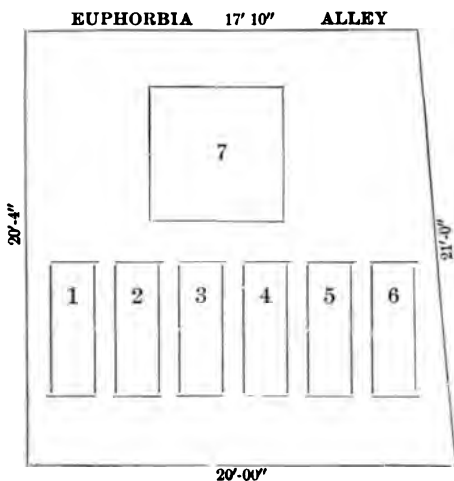
The author was told that the bodies of Mrs. Croghan and other members of the family still remain at Locust Grove, but whether from preference of the surviving relatives, or because the graves or the bodies could not be identified, he was not informed.

These latter reasons are understood to have prevented the removal of the bodies of George Rogers Clark's father and mother from Mulberry Hill, and they are still reposing on a beautiful elevation of the old homestead, from which the city of Louisville can be seen.

Several other members of the Clark family are buried in the immediate vicinity of the grave of General George Rogers Clark in Cave Hill Cemetery, and a picture from a photograph of the locality is here given—also a rough diagram of the location of the graves, each grave being indicated by a number.

The six graves are marked with head-stones of the usual

size and construction, being about two and one-half feet



high. They bear, respectively, the following inscriptions:

Grave No. 1—General George Rogers Clark. Born O. S. November 9, 1752. Died February 13, 1818.

Grave No. 2—Captain Edmund Clark. Born September 25, 1762. Died 1817.

Grave No. 3—General Jonathan Clark. Born O. S. August 1, 1750. Died November 25, 1811.

Grave No. 4—Sarah Hite, wife of Jonathan Clark. Born May 11, 1758. Died October, 1818.

.....Lot No. 245, Section P.

NO. OF GRAVE	NAME OF DECEASED.
1.	Gen'l Geo. Rogers Clark.
2.	Capt. Edmund Clark.
3.	Gen'l Jonathan Clark.
4.	Mrs. Sarah Hite Clark.
5.	John Hite Clark.
6.	Isaac Clark.
7.	Gen'l Jonathan Clark's family monument.

Grave No. 5—John Hite

Clark. Born September 29, 1785. Died spring of 1820.

Grave No. 6—Isaac Clark. Born October 6, 1787. Died February 27, 1868.

In the square marked 7 stands a family monument of General Jonathan Clark. It is of medium size, of reddish Scotch granite, and inscribed on the several sides as follows:

South side—In memory of General Jonathan Clark and his wife Sarah Hite.



GRAVES OF GENERAL CLARK AND OTHERS OF THE CLARK FAMILY,
 CAVE HILL CEMETERY, LOUISVILLE, KY.



East side—William Clark. Born November 13, 1795. Died February 3, 1879. Francis T. Clark. Born July 4, 1807. Died September 10, 1852.

North side—Eleanor E. Temple, John H. Clark, Isaac Clark, Ann Pearce, William Clark, George W. Clark, children of Jonathan and Sarah Clark, erected by Isaac Clark.

The west side has no inscription.

Some distance east of General George Rogers Clark's grave are two graves with head-stones, marked "William Clark and F. T. Clark."*

The author spent several hours, of a bright afternoon in the fall of 1891, in this beautiful cemetery; but, with all its attractions, found no spot in it so full of interest as the humble grave of George Rogers Clark, who rendered his country great service, without adequate reward while living, or a monument to mark his grave when dead, although it is in sight of the city he founded, and the territory he conquered from a foreign foe. There was nothing but a little head-stone, costing less than one hundred dollars, to mark the last resting place of the man who had so largely contributed to the conquest of the great territory northwest of the Ohio.

Recalling the generosity of Kentucky in building a monument to Boone, the thought naturally followed as to why Clark had not been similarly recognized by that state; but reflection brought the realization that this was an ob-

* Immediately north of these graves, the drive-way only intervening, the author found the grave of Lovel H. Rousseau, another general connected with Indiana history, he having been a member of the legislature of that state several years.

ligation resting quite as much on Indiana as Kentucky. The principal event of his military life, the capture of Vincennes, occurred on Indiana soil; he had for a time been one of her citizens, and her territory was composed entirely of country which he captured from the British. The author as an Indianian felt that Indiana should, at least, do her share in honoring the memory of General George Rogers Clark.

Fortunately, the state of Indiana, at that time, was engaged in the construction, at the center of its capital city, of one of the finest military monuments in the world, and the author determined to make an effort to secure, in connection with it, the erection of a bronze statue of General Clark, as a representative soldier of the Revolutionary War period, in connection with similar statues of three other representative men of other important military epochs, as hereafter explained.

The movement was inaugurated February 25, 1892, the one hundred and thirteenth anniversary of the capture of Fort Sackville, in an address by the author before the Indiana Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Some extracts from this address and the proceedings which led to the success of the movement will be found in the appendix. The statue of General Clark, a picture of which will be seen on the opposite page, was placed on its pedestal February 25, 1895.

The artist, J. H. Mahoney, Esq., "represents Clark at the supreme moment, when all the fire, energy and patriotism of his stern and earnest nature was aroused to accomplish his purpose.



THE GEORGE ROGERS CLARK STATUE
MONUMENT PLACE, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

“Stepping rapidly forward and upward from the last flooded prairie that he had to cross to reach Vincennes, his sword drawn and grasped firmly in his right hand, his left arm and hand flung up with a beckoning gesture, calling and urging his followers up and on to victory; the head turned to left, looking in the direction of his soldiers; a face full of courage and determination is turned backward, and, looking downward, hurries on the forward movement of the figure.

“The face is a thin, determined aquiline visage, expressing a vehement will that drags onward whatever it seizes upon.

“The event and the action are well depicted: the figure is that of a typical pioneer soldier of the colonial period, the uniform and accessories being simple and realistic. The figure itself is full of life, action and movement, and its attitude is suggestive of leadership.”

The statue is of standard bronze; its height is eight feet three inches to top of hat, and is mounted on a pedestal twelve feet high.

A bronze plate, donated by the author to the state, is set into the face of the pedestal and bears the inscription in large raised letters:

GENERAL
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,
CONQUEROR
OF THE COUNTRY
NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO
FROM THE BRITISH,
1778-9.

The legislature of Kentucky many years ago provided for the removal of General Clark's body to the capital of that state, and for the erection of a monument there to his memory, but it was not carried into execution because, as understood, of the unwillingness of the family to have the remains removed to that place.

With all the profuse expenditure by congress for the adornment of Washington City and the capitol building with paintings and statues of historic characters, one will look in vain for Clark, Bowman, Vigo, Gibault, or any one else, as far as can here be recalled, that would be especially commemorative of the acquisition of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, which was certainly one of the most important events which has occurred in the history of the country.

In 1888, when the attention of the country was specially called to the great value of the acquisition of the Northwest Territory by the centennial celebration at Marietta, Ohio, in July of that year, the senate of the United States, apparently inspired by the occasion, passed a bill, while the celebration was in progress, which provided, "That, in recognition of the eminent services to his country of General George Rogers Clark in the occupation and conquest of the northwestern territory during the Revolutionary War, the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of erecting in the city of Louisville, in the state of Kentucky, a monument to his memory, to be expended under the direction and control of the secretary of war. And said monument shall

be located on a suitable site in said city; said site and the title thereto to be approved by the secretary of war.”

This meritorious bill went to the house and was referred to the committee on the library, and reported back favorable on the 24th of the month, and was then referred to the committee of the whole. The centennial celebration had adjourned five days before, and the patriotic impulse which seemed to move congress for a time apparently subsided, as the bill, it appears, has never been heard of since.*

The favorable estimate placed upon George Rogers Clark and his services by Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and other of the leading men who were contemporary with him, has already been stated, and a few opinions of men of high character of later periods will now be given, showing that the favorable impressions have been strengthened with time, and indicating that which will stand as the verdict of history.

Judge Jacob Burnett, in his notes of “The Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory,” relates that he visited General Clark in the latter part of December, 1779, at Locust Grove, Kentucky, and that at that time the general’s health was much impaired, “but his majestic person, strong features and dignified deportment gave evidence of an intelligent, resolute mind. He had the appearance of a man born to command and fitted by nature for his destiny. There was a



JACOB BURNETT.

* Vol. 19 Cong. Record, Pt. 7, 1st Sess. 50th Congress.

gravity and solemnity in his demeanor resembling that which so eminently distinguished 'the venerated father of his country.' A person familiar with the lives and character of the military veterans of Rome, in the days of her greatest power, might readily have selected *this remarkable man* as a specimen of the model he had formed of *them* in his own mind; but he was rapidly falling a victim to his extreme sensibility, and to the ingratitude of his native state, under whose banner he had fought bravely and with great success.

"The time will certainly come," adds Judge Burnett, "when the enlightened and magnanimous citizens of Louisville will remember the debt of gratitude they owe the memory of that distinguished man. He was the leader of the pioneers who made the first lodgment on the site now covered by their rich and splendid city. He was its protector during the years of its infancy and in the period of its greatest danger. Yet the traveler who has read of his achievements, admired his character, and visited the theatre of his brilliant deeds, discovers nothing indicating the place where his remains are deposited, and where he can go and pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the departed and gallant hero."

Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, in the "Centenary of Louisville," said of Clark: "He was a man of quick perception strong mind, unmeasured courage and untiring energy; and his capture of the British posts in the Illinois country, with an inadequate number of undisciplined troops, ranks him among the first captains of his age. None but a military genius of the first order could have planned and exe-

cuted the capture of Vincennes in the winter of 1779. It required a bold and comprehensive military mind to see and determine that, unless he should capture Governor Hamilton at Vincennes during the winter of 1779, that same Governor Hamilton would capture him at Kaskaskia so soon as the spring opened. Having reached his conclusion, neither the drowned lands of Illinois, over which he had to march one hundred and sixty miles from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, nor the disparity of numbers could swerve him from his purpose. He and his soldiers had to wade through overflowed lands breast-deep and swim rivers raging with icy waters until they reached their object. It was one of the boldest, most trying, most difficult and most hazardous expeditions ever undertaken and pushed to a successful conclusion. Louisvillians are justly proud to be



of a city which can assign its origin to such a hero. . . . He was not only the founder of the city of Louisville, but his victorious arms conquered that vast territory out of which the great states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota on this side of the Mississippi, were made. REUBEN T. DURRETT. His wonderful insight into Indian character won hostile tribes to the Revolutionary cause, in spite of the lavish gifts of the British; and, if his splendid military genius had had the support it deserved, his victories on this side of the Alleghanies would have shortened the War of the Revolution. . . . The time must come when a grateful people will recognize his glorious deeds by erecting to his memory a monument worthy of his fame.”



JOHN B. DILLON.

John B. Dillon, the father of Indiana history, says of Clark's campaign that "with respect to the magnitude of its design, the valor and perseverance with which it was carried on, and the momentous results which were produced by it, the expedition stands without a parallel in the early annals of the Mississippi."

"His life and services," says Governor John Reynolds of Illinois, "stands unrivaled in the west during the Revolution, and will be handed down to the latest posterity with great honor and glory. He may with propriety be styled the Western Washington; and, as such, should have a monument erected in the west, to express the gratitude of the people for his distinguished and efficient services in defending the Mississippi valley in the Revolution."*

John Fisk, in his American Revolution, says: "In the gallery of our national heroes, George Rogers Clark deserves a conspicuous and honorable place. It was due to his boldness and sagacity that, when our commissioners at Paris, in 1782, were engaged in their difficult and delicate work of thwarting our not too friendly French ally, while arranging terms of peace with the British enemy, the forti-



JOHN REYNOLDS.



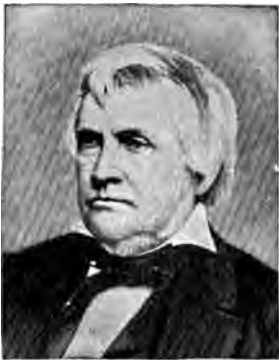
JOHN FISK.

gally of our national heroes, George Rogers Clark deserves a conspicuous and honorable place. It was due to his boldness and sagacity that, when our commissioners at Paris, in 1782, were engaged in their difficult and delicate work of thwarting our not too friendly French ally, while arranging terms of peace with the British enemy, the forti-

* Historical Magazine, 1857, Vol. 1, p. 170.

fied posts on the Mississippi and the Wabash were held by American garrisons. Possession is said to be nine points in the law, and, while Spain and France were intriguing to keep us out of the Mississippi valley, we were in possession of it. The military enterprise of Clark was crowned by the diplomacy of Jay."

Judge Henry Pirtle, of Kentucky, says in the Ohio Valley Historical Series No. 3: "September 3, 1783, the definite treaty of peace and boundary between the United States and England was signed at Paris by Hartley for Eng-



HENRY PIRTLE.

land, and Adams, Franklin and Jay for the United States. Surely all that had followed the campaign of Colonel Clark had been well debated and considered, and but for our holding the country under military and civil rule, as much a part of the United States as any other portion of its territory, we would have had our boundary, not the east bank of the Mississippi, but the east bank of the

Ohio, or the ridge of the Alleghanies. In contemplating the depth of our gratitude, let us think whether New Orleans and St. Louis, and all the great country of Louisiana, would, in any reasonable probability, have been purchased of the first consul, and come to us through Mr. Jefferson, but for this campaign of Clark. No, certainly not. This magnificent country, made of this and other purchases, now extending as one with us to the north Pacific, might to this hour have been broken from us at the mountain's summit or the river's shore."

In that interesting and valuable work recently issued, called "The Winning of the West," Mr. Roosevelt, the author, says: "Much credit belongs to Clark's men, but most belongs to their leader. The boldness of his plan and the resolute skill with which he followed it out, his perseverance through the intense hardships of the midwinter march, the address with which he kept the French and Indians neutral, and the masterful way in which he controlled his own troops, together with the ability and courage he displayed in the actual attack, combined to make his feat the most memorable of all the deeds done



THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

west of the Alleghanies in the Revolutionary War. It was likewise the most important in its results, for, had he been defeated, we would not only have lost the Illinois, but in all probability Kentucky also."

James A. Garfield, the twentieth president of the United States, said of General Clark, in a public address: "The cession of that great territory northwest of the Ohio river, under the treaty of 1783, between Great Britain and the United States, was due, mainly, to the foresight, to the courage, and the endurance of one man, who never received from his country any adequate recognition for his great services. That man was George Rogers Clark."



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

“There was no hero of the Revolution,” said the Hon. John W. Daniel, in a speech in the United States senate,



JOHN W. DANIEL.

“who did a cleaner or better piece of work than George Rogers Clark; and there is none who can stand by him, or be mentioned on the same page with him, who has been so much neglected.” The same speaker said of him, in an address at the Marietta Centennial: “No monument to him has been erected;

no biography of him has as yet been written; but his merit is universally acknowledged by those who have studied his achievements.”

United States Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, said, in favorably reporting a bill to the United States senate for a monument in honor of General Clark, “It is enough to say that by one of the most daring and gallant exploits in our military history, where General Clark not only risked his life to capture a superior British force entrenched in a strong fortification, but also took the responsibility of raising upon the country the supplies needed for his expedition, our boundary as against the British possessions in this country was made the lakes instead of the Ohio river.”



GEORGE F. HOAR.

“He knew,” says Collins’s History of Kentucky, “when to be mild and conciliating—when to be stern and uncompromising. The tact and promptitude with which he adapted his conduct to the exigency of the occasion has become proverbial. His address was wonderful—the fertility of his resources inexhaustible.”



LEWIS COLLINS.

Lyman C. Draper in “Appleton’s Cyclopedia of American History,” says “Clark was tall and commanding, brave and full of resources, possessing the affection and confidence of his men. All that rich domain northwest of the Ohio was secured to the republic, at the peace of 1783, in consequence of his prowess.”



LYMAN C. DRAPER.

John Law, an eminent Indiana jurist, statesman and historian, whose portrait is in a previous chapter, says, in his colonial history of Vincennes, “It was a conquest made under the most trying and adverse circumstances, and with a skill and bravery unsurpassed in the most glorious triumphs of the Revolution. I refer to the conquest of ‘Post Vincennes,’ and the capture of Hamilton and his troops on the memorable 24th of February, 1779, by General George Rogers Clark. To him, in my opinion, considering the results of that conquest, the vast addition of territory acquired by it, and the incalculable advantages to the people who now occupy it, and to the country at large, the United States:

are more indebted than to any other general of the Revolution—Washington alone excepted.”

Honorable Samuel Merrill, Senior, long prominently connected with early Indiana history, said:

“There are few names among the soldiers of the Revolution, so fertile in heroes, that, for meritorious and arduous services, can claim to be preferred to that of George Rogers Clark. Others were placed in more conspicuous situations, and they did not fail to perform brilliant achievements. Their



SAMUEL MERRILL.

friends, the public and history gave them full credit, and a grateful country remembered and repaid their services with offices and honors. But the theatre of General Clark's exploits was then a distant and unknown region. Other exciting occurrences at the time occupied the public mind, and as he was never disposed to be the herald of his own fame, so, though he gained an empire for his country, without any other resources than his own great mind, his merits are even now but imperfectly understood and appreciated. He had sacrificed his private fortune for the public good, and as his services were too great to be repaid, they could not well be acknowledged, and therefore the remnant of his life was spent in poverty. In a new country, rapidly improving, and amid the hurry and bustle of care and business, when merit and service did not claim their reward, they were sure to be neglected. These circumstances are mentioned, not as an apology, but in explanation why the memory of General Clark has not been honored as it deserves. He has long since gone where neither the praise

nor censure of this world is of any value; but the present generation owe it to themselves and to those who attempt to serve them, that well-deserved honor, however long delayed, should at last be rewarded.”

Professor Burke A. Hinsdale in his history of the old



BURKE A. HINSDALE.

northwest truly says that “it would not be easy to find in our history a case of an officer accomplishing results that were so great and far-reaching with so small a force. Clark’s later life is little to his credit, but it should not be forgotten that he rendered the American cause and civilization

a very great service.”

Jacob P. Dunn, the author of one of the latest and best histories of Indiana, published in the American Commonwealth series, under the title of “Indiana, a Redemption from Slavery,” says it was “a most memorable campaign, by which the northwest was brought into the possession of the



JACOB PLATT DUNN.



JOHN RANDOLPH.

Americans, and secured to the Union, in the conduct of which General Clark had fairly earned the title of ‘the Hannibal of the West,’ and which was afterwards bestowed upon him by that eccentric genius, John Randolph, of Roanoke.”

James Parton, in his life of Thomas Jefferson, said: "Virginia had in the field, at that time, two eminent heroes; one so known to all mankind that he need not be named; the other now almost fallen out of memory; one at the head of the armies in America, the other in the far west, twelve hundred miles from the capital of Virginia, with a band of one hundred and fifty kindred spirits, holding back by the force of his single will the Indians from the frontier of his native state. George Rogers Clark was the name of this other hero. He was a native of Jefferson's own county of Albemarle, 'Our Colonel Clark,' he calls him, a neighbor of the governor; not twenty-six years old when Governor Henry sent him into the wilderness in the spring of 1778, to protect the border. This hero is not as famous as Leonidas or Hannibal only because he has not had such historians as they. But he defended the western homes of Virginia precisely as Hannibal would have done." . . . In summing up Clark's campaign, which resulted in the capture of Kaskaskia on the Mississippi and the Post of Vincennes, Parton says further: "It was Clark's audacity, fortitude and skill that won his victory, which in its consequences was one of the most important of the war; for besides relieving the whole frontier of apprehension from the Indians, it confirmed Virginia's claim to the country, and had its due weight in the final negotiations. In short, George Rogers Clark was lord of the west, vice Henry Hamilton, deposed, and sent as a prisoner of war, with his chief officers, to the governor of Virginia."



JAMES PARTON.

“For this great and measureless empire that came to us in the northwest, we are indebted, in my judgment, to George Rogers Clark alone” said the eloquent Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana, on the floor of the United States senate.



D. W. VOORHEES.

In an address delivered by U. S. Senator David Turpie of Indiana, in Nov., 1889, he said: “Gen.



DAVID TURPIE.

George Rogers Clark ranks second only to Washington among the great soldiers and statesmen of our Revolutionary area. Indiana, the scene of his exploits and labors, may vie with the other states as the theatre of historic action and interest. During the contest for independence and years before its close, Clark had added to the dominion of the United States an area almost as large as the organized portion of the original thirteen colonies. Bunker Hill, Saratoga and Yorktown were notable victories but their effects were immeasurably enhanced by the capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. The conquest of Clark touched and included the region of the great lakes as well as the rivers, and laid the foundation of the vast empire of the new and further west which we have since acquired.

“One very marked trait of his character was modesty. In his case the deed speaks for the man, the rest is silence. A silence which can hardly be broken with adequate words of admiration for the singular wisdom, valor and fortitude that achieved for us the conquest and possession of the northwestern territory.”

John Sherman, a distinguished senator of the United States, paid a high tribute to General Clark, both on the



JOHN SHERMAN.

floor of the senate and in an address before the Northwest Centennial at Marietta, in 1888. Here are a few brief and eloquent extracts: "He was a great Virginian, and among the illustrious names that have been furnished by that magnificent state to the history of our country there is no one among them all who will have a greater or a more poetic renown than George Rogers Clark." . . .

"This typical hero and founder of five great states was as distinguished in the neglect and injustice done him by his countrymen as in the brilliancy and importance of his service to his country. His native state was unable to pay the drafts drawn by their order for supplies. They were protested and the private property of Colonel Clark was sold to partially pay for public supplies, and impoverished and ruined by his spirited achievements he lived and died a dependent . . . My countrymen, there ought to be a feeling of gratitude to a hero like Clark that would cover his grave with monuments and preserve his memory in story and song."

Scharf's History of St. Louis City and County says: "He prevented Spain and Great Britain from making a partition between them of all the country west of the Alleghanies. He rescued Kentucky from the Indians. He took Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, forcing the British frontier

back to Mackinac, Detroit and the lakes. He planted the first American fort on the Mississippi, founded Louisville, and by the sheer force of the terror his prowess, military genius and stern character inspired among them compelled the Indians of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to withdraw from their alliance with the English in Canada. In some respects he was the greatest general produced during the Revolutionary War, achieving the most positive results with the slenderest means, and always able to invent and apply new and original methods to novel and unexpected contingencies. His marches have never been excelled, either by Frederick the Great, Napoleon, or 'Stonewall' Jackson, and no man ever had so much power over the Indians—a power due chiefly to personal presence and knowledge of Indian character, and one which, on these great and critical occasions, enabled him to save armies and prevent wars and massacres."

This chapter could be enlarged with numerous similar quotations but it is deemed unnecessary, as the judgment of those most competent to determine seems to be incorporated in the extracts here given.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ADDITIONAL SKETCHES OF MEN WHO SERVED UNDER GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

John Sanders—Major Thomas Quick—Captain Richard Brashear—Lieutenant Richard Harrison—Lieutenant John Gerault—Lieutenant Michael Perault—General Robert Todd—Captain Levi Todd—Ebenezer and John Severns—Edward Bulger—Captain Abram Chaplain—James Curry, Levi Teall and Joseph Anderson—Colonel William Whitley—John Paul—Buckner Pittman.

JOHN SANDERS.

It will be remembered that when George Rogers Clark was about to leave the Ohio river on his march across the wilderness to attack Kaskaskia, he happened to meet a party of friendly hunters familiar with that place, and employed one of them, John Sanders by name, to act as guide. There were no established roads at that day, and the country was entirely wild and unsettled; but Sanders claimed to know the way, and Clark, after consultation with his officers, employed him. All went smoothly, for a time, but the third day, when far out in the wilderness, poor Sanders became confused, then bewildered, and finally entirely lost. His condition was much aggravated by the distrust which speedily arose among Clark's men, some of whom boldly declared that they believed him to be a spy, and that he was purposely misleading them. It was a very serious and alarming condition for Clark's forces to be in, and Clark told Sanders, frankly, that he would certainly be killed if he did not prove himself innocent by



THE BEWILDERED GUIDE.

speedily finding the way. Sanders held up, under the trying circumstances, as best he could, and at last recognized some natural objects which enabled him to get in the proper route again. He not only proved faithful as a guide, but throughout the campaign; and he became so much attached to Colonel Clark that when that officer returned to the falls of the Ohio, and made his headquarters there, Sanders settled there also, and soon became, in his peculiar lines, quite a man of business for that day. In other times, and with other surroundings, with his peculiar attributes, he probably would have become a merchant prince, or a great banker. There was much originality and enterprise in his undertakings, and some of them were so novel as to be interesting, aside from their connection with Colonel Clark's military operations. At that day it was an exceedingly difficult thing to supply the soldiers with meats, the chief reliance being game, and as the game grew scarcer and wilder the difficulty increased and became quite a serious matter. In this dilemma Sanders, ever fruitful of expedients, contracted with his old commander, Clark, and another, to establish a hunting agency "for the purpose of procuring beef (presumably buffalo), bear meat, bear's oil and venison hams, and for curing them," etc. The original of this curious contract is in possession of Colonel Durrett, of Louisville, who has kindly permitted it to be copied into this work:

"Articles of agreement entered into this 18th day of October, 1784, between General George Rogers Clark and Alex. Skinnor, physician, on the one, and John Saunders of the other part, all of Jefferson county, in the state of Virginia, and county of Kentucky, witnesseth that the said

General G. Rogers Clark and Alexander Skinnor are to furnish on their part three men and one pack-horse, with salt and ammunition for the purpose of making a hunt, procuring beef, bear meat, bear's oil and venison hams, and curing them in a proper manner of keeping sound and fit for use during the winter and spring. That the said Sanders on his part is, as a hunter, to use every possible means to procure the said meats, etc., by pitching upon good hunting grounds and being assiduously industrious, and the said Saunders is to see that the meat is properly salted at the camp and send it from time to time to the falls of the Ohio. The bear's oil properly cured and the hams properly dried, the meat to be delivered to the said Skinnor at the falls of the Ohio—to be disposed of, or put in bulk or dried as may be most convenient. The said Saunders, in consideration of this duly and faithfully to be performed, is to be entitled to one-third of all the meat and oil so to be procured, which third part shall either be sold when a market offers on its arrival at the falls or preserved with the rest, he paying his proportion of any further curing that may be necessary when it arrives at the falls, or it shall be delivered to his order at the aforesaid falls. The said Saunders further to assist in building such boat or boats as are necessary for the business, and to furnish one pack-horse and engages not to spend his time in procuring and curing skins unnecessarily. But such as he may procure without any interruption to the other business he is to have clear to himself. To the just and faithful performance of the above from the 1st of November, 1784, to the middle of January, 1785, if the hunting season should continue so

long. The parties aforesaid jointly and severally bind themselves in the penalty of one hundred pounds. In witness whereof they have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

“G. R. CLARK. [SEAL.]

“ALEX. SKINNOR. [SEAL.]

“JOHN SANDERS. [SEAL.]

“Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of Benjamin Roberts, Daniel Rhoads.”



This fac-simile of the signature of Sanders was taken from his signature to the foregoing contract.

Sanders executed other interesting papers, and a fac-simile is here given of one he executed to the celebrated



pioneer Daniel Boone, whose signature is on the back of the certificate.

The original of this specimen of early pioneer currency, for it was used as money, is also in possession of Colonel Durrett, who explains it, and Sanders's banking house, and system of banking, in this interesting way:

“A crude kind of banking was conducted in Louisville in early times by a man named John Sanders. In the spring flood of 1780 a large flat-boat was floated to a lot on the northeast corner of Main and Third streets. Sanders made the boat fast to a tree, and when the water subsided it rested on dry land. Sanders then put a roof on the boat, and prepared it with doors and windows for a kind of

Know All Men By These Prents that Daniel
Boone hath Deposited Six, vi, beaver Skins
in my keep in good order and of the worth
of vi shillings each skin and i Have took
from them vi shillings for the keep of them
and when they Be sold i will pay the balance
of XXX shillings for the whole lot to any
person who presents this certificate
an delivers it up to me at My keep Louisvillle,
falls of Ohio, May 20 1784

John Sanderson

warehouse, which he called his 'keep.' Here he would receive the skins of fur-bearing animals from the pioneers, and issue receipts for them, which we would call certificates of deposit. These certificates circulated as a kind of currency, and really did the work of modern bank notes. As the skins would accumulate the stock was depleted by traders, who readily bought them, or they were sent to the markets of the east or south as opportunity offered. When the skins for which a certificate had been issued were sold, the certificate was called in and paid off. The skins of the beavers were the favorites, and these animals were abundant in the neighborhood of the falls for many years. The remains of their work in enlarging some ponds and diminishing others, and in making dams across Beargrass and other creeks are still visible in the neighborhood of Louisville. A beaver skin was the unit of value in those early times, just as a silver dollar is now. A horse, a cow or anything for sale was worth so much in beaver skins, and so understood by everybody."

Colonel Durrett might have added that while the skin of the beaver was the standard of value at that day and place, the skins of other fur-bearing animals of less value were also used for making change and other commercial purposes, and the respective values were thoroughly established by custom.

It is not likely either that Sanders confined his dealings to the skins of fur-bearing animals, as the skins of other animals had an established value and were in considerable demand. In connection with these subjects it may be mentioned that Virginia issued bills payable in tobacco about

FAC-SIMILE OF THE CURRENCY PAID BY VIRGINIA TO HER SOLDIERS, 1780.

1204

THE Treasurer of the commonwealth of Virginia acknowledged
eth that the said commonwealth is indebted to

one thousand pounds of nett inspected

tobacco, to be paid to the said

his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, at the end of the
term for which he is enlisted as a soldier under the act of Assem-
bly passed in the year 1780, "For speedily recruiting the quota
of this State for the continental army." Witness the hand of the

Treasurer this *humly fifth* day of *July* 1780

415 B. B. B.

this period and they were very much better than continental and other paper forced on the people as money in those days. Some of these obligations to pay tobacco were issued to her soldiers and a fac-simile of one is here given.

But fur-bearing and other skins were plentier about "the Falls" in those days than tobacco, and quite as convenient and more useful to the human family. As to metal coins there were comparatively none, and Sanders appears to have done the best he could, in his day and generation, "to relieve the stringency," and promote business by providing a circulating medium of exchange.

But Sanders's system, like some other banking systems, had radical defects. The security for the paper issued was left in "the keep" of the banker—not with some safe and disinterested third party. It was not always redeemable on presentation, and as it was based solely upon the skins of wild animals, presumably including "wild cats," the author fears that, after all, it will have to be classed as a "wild-cat" institution. In this connection it may be possible that banking on skins of wild animals originated the saying about "wild-cat banking." If not, what did originate it?

The use of skins for currency, or paper payable in them, was not confined to the locality of the falls of the Ohio. The value of property was, more or less, estimated in those of wild animals in all the frontier country in early times, and it was not confined to fur-bearing animals. Other skins were also current, especially deer skins, which were largely used for moccasins, breeches and hunting shirts. In some parts of the country a deer skin was the equivalent of a

dollar, and this kind of currency was generally used in trades with the Indians. An agreement to pay "ten bucks" meant the skins of ten male deer, of "ten does," the skins of ten female deer. Notes and obligations were sometimes given payable in that way. Here is a specimen of one given by Colonel John Gibson, when he was in command of Fort Laurens in 1779, several years before Sanders established his "keep," or bank, at Louisville, viz.:

"I do certify that I am indebted to the bearer, Captain Johnny, seven bucks and one doe, for the use of the states, this 12th April, 1779. Signed, Samuel Sample, assistant quartermaster. The above is due to him for pork, for the use of the garrison at Fort Laurens. (Signed) John Gibson, Colonel."

This was the same Colonel John Gibson previously mentioned as having been for many years secretary of Indiana territory, and at one time acting governor.

"Deer skins, well dressed and fitted for the purpose of making breeches," were receivable for certain taxes in Kentucky in John Sanders's day, as also in some other parts of Virginia under a law of that state passed in 1782, from which the language above quoted is taken.

Another law passed the next year provided that taxes might be paid at certain places in "skins of deer in the hair, well skinned, cleaned and trimmed, restricted to the seasons of red, blue and short gray, delivered at the houses provided for that purpose, at the said towns of Staunton, Winchester, Louisville, and at the stone house in the county of Botetourt, at the price of one shilling and eight

pence for gray skins, and two shillings per pound for red and blue skins." *

In the pioneer days business was largely transacted by barter, and as an evidence of the enormous quantity of skins of wild animals used in commerce in the Ohio valley at this period, the following item from the *Pittsburg Gazette* of the 26th of August, 1786, is quoted: "From the 6th of July last to the 10th instant (a period of thirty-five days) the following peltry was bought up by one trader in this place, and mostly paid for in whisky and flour: Three thousand one hundred and seventy-three summer deer skins, seventy-four fall deer skins, forty-eight fawn skins, ninety-four bear skins, thirty-seven elk skins, eighty-four beaver skins, three hundred and eighty-seven raccoon skins, twenty-nine fox skins, fourteen marten skins, fifteen wild cat skins, seventeen wolf skins, sixteen panther skins, and sixty-seven pair of moccasins."

MAJOR THOMAS QUICK.

When Major Bowman died, Captain Thomas Quick seems to have been promoted to be a major. He was originally a sergeant in Captain William Harrod's company, and rendered some military service on the frontiers before and after the Illinois campaign. He was a brave, fine-looking Irishman, and died in Louisville, Kentucky, in the fall of 1803. A fac-simile of his signature will be found elsewhere in this volume. The name is sometimes printed Quirk, and is so used in an interesting account of a transaction between him and Captain Leonard Helm, in

* Hening's Statutes, Vol. 11, pp. 66, 300.

which he exchanged one hundred and sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-six and two-thirds cents in continental bills to Helm for fourteen hundred acres of land. A law suit grew out of the trade, wherein the court decided the continental bills worthless and set aside the sale "for want of consideration," and the heirs of Helm recovered the land. The account referred to is in the address of Colonel R. T. Durrett before the Kentucky Bankers' Association in 1892, and was given as an example of how the paper money of the Revolution affected persons in Kentucky. It is copied here as illustrative of one of the greatest difficulties General Clark had to encounter in all his campaigns. It should constantly be borne in mind by every one desiring to comprehend the true situation of General Clark that the money he had to use was depreciated, and finally became entirely worthless. Colonel Durrett said: "As an example of how this paper money of the Revolution affected persons in Kentucky, the case of Captain Leonard Helm may be cited. Helm was the brave officer who, with a single private, stood with lighted torch over a loaded cannon at the entrance to the fort at Vincennes, in 1779, and defied the army of Governor Hamilton until he was assured that he could surrender the fort with honor. He owned fourteen hundred acres of land on Jessamine creek in the heart of the blue-grass region. In 1781, when paper money had declined as a thousand to one, Captain Thomas Quirk, another brave soldier, offered Helm thirty-five thousand pounds of it for his fourteen hundred acres of land. Helm, who believed that his country would come out right in the war, and make good

the depreciated money, accepted the offer. It was too large a sum to be refused. It was one hundred and sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-six and two-thirds cents. Helm died soon after the sale, and Quirk sued his heirs for the land. Our court of appeals set aside the sale, for want of consideration, and left Quirk with his big roll of continental bills, and Helm's children with the land." Captain Quick was allotted four thousand three hundred and twelve acres of land in Clark's Grant for his services in the Illinois campaign, being Nos. 21, 70, 163, 204, 215, 233, 265, 284 and B 276.

CAPTAIN RICHARD BRASHEAR



Was also originally of Captain William Harrod's company, and probably from Pennsylvania. He is said to have married a Miss Brocus at Kaskaskia in 1782, was in Kentucky in 1785; then drifted south, remaining about Natchez for a time, and finally to southern Mississippi, where he died about 1822. The fac-simile of his signature here given was taken from his receipt for three thousand two hundred and thirty-four acres of land allotted to him in Clark's Grant for his services, being for tracts numbered 68, 111, 112, 114, 134, 236, each for five hundred acres, and B 194 for two hundred and thirty-four acres.

LIEUTENANT RICHARD HARRISON

Was from Virginia, and from Caroline, the county of the Clarks. He was a member of the council of war held at the falls of the Ohio, and the report has his bold signature, a fac-

simile of which appears in Chapter XVI. He, like many other of Clark's men, finally followed the river south and, after spending some time at Natchez, is said to have finally located in Jefferson county, Mississippi, where he died in old age, leaving three sons and two daughters. He was allotted two thousand one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in Clark's Grant for his services in the Illinois campaign, being Nos. 102, 135, 139, 183 and B 133.

LIEUTENANT JOHN GERAULT

Was born in London, England, February 24, 1755, his parents having gone there from France to escape religious persecution. When grown he sailed from Liverpool to America, with his elder brother, who died on shipboard with the small-pox, with which he was also attacked, but recovered. Remaining in business as a book-keeper in New York for a time, he finally drifted to Kaskaskia where he joined Clark's forces early in December, 1778, and continued in service until the summer of 1782. Was promoted to be a captain in 1781, and was a commissary at Fort Nelson. He was a man of fair education, and speaking both French and Spanish was very useful to Colonel Clark in many ways. He, too, went to Natchez, where he became clerk of the court in 1794. He held many important offices afterwards in Adams and Pickering counties, Mississippi, down to 1809. He left a large family of sons and daughters. He was allotted two thousand one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in Clark's Grant, for his services in the Illinois campaign, being Nos. 82, 117, 175, 189 and A 133. Charlestown, long the county seat of

Clark county, and place of residence of many prominent people, is located on tract No. 117.

LIEUTENANT MICHAEL PERAULT

Lived at one time at or near Cahokia and was a lieutenant in Captain McCarty's company in the expedition against Fort Sackville. He was probably a Canadian. Moved to Louisville a few years later, where he died, leaving a widow and son. He received two thousand one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in Clark's Grant, for his services in the Illinois campaign, being Nos. 23, 78, 256, 277 and C 106.

BUCKNER PITTMAN,

Who received one hundred and eight acres of land in Clark's Grant, for services in the Illinois campaigns, and



whose signature is here reproduced, probably settled at, or in the neighborhood

of, the falls of the Ohio, after the war. He is presumably the same Buckner Pittman who purchased five half-acre lots (Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20), at the original sale of lots in Louisville. They were situated somewhere between Jefferson and Main and First and Twelfth streets, and cost £6 5s. per lot.* He was also the purchaser of another lot at the same time.

JAMES CURRY, LEVI TEALL, DAVID PAGAN AND JOSEPH ANDERSON

Were all soldiers in the Illinois campaign, and were allotted land in Clark's Grant for their services. They were

* Centenary of Louisville.

so much pleased with the country about Kaskaskia that they settled in that vicinity and remained there the rest of their lives. They are all mentioned in the following account given by Governor Reynolds of a thrilling event which occurred in that neighborhood:

“It was in this settlement, in the early part of the spring of 1788, that a most singular battle and siege occurred. David Pagan, one of Clark’s men, had made a house two miles from Kaskaskia, on the east side of the river, and had finished it in a strong and substantial manner, so as to withstand an Indian attack. Levi Teel and James Curry, also two of Clark’s soldiers, had been out hunting on the east side of the river and had encamped in this house for the night. The door of the house had three bars across it to secure it against Indian assault, and in the door was a hole cut for the cat to go in and out. Towards day Curry informed Teel that there were Indians about the house, and that they must fix up their guns for defense. Teel was rather inclined to open the door and give up as prisoners, while Curry would not listen to it at all. Teel went to the door to either open it or to make discoveries, and stood with his foot near the cat hole. The Indians outside stuck a spear through his foot and fastened him to the floor. The Indians, in their war expeditions, always carry spears with them. By a kind of instinct, Teel put his hand to the spear to draw it out of his foot, and other spears were stuck in his hand. They cut and mangled his hand in a shocking manner, so that he was not only nailed to the floor of the house, but his hands were rendered useless.

“It was ascertained afterwards that it was the Piankeshaw Indians, and there were sixteen in the band. Curry was an extraordinary man: brave to desperation and inured to broil and feats of battle until he was always cool and prepared. He jumped up in the loft of the house to drive the enemy off before Teel would open the door, and by a small crevice in the roof he put his gun out and shot into the crowd of Indians. He shot three times with great rapidity, for fear Teel would open the door. It was discovered afterward from the Indians that Curry had killed three warriors. He then got down to see what Teel was about and found him transfixed to the floor, as above stated. He then got up again in the loft and tumbled the whole roof, weight-poles and all, down on the Indians standing at the door with spears in their hands. It will be recollected that in olden times the roofs of cabins were made with weight-poles on the boards to keep them down. The pioneers used no nails as they do at this day. The roof, falling on the enemy, killed the chief, and the others ran off. Day was breaking, which assisted also to disperse the Indians. Curry took both guns and made Teel walk, although he was almost exhausted on account of the loss of blood. They had a hill to walk up at the start, which fatigued Teel, and he gave out before they reached Kaskaskia, although they had only two miles to travel. Curry left Teel and went to Kaskaskia for help, and at last saved himself and comrade from death.

“To my own knowledge, the houses in times of Indian wars were fixed so the roofs could be thrown down on the

enemy, and sometimes large, round timbers were laid on the tops of the houses on purpose to roll off on the Indians below.

“James Curry came with Clark in 1778, and was an active and daring soldier in the capture of Forts Gage and Sackville. He was large, strong and active, and was always foremost on the list of those who contended for the prizes in foot-races, leaping, wrestling, etc. He was a similar character to the celebrated Thomas Higgins of modern pioneer memory. In all desperate and hazardous services Clark chose him first to act in these perils and dangers.

“The citizens of Illinois of olden times were compelled to hunt for a support. Curry and Joseph Anderson, who afterwards lived and died on Nine-mile creek, Randolph county, were out hunting, and the Indians killed Curry, as it was supposed; as he went out to hunt from their camp and never returned. Thus was the closing scene of one of the brave and patriotic heroes, the noble-hearted James Curry, whose services were so conspicuous in the conquest of Illinois. Not only a burial was denied to this gallant soldier, but his remains are mingled with the mother-earth, so that even the place of his death is not known.”

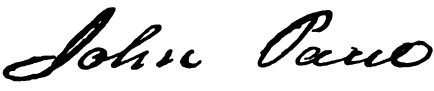
James Curry was allotted one hundred acres in letter D, tract No. 205, and eight acres in No. 210.

Levi Teall, one hundred acres, “B, No. 170, and eight acres in No. 74.”

David Pagan, one hundred acres, part of No. 19, and eight acres, part of No. 196.

Joseph Anderson, one hundred acres, “C, No. 178, and eight acres in No. 210.”

COLONEL JOHN PAUL.

Among the pioneers of the west who served under George Rogers Clark in the capture of the British posts northwest of the Ohio, and became prominent in early Indiana history, the name  of Colonel John Paul may be mentioned. He was born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, November 12, 1758; was the son of Michael Paul and Ann Parker. They were married in Germantown in 1751. Michael Paul was born in Holland. In 1776 he went from Germantown to Red Stone, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, thence to Virginia, and in 1781 to Hardin county, Kentucky. Ann Parker, his wife, was born in Germantown in 1724, and died in Hardin county, Kentucky, in 1813, aged eighty-nine years. They had seven children, the fourth of whom was John Paul, the subject of this sketch. A gentleman conversant with Colonel Paul's history wrote the author that "in 1794 Colonel Paul married Sarah T. Grover at Danville, Kentucky. She was born near Baltimore, Maryland, March 21, 1775, and with her parents removed in 1780 to Kentucky. They had four children, the eldest dying quite young. Ann Parker Paul was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, in March, 1779; John Peter Paul in Green county, Ohio, December 23, 1800. Ann Parker Paul married William Hendricks, the second governor of Indiana and for several years United States senator, and died at Madison, September 12, 1887. Sarah Grover Paul, the youngest daughter, was born March 21, 1802, in Green county, Ohio, and died at

Madison, September 14, 1877. She married Dr. Robert Cravens in 1818. Dr. Cravens died at Madison, September 15, 1821; his widow married Dr. Samuel M. Goosh, and for her third husband Reverend Benjamin C. Stevenson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. John Peter Paul died near Corydon, Indiana, in 1835, while engaged on a surveying expedition. Mrs. Paul, the mother, died in Madison on the 8th day of May, 1866, in the ninety-second year of her age. Colonel Paul was the first clerk of Hardin county, Kentucky; afterwards removed to Green county, Ohio; was the first clerk of that county, also a member, in 1802, of the constitutional convention of that state, and was the proprietor and laid out the now city of Xenia, where he resided for a few years afterward. Not being altogether satisfied with his location, he attended the sale of lands in Indiana territory, in 1807, and purchased the land upon which New Albany stands. The following spring visited his new purchase with a view of erecting a house there, but on reaching it found heavy fogs overshadowing it, and being fully persuaded that the falls of the Ohio were in part responsible for this fact, and thinking it probable that the locality would not be a very healthy one, sold the lands and prospected up the Ohio to where Madison now stands, and regarding it as the most healthful locality, concluded to purchase there. In the following spring he attended the sale of lands at Jeffersonville, and purchased the land in and about where Madison now stands, and here he at once made his home, which has ever since been the home of his family and descendants. He was the first representative in the territorial assembly from

this part of Clark county, now Jefferson. He laid out and was the proprietor of Madison; was the first clerk and recorder of the county for several years. He named the county in honor of one president of the United States, and the town after another. He was a member of the convention that framed the first constitution of Indiana, and represented Switzerland and Jefferson counties in the senate, and was elected its president. On the 6th day of June, 1830, he departed this life, leaving surviving him his widow, one son and two daughter, all of whom have since followed him to the other side. Colonel Paul was a man of energy, and enterprise and thrift, and successful in accumulating a handsome competence which he left to his family. Of kindly disposition, he was fond of children and of active and energetic men. In the early days his house was the home of all strangers who visited Madison, and the success of his wife in making these feel at home was evidenced by their reluctance in parting with her kind hospitality and the good things she had always on hand to anticipate their comfort and pleasure. Hospitality in those days was not only a delightful virtue, but was also an every-day accomplishment, without which the true-hearted pioneer would not be the loving character which we know he was. In his benefactions he was always liberal and gave to every enterprise with a willing hand. He and his estimable wife were the foster parents of several children, whom they maintained and educated until marriage, or other circumstances, made them self-supporting and independent. His tenants, the renters of his farms, never had cause to complain that he was exacting or unjust when

sickness or failure of crops promised to make their rent a burden upon them. In stature Colonel Paul was full six feet, of large frame, without any surplus flesh; muscular, strong-nerved and tireless. Horseback was his favorite exercise, as it was in those early days when there were no roads, but bridle-paths the only means of travel and locomotion. The horse and rider were fast friends, neither would desert the other, and the horse was always chosen for his speed, endurance and beauty. The horse, the dog and the rifle were the indispensable friends of the pioneer, and he was equally skilled in the use and control of each. He was in later life a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and so remained till his death. In business he was prudent and careful; in the social circle he was pleasant and popular; in the family he loved and was beloved. He was in everything a true pioneer, simple in his manner unostentatious in his intercourse with others, respectful to those with whom he differed, but always true to the principles which he entertained. He was an affectionate husband, a loving father, a kind neighbor, a safe counselor, a faithful public servant, and an honest man."

EDWARD BULGER

Was a private in Captain Joseph Bowman's company in the Illinois campaign. This fact is shown by the original pay-roll of Captain Bowman's company at present in the author's possession. He is also on the roll of persons allotted land in Clark's Grant, for services in that campaign. He was allotted one hundred and eight acres, viz.: 100 in tract "A" 195, and 8 acres in 210.

He was an ensign in Captain William Harrod's company in 1780, and seems to have always been ready for service when needed.

He was in Colonel John Bowman's expedition, and in General Clark's first expedition against the Indians in Ohio. He died at last in the public service, having been mortally wounded in the battle of the Blue Licks in 1782, at which time he seems to have been a major.

He was one of the earliest explorers of Kentucky and probably went there with Hite, Bowman and others in the spring of 1775 or before. At all events it appears from Collins's Kentucky History that he was there with that party in June of that year.

"On the north side of Barren river," says that work, "about a quarter of a mile above the old Vanmeter ferry, and three miles from Bowling Green, some beech trees are still standing which indicate the camping ground, in June, 1775, of an exploring party of thirteen, from the new settlements at Harrodstown (now Harrodsburg) and Harrod's Station (both in now Mercer county). Of these, eight became prominent in the settlement and wars of central Kentucky, and one as a surveyor. One H. Skaggs had been with the 'Long Hunters' in 1770, to the southeast of this. These were probably the *first white visitors* to this, Warren, county—who remained as long as ten days.

"One tree has engraven on its bark, on the north side, the names of the thirteen persons. The letters were handsomely cut with some instrument adapted to the purpose. The highest name is about nine feet from the ground, the lowest four feet. They stand in the following order, be-

ginning with the uppermost and descending to the lowest, to wit: J. Newell (or Neaville), E. Bulger, I. Hite, V. Harman, J. Jackman, W. Buchanan, A. Bowman, J. Drake, N. Nall, H. Skaggs, J. Bowman, Tho. Slaughter, J. Todd. The date is thus given: '1775, June Th. 13.' The apparent age of the marks corresponds with the date. About five steps south of the above-named tree, and near the verge of the river bank, stands a beech, marked on the north side with the name of 'Wm. Buchanan,' and dated 'June 14, 1775.' On the south side of the same tree, there is the name of 'J. Todd,' dated 'June 17, 1775.' About twenty steps north of the first tree, there stands a third beech, with the names of I. Drake and Isaac Hite engraved, and each with the date '15 June, 1775.' Above the names the date 'June 23, 1775.' The names and dates of this tree seem to be as old as any, but made with a different instrument from that which cut the names on the first tree, and they are not so well executed. These dates, from the 13th to the 23d, prove that the party encamped at that place ten days. About fifty yards up the river from the first-named tree, there stands a beech with a name now illegible, cut in the bark over the date 1779. On the same tree, the name of H. Lynch is carved over the date 1796.

"Where are now these pioneers? They have ceased to follow the deer, the elk, the bear, the buffalo and beaver, which were then abundant in this region; and their children are hunters no more. The animals which their fathers pursued have become extinct. The wilderness they traversed now blooms with the arts and refinements of civilized life."

GENERAL ROBERT TODD.

Robert Todd, a captain under George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaign, was a native of Pennsylvania, but removed to Virginia when quite young, where he had relatives. From thence he went, in the spring of 1776, to what is now known as Kentucky, where he continued to reside until his death, about the year 1820, at his residence in the city of Lexington. He was a participant in public affairs there from the time of his arrival.

He was in McClellan's Station, at Royal Spring, where Georgetown, Kentucky, is now situated, when it was attacked by Indians, and was badly wounded. This was in December following his arrival; so he had a practical experience in Indian warfare from the beginning. This experience continued to the close of the important campaign of General Anthony Wayne, in 1794, in which Robert Todd was a distinguished brigadier-general.

He also rendered efficient services in previous expeditions against the Indians under General Charles Scott. Of these important campaigns General Todd kept a diary, the original of which is now in the possession of the author. It has never been published, but will be given in whole, or in part, when these campaigns come to be narrated. At the same place will be found the fragment of an account written by General Todd, in 1803, of some events which occurred in Kentucky shortly after his arrival there in 1776, with a fac-simile of a portion of it, to which his signature is attached.

FAC-SIMILE OF ROBERT TODD'S COMMISSION AS MAJOR.

To Robert Todd

Genl. Greeting:

KNOW You, that by Virtue of the powers vested in us by the Executive of the United States, and from the special trust and confidence which is reposed in your fidelity, courage, activity and good conduct, We appoint you Major to a Corps of Volunteers commanded by Brigadier Genl. Charles Smith.



to take rank as such from the date hereof, and not to continue longer (by virtue of this appointment,) than during the present expedition against the Wabash tribes of Indians.

GIVEN under our hands this 15th day of May

1791.

Ch. Scott

Harry James

J Brown

No 1

General Todd was distinguished in civil as well as military affairs. He was at one time a delegate from Kentucky *county* to the Virginia legislature, and also a delegate to at least one of the conventions called to adopt a constitution for Kentucky. He represented Fayette county in the first senate of that state after her admission to the Union, and was a circuit judge for many years. He was also one of the commissioners selected to divide the land in Clark's Grant among those who had served in the campaign against the British at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and he was one of the original trustees of the town of Clarksville. He was likewise one of the commissioners who located the capital of Kentucky at Frankfort, and it is stated, as an evidence of his nice sense of honor, that when the vote was a tie between Frankfort and Lexington he voted for Frankfort, because he owned a thousand acres of land near Lexington, and did not wish to seem to be governed by selfish considerations.

He had six children, all of whom were respected and prominent in their respective localities. His daughter Mary married Doctor Witherspoon, and Eliza married General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, with whom the author had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. He was truly one of "nature's noblemen," and was loved and esteemed by all who knew him. He was a member of congress, major-general in the Mexican War, and on the Democratic presidential ticket for vice-president in 1848 with General Cass.

The four sons of General Robert Todd were John, David, Levi L., and Thomas J. The first two lived and died



in Kentucky, but the other two removed to Marion county, Indiana, about 1834, where they became leading citizens and died in old age, leaving numerous respected descendants, to one of whom, Dr. Levi Luther Todd, named after his father, the writer is greatly indebted for much valuable information about the family and early historical events with which they were prominently and honorably connected.

The father of this Dr. Todd, who bore exactly the same name, was a member of the Indiana state senate in 1851-2,



LEVI L. TODD, SR.

and judge of the common pleas court of Marion county for several years. The author met him in honorable rivalry for the position of secretary of the convention which formed the constitution of Indiana in 1850-1, and can knowingly bear witness to his many good qualities.

His son, Robert N. Todd, now deceased, was also a distinguished citizen and physician of Indianapolis, and represented Marion county in the house of representatives in 1857.

To go back another generation to the children of General Robert Todd, his youngest son, Thomas J. Todd, was also a member of the Indiana legislature, representing Marion county in the senate from 1843 to 1846; so that it



DR. ROBERT N. TODD.

will be seen that this distinguished family were largely transplanted from Kentucky to Indiana. The Todds

about Madison, Indiana, are descendants of Owen Todd, a brother of General Robert Todd.*

The wife of President Lincoln, it will be remembered, was a granddaughter of General Todd's brother Levi.

GENERAL LEVI TODD

“Was a lieutenant under George Rogers Clark in the expedition which captured Kaskaskia, in 1778, and he returned with the detachment which took the British commander, M. Rochblave, a prisoner to Virginia. He never returned to Illinois, but spent the balance of his life at Lexington, Kentucky, where he filled many important positions of trust and confidence. General Levi Todd is best known in Illinois by his descendants. His daughter Hannah was married to Rev. Robert Stuart, a distinguished Presbyterian divine, and a former professor of languages in Transylvania University. From this union sprang Hon. John T. Stuart, a distinguished member of the Springfield, Illinois, bar, the preceptor and afterwards the law partner of Abraham Lincoln.

“General Todd's son, Robert S., was the father of Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, Mrs. Dr. William S. Wallace, Mrs. C. M. Smith and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, all of whom have lived in this state for many years, and those of the number yet living still reside in Springfield. Dr. John Todd, brother to these, emigrated to Edwardsville in 1817, and afterwards, in 1827, to Springfield. The numerous descendants of Dr. Todd and his sisters rank among the

*A portrait of Thomas J. Todd, and a further sketch of General Robert Todd and his Indiana descendants, will be in a subsequent volume.

best people, socially and intellectually, about the state capital. One of them, Robert Todd Lincoln, being at the present time (1887) secretary of war.—J. H. G.*

Lieutenant Levi Todd was allotted two thousand one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in Clark's Grant on account of his services in the Illinois campaign, viz.: tracts 29, 46, 87, 290, and "C" in 271.

COLONEL WILLIAM WHITLEY,

Who has the honor of having two counties named after him, one in Indiana and one in Kentucky, was not only a gallant soldier under George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaign, but he was an Indian fighter in the early pioneer days, ranking with Kenton and Boone; and he lost his life leading the famous charge of the heroic forlorn hope at the bloody battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813.

Here is a fac-simile of his receipt for one hundred acres of the one hundred and eight acres of land allotted him in Clark's Grant, for his services, as a private, in the Illinois campaign:

*Rec^d of W^m Clark this 6th Aug 61/85. a certificate granted by B. of Comm^r in my fav^r for 100 Acres Land in the Illinois Grant —
Wm Whitley*

Eight acres of the land were in tract No. 74 and one hundred acres in tract No. 262.

After the Illinois campaign was over he settled in Lincoln county, Kentucky, and, in 1786, built what is claimed to

* Reynolds's Pioneer History of Illinois, 2d edition, p. 143, foot note.

have been the first brick house in Kentucky. It was located about five miles west of Crab Orchard. It was two stories high, the windows being high from the ground to prevent the Indians from firing through, and the window-glass was brought from Virginia in boxes on pack-horses. The house was profusely ornamented for that pioneer period, and whisky, even then, seemed to be an important commodity in Kentucky, as he, it is said, exchanged a farm, near his residence, for the whisky consumed by the numerous workmen in constructing it. He was a member of the house of representatives from Lincoln county, in 1797.

“William Whitley,” says Collins’s Kentucky, “was one of the most distinguished of those early pioneers whose adventurous exploits have shed a coloring of romance over the early history of Kentucky. He was born on the 14th of August, 1749, in that part of Virginia then called Augusta, and which afterwards furnished territory for Rockbridge county. Unknown to early fame, he grew to manhood in the laborious occupation of tilling his native soil, in which his corporeal powers were fully developed, with but little mental cultivation. He possessed, however, the spirit of enterprise, and the love of independence. In 1775, having married Esther Fuller, and commenced housekeeping in a small way, with health and labor to season his bread, he said to his wife he heard a fine report of Kentucky, and he thought they could get their living there with less hard work. ‘Then Billy, if I was you I would go and see,’ was the reply. In two days he was on his way, with ax and plow, and gun and kettle. And she is the woman who afterwards collected his warriors to pursue the Indians.

“Whitley set out for Kentucky, accompanied by his brother-in-law George Clark; in the wilderness they met with several others, who joined them.

“We are not in possession of materials for a detailed narrative of Whitley’s adventures after his arrival in Kentucky, and shall have to give only such desultory facts as we have been enabled to collect.

“In the year 1785, the camp of an emigrant by the name of McClure was assaulted in the night by Indians, near the head of Skagg’s creek, in Lincoln county, and six whites killed and scalped.

“Mrs. McClure ran into the woods with her four children, and could have made her escape with three, if she had abandoned the fourth; this, an infant in her arms, cried aloud, and thereby gave the savages notice where they were. She heard them coming; the night, the grass, and the bushes, offered her concealment without the infant, but she was a mother, and determined to die with it; the like feeling prevented her from telling her three eldest to fly and hide. She *feared* they would be lost if they left her side; she *hoped* they would not be killed if they remained. In the meantime the Indians arrived, and extinguished both fears and hopes in the blood of the three children. The youngest and the mother they made captives. She was taken back to camp, where there was plenty of provisions, and compelled to cook for her captors. In the morning they compelled her to mount an unbroken horse and accompany them on their return home.

“Intelligence of this sad catastrophe being conveyed to Whitley’s Station, he was not at home. A messenger,

however, was dispatched after him by Mrs. Whitley, who at the same time sent others to warn and collect his company. On his return he found twenty-one men collected to receive his orders. With these he directed his course to the war-path, intending to intercept the Indians returning home. Fortunately, they had stopped to divide their plunder; and Whitley succeeded in gaining the path in advance of them. He immediately saw that they had not passed and prepared for their arrival. His men, being concealed in a favorable position, had not waited long before the enemy appeared, dressed in their spoils. As they approached, they were met by a deadly fire from the concealed whites, which killed two, wounded two others and dispersed the rest. Mrs. McClure, her child and a negro woman were rescued, and the six scalps taken by the Indians at the camp recovered.

“Ten days after this event, a Mr. Moore, and his party, also emigrants, were defeated two or three miles from Raccoon creek, on the same road. In this attack, the Indians killed nine persons and scattered the rest. Upon the receipt of the news, Captain Whitley raised thirty men, and under similar impression as before, that they would return home, marched to intercept them. On the sixth day, in a cane-brake, he met the enemy, with whom he found himself face to face, before he received any intimation of their proximity. He instantly ordered ten of his men to the right, as many to the left, and the others to dismount on the spot with him. The Indians, twenty in number, were mounted on good horses, and well dressed

in the plundered clothes. Being in the usual Indian file, and still pressing from the rear when the front made a halt, they were brought into full view; but they no sooner discovered the whites than they sprang from their horses and took to their heels. In the pursuit, three Indians were killed; eight scalps retaken; and twenty-eight horses, fifty pounds in cash, and a quantity of clothes and household furniture captured. Captain Whitley accompanied Bowman and Clark in their respective expeditions against the Indians.

"In the years 1792, 1793 and 1794 the southern Indians gave great annoyance to the inhabitants of the southern and southeastern portions of the state. Their hostile incursions were principally directed against the frontiers of Lincoln county, where they made frequent inroads upon what were called the outside settlements, in the neighborhood of Crab Orchard, and Logan's and McKinney's Stations. Their depredations became, at length, so frequent, that Colonel Whitley determined to take vengeance and deprived them of the means of future annoyance; and, with this view, conceived the project of conducting an expedition against their towns on the south side of the Tennessee river.

"In the summer of 1794 he wrote to Major Orr, of Tennessee, informing him of his design, and inviting the major to join him with as large a force as he could raise. Major Orr promptly complied; and the two corps, which rendezvoused at Nashville, numbered between five and seven hundred men. The expedition is known in history as the 'Nickajack Expedition,' that being the name of the principal town against which its operations were directed. The

march was conducted with such secrecy and dispatch that the enemy were taken completely by surprise. In the battle which ensued, they were defeated with great slaughter, their towns burned and crops destroyed. This was the last hostile expedition in which Whitley was engaged during the war.

“Very soon after the general peace, he went to some of the southern Indian towns to reclaim some negroes, that had been taken in the contest, when he was put under more apprehension than he had been at any time during the war. A half-breed, by the name of Jack Taylor, who spoke English, and acted as interpreter, if he did not intend to procure Whitley’s death, at least determined to intimidate him. The Indians being assembled, as soon as Whitley had declared the purpose of his visit, Taylor told him he could not get the negroes; and taking a bell that was at hand, tied it to his waist, then, seizing and rattling a drum, raised the war-whoop. Whitley afterwards said, when telling the story, ‘I thought the times were squally; I looked at Otter Lifter; he had told me I should not be killed—his countenance remained unchanged. I thought him a man of honor, and kept my own.’ At this time the Indians gathered about him armed, but fired their guns in the air, to his great relief. Whitley finally succeeded in regaining his negroes and returned home. Some time after the affair of the negroes, he again visited the Cherokees and was everywhere received in the most friendly manner.

“In the year 1813, being then in the sixty-fifth year of his age, he volunteered with the Kentucky militia, under

Governor Shelby, and fell in the decisive and victorious battle of the Thames on the 5th of October.

“Colonel Whitley was a man above the ordinary size, of great muscular power and capable of enduring great fatigue and privation. His courage as a soldier was unquestionable, having been foremost in seventeen battles with the Indians, and one with a more civilized foe. In the battle of the Thames he fell at the first fire. On the night before the battle he occupied the same tent with his old neighbor and friend—to whom he told his presentiment that he would be killed in the coming engagement, and urged him, but in vain, to have his scalp taken back to his wife, Esther, in Kentucky. The *Forlorn Hope* spoken of above was composed of twenty men. The command was given by Colonel Johnson to his old friend Colonel William Whitley, who thus addressed his Spartan band: ‘Boys, we have been selected to second our colonel in the charge; act well your part; recollect the watch-word—*victory or death!*’ Fifteen were killed in the charge or died of wounds.”

ABRAM CHAPLINE

Was an ensign in Captain Joseph Bowman’s company in the Illinois campaign, and was a lieutenant in Colonel John



A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Abram Chapline". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The first name "Abram" is written in a larger, more prominent hand, and "Chapline" follows in a similar but slightly smaller hand. There is a small flourish or underline under the "A" in Abram.

Bowman’s expedition against the Indians in the Ohio country. He was also a captain at

Fort Nelson in 1783, and an aid to General George Rogers Clark in the unfortunate campaign against the Wabash Indians in 1786.

He often declared that General Clark was so chagrined at the mutinous conduct of the soldiers on that campaign that he came near shooting himself.

Chapline had seen some military service before the Illinois campaign, and was probably at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774.

He was prominent in affairs at Harrodstown in its early settlement. He was there at the temporary breaking up of the settlement at that place, "July 10, 1774, when the Indians fired upon a party of five of them (the settlers) at Fontainebleau (or Fountain Blue), a large spring three miles below Harrodstown (where corn had already been planted). They (the Indians) instantly killed Jared Cowan while engaged in drying some papers in the sun. Jacob Sandusky and two others, not knowing but that the others had been killed, escaped through the woods, to the Cumberland river, and thence went by canoe to New Orleans. The remaining men fled to Harrodstown and gave the alarm. Captains Harrod and Chapline and a strong party went down and buried Jared Cowan and secured his papers, then collected up their scattered men and returned to Virginia by the Cumberland Gap."*

He was one of the original board of commissioners to allot the land in Clark's Grant among those who served in the Illinois campaign.

He settled in Mercer county, Kentucky, and was long a prominent and influential citizen there—representing that county in the house of representatives in 1807, and in the senate in 1808-9, and 1814 to 1817.

*Collins's Kentucky.

He left descendants, who, like himself, were prominent and respected.

For his services in the Illinois campaign he was allotted as a lieutenant two thousand one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in Clark's Grant, Indiana, being tracts numbered 145, 180, 222, 267, each for five hundred acres, and one hundred and fifty-six acres in tract A, No. 276.

EBENEZER AND JOHN SEVERNS.

Ebenezer and John Severns, presumably brothers, were both soldiers in the Illinois campaign, and were allotted lands for their services. They probably came to the Kentucky country as early as 1773, and were consequently among the earliest emigrants. They came with Bullitt, Hite, Harrod and others, surveyors, and their assistants, and were engaged in that kind of work in the summer of that year, and for several years afterwards.

“In the fall of 1775 David Williams conducted Nathaniel Randolph, Peter Higgins and Robert Shanklin from Harrodsburg to the country between Hinkston and Stoner. In the summer previous, he was on the Middle Fork, or Gist's (since known as Stoner's) creek, with Thomas Gist, James Douglass (the surveyor), James Harrod, Sigismund Stratton, Daniel Hollenback, John Severns, Ebenezer Severns, — Wabash, and others. These were engaged in surveying.”*

“1775. This historic year,” says the author of Falls Cities, “so rife with important events at the east, precluding the war for American independence, was comparatively

*Collins's Kentucky, Vol. 2, p. 326.

quiet in the valley of the Ohio. In this region the dauntless surveyors were still pushing their way through the tangled wildwood, leading the van of empire. Many of their movements, and perhaps of their surveys, remain unknown to this day; but, from depositions taken long afterwards, one may learn of a party at work in the middle of December on Harrod's creek, consisting of Abraham and Isaac Hite, Moses Thompson, Joseph Bowman, Nathaniel Randolph, Peter Casey and Ebenezer Severns, who were surveying."

Their headquarters seems to have been at or about Harrodsburg for some time before the Illinois campaign.

The subsequent history of the Severns the writer has not been able to learn.

Ebenezer Severns was allotted for his services in the Illinois campaign one hundred acres of land in Clark's Grant in D No. 174 and eight acres in No. 74, and John Severns one hundred acres in No. 95 and eight acres in 196.

CORNET JOHN THRUSTON

Was allotted two thousand one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in Clark's Grant for his services as a "cornet" in the Illinois regiment, a cavalry office now but rarely, if ever, used.

He was of a distinguished Virginia family, tracing their ancestry back to Bristol, England. He was the oldest son of Reverend Charles Mynn Thruston and Mary Buckner, daughter of Colonel Samuel Buckner, all of Gloucester county, Virginia. His brother, Judge Buckner Thruston, was at one time United States senator from Kentucky,

and his brother, Charles Mynn Thruston, Junior, was the second husband of Frances, General George Rogers Clark's youngest sister.

Rev. Charles M. Thruston, Senior, removed to Frederick county, Virginia, and settled near Winchester. His second wife was a Miss Alexander, by whom he had several children.

This Charles Mynn Thruston, Senior, and John McDonald, Edmund Taylor, John Smith, Charles Smith, John Hite and Isaac Hite were members of the first justice's court of Frederick county, Virginia, that convened after the colony had thrown off British rule. It organized at Winchester under "the Honorable the Convention of the Commonwealth of Virginia," August 6, 1776, and, all the above being present (except Charles Smith), proceeded to take the oath of allegiance to the new government. Charles Smith was absent on account of illness, and at the meeting one month later a certificate of his death was filed. "Isaac Hite and Charles Mynn Thruston administered the oath to John Hite, who took and subscribed the same, and then the said John Hite administered the said oath to all the aforesaid members." * Norris's "History of the Shenandoah Valley" (page 136), from which these court proceedings are quoted, after giving the names of the additional and minor court officers, says: "These are the old patriots who stepped up in those trying times and showed their colors." The justices in those

* Isaac and John Hite were sons of Jost Hite, who settled the first colony in the country west of the Blue Ridge mountains. Charles Smith was an officer with Washington at Great Meadows, and married the daughter of John Hite, and their daughter married Philip Eastin, a lieutenant in the War of the Revolution, who was the grandfather of the author of this work.

days were the important and controlling officers of a county, and these gentlemen had up to this time been members of the court under the "Sovereign Lord, George III." Under the new order of things Lord Fairfax, president of the court, refused to take the oath, as did William Booth; while Warner Washington, Jr., after he "did swear in, did not chuse to act." Isaac Zane appeared at the September meeting and took the oath, but Thomas Bryan Martin * "never did swear in to the said commission," according to the ancient records of the court.

Cornet John Thruston was born August 18, 1761, and soon after the campaign against the British posts ended settled on a beautiful tract of land on Beargrass creek, a few miles from Louisville, Kentucky, containing a thousand acres, where he continued to reside until his death, February 19, 1802, his health having been much impaired by exposure in the campaigns against the British. He was highly respected and was one of the judges of the court of common pleas at the time of his death. He married his cousin, Elizabeth Thruston Whiting, by whom he had a large family of children, as follows:

1. Mary Buckner, born August 14, 1783; married Peter Jannay, of Lexington, Kentucky.
2. Elizabeth Taylor, born February 13, 1785; married Worden Pope, of Louisville, Kentucky, September 11, 1804.

* Thomas Bryan Martin and George Washington were together elected members of the house of burgesses from Frederick county in 1758. He was a nephew and heir of Lord Fairfax, and one of the executors of his vast estate. Martinsburg, West Virginia, is named in his honor.

3. Thomas Whiting, born November 6, 1786; married Mary Dorsey Luckto, August 30, 1808.

4. Sarah, born November 8, 1788; died early.

5. Catherine, born September 17, 1790; married Saul N. Luckto.

6. George Mynn, born February 26, 1793; married Eliza Lydnor Cosby, oldest child of Judge Fortunatus Cosby, of Louisville.

7. Fanny Badella, born March 7, 1795; married, first, Colonel Elias Rector and, second, General Trigg.

8. Alfred, born April 16, 1797; never married.

9. Lucius Falkland, born July 18, 1799; never married.

10. Algernon Sidney, born May 19, 1801; married Harriet Jacques, of Texas, December 19, 1846.

These were all people of excellent standing, and their numerous descendants are distributed over several states, many of them occupying prominent positions.

The information in this sketch as to the family of Cornet John Thruston is largely derived from his grandson, Dr. John Thruston, of Louisville, Kentucky.

JOHN DOYLE OR DOYAL.

The name "John Doyle" is found on the roll of persons who served under George Rogers Clark, but not on the roll of persons allotted lands for service in the Illinois campaign. There were probably two persons of the same name who served under him. Reynolds's Pioneer History of Illinois says:

"John Doyle was a soldier in the expedition under Colonel Clark in the year 1778, and soon after the campaign

settled in Illinois. Doyle had a family and resided in or near Kaskaskia. He was something of a scholar, and taught school. He spoke French and Indian, and was frequently employed as an interpreter of those languages into the English. He was unambitious and lived and died without much wealth. He was considered an honest man, and was always respected while alive—as he is now when dead—as one of the brave men who assisted Colonel Clark in the conquest of Illinois.” *

But it is asserted that another John Doyle served under Clark and lived and died in Kentucky. The name of the last mentioned appears to be now spelled Doyal, by his descendants, and the following account of him is from a letter written by his grandson, Judge Samuel H. Doyal, of Frankfort, Indiana, as follows:

“Your kind letter requesting a brief sketch of my grandfather, John Doyle, who served with Clark in the Illinois campaign, received, and in reply will say, that my grandfather joined Clark’s command when a very young man. He was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, September 20, 1760, and, after serving to the close of Clark’s famous campaign in the west, he returned to his home near Charlottesville, Virginia, re-entered the service as a private and served until the close of the Revolutionary War.

“In the spring of 1782 he enlisted as a private in that ill-fated expedition against the Sandusky Indians that was commanded by Colonel William Crawford. He shared the hardships of this campaign and was one of the fortunate ones that returned home. In 1786 he emigrated to Ken-

* Edition of 1852, p. 110.

tucky and located near Limestone, now Maysville, and soon became the friend and associate of Simon Kenton, whom he afterwards joined in some raids against the Indians. Later, and before the power of the hostile Indians was broken by General Wayne, he was employed three years as captain of the scouts or spies, as they were called, to patrol the Ohio river on the Kentucky side from Maysville to the mouth of the Sciota river. This work was perilous and he had many thrilling adventures.

“In 1790 he raised a company, was chosen captain, and joined, with many other Kentucky troops, General Harmer in his campaign against the Indians. In 1794 he again entered the service as captain under the leadership of General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, who joined General Wayne in his campaign against the Indians, and took part August 20, 1794, in the battle of Fallen Timbers. At the close of this service he adopted the life of a farmer and settled in what became Lewis county, Kentucky, a county taken off of Mason on the east. Upon the formation of this county he was appointed the first justice of the peace, and for more than twenty years he held that office, and presided over the council of magistrates, that met at the county seat at stated times and transacted the county business. In 1813 he became so incensed at General Hull’s surrender that he again enlisted as a soldier under General Isaac Shelby, who joined General Harrison’s army, and, as a private, was present and took part October 5, 1813, in the battle of the Thames. This ended his services as a soldier. He often said to his children that he was at the beginning and ending of the Indian wars of the northwest.



He was a strong, vigorous man, seldom ever sick, and in all his soldier life was never wounded. He died near Vanceburg, Kentucky, in May, 1847, lacking but a few months of eighty-seven years of age. He often said that General George Rogers Clark was the ablest general that ever appeared in the west, and that he accomplished more with a small body of men than any other officer of his time. I heard the story of the Illinois campaign from his own lips two years before his death. His admiration for Clark was unbounded."

Fac-similes of signatures of seven persons not sketched who performed military service under George Rogers Clark.

James Bigger *V. J. Dutton*

Madrach Bond senior

James Whitecotton

Isaac Vanmatre

Peter Priest

Isaac Yates



GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

**From an oil painting in possession of Colonel Reuben
T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.**

CHAPTER XXV.

SOME HISTORICAL INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH CLARK'S GRANT.

The region of the falls always a favorite place of resort—Abundance of fish and game—Battlefield and burying ground of some unknown race near Clarks-ville—Ancient stone fortifications at the mouth of Fourteen-mile creek—Other forts and stations—Bland Ballard's escape—Lieutenant Isaac Bowman—Richard Rue.

THE grant of lands opposite the falls of the Ohio on the Indiana side of the river, known in early times as the Illinois Grant, but in modern times more generally as Clark's Grant, because donated to George Rogers Clark's soldiers, has always been regarded as historic ground of peculiar interest.

That it was devoted to this patriotic purpose would, of itself, forever blend it with the interesting story of the acquisition by the United States of the great country known as the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio"—one of the most important events in its history.


Even before the advent of the first white visitors, in modern times, the rapids of the river and its other natural and attractive features, including the abundance of game, made it always a favorite resort of the Indians. It must have been so, indeed, at a period earlier than there are any existing records or traditions of, for some of the most re-

markable prehistoric ruins in this country are to be found within the boundaries of Clark's Grant.

On the river, near the lower "line of the grant," the earliest white visitors found an immense burying ground of some unknown race.

Dr. McMurtrie, in his Sketches of Louisville, says: "About the time General Clark first visited this country an old Indian is said to have assured him that there was a tradition to this effect: that there had formerly existed a race of Indians whose complexion was much lighter than that of the other natives, which caused them to be known by the name of the White Indians; that bloody wars had always been waged between the two, but that at last the black Indians got the better of the others in a great battle fought at Clarksville, wherein all the latter were assembled; that the remnant of their army took refuge in Sandy island, whither their successful and implacable enemies followed and put every individual to death. How true this may be I know not, but appearances are strongly in its favor. A large field a little below Clarksville contains immense quantities of human bones, whose decomposed state and the regular manner in which they are scattered, as well as the circumstance of their being covered with an alluvial deposition of earth six or seven feet deep, evidently prove that it was not a regular burial-place, but a field of battle in some former century."

Professor William W. Borden, of the Indiana geological bureau, who has lived in the neighborhood all his life, says that "during high water large masses of the bank are undermined and topple into the river, exposing the skeletons, which lie about two feet below the surface."



Overlooking the Ohio river just above the mouth of Fourteen-mile creek the first white visitors found the ruins of an immense stone fort, with all the requirements and surroundings of a fortification of the most formidable character. It is believed to have been the work of some forgotten race, as the oldest Indians in the earliest times knew nothing of its origin. Fourteen-mile creek is so called because it empties into the Ohio fourteen miles above the falls, and the ruins are situated upon a very high point overlooking the river and the country for a great distance. It is on tract No. 76 of Clark's Grant. A full description of these interesting remains will be found in the Indiana Geological Survey above quoted from. Professor E. T. Cox, ex-state geologist, a gentleman of learning and observation, speaks of this ruined fort as one of the most remarkable stone fortifications which ever came under his notice; and of the country generally, he says: "This seems to have been eminently fitted to the habits and wants of the mound-building race. Here we find some of the most interesting works which are left as monuments of their skill and industry. From the great fortified town at the mouth of Fourteen-mile creek to the fortifications at Wiggin's Point on Big creek, a distance of about thirty miles, there appears to be a line of antiquities that mark the dwelling places of intermediate colonies, and these, when pushed to extremes by an invading foe, may have sought protection in the strongholds at either end of the line.

"At this place I have frequently found human bones protruding from the bank. The skeletons are enclosed by pieces of slate placed on edge. They are buried in a sit-

ting posture, and are covered with shells and fragments of pottery." The same gentleman says of the region of Clark's Grant, generally, that "almost every elevation of the low lands, or peaks of the knobs, show some evidence of having been occupied by a prehistoric people. . . . The margin of the streams appears to have been the favorite camping ground of this wonderful race, and upon nearly every rise of ground in the neighborhood one found unique relics, illustrating their habits and modes of living." Professor Cox, while state geologist, made a careful survey and description of the region of Clark's Grant, with Professor Borden as assistant, and in his official report for 1873 said, that "at Clarksville, just below the falls of the Ohio river, in Clark county, there is a shell heap extending for a mile or more up and down the river. This locality must have been a favorite place of resort—an ancient Long Branch, where it was possible to find enjoyment and pass a pleasant summer catching fish at the foot of the falls, where they congregated at certain seasons of the year in such vast numbers as to become an easy prey to the bone-hooks and spears used for their capture by these prehistoric people."

Near the upper line of Clark's Grant, and a few miles above the ruins at the mouth of Fourteen-mile creek, the river is very shallow at a point now called "the Grassy Flats," and it was consequently an important crossing place for Indians between the rich hunting grounds of Indiana and Kentucky, and in later times was useful to them in certain seasons for making raids on the white settlers in Kentucky. To place a check upon this a station was established on the

Indiana side, known as Armstrong's Station, of which more will be said elsewhere. This was one of the earliest white settlements in Indiana other than those made by the French. After the white people began to settle about the falls of the Ohio there were many outrages perpetrated by the Indians within the limits of Clark's Grant, and many exciting incidents occurred there, a few of which it may be interesting to relate. Clark's soldiers, it will be seen, were generally involved in them.

MAJOR BLAND W. BALLARD.

The name of Bland W. Ballard is not on the roll of



BLAND W. BALLARD.

persons who received land for services in the Illinois campaign, but he was undoubtedly in service under General George Rogers Clark in several campaigns after the latter returned to the falls of the Ohio and established his headquarters there. Ballard was often employed as a scout, or spy, and in that capacity experienced many exciting and dangerous adventures.

One of these occurred in Clark's Grant, and is worth relating.

On one occasion when he was scouting on the northern side of the river he was captured by five Indians a few miles above the falls and carried back into the wilderness



some twenty miles to an Indian encampment. The Indians happened to be in a frolicsome mood about the time of his arrival, having been lucky in securing plunder, including, probably, a little fire-water.

At all events, they got to playing games, and running races. Finally a match was made for a foot-race between two old Indians, which occasioned much excitement and amusement. This was the day after Ballard's capture. The Indians were also engaged in horse racing, but the foot-race between the two old warriors was to be the grand climax of the occasion.

Ballard, although strictly under guard, apparently joined in the merriment with as much zest as the rest, but he was secretly watching for an opportunity to escape. A chance opportunity soon presented itself, although a dangerous one. The Indians had some fine horses they had stolen from Kentucky, and Ballard had cast his eye on a particularly fleet-looking animal standing not far away.

When the old warriors started on their foot-race the excitement of the Indians mounted to the highest pitch, and Ballard's guards, with the rest, pushed a little ahead of him to watch the contest and see the outcome. This was the opportunity he wanted, and, dangerous as it was, he embraced it. With a bound he reached the horse, sprang upon his back with the agility of a circus rider, and in a moment was making for the river with marvelous rapidity. The Indians had been so completely engrossed by the foot-race, and were so dazed by the boldness and audacity of the act, that he had obtained a good start before they mounted



BLAND BALLARD'S ESCAPE.

that recapture meant certain death, and he pushed his horse to the very utmost of its capacity.

He had not misjudged the speed and bottom of the gallant animal, for although he was still in sight of the yelling savages when they started, he gradually widened the distance between them, and finally was entirely out of sight. He did not know this to a certainty, however, and urged the horse on at its utmost speed, expecting every moment to hear the discharge of the guns of the pursuers, but at last the poor animal fell, completely exhausted. Ballard left the horse to its fate, and ran on towards the river, which was but a few miles distant. Reaching it he found, or rolled, a couple of logs in the water, and hastily bound them together with a grape vine. Mounting this improvised raft, he paddled, for dear life, towards the Kentucky shore which he reached, at last, but almost dead from the strain, excitement and fatigue through which he had passed.

Thus ended the most thrilling individual ride ever made across the territory embraced in Clark's Grant. A ride

their horses and started in pursuit of him. Then, indeed, began a ride for life. The famous rides of John Gilpin and Tam O'Shanter were small affairs in comparison to it. Well did poor Ballard realize his danger. He knew

was made across southern Indiana on a larger scale during the War of the Rebellion, known as "Morgan's raid," which skirted along the northern border of Clark's Grant, as the author can testify, being an interested observer on that exciting occasion.

In the spring of 1783, Ballard and his wife were in an ungarrisoned and almost unoccupied fort in Shelby county, Kentucky, and his father and family were, at the time, occupying a cabin near the fort. One of the sons, who went out of the house in the morning with an ax to cut fire-wood, was suddenly shot at and killed. The door of the cabin was shut and fastened before the Indians could reach it, and Bland, who happened to be the only Indian fighter in the fort, hearing the shots rushed towards the cabin keeping himself out of view, and managed to shoot two of the party of Indians who were trying to get in by the front door. The other savages ran around the house and with the ax of the dead son broke in the door on the opposite side. Old man Ballard, who was also named Bland, his wife, and several children in the cabin were all ruthlessly stricken down by the remaining five Indians who instantly fled with the scalps of the victims as their trophies, but not without losing one more of their number by a shot from the courageous Bland as they hastily departed. He could not, however, attempt to pursue them under the circumstances. Repairing at once to the cabin, the bodies of all the inmates were found to be lifeless and mutilated, except one little girl—a half-sister—who had been scalped and left for dead, but who revived and had strength enough remaining to crawl under the puncheon floor. But notwithstanding this

fearful ordeal she finally recovered and lived to become the mother of a large family of children.

A witness to these horrid butcheries of his own kindred, no wonder Major Ballard became the inveterate foe of the Indian race. This account of the massacre of these members of the Ballard family was given to the author by R. C. Ballard Thruston, Esquire, who is a member of the family, and he received it from sources understood to be entirely authentic and reliable.

Bland Ballard was engaged in many other adventures with the Indians, and in one, which occurred a few miles below the falls, he succeeded in killing three as they were attempting to cross to the Kentucky side in a canoe, not knowing that he was concealed in some willow bushes within shooting distance. General Clark warmly commended his bravery and adroit management on this occasion, besides rewarding him with presents, one of which is mentioned in the accounts of the time as "a linen shirt," from which it may be inferred that that article was then a scarcity and highly prized. He was captain of a company in the war of 1812, and was wounded and taken prisoner in Canada, but this time he was too far away from home to make another horse-back ride, for "life and liberty," even if he had the opportunity.

When the author was about eighteen years old, and, no doubt, much fuller of political zeal than knowledge, he was one of a considerable number who went across the Ohio river, in the presidential canvass of 1840, to a big political barbecue at West Port, Kentucky—a kind of interstate "grand rally" of the Democratic party—which it was vainly

hoped might revolutionize things in favor of the Democrats, or, at least, prevent the Whigs from revolutionizing them. Thomas J. Henly, soon after elected to congress, and some other "big guns," were of the Indiana party, and made speeches, but the guns of the greatest execution and the largest caliber—the Krups and the Gatlings, so to speak—were furnished by Kentucky, and were such well-known speakers as James Guthrie and Pilcher, a very popular and witty speaker, who later changed his political associations.

At this barbecue, "where pigs were roasted whole and beef by the quarter," the big crowd was expected by steamboat from Louisville, and the expectation was fully realized. It came, and with it some famous Kentucky pioneers, the most prominent being Major Bland Ballard, the hero of the foregoing story, who speedily became the hero of the barbecue also, for the crowd followed and loudly applauded him, and "the boys" were as much excited as during a circus parade. He was old, probably eighty,* but active and agile for his age, and had the picturesque dress of the early pioneer period, including the leather hunting shirt.

This was not the only leather hunting shirt the author saw worn during "the hard cider and log cabin" campaign of 1840. At that time the venerable Marston G. Clark, cousin of George Rogers Clark, lived in southern Indiana. He was a tall, fine-looking man, and when dressed in his frontier costume, which included a becoming leather hunting shirt with long fringes, he was a splendid specimen of the early pioneer. He was a great friend of William Henry Harrison and the Whigs often played him and his taking costume as a trump card at their political meetings in that

* Major Bland W. Ballard died in Shelby county, Kentucky, September 5, 1853—aged ninety-two years. His remains are interred in the state cemetery at Frankfort.

region. An immense Whig barbecue was to come off near the falls of the Ohio, some ten or fifteen miles distant, and great preparations were made for the event in Clark's neighborhood. An enormous canoe fifty feet long was mounted on wheels and filled with pretty girls to wave "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" banners, and sing that "Little Van is a used-up man" and other popular campaign songs of the day. It was drawn by fifty-two oxen, making a line a hundred yards long. Such was the enthusiasm produced by this immense and unusual outfit that when it moved forward with Clark in command in his leather hunting shirt, it carried with it not only all the Whigs, but nearly the entire population along the route as well, much to the disgust and discomfiture of the Democratic leaders.

LIEUTENANT ISAAC BOWMAN.

Some account of the ancestors and relatives of Isaac Bowman has already been given in previous chapters. The stone house in which he was born, April 24, 1757, is still standing in a fair state of preservation (1895), and is situated on Cedar creek, near Strasburg, Virginia. He inherited the house from his father, George Bowman.

His brothers, Colonel Abraham Bowman, Major Joseph Bowman and Colonel John Bowman were among the earliest visitors to Kentucky.

The latter was the first county lieutenant of Kentucky, and thus virtually the first governor, but this was, of course, before the organization of the state. Isaac probably went with his brothers or a little later. The

Bowmans and their kinsman, Isaac Hite, were of the party of thirteen whose names were cut on a beech tree in Warren county, Kentucky, in 1775, an account of which has already been given.* The Bowmans and Hites had large property interests in what is now Mercer county, and elsewhere, in Kentucky, a little later on, but Isaac was not a party, presumably on account of not then being of age.

Isaac Bowman was five years younger than his brother Joseph. Both were officers under General George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaigns of 1778-9; and Joseph, who was second in command at the capture of Fort Sackville, died in the fort, and was buried in Vincennes.

Isaac was a lieutenant and quartermaster, and was one of the party who returned to Virginia in the summer of 1778, in charge of Rochblave, the captured commandant of Kaskaskia. He was the bearer of letters to his relatives in Virginia, written by his brother Joseph, giving an account of the expedition up to that time. These important letters are given in full elsewhere in this work. How long he remained in Virginia is not known, but that he rejoined the army in the Illinois, and was there in 1779, is certain. He was probably at the capture of Vincennes, and at the funeral of his brother there in August, 1779. The original account of the expenses of his brother's funeral, which he paid, is now in the possession of the author.

In the fall of that year, he started on an expedition which proved very disastrous. It is thus referred to in a letter of John Todd, then the county lieutenant of the Illinois country, to Thomas Jefferson, governor of Virginia. The letter is dated June 2, 1780, and says: "Mr. Isaac

*Isaac, third nephew of Isaac Hite Sr., referred to elsewhere.

Bowman, with seven or eight men and one family, set off from Kaskaskia the 15th November last in a batteau, attended by another batteau with twelve men and three or four families in it bound to the falls of Ohio. I judged it safer to send to the falls many articles belonging to the commonwealth, by Bowman, then to bring them myself by land. Bowman's batteau fell into the hands of Chick-saw Indians and the other arrived in March or April at the French Lick on Cumberland, with the account that Bowman and all the men except one Riddle (Ruddle) were killed and taken.

“I enclose Your Excellency a list of such articles as belonged to the state, as well as I can make out from my detached memorandums, my books and many necessary papers being also lost.”

It was long supposed, as stated in Governor Todd's letter, that Lieutenant Bowman was dead. It turned out, however, that he was not killed, but captured by the Indians, and experienced the most thrilling adventures during his captivity, and the traditions on the subject among his descendants are uniform and positive. He was at first treated with great severity, being wounded several times, and subjected to every torture, short of death, that the cruel savages could devise.

But there came a time when there was an entire change in their conduct towards him, and finally a chief took a fancy to and adopted him and selected him for a son-in-law. While there is no evidence that connects Lieutenant Bowman with the circumstance, it is a singular coincidence that when Lewis and Clark made their expedition through the

wilderness to the Pacific, in 1804, they came across an Indian woman in the far west with the name "J. Bowman" tattooed on her arm.*

Through the intervention of an Indian trader, possibly a Spaniard, he escaped from the Indian country, and we hear of him next in the island of Cuba, whither it is possible he had gone with his rescuer. Another account is that his release was secured by a trader named Turnbull, a part of the consideration being a keg of rum, and that he remained in this trader's service until he had fully recompensed him for his outlay; then he returned to Virginia from Cuba, to the great surprise and joy of his numerous relatives and friends. Certain it is that he reached his old home in safety and was a prosperous and prominent citizen there the rest of his life.

He was twice married and left a numerous family of children, as follows: Philip, Abraham, Catharine and Susan by the first wife, Elizabeth Gatewood. Joseph, John, Eliza, Isaac, George, Robert, Mary, Washington and Rebecca, by the second wife, Mary Chinn.

In the allotment of land in Clark's Grant among those who had served in the Illinois campaign, Lieutenant Bowman was particularly fortunate. He was allotted tracts Nos. 1, 158, 213, 289, each for five hundred acres, and one hundred and fifty-six acres in No. 32, amounting in all to two thousand one hundred and fifty-six acres.

Tract No. 1 was on the river immediately opposite Louisville, and in 1802 the city of Jeffersonville was laid off on it, and made the county seat of Clark county, which

*Coue's Lewis and Clark, Vol. 2, p. 777.

had been created the year before. He donated the ground for the town site or for a portion of it.

John Gwathmey, who had married a relative of Bowman's, was his agent in looking after these lands, in platting Jeffersonville, selling the lots, and in various other matters connected therewith, now of considerable local interest from an historical standpoint.

Gwathmey was a fluent and prolific writer and explained all his transactions fully in letters to Bowman, which have been placed at the service of the author, and will be more or less used in speaking of the settlement of Jeffersonville and the early history of Clark county in a subsequent volume. There is much in the letters in reference to a canal, then expected to be made on the Indiana side of the river, about a mineral spring on Bowman's land back of Jeffersonville, and other matters of interest relating to affairs in that locality at that early day.

The author happens to be quite familiar with the five-hundred-acre tract No. 289, which was one of the tracts allotted Bowman. It is situated in that part of Clark's Grant which is in Scott county, and was known in early times as "the Burnt Cabin Tract," from the fact that a cabin that was built on it and occupied in the pioneer period was partially destroyed by fire. The place was then abandoned and not occupied again for a period of fifty years or more, and the clearing around the house became a dense thicket of bushes and briars, which made, with the ruins of the cabin, a romantic picture of desolation.

The man who settled it must have been a "pioneer" indeed, as there was not at that time another house in the

neighborhood. It was a ruin and a dense thicket as far back as 1850, and is vividly recalled as then being a weird and desolate-looking place. As to who had ventured to occupy this cabin in the wilderness, or what became of them, the oldest, then, inhabitant of the sparsely settled neighborhood, knew nothing, and as now recalled, for a long time, even the ownership of the land was unknown. It was in this neglected condition in 1852, when the author ascertained the owners to be Michael M. Clark and wife, of Washington City, from whom he purchased it, and their quaint old-fashioned deed, with its historic recitals, is recorded in the recorder's office of Scott county, in Book "M," pages 572-3-4.

Another of Bowman's tracts of some celebrity was No. 158, on Fourteen-mile creek, on which was a salt spring supposed to be of great value, and which proved a source of considerable litigation both in the Kentucky and Indiana courts. There was a great scarcity of salt in early days in this part of the country, and it was supposed could be made here to advantage, but the expectations were never realized.

Lieutenant Bowman died in the year 1826, at his home in Virginia, leaving behind him an honorable record as a man and a citizen. He has numerous respected descendants in various parts of the country. His eldest son, Philip, located in Switzerland county, Indiana, where he left a large family; and the venerable and respected widow of his son and namesake, Isaac, is still living on the old homestead in Virginia. Her maiden name was Eleanor Briscoe Hite, so that both herself and husband were direct descendants of the celebrated Jost Hite, who founded the first col-

ony that settled the Shenandoah Valley. Notwithstanding her eighty-two years, her bright mind is still strong and vigorous, and the author who is greatly indebted to her for kindly assistance in his researches as to the Bowman family has found her to be a most capable and interesting correspondent, possessing a rare fund of valuable information as to early Virginia history. A like tribute is due Mrs. Mary D. Bowman, of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, widow of Professor John B. Bowman, who turned over all her husband's historic family papers for the use of the author.

RICHARD RUE

Is not on the roll of persons receiving land in Clark's Grant, for services in the Illinois regiment, but it is known he served under the general, probably after Clark's return to the falls, from the following certificate of Levi Todd, one of Clark's officers:



“FAYETTE COUNTY, July 29, 1784.

“I do certify that Robert Patterson served as a sergeant. That James January, James McNut, George Gray, Elisha Bathey, Richard Rue, John Severns, Arthur Lindsay and Samuel McMullan, served as soldiers under me (and were afterwards added to Captain Helm's company) in an expedition commanded by Colonel George Rogers Clark against the Illinois in the year 1778, and continued in that service until the reduction of the different posts in that country.

“Given under my hand,

LEVI TODD.”

All of the above received land in Clark's Grant except Richard Rue. It is possible he was entitled to land and did not claim it, but it is more likely he was not in service the requisite time to be entitled to land in that grant; but that he served under Clark, in some of his campaigns, is certain, as there is not only the evidence of the above certificate, but his name is on the roll of Clark's soldiers which will be found in the appendix to this volume. When a young man he and several others, including George Holman, who subsequently became his brother-in-law, were captured by the Indians on the Kentucky side, and carried across the river to the Indian towns on the Wabash, Maumee and Auglaise, where they were at first treated



RICHARD RUE RUNNING THE GAUNTLET.

with great severity and made to run the gauntlet several times. This was a species of savage amusement where the prisoner was forced to run between two lines of Indians, each being privileged to strike him one blow if he could as he ran through. They did not, however, strike with deadly weapons, but generally with switches or clubs, and they always had suitable arrangements to prevent the escape of the prisoner. One of the party, Hinton by

name, who had a wife and children, attempted to escape, from love of them as he said, but unfortunately the Indians recaptured him and burned him to death at the stake, literally roasting him alive, which awful event the other prisoners were compelled to witness, being told "that is the way Indians serve run-away prisoners." Both Rue and Holman were at one time on the point of being burned at the stake and barely escaped that dreadful fate by some of the Indians relenting and interfering in their behalf. They were carried from village to village and finally to Detroit, where Rue and several of the party escaped, and had the good fortune to reach the falls of the Ohio twenty days thereafter, having been in captivity several years. Supposing Rue to be dead, administration had been begun on his estate, which consisted mainly of a lot in Louisville. Holman again came near losing his life because of the exasperation at the escape of Rue and the other prisoners, and he saw them burn to death Richard Hoagland, another white prisoner. But he managed at last to get himself ransomed and returned to his home after three and a half years of terrible captivity.* He soon joined Rue and the two removed to Indiana territory in 1805, and settled on the same section of land in what is now Wayne county, about two miles south of Richmond, where they remained the rest of their lives and were among the most prominent and respected citizens of that locality. Rue represented that county in the territorial legislature and died about 1844, leaving many descendants.

*A full and very interesting account of the captivity of Rue and Holman has been published by Sandford C. Cox, one of Rue's descendants.

George Holman, Rue's companion in captivity, lived to the remarkable age of one hundred, not dying until 1859. He also left numerous descendants some of whom became prominently identified with the history of the state, particularly Joseph Holman, a son of George, and William J. Holman, a grandson. Joseph was a member of the conven-



GEORGE HOLMAN.



JOSEPH HOLMAN.

tion of 1816, which framed the first constitution of Indiana, and he was the last of that distinguished body to die. The author when young frequently met him and derived much interesting historical information from him. Another son, Washington, was a member of the Indiana legislature from Miami county.



ELEANOR ELTING TEMPLE.
Daughter of Gen. Jonathan Clark.



ANN GWATHMEY.
Sister of General Clark.



LUCY CROGHAN,
Sister of General Clark.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

JONATHAN CLARK, the oldest brother of the children of John Clark and Ann Rogers, was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, August 1, 1750 (old style).

He received a fair English education, and, in time, became a lawyer, and a successful man of business. He was the prudent, practical business man of the elder portion of the numerous children of John Clark, as his brother

John Clark

Sarah Clark

William was of the younger.

When quite young he spent some time in the office of the clerk of Spottsylvania county, Virginia, as deputy clerk, in which capacity he added much to his stock of information about practical affairs.

In 1772 he removed to Woodstock, in the county then called Dunmore, but which was afterwards changed to Shenandoah, and was very soon taken into public favor by being selected, with the celebrated Peter Muhlenberg, to serve as delegate from the county in an important convention held at Richmond in the interests of the colonies.

About this time trouble began between the patriotic citizens of Virginia, and the royal governor, Lord Dunmore,

which culminated in the latter seizing the public powder belonging to the colony without authority. This led to an uprising of the sturdy colonists to regain possession of the powder, by force if necessary, and young Clark marched towards Williamsburgh, the then capital, as lieutenant of an independent company of riflemen for that purpose.

Clark's company returned home, however, without bloodshed, and he and Muhlenberg were again sent as delegates to the convention which met at Richmond in December, 1775.

In the spring of 1776, Clark was promoted to the captaincy of a company (commissioned March 4), which advanced from Woodstock to Portsmouth, and was engaged in several skirmishes with the adherents of the royal governor, Dunmore, who, in the meantime, had fled the capital and taken refuge on an English ship.

Early in the following summer, Clark marched with Muhlenberg's regiment and other troops to Charleston, South Carolina, at which place they arrived on the 24th of June, and were at once involved in the important military movements then going on at that place and vicinity. He continued there until in August when he was ordered further south, and at Savannah was seized with dangerous illness which so prostrated him that, for a long time, he was unable to perform military service, and returned home on furlough in the autumn of that year. When about recovered from this long protracted sickness in the spring of 1777, he had the misfortune to be taken down with the small-pox, which again disabled him for a considerable period.

As soon as his health permitted, he returned to the army under Washington, then at Bound Brook encampment, and with the Eighth Virginia Regiment, in the brigade of General Charles Scott, participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and aided in breaking the British right wing in the latter battle.

He was also in the battle of Monmouth in 1778, and in 1779 served with great distinction in the surprise of the enemy at Paulus Hook, on which important occasion he was second in command, having been previously promoted to be a major by congress.

One hundred and fifty-nine of the enemy were captured in this affair, with a loss to the Americans of only two killed and three wounded. So important was the result that General Washington hastened to communicate it to congress in a manner highly complimentary. He said "that a remarkable degree of prudence, address, enterprise and bravery was displayed on the occasion, which does the highest honor to all the officers and men engaged in it, and that the situation of the fort rendered the attempt critical and the success brilliant." Congress returned thanks and ordered a gold medal to be made in honor of the event, and fifteen thousand dollars to be distributed among the rank and file who participated in the enterprise.

Major Clark was highly complimented in letters from Lord Sterling and other officers, and in November following congress promoted him to be a lieutenant-colonel, to date from the previous May.

In the following winter Clark and the Virginia regiment to which he belonged, together with other troops, marched

through terrible hardships to the south, reaching Charleston in the last of March, 1780, where they encountered still further trials and sufferings, until finally, on the 12th of May, the American army, then under command of General Lincoln, was compelled to surrender to the enemy. Colonel Clark was held a prisoner in Charleston until the spring of 1781, when he was paroled and returned to Virginia, but he was not formally exchanged until after the surrender of Cornwallis.

Abraham Bowman was the colonel of the eighth Virginia regiment of which Clark was the lieutenant-colonel, and he was also the first cousin of an attractive young lady residing in Frederick county, Virginia, named Sarah Hite. She was the daughter of Isaac Hite, Sr., and granddaughter of Jost Hite, and her brother Isaac Hite, Jr., was likewise a major in the Revolutionary army.

The friendship existing between the two comrades-in-arms led to an acquaintance between Colonel Clark and Miss Hite, which resulted in their marriage February 13, 1782. He settled for a time in Spottsylvania county, and was commissioned a major-general of the Virginia militia in 1793.

But his thoughts now turned to the great west, and in 1802 he joined his distinguished brother, George Rogers Clark at the falls of the Ohio, settling finally at Trough Spring, near Louisville. Here he devoted himself to business with great success, accumulating a large fortune in real estate as well as personal property. The inventory of the latter, returned by Abraham Hite, his wife's cousin, and John H. Clark, his son, his administrators, covers

eleven pages of book of inventories No. 2, Jefferson county, Kentucky. A glance over the long list shows that fifty-six of his slaves were mentioned by name. The following notice of General Jonathan Clark's death appeared in the *Western Sun*, published at Vincennes, December 14, 1811: "Another Revolutionary hero is gone—Died at his seat near Louisville, Kentucky, on Monday, the 25th ult. (November, 1811), General Jonathan Clark—He supped with his family on the 24th, retired at his accustomed hour to rest, and in the morning was found numbered with the dead."

The marriage of Jonathan Clark and Sarah Hite was a happy one in every respect. She was the younger by some eight years and survived him about that time. They are resting side by side in Cave Hill Cemetery, and the family monument and the inscriptions thereon have already been described in a previous chapter. A list of their descendants was kindly furnished by one of them, Miss Ann J. Bodley, of Louisville, Kentucky, will be found near the close of the appendix.

The following is an extract from an interesting notice of the death of General Jonathan Clark, which appeared in a leading newspaper of that time:

REPOSITORY OF DEATH.

Died,

At his seat, on Monday, the 25th ult. (November, 1811), General Jonathan Clark, aged sixty-one—one of the heroes who participated in the dangers of his country in those days when she struggled for her birthright amongst the

nations of the earth. He supped with his family on the evening of the 24th, retired at his accustomed hour to rest, and in the morning was found numbered with the dead. His death may be considered as truly enviable, for it was free from every species of pain or those agonizing feelings that so often attend the last hours of our existence. (Here follows a brief narrative of the leading events in his life, which are omitted, as they have already been given.)

On the religious character of General Clark it will not be necessary to enlarge. The principles of piety and virtue were early instilled by a strict education; nor do they appear ever to have lost their influence upon the general conduct of his life. He was too great a lover of truth not to make religion the object of his serious inquiry. The result of his investigation was a full conviction of the divine origin of the Gospel, and the nature of it to be such as demanded his warmest acceptance. In his person he was tall and well-proportioned; in his manners easy, uniform and engaging, and in his conversation, oftentimes, sprightly—always agreeable.

Thus has a fond wife been bereft of an affectionate and loving husband, children of a tender father, and society of a valuable member.

December 6, 1811.

A pleasing form, a generous, gentle heart;
A good companion, honest without art;
Just in his dealings, faithful to his friend,
Belov'd through life, lamented in the end.
Reader attend, and copy if you can
The noblest work of God—an honest man.

ANN CLARK GWATHMEY,

Whose portrait will be found in the frontispiece to this chapter, was the eldest sister of General George Rogers Clark. She was born in Virginia and became the wife of Owen Gwathmey in about the eighteenth year of her age. He was for a short time a soldier in the Revolutionary War, but removed west soon after and settled at, or near, Louisville, where he became a successful business man. They raised a large family of children, and among their descendants will be found the names of several persons of

Wm Aylett Booth

distinction. It is notable that three of their children, viz.: John, Samuel

and Ann, married three of the children of Colonel William Aylett Booth and his wife, Rebecca Hite, viz.: Ann, Mary and William. The mother was a sister

Mary Booth

of General Jonathan Clark's wife.

Samuel Gwathmey, the husband of Mary Booth, was one of the trustees who laid off the town of Jeffersonville in 1802, and was long a resident of that place, and intimately connected with early Indiana history. He was appointed clerk of Clark county, Indiana territory, in 1801 and treasurer in 1802. He was a member of the first legislative council of Indiana territory, and further mention will be made of him in that connection.



SAMUEL GWATHMEY.

He held a number of offices, and on one occasion, at least, held two at the same time, which caused a curious question to arise, as to whether he could properly be the custodian of his own bond. He referred the matter to General John Gibson, the secretary of the territory, in an interesting letter, now before the author, and its tone clearly shows the nice sense of honor and propriety of the man.

He was an Episcopalian in religion, a man of high character, fine business qualifications, and was long the president of a bank in Louisville. He was the first register of the land office at Jeffersonville, and held it until he was removed by General Jackson for political reasons. He was the owner of slaves in Indiana during the territorial period. He had five children, Marie, William, Balor H., Rebecca and Mary Eliza. Rebecca became the wife of Henry Tyler and mother of Henry S. Tyler, at present mayor of Louisville (1895). Samuel Gwathmey died in 1850, in the seventy-second year of his age.

John Gwathmey, the other son, was also a man of fine



business qualifications and the author has in his possession many of

his letters, some of them of historic interest in relation to early events about the falls, and especially about Jeffersonville and other parts of Clark's Grant.

JOHN CLARK,

The son of John Clark and Ann Rogers, was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, September 15, 1757, and

when his eldest brother vacated his position of deputy clerk of Dunmore county, in 1776, John was given the place. He was then quite young, but had already been assisting his brother in the office for some time and was familiar with the duties.

He left the position, however, in August, 1777, when he was appointed a lieutenant in the Fourth Virginia Regiment. The next month after Lieutenant Clark entered the service he participated in the battle of Brandywine, and in the next month after that was in the battle of Germantown, so that it was warm work for him from the beginning. In the latter battle the division of the army to which he belonged broke the British right wing and captured a considerable number of prisoners, but subsequently was forced to retreat; and, being surrounded, a portion was in turn captured, including Lieutenant Clark, Colonel George Mathews and other Virginians. This Colonel Mathews is the same person mentioned in the fac-simile letter of Mr. Jefferson given in Chapter XIV. The capture proved a sad affair, indeed, to Lieutenant Clark, as he was kept a prisoner a long time and subjected to such neglect and harsh treatment that it brought on a disease which occasioned his death. He was held as a prisoner at first in Philadelphia, then in possession of the British, and for a time was kept in what was called the "New Jail." In the summer of 1778 he was removed to Long Island and kept there, or in the neighborhood, several years, and finally was confined in one of those loathsome prison-ships, which, to the disgrace of the British authorities, caused the death of an immense number of American prisoners by barbarous treat-

ment, as shown in Chapter XIV. Poor Clark was one of the victims, and, although he did not die in the prison, yet when he was at last exchanged in 1782, he returned to his father's home in Caroline county, Virginia, a physical wreck from consumption, brought on by the treatment he had received while a prisoner. In the hope of averting the terrible disease he went to the West Indies, but it was in vain, as he was too far gone for anything to save him. He came back without material improvement, and his relatives and friends, with great grief, saw him gradually waste away, until he died at his father's house in 1784, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. The death, under such circumstances, of this bright and promising young man, not only occasioned much sorrow in the community, but greatly added to the indignation felt at the time towards the British for their cruel treatment of American prisoners.

RICHARD CLARK

Joined his brother George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia in March, 1779. He was then in his nineteenth year, having been born in Caroline county, Virginia, in 1760. He served for a short time as a volunteer in Captain Robert Todd's company and was commissioned a lieutenant in June, 1779. He was one of the party that marched to the relief of Cahokia, in 1780, and also was in the campaign against the Indians about Peoria. He was stationed for some time at Fort Jefferson, but went to the falls of the Ohio in the summer of 1781, and the next year was with his brother in the campaign against the Indians. Lieutenant Richard Clark was allotted two thousand one hundred and fifty-six

acres of land in Clark's Grant, Indiana, for his services in the Illinois campaign, being Nos. 15, 18, 191, 274 and part 160.

He lost his life in March, 1784, probably on Indiana soil. He started to make a journey on horse-back from the falls of the Ohio to Vincennes or possibly Kaskaskia. The strange part of the story is that he undertook this long and dangerous journey alone. There is but little wonder that he lost his life in the effort. The particulars are not known, but the probabilities are that he was drowned in trying to cross some stream. His horse, saddle-bags and some other things were found on the bank of the White river which is pretty clear evidence that he was not killed by the Indians as they would have taken the horse. The family long entertained the hope that he might not be dead, and the mystery and uncertainty added greatly to their distress. There is another tradition which names the Little Wabash as the river where his horse was found, but this is not probable as it is not likely he was aiming to go further than Vincennes.

CAPTAIN EDMUND CLARK,

Who is buried by the side of his distinguished brothers,
General George Rogers Clark and General Jonathan Clark,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Edmund Clark." The signature is written in dark ink and features a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right and then loops back under the name.

in the Cave Hill
Cemetery at
Louisville, was
born in Virginia,

September 25, 1762. At the time that state was exerting every energy to raise troops for the relief of Charleston, Edmund Clark, then under eighteen years of age and at

school, was appointed a lieutenant in the Eighth Virginia Regiment of the continental army. This was the celebrated German regiment raised by Colonel Muhlenberg, and after his promotion to be a general it was commanded by Colonel Abraham Bowman, a brother of Joseph and Isaac Bowman, who were prominent officers in George Rogers Clark's Illinois campaign. The Eighth Virginia was distinguished in the war, but the extent of young Edmund Clark's participation is not clearly known. It is said that he was held a prisoner by the British for a time, and that he was not exchanged until the close of 1782. When the war was over he returned to Caroline, his native county in Virginia, and engaged in business for several years. He was tendered a commission as captain in January, 1799, by President Adams, at the time some trouble was expected with France and served for some time, but it was found not to be as serious as was anticipated, and the troops were disbanded. He emigrated to Jefferson county, Kentucky, soon after this, where he remained with his many relatives already there, until his death, on the 11th of March, 1815. Like his brother George, he never married.

The inventory of the personal property of Captain Edmund Clark was filed May 8, 1815, in Jefferson county, Kentucky, by D. Fitzhugh, administrator of his estate, and was appraised at a total of \$2,641.25. Book 2, pp. 136, 137.

LUCY CLARK CROGHAN.

Lucy Clark, whose portrait will be found in the frontispiece to this chapter, was the second daughter of John and Ann Rogers Clark, and was born in Caroline county, Vir-

ginia, September 15, 1767. She was the wife of William Croghan, who came to America from Ireland when quite young. He was the nephew of the celebrated George Croghan, who was long in the employ of the British as Indian agent under Sir William Johnson. Unlike his uncle, William Croghan took sides with the Americans and joined, with a company, the army of Washington, in the region of Pittsburgh. He was assigned to Colonel Weedon's Virginia regiment, shortly after the battle of Long Island, and continued in active service for years.

He was promoted to be a major in 1778, and was assigned to Colonel John Neville's Fourth Virginia Regiment and participated in the battle of Monmouth. He marched with the Virginia troops to Charleston, South Carolina, where the whole American army at that place was compelled to surrender to the enemy. In 1781 he was paroled and returned to Virginia, in company with his friend, Colonel Jonathan Clark, and for a time was the guest of Colonel Clark's father at the family residence, in Caroline county. The transition from the exposures and hardships of army and prison life to the comforts and enjoyments of this hospitable Virginia home was doubtless most enjoyable, and all the more so, as he was brought into agreeable female society from which he had been long deprived. One of these young ladies was Miss Lucy Clark, the young and attractive daughter of the host, and it is not at all surprising that an attachment sprung up between them, which ended in their marriage a few years later. John Clark, her

father, removed with his family to the falls of the Ohio in 1784, and as Miss Lucy was there, Major Croghan came also in due season, and they were married soon after, and finally settled at Locust Grove, a few miles above Louisville, where they continued to reside the rest of their lives. He died in September, 1822, in the seventieth year of his age, and she in April, 1838, in her seventy-first year.* General George Rogers Clark died at their house where he had lived many years. Major Croghan witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, but took no part, as he was under parole. He was a delegate from Jefferson county to the Kentucky conventions in 1789 and 1790, and he was one of the commissioners to divide the land in Clark's Grant.

The children of Lucy Clark and William Croghan, her husband, were six sons and two daughters, named as follows: John, George, Charles, Nicholas, William, Edmund, Ann and Eliza.

Charles and Nicholas were twins.

Eliza married George Hancock, and Ann married General Thomas Jessup, adjutant-general U. S. A.

John was a prominent physician and long resided at the old family homestead where he was noted for hospitality and his care of historical family papers.

*January 12, 1830, Lucy Croghan, sister of George Rogers Clark, made a will devising to her daughter Serina E. Croghan and her granddaughter Angelick Croghan the "land the south of Tennessee" which had belonged to her brother George Rogers Clark, also fee-simple of certain property in Louisville, Kentucky, to her grandchildren, George and John Croghan. Will probated June 1, 1840. (Records of Jefferson county, Kentucky.)

George married Miss Livingston and greatly distinguished himself as



GEORGE CROGHAN.

a soldier at Tippecanoe in 1811, in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican War. He was a major at the time of his successful defense of Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky, in the War of 1812, and won great fame for his gallantry on that occasion. He was then barely

twenty-one years of age. Congress presented him a medal, a picture of which is given here.

General William Henry Harrison, in his official report



of this affair says: "It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications that he has been baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, General George R. Clark."

"The brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel was immediately conferred on Major Croghan by the President of the United States for his gallant conduct, and the ladies of Chillicothe presented him an elegant sword, accompanied by a suitable address." *

A fine monument has been erected on the site of Fort Stephenson at Fremont, Ohio, in honor of Major Croghan's gallantry in holding the fort. A picture of it will be found on the next page.

ELIZABETH CLARK ANDERSON.

Elizabeth, daughter of John Clark and Ann Rogers Clark, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, February 11, 1768. She married Richard Clough Anderson, also a native of Virginia, about the year 1787. He entered the Revolutionary army, the head of a company, at the beginning of the war, and served in Colonel Parker's regiment, during the winter campaigns of 1776-7, in New Jersey, being at Trenton and Princeton. He participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown in 1777, and the next year was commissioned a major. He was also in the battle of Monmouth. His regiment went south in the summer of 1779 and he was wounded in the assault made on Savannah from which he never entirely recovered. Parker, the colonel

*McAfee History of the War of 1812.



**MONUMENT TO MAJOR GEORGE CROGHAN,
FREMONT, OHIO.**

of the regiment, was killed at the siege of Charleston. Samuel Hopkins succeeded him as colonel, and Major Anderson was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel. This is the same Samuel Hopkins who subsequently conducted two expeditions against the Indians northwest of the Ohio river. Colonel Anderson was taken prisoner at Charleston, but finally succeeded in securing an exchange and served until the close of the war. He was appointed principal surveyor of the lands granted by the state of Virginia to the soldiers of the continental line by the act of December, 1783. He opened his headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky, in July, 1784, and was a representative from Jefferson county to the conventions at Danville in 1784 and 1788.

Colonel Anderson was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth Clark, died in 1795, having been the mother of four children; a son, named after his father, and three daughters, Ann, Cecelia and Elizabeth.

The second wife was Sarah Marshall, also of the Clark family,* and they had seven sons and five daughters, viz.: Fanny, Larz, Robert, William, Mary, Louisa, John R., Hugh, Charles, Lucelia, Matthew, and Sarah. Colonel Anderson died October 16, 1826, at Soldiers' Retreat, Jefferson county, Kentucky. Richard Clough Anderson, Junior, the son of the first marriage, was born in *Richard C. Anderson* 1788, and was a member of congress from Kentucky from 1817 to 1821. After that he represented the United States as minister to Colombia, in which country he lost his wife,

*A descendant of the daughter of Jonathan Clark, Senior, who married Torquil McLeod.

who was his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Owen and Ann Clark Gwathmey, and it is notable that Elizabeth, his sister, married his wife's brother, Isaac R. Gwathmey. The next year after his wife's death, which was in 1825, he died of yellow fever, on his way to Panama, as a representative of the United States to a congress of American nations. He is represented as a gentleman of fine ability and unblemished character. Of the children of the second marriage Colonel Robert Anderson was the renowned hero of Fort Sumter in the Civil War, whose history is so generally known that it need not be repeated here, and Larz and Charles were prominent citizens and politicians in Ohio, the

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Charles Anderson." The signature is written in dark ink and is underlined with a single horizontal line.

latter being lieutenant-governor of that state in 1864 and subsequently governor by reason of the death of Governor Brough.* In fact they were all people of high standing, as were also the children of the first marriage.

FRANCES ELEANOR CLARK

Was the youngest sister of General George Rogers Clark, and all the traditions unite in declaring her to have been beautiful and accomplished. An interesting romance in relation to her marriages and life is told as part of these

*Governor Charles Anderson here referred to subsequently removed to Kentucky and died at his residence there a short time before the publication of this volume, and a letter written by him to the author in relation to this sketch, his daughter Katherine states, was the last he ever wrote.

traditions, but will not be related here as it does not fall within the line of this work. She was born in Caroline county, Virginia, January 20, 1773, was married three times, and had two children by each marriage. Her first husband was Doctor James O'Fallon, a finely educated Irishman, who came to America shortly before the Revolutionary War and soon became an active participant on the side of the colonies. He was an officer during the war, at one time in command of a company, but was employed most of the time as one of the directors of the hospital department.

The two children of Frances Eleanor Clark and Doctor O'Fallon were sons named John and Benjamin. Before John was twenty years old he was in military service under General William Henry Harrison and was wounded in the Tippecanoe battle. He also served with distinction in the war of 1812.

The second husband of Frances Eleanor Clark was Charles Mynn Thruston, of the distinguished family of that name mentioned in a previous chapter. From this marriage resulted two children, Charles William, and Ann Clark, and from these have sprung a long line of descendants, many of them of prominence. Upon the death of Charles Mynn Thruston the widow married her cousin Dennis Fitzhugh, of the well known Virginia family of that name, and from this marriage there was a son and daughter named Clark and Lucy. Surviving all her husbands, this youngest sister of George Rogers Clark died in St. Louis, in June, 1825, at the house of her son, Colonel John O'Fallon.

A remarkable number of persons, bearing the names of prominent families, can be mentioned among the descendants of this estimable lady, such as the O'Fallons, Thrustons, Fitzhughs, Churchills, Ballards, Farrars, Popes, Kennetts, Polks, Hargraves, Burns, Potters, Belchers, Housers, Keeses and Peppers, as will be seen by reference to the genealogical list in the appendix.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM CLARK.

William Clark, the youngest brother of George Rogers Clark, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, August 1, 1770. He came west with his father and mother in 1784, and joined his brother and other relatives at the falls of the Ohio. His home was in this vicinity until his departure on the celebrated exploring expedition, led by him and Meriwether Lewis, across the country to the Pacific ocean in 1804-5, under the auspices of President Jefferson. The distinguished military history of his family naturally drew his attention to military matters from his early boyhood, and when he was only nineteen years old he marched against the Indians northwest of the Ohio river in an expedition led by Colonel John Hardin. In 1790 he was sent on a mission to the Creek and Cherokee Indians, and in 1791 he served as an ensign and acting lieutenant with the expeditions under Generals Scott and Wilkinson against the Indians on the Wabash. General Washington commissioned him a first lieutenant in the fourth sub. legion under General Wayne in March, 1793.

He entered active service at once, aiding in constructing forts on the line proposed to be followed into the Indian

country, and in the latter part of the year he was dispatched on an expedition up the Wabash to Vincennes, which lasted several months, his boat being blocked by ice at one time for a period of twenty days.

He returned to Fort Washington, where Cincinnati is now situated, in the spring of 1794, having had several skirmishes with the Indians. He was next assigned the duty of escorting a large quantity of clothing and provisions to Fort Greenville. It required seven hundred pack-horses to carry the goods, and Lieutenant Clark had eighty men under his command on the journey. While on the way the advance guard of the party was attacked by Indians and five of the whites killed. Lieutenant Clark, who was with the main body of the troops, advanced rapidly upon the Indians, when they retreated with some loss. He was thanked for his good conduct by General Wayne.

He distinguished himself at the successful action of August 20, 1794, when in command of a company of riflemen he drove a portion of the enemy on the left several miles, killing a number of Indians and Canadians. In



1795 he was dispatched on a military mission to New Madrid, on the

Mississippi river. He resigned his commission in 1796, and for a time retired from the army, because of bad health.

For the next seven or eight years he was most of the time about the falls of the Ohio, either with his parents and relatives on the Kentucky side, or with his brother, General George Rogers Clark, at Clarksville, on the Indiana side. It is stated in Dr. Coue's valuable edition of the his-



**GOVERNOR WILLIAM CLARK,
OF LEWIS & CLARK'S EXPEDITION TO THE PACIFIC,
Youngest brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark.**

tory of Lewis and Clark's expedition that a commission was issued to him, January 8, 1790, by Arthur St. Clair, "governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio," as "a captain of militia in the town and vicinity of Clarksville." If this was the William Clark now being considered, he was evidently residing in Indiana at that time, and this commission is in possession of his descendants.

But there were three William Clarks connected with Indiana history in the pioneer period, and this has been the cause of confusion and historical mistakes. William Clark, the subject of the present sketch, long survived the others, and from that cause, as well as the prominence he subsequently attained, matters pertaining to the other two have, more or less, been attributed to him. In other words, he has to some extent absorbed the others, and some have spoken of him as the surveyor-in-chief of Clark's Grant, and some as being the William Clark who was made judge of Indiana territory in 1801.

Even so high an authority as "Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography," a work of great value and general accuracy, states, on page 631 of volume 1, under the head of "William Clark, Jurist," that "President Adams appointed him in 1800 chief-justice of the territory of Indiana, and he was afterward commissioned as the second governor of the territory of Missouri." Governor William Clark, of Missouri, died and was buried at St. Louis, September 1, 1838, and William Clark, the judge of Indiana territory, never was governor of Missouri territory, and died and was buried at Vincennes, November 12, 1802, as

will be seen from the fac-simile of the entry of his death in the records of St. Xavier's Church, which is reproduced on next page.

A further sketch of Judge William Clark will be given in a subsequent volume.

William Clark, the surveyor-in-chief of Clark's Grant, and one of the trustees of Clarksville, who spent much of his time at that place, a sketch of whom has already been given, was not the William Clark who was governor of Missouri territory, but his cousin.

William Clark, the subject of this sketch, joined Captain Meriwether Lewis in conducting an expedition through the unexplored wilderness to the Pacific ocean in 1803, as already stated.*

Captain Lewis had been the private secretary of President Jefferson, and the expedition was undertaken at his request. The winter of 1803 was spent at the mouth of the Missouri river, and the party set out on the journey, from that point, early in the spring of 1804, numbering forty-three men. The long journey through to the Pacific and return was of great importance to the country, and thrillingly interesting. It is too well known, however, to be dwelt upon here. Some time after his return in Sep-

*The perfect confidence President Jefferson had in the heads of this expedition is shown in a remarkable letter of credit which he issued, a fac-simile of which is at this writing before the author, and not reproduced here because of lack of space. In it he says: "I hereby authorize you to draw on the secretaries of state, of the treasury, of war, and of the navy of the United States, according as you may find your draughts will be most negotiable, for the purpose of obtaining money or necessaries for yourself or your men; and I solemnly pledge the faith of the United States that these draughts shall be paid punctually at the date they are made payable." It will be observed that there was a striking evidence of trust in those given charge of the undertaking.

FROM THE RECORDS OF St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church Vincennes Indiana

Le 12^e Novembre 1862
On m'a mis huit cent deux et le corps
de certains amis le corps de Guillaume
Clark l'un des juges de la Cour Suprême
du Territoire Indiana, de côté la ville dans les
saintes dispositions, mais dont les derniers progrès
de la maladie ont été si rapides qu'ils ne lui
ont pas laissé le temps de recevoir les sacrements
chrétiens. Redoublant, et s'étant relevé pendant que
ferme et incorruptible il a emporté avec lui les
graves regrets de tous les gens de bien. Vincennes
12. Novembre 1862.

(For translation of above see foot
note on page 1018.)

J. F. R. M. W.
mission

tember, 1806, he visited Washington and, no doubt, the place of his former residence in Virginia at the same time. At or near Fincastle, in that state, on the 5th of January, 1808, he married Miss Julia Hancock, who died June 27, 1820; and on the 28th of November, 1821, he married Mrs. Harriet Kennerly Radford, who died December 25, 1831.

Some time after his return from the Pacific, Captain Clark was appointed to the then important position of Indian agent at St. Louis, a place for which he possessed superior qualifications by reason of his acquaintance with the western Indian tribes, and intimate knowledge of the Indian character. He was later also made a brigadier-general of that territory, and in 1813 was made its governor.

In the War of 1812 he was offered a commission as brigadier-general in the regular army, but did not accept it, believing that he could be of more advantage in his position of governor and Indian agent in influencing the Indian tribes to neutrality, and there is no doubt but his services in this direction were highly beneficial.

He was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs by President Monroe in 1822, and secured many important treaties with western Indian tribes.

S. (*Translation of fac-simile which appears on preceding page.*)

WILLIAM CLARK.

In the year 1802, on the 12th of November, the body of William Clark, one of the judges of the supreme court of the territory of Indiana, was interred in the cemetery of this church. He died the day before, and although having religious convictions, the last progress of his sickness was so rapid that time was not left him to receive the Christian sacraments. An enlightened judge, firm, and incorruptible, he has taken with him the just regrets of all good people.

Vincennes, 12th November, 1802.

T. SR. RIVETE,

Mission.

Governor William Clark died in St. Louis, September 1, 1838, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, universally esteemed

by all who knew him. The highest respect was paid to his memory. He was buried with distinguished honors at a beautiful place he had himself selected near St. Louis, being the family cemetery on the plantation of his kinsman, General John O'Fallon.



JEFFERSON K. CLARK.

The only child now living (1895), of any of the brothers or sisters of General George Rogers Clark, is Governor Clark's son Jefferson K. Clark, of St. Louis, whose portrait is here given and who has freely contributed to the material used in this work.



APPENDIX

TO VOL. II.



CLARK'S STATUE,
IN MONUMENT PLACE, INDIANAPOLIS.

ORIGIN OF GENERAL CLARK'S STATUE AT INDIANAPOLIS.

(Indianapolis Journal, Sunday, March 3, 1895.)

FOUR WAR STATUES—IDEA FIRST BROACHED BY WILLIAM
H. ENGLISH—HE NAMED ALL BUT THE ONE TO REP-
RESENT THE MEXICAN WAR PERIOD IN
AN ADDRESS IN 1892.

As the statue of George Rogers Clark recently erected in Monument Place is attracting a good deal of attention, and is generally spoken of with commendation, it may be of interest to give some account of its origin. The first formal movement in favor of the construction of the statue of Clark and other representative men of the principal war periods on Monument Place was made by Hon. William H. English in an address before the Indiana Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, February 25, 1892, being the anniversary of Clark's capture of Vincennes from the British in 1779. This was evidently a carefully prepared address, full of historical reminiscence, and an earnest appeal for the construction of these statues. Mr. English began the address with some general remarks upon the soldiers' monument, which are worth reproducing. He said:

“The object of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution is not alone to cherish the memories of honored ancestors who periled their lives for the independence and union of these states, but it extends, alike, to all who have fought in its defense or for its preservation. Its purpose is to foster a love of our country, and respect and admiration for the men, of all wars, who have stood in its defense in times of danger. It was in this broad, patriotic spirit, no doubt, that Indiana was inspired to cause to be erected, in the center of her

capital city, a great monument that should stand for ages as a testimonial in honor of the soldiers and sailors connected with her history.

“It was an undertaking worthy of any people, and especially noticeable and commendable in a young community, organized as a territory only ninety-two years ago, and existing as a state but a few months over seventy-five years. It was the dawning of a new era with a people but recently emerged from the hardships and privations of pioneer life. It was a bold, forward movement into the light of the grand and beautiful, of the most cultured and advanced civilization of the world. It was all the more encouraging because it was an indication of an awakening of state pride, where, before, it is to be feared, there was a sad deficiency. If this monument is completed, in the style it should be, with grounds, streets and approaches improved to harmonize with it, as they should be, we shall have here a great Indiana work of art, as an exponent of her military history, which may truly be regarded as a thing of beauty and a joy forever. It will go down the ages, growing in favor as the irresistible years sweep by and all who are now living have returned to dust. It will not only tend to inspire the present and future generations of Indians with patriotism and state pride, but it will in time be visited and admired by a multitude of strangers, thus causing the state to be more favorably and generally known in other countries.

“But the monument is not yet completed. In fact, a great deal remains to be done to make it what it should be. The stone shaft alone is nearing completion. It is grand and beautiful, and, I presume, faultless in construction. But, grand and beautiful as it is, it would not alone make a distinctive Indiana monument such as it should be. It would answer just as well for a Maine or a California monument if set down in either of those states. For that matter it would do just as well for a foreign country, if placed there. The important thing, then, to consider is the work which yet remains to be done. We must look to the bronze groups, the statuary and other ornamentations, yet to be added, for any local identity or special illus-

tration of Indiana military history. It is here we shall find deficiencies or the crowning glory of this great work. And, oh, what a sad misfortune it would be to have mistakes made at this vital point!

“Let us examine what the commissioners are proposing to do in this regard, and what they outline the monument is to be when completed.”

Mr. English then proceeded to describe the ornamentation of the monument and grounds as then determined upon, and what would be the effect if there were no changes and additions to the plans as they then stood. He continued:

“The commissioners are to be commended for saying, as they have, in one place, that they want this to be an American monument. It should be more. It should be an Indiana monument, commemorating the great military events connected with her history. If it does not do this, a fearful mistake will have been made. It will not do it if nothing else is done but to finish it as it is now planned. Nothing of that kind will be specially commemorated but the Mexican and Civil Wars. I submit to you that it would be unjust and a grave mistake to send Indiana down to posterity, so far as her great military monument can do it, as having no military history worth remembering, except as connected with the Mexican and Civil Wars. Indiana is not barren of great military events before that period, and of at least two her people are justly proud. It is not at all likely they expected these events would be ignored in the construction of this monument—that it would commemorate no event prior to 1846. They did not expect it would cover a few years only, or from the state organization only, but from the beginning of Indiana history, just as any historian would have to do to give a satisfactory account. They remember that in the darkest period of the War of the Revolution one of the most important and far-reaching events of that war took place within the present boundaries of Indiana.

“It was then a part of the British dominions, but by the brave and adroit management of George Rogers Clark and his little army, it was taken from them by the capture of Fort Sackville, at Vincennes. The

formal surrender took place February 25, 1779—one hundred and thirteen years ago this day. The British flag was taken down the night of the 24th, and at 10 o'clock the next morning the American flag was run up. Never, from that glorious hour, thank God! has that flag been lowered to an enemy on Indiana soil.

“Can it be possible that such an event as this is to be entirely ignored in the construction of a monument intended to honor and perpetuate Indiana military history? Why, the very ground on which this monument stands was acquired by reason of that great event. The land given Clark and his brave soldiers as some recompense for their great services is Indiana land, situated in Clark, Floyd and Scott counties, and Clark himself was long a citizen of Indiana, residing in Clarksville, Clark county, as I have positive evidence to show. He built a house and erected mills there, and was an active participant in county affairs. I have the original poll-book of an election held in that county in the first decade of Indiana territory, when the voting was done by word of mouth. The election referred to was one which had an important bearing in shaping Indiana affairs, and the poll-book, of course, shows how Clark voted. I shall not produce it now or explain further here, but hope to give to the public before the close of the present year, not only that, but much other original matter relating to Clark and his great campaign which has never yet been published.

“My only object now is to point out that Clark, at one time, was a citizen of Indiana. That his great campaign is one of the most important and well-known military events in her history, and should not be entirely ignored in the construction of this monument. That it was a campaign of vast importance is not my judgment alone. So far as I know it is the judgment of all who have written upon the subject. As the wonderful development of the great northwest, which he enabled this country to acquire, becomes more manifest, it will be still more appreciated. John B. Dillon, the father of Indiana history, says of Clark's campaign that with respect to the magnitude of its design, the valor and perseverance with which it was carried on, and

the momentous results which were produced by it, the expedition stands without a parallel in the early annals of the Mississippi.'*

“But I pass on to another great historical epoch intimately connected with Indiana's history, viz., the wars of 1811 and 1812 with the Indians and the British. William Henry Harrison, the then governor of Indiana, was the hero in both. * * * *

“Do you think there should be no recognition of the capture of Vincennes and the battle of Tippecanoe? Is there a fair man or woman in the state who thinks they ought to be ignored? I should be sorry to think there is one. I speak for the brave and patriotic dead. I ask that Clark's capture of Vincennes and Harrison's battle of Tippecanoe shall be recognized and commemorated in some suitable way in connection with the erection of this great Indiana monument. There were striking situations in both that could have been made thrillingly interesting in the hands of competent sculptors, and would have made appropriate and expressive adornments; but in view of the large groups, of a general character, already ordered, I do not know that anything in that direction could now be done. Some suitable inscriptions, however, or other proper recognition in appropriate places on the face of the monument, could yet be made at comparatively little cost. Of course it should be done.

“There is also another thing can yet be done that I think is of the greatest possible importance, and to which I now respectfully solicit your earnest attention. In my opinion it would prove to be a most expressive, popular and realistic illustration of the four greatest epochs in the military history of Indiana. These I consider to be the capture of Vincennes, the battle of Tippecanoe, the Mexican War, the Civil War. I would commemorate each of these great epochs by a bronze statue of the principal actor in each. I would place these statues a suitable distance from the shaft of the monument, low enough down to be plainly seen—one on each side of the shaft, facing out, east, west, north and south.

* Other opinions quoted have already been given in Chapter XXIII.

“The cost of these additions would not, probably, be over half the cost of the groups of peace and war. George Rogers Clark and William Henry Harrison should be two of these representative men. I am told there would be trouble in determining who would be the representative man for the epoch of the Civil War. I don't think so. Indiana's great military war governor, Oliver P. Morton, should be the man. No doubt about that at all. Morton's statue is already made, and a better could not be made. It is of proper size, a good likeness, and every way creditable. Let it be properly mounted under the shadow of the shaft of Indiana's great military monument, and there let it stand for ages in his honor, and as emblematic of the great war in which he bore so conspicuous a part. And let Clark and Harrison, and whoever is the representative of the Mexican War, stand in the same way, as emblematic of the great military events with which they were connected.”

Mr. English's address was formally indorsed by the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and on motion of Merrill Moores a committee of five was appointed, with Mr. English as chairman, to follow up the movement.

Subsequent to this action of the society, the Grand Army of the Republic, at its annual meeting held at Fort Wayne, April 6 and 7, 1892, adopted unanimously resolutions approving the suggestion made in said address that the four most prominent epochs in Indiana military history be commemorated by a statue of the principal representative man of each epoch.

In the spring of 1893 Mr. English became one of the monument commissioners, which enabled him to carry his ideas into successful execution. The result was the construction, by J. H. Mahoney, of the beautiful statue of George Rogers Clark, and he is also to be the sculptor of a statue of William Henry Harrison. Mr. Mahoney is a citizen of Indianapolis, and his work thus far indicates that he is likely to occupy a high position in his profession.

LETTER OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

IN RELATION TO INDIAN TROUBLES IN THE UPPER OHIO
VALLEY IN 1773-4, INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF CAP-
TAIN CRESAP AND THE INDIAN CHIEF LOGAN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, October 29, 1895.

Honorable William H. English:

SIR—I send herewith copy of a letter from George Rogers Clark to Dr. Samuel Brown, dated June 17, 1798, found in the Jefferson Papers, and for which you asked in your letter of the 22d instant.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, W. W. ROCKHILL,
Third Assistant Secretary.

[Jefferson Papers, Series 5, Vol. 1.]

JUNE 17, 1798.

SIR—Your letter was handed to me by Mr. Thruston. The matter therein contained was new to me. I find myself hurt that Mr. Jefferson should have been attacked with so much virulence on a subject which I know he was not the author of, but except a few mistakes of names of persons and places, the story is substantially true. I was of the first and last of the active officers who bore the weight of that war, and on perusing some old papers of that date I find some memoirs, but independent of them I have a perfect recollection of every transaction relative to Logan's story. The conduct of Cresap I am perfectly acquainted with. He was not the author of that murder, but a family of the name of Greathouse. But some transactions that happened under the conduct of Captain Cresap a few days previous to the murder of Logan's family gave him sufficient ground to suppose that it was Cresap who had done him the injury. But to enable you fully to understand the subject of your inquiry, I shall relate the incidents that gave rise to Logan's suspicion, and will enable Mr. Jefferson to do justice to himself and the Cresap family by being made fully acquainted with facts.

Kentucky was explored in 1773; a resolution was formed to make settlements in the spring following, and the mouth of the Little Kanawha was appointed the place of general rendezvous in order to descend the river from thence in a body. Early in the spring the Indians had done some mischief. Reports from their towns were alarming, which caused many to decline meeting and only eighty or ninety men assembled at the place of rendezvous, where we lay some days; a small party of hunters which lay about ten miles below us were fired on by the Indians, whom the hunters beat off and returned to our camp. This and many other circumstances led us to believe that the Indians were determined to make war; the whole of our party was exasperated, and resolved not to be disappointed in their project of forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary store that could be thought of. An Indian town called Horse-Head Bottom on the Siotho and nearest its mouth lay most in our way. We resolved to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command was the question. There were but few among us who had experience in Indian warfare, and they were such as we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Captain Cresap being on the river about fifteen miles above with some hands settling a new plantation, and intending to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed his people; we also knew that he had had experience in a former war. It was proposed and unanimously agreed on to send for him to command the party. A messenger was dispatched and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution by some of his hunters who had fallen in with those from our camp, and had set out to come to us. We now thought our little army (as we called it) complete, and the destruction of the Indian town inevitable. A council was called and to our astonishment our intended general was the person who dissuaded us from the enterprise, alleging that appearances were suspicious, but that there was no certainty of a war: that if we made the attempt proposed he had no doubt of success, but that a war at any rate would be the result: that we should be blamed for it and perhaps justly: but that if we were determined to execute the plan, he would lay aside all considerations, send for his

people and share our fortunes. He was then asked what measure he would recommend to us. His answer was that we should return to Wheeling, a convenient post to obtain intelligence of what was going forward; that a few weeks would determine the matter, and as it was early in the spring, if we should find that the Indians were not hostilely disposed, we should have full time to prosecute our intended settlements in Kentucky. This measure was adopted and in two hours the whole party was under way. As we ascended the river we met Killbuck, and Indian chief (Delaware), with a small party. We had a long conference, but obtained very little satisfaction from him. It was observed that Cresap did not attend this conference, but kept on the opposite side of the river. He said that he was afraid to trust himself with the Indians; that Killbuck had frequently attempted to waylay and kill his father and that he was doubtful that he should (*be*) tempted to put Killbuck to death. On our arrival at Wheeling, the whole country being pretty well settled thereabouts, the inhabitants appeared to be much alarmed, and fled to our camp from every direction. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts until we could obtain further information, if they would return to their plantations; but nothing we could say would prevail. By this time we got to be a formidable party, as all the hunters and men without families, etc., in that quarter joined us. Our arrival at Wheeling was soon known at Pittsburgh, the whole of that country at that time being under the jurisdiction of Virginia. Doctor Connelly had been appointed by Dunmore, captain commandant of the district then called West Augusta. He, Connelly, hearing of us, sent a message addressed to the party, informing us that a war was to be apprehended, and requesting that we would keep our position for a few days; that messengers had been sent to the Indian towns whose return he daily expected, and the doubt respecting a war with the Indians would then be cleared up. The answer we returned was that we had no inclination to decamp for some time, and during our stay we should be careful that the enemy should not harass the neighborhood. But before this answer could reach Pittsburgh, he had sent a second express addressed

to Captain Cresap as the most influential man amongst us, informing him that the messengers had returned from the Indian town and that a war was inevitable and begged him to use his influence with the party to get them to cover the country until the inhabitants could fortify themselves.

The time of the reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. The war post was planted; a council called and the letter read and the ceremonies used by the Indians on so important an occasion acted, and war was formally declared.

1. The same evening two scalps were brought into camp.

2. The following day some canoes of Indians were discovered descending the river, taking advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased by our men fifteen miles down the river; they were forced ashore and a battle ensued. A few were wounded on both sides, and we got one scalp only. On examining their canoes we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp a resolution was formed to march next day and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio, about thirty miles above Wheeling. We actually marched about five miles and halted to take some refreshment; here the impropriety of executing the proposed enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions, as it was a hunting camp composed of men, women and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew, as I myself and others then present had been at their camp about four weeks before that time on our way down from Pittsburgh. In short every person present, particularly Cresap (upon reflection), was opposed to the projected measure. We returned, and on the same evening decamped and took the road to Redstone.

3. It was two days after this that Logan's family was killed, and from the manner in which it was done it was viewed as a horrid murder by the whole country. From Logan's hearing that Cresap was at the head of this party at Wheeling, it was no wonder that he considered Cresap as the author of his family's destruction.

Since the receipt of your letter I have procured the notes on Virginia. They are now before me. The action was more barbarous than therein related by Mr. Jefferson. Those Indians used to visit and receive visits from the neighboring whites on the opposite shore. They were on a visit at Greathouse's at the time they were massacred by those people and their associates. The war now raged with all its savage fury until the following fall, when a treaty of peace (*was*) held at Dunmore's camp, within five miles of Chillicothe, the Indian capital on the Sioto. Logan did not appear. I was acquainted with him and wished to be informed of the reason of his absence by one of the interpreters. The answer he gave to my inquiry was "that he was like a mad dog; that his bristles had been up, were not yet quite fallen, but that the good talks now going forward might allay them." Logan's speech to Dunmore now came forward, as related by Mr. Jefferson, and was generally believed and indeed not doubted to have been genuine and declared by Logan. The army knew it was wrong so far as it respected Cresap, and afforded an opportunity of rallying that gentleman on the subject. I discovered that Cresap was displeased, and told him that he must be a very great man that the Indians shouldered him with everything that had happened. He smiled and said that he had a great mind to tomahawk Greathouse about the matter. What is here related is fact. I was intimate with Cresap, and better acquainted with Logan at that time than with any other Indian in the western country, and had a knowledge of the conduct of both parties. Logan is the author of (*the*) speech as related by Mr. Jefferson, and Cresap's conduct was such as I have herein related. I have gone through a relation of every circumstance that had any connection with the information you desire and hope it will be satisfactory to yourself and Mr. Jefferson.

I am your most obedient servant, G. R. CLARK.
Doctor Samuel Brown.

[Indorsed:] General Clark's letter to Sam Brown on the subject of Logan's speech.

"A PAY-ROLL OF CAPTAIN JOSEPH BOWMAN'S COMPANY

FROM THE 24TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1778, UNDER THE COM-
MAND OF COLONEL G. ROGERS CLARK."

(From a manuscript showing great age, found with the Bowman papers, purport-
ing to be a copy of the pay-roll of Joseph Bowman's company. It is now in
possession of the author and has never before been published.)

*	NAMES.	When listed.	When dis- charged.	Miles to go home.	†Rations due the men.
		1778.			
	Captain Joseph Bowman.....	Jan. 23	Aug. 18	1200	436
	First Lieutenant Isaac Bowman..	" 23	" 8	1200	258
	Second Lieut. Abraham Kellar...	" 24	" 8	1100	316
	Daniel Dust, sergeant.....	" 24	" 8	700	76
	Isaac Kellar, sergeant.....	" 25	"	1100	107
	Promoted Jacob Speers, sergeant.	July 5	"	1150	
	Michael Setser.....	Feb. 20	"	1200	75
	Abraham Miller.....	" 25	"	1200	105
	William Slack.....	" 28	"	1200	72
	Ligey Huste,	" 28	"		
	Thomas Perrey,				
	Robert McClanihan,		Deserted		
	Barney Master,				
	John Setser.....	Feb. 8	"	1200	62
	John Bentley.....	" 22	"	1200	48
	Henry Honaker.....	Mar. 1	"	700	39
	Frederick Honaker.....	" 1	"	700	39
	Henry Funk.....	" 2	"	1200	38
	George Livistone.....	" 4	"		} Illegible.
	Henry Chrisman.....	" 4	"		
	Samuel Stroud.....	" 7	"	1100	70
	Edward Bulger.....	" 8	"	1100	64
	Abrm. James.....	" 8	"	1100	64
	Alexander McIntire.....	" 8	"	1100	64
	Philip Orben.....	" 8	"	1100	69
	Thomas Clifton.....	" 9	"	1100	68
	William Berrey.....	" 15	"	1100	63
	Barnabay Walters.....	" 15	"	1100	63
	William McGumrey.....	" 16	"	1100	62
	Jacob Cogar.....	" 21	"	1150	55
	Peter Cogar.....	" 21	"	1150	55

*There are some letters and check marks in this column, but the edge of the
paper has so broken off they can not be deciphered.

†Spelled "Rashings" in the roll.

PAY-ROLL OF CAPTAIN JOSEPH BOWMAN'S COMPANY. 1035

(CONTINUED.)

NAMES.	When listed.	When dis-charged.	Miles to go home.	Rations due the men.
Jacob Speers.....	Mar. 21	July 4	1150	27
Thos. H. Vance.....	" 22	Aug. 8	1150	10
James Bentley.....	Apr. 6	"	1200	4
George Millar, deserted.....	" 6	"		
Patrick Doran.....	" 6	"	1200	36
Henry Traylar.....	" 6	"	1200	31
Isaac McBride.....	" 6	"	1200	36
Edward Murrey.....	" 6	"	1100	36
Tos Simson.....	" 6	"	1100	36
Phillip Long.....	May 6	"	1100	6
George King.....	" 21	"	600	
Joseph Pangrass.....	" 27	"	600	
Francis Pangrass.....	" 27	"		
Michael Pangrass.....	" 27	"		
Charles McClock.....		"		
Nathan Cartmill, } James Gouday, } Samuel Dust, } William Berrey, } Zebemiah Lee, }	Jan. 28 Deserted.			

In justice to the memory of those marked "deserted" on this roll, it should be remembered that these volunteer soldiers were enlisted under peculiar circumstances, as related in the body of this work. It was given out publicly, as a matter of policy, that the troops were wanted for a differant service than they really were, and when the real object became known, some felt they had been deceived and simply declined to serve, without becoming deserters in the sense that word would now imply.

RETURN OF THE MILITIA OF POST VINCENNES,

WHO WERE IN PAY OF THE REBELS, AS ALSO OF THOSE WHO BORE COMMISSIONS AND WERE ENROLLED WITHOUT PAY, AND WHO LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS THE 17TH OF DECEMBER, 1778.

	Commissioned Officers.								Rank and File.	
	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Indian Agents.	Adjutant	Commissary.	Interpreter.		Sergeants.
In pay of the Rebels.....	.....	2	2	2	.....	.....	.....	1	4	56
Enrolled with Officers who bore Commissions.....	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	160
Without Commissions.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
	1	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	4	216

OFFICERS WHO WERE ON PAY:

J. Baptiste Cardinal.	}	Captains.
Francois Bosseron.		
Timothé Monbrun.	}	Lieutenants.
Michel Brouliette.		
J. B. Vauchese Lajennesse.	}	Ensigns.
Nicolas Perot.		
Hypolite Baulon, Indian Interpreter.		

HENRY HAMILTON,

Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent.

Indorsed: "Return of militia at Post Vincennes, 24th December, 1778, enclosed in Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton's letter of 18th December. Marked, Detroit, No. 25.

Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 122, p. 234.

ACT ORGANIZING THE COUNTY OF ILLINOIS.

AN ACT for establishing the county of Illinois, and for the more effectual protection and defense thereof, reciting that,

WHEREAS, By a successful expedition carried on by the Virginia militia, on the western side of the Ohio river, several of the British posts within the territory of this commonwealth, in the country adjacent to the river Mississippi, have been reduced and the inhabitants have acknowledged themselves citizens thereof, and taken the oath of fidelity to the same, and the good faith and safety of the commonwealth require that the said citizens should be supported and protected by speedy and effectual reinforcements, which will be the best means of preventing the inroads and depredations of the Indians upon the inhabitants to the westward of the Allegheny mountains; and,

WHEREAS, From their remote situation, it may at this time be difficult, if not impracticable, to govern them by the present laws of this commonwealth until proper information, by intercourse with their fellow-citizens, on the east side of the Ohio, shall have familiarized them to the same, and it is therefore expedient that some temporary form of government adapted to their circumstances should, in the meantime, be established.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That all the citizens of this commonwealth who are already settled, or shall hereafter settle on the western side of the Ohio aforesaid, shall be included in a distinct county, which shall be called Illinois county; and that the governor of this commonwealth, with the advice of the council, may appoint a county lieutenant or commandant-in-chief in that county, during pleas-

ure, who shall appoint and commission so many deputy commandants, militia officers and commissaries, as he shall think proper in the different districts, during pleasure, all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this commonwealth and the oath of office, according to the form of their own religion, which the inhabitants shall fully, and to all intents and purposes, enjoy together with all their civil right and property.

And all civil offices to which the said inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of peace and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose by the county lieutenant or commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said county lieutenant or commandant-in-chief, and be paid for their services in the same manner as such expenses have been heretofore borne, levied and paid in that county; which said civil officers, after taking the oaths as before prescribed, shall exercise their several jurisdictions and conduct themselves agreeable to the laws, which the present settlers are now accustomed to.

And on any criminal prosecution, where the offender shall be adjudged guilty, it shall and may be lawful for the county lieutenant or commandant-in-chief to pardon his or her offense, except in cases of murder and treason; and in such cases he may respite execution from time to time, until the sense of the governor in the first instance, and of the general assembly in the case of treason, is obtained. But where any officers, directed to be appointed by this act, are such as the inhabitants have been unused to, it shall and may be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the council, to draw a warrant or warrants on the treasury of this commonwealth, for the payment of the salaries of such officers, so as the sum or sums drawn for do not exceed the sum of five hundred pounds, anything herein to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the protection and defense of the said county and its inhabitants,

Be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the governor,

with the advice of the council, forthwith to order, raise and levy, either by voluntary enlistments, or detachments from the militia, five hundred men, with proper officers, to march immediately into the said county of Illinois, to garrison such forts or stations already taken, or which it may be proper to take there or elsewhere, for protecting the said county and for keeping up our communication with them, and also with the Spanish settlements, as he, with the advice aforesaid, shall direct. And the said governor, with the advice of the council, shall, from time to time, until farther provision shall be made for the same by the general assembly, continue to relieve the said volunteers or militia, by other enlistments or detachments, as herein-before directed, and to issue warrants on the treasurer of this commonwealth for all charges and expenses accruing thereon, which the said treasurer is hereby required to pay accordingly.

And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the council, to take such measures as they shall judge most expedient, or the necessity of the case requires, for supplying the said inhabitants, as well as our friendly Indians in those parts, with goods and other necessaries, either by opening a communication and trade with New Orleans, or otherwise, and to appoint proper persons for managing and conducting the same on behalf of the commonwealth.

Provided, That any of the said inhabitants may likewise carry on such trade on their own accounts, notwithstanding.

This act shall continue and be in force, from and after the passing of the same, for and during the term of twelve months, and from thence to the end of the next session of assembly, and no longer.

This act was extended by subsequent legislation.*

* Hening's Statutes of Virginia.

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST THE STATE OF
VIRGINIA.

The State of Virginia

To Brigadier-General G. R. Clark, DR.

For sundry payments, expenses, and other disbursements by him made, in behalf of the
said State and Illinois Department, viz.:

1778.			
March	30	1* To a treat at rendezvous	\$13 20
April	4	2 Paid an express from the mouth of Muddy creek	8 60
	8	8 For flour for Captain Helm's company	5 20
	15	4 Ten men, for bringing boats from Wheeling to Redstone	287 00
	25	5 For a treat to Captain Helm's company	6 60
	30	6 For a treat to Captain Bowman's company	5 00
			\$273 60
	30	7 For 66 yards linen for boat covers	213 40
	30	8 For repairing boats	16 60
May	12	9 John Maxwell, for 12,189 pounds flour in barrels	1,851 20
	14	10 Jacob Bousman, for 130 ferriges	10 80
July	5	11 For 4 pair hand-cuffs	10 00
	17	12 Francis Charleville, for 10 beeves	237 60
	27	13 Charles Charleville, for 150 pounds gunpowder	248 00
			\$2,087 60
August	1	14 For rum, per Captain Worthington's receipt	19 00
	7	15 For 142 pounds gunpowder	840 00
	14	16 Mr. Murray, for rum for use of the troops	29 40
Nov.	19	17 For sundry ferriges to the Spanish side, per certificate	4 00
March	16	18 For 14 pounds bacon, at 50 cents per pound	7 00
May	24	19 For a boat, per Major Bowman's certificate	80 00
	24	20 Delour! for storage and cartage of merchandise, at Missere, in the Spanish country	36 00
			\$1,65 40

*The figures immediately following dates are supposed to be numbers of vouchers.

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1041

May	25	21	An armorer for 37 days' work, at 8 livres per day.....	\$59 20
	25	22	A carpenter for 38 days' work at Fort Clarke.....	61 60
	27	23	For repairing the garrison at Kaskaskia.....	25 80
	27	24	For 20 pounds powder, at \$2 per pound.....	40 00
	27	25	For 59 pounds lead, at 50 cents per pound.....	25 00
	27	26	For 100 flints.....	2 00
	27	27	For 15 flour barrels.....	15 00
				\$228 60
	27	28	For 40 pounds lead.....	30 00
	27	29	For 70 pounds powder.....	140 00
	27	30	For 1 grappling iron (say boat anchor).....	30 00
	27	31	Different ferrages over the Mississippi.....	10 00
	27	32	Mr. Labadie for 1,000 pounds lead.....	250 00
	27	33	8 men employed by William Swan for repairs at Fort Clarke.....	28 40
	27	34	Sergeant James Espy, as per receipt on his pay-roll.....	50 00
				\$528 40
	35		John Landers for services, per receipt.....	31 00
	36		For transporting troops to the Cherokee fort.....	352 00
	37		For a horse furnished Mr. Gibault for his services to St. Vincent.....	60 00
	38		Doctor Laffont, for like services.....	60 00
	39		Charles Charleville, for 56 gallons taffia, delivered to Indians at sundry councils and treaties, at 4 per gallon.....	224 00
	40		Charles Charleville, for 13 quarts liquor, for like purposes....	19 40
	41		Charles Charleville, for a horse.....	40 80
	42		Charles Charleville, for ½ gallon taffia delivered the fatigue party for raising a boat.....	3 00
	43		Mr. Gratoit, for 182 pounds gunpowder.....	112 00
	44		Mr. Gratoit, for ½ gallon rum for fatigue party loading boats..	3 40
	45		Mr. Gratoit, for cartage of gunpowder.....	1 60
	46		Mr. Gibault, for a colt lost while his mare was in public serv- ice.....	7 00
	47		Captain John Williams, his pay abstract.....	5,128 00
				\$6,042 20
	48		Captain Joneast, for sundries furnished the troops, per his ac- count rendered at Fort Clarke.....	600 00
	49		Captain Edward Worthington, his pay abstract.....	2,547 80
	50		Captain Richard McCarty, his pay abstract.....	1,248 40
	51		Captain Richard McCarty, for his volunteer company.....	729 40
	52		Lieutenant Perault, for his pay abstract.....	516 00

1042 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

53	Captain Joseph Bowman, for his pay abstract	\$1,703 40
54	Captain Abm. Keller, for his pay abstract	1,855 00
55	Major Joseph Bowman, for his pay abstract	442 80
56	For two days' work	2 60
57	Lieutenant John Girault, in part of his recruiting account, per his receipt thereon	900 00
58	For sundry necessaries for the hospital	20 00
59	For 205 pounds flour, at 8 dollars per hundred, delivered Cap- tain Shelby	16 20
60	Captain Francis Charleville, for his pay abstract	323 20
		\$10,895 80
61	For sundry necessaries for use of the hospital	37 00
62	Lieutenant John Bailey, expenses on recruiting 21 men, per receipt	118 00
63	An express from St. Vincent to the Vermillion towns	20 00
64	Mons. Antoine Gamelin, Indian agent, for sundry expenses while he was treating with the Ouabache Indians	1,143 20
66	For sundry necessaries for use of the hospital at Fort Clarke	45 00
67	Charles Charleville, for 2½ cwt. flour, at \$8 per cwt.	17 00
		\$1,880 20
68	Two men for three days, and search after public horses	9 00
69	For 2 gallons taffia for Kaskaskia Indians	12 00
70	For 4 loads wood	4 80
71	For 20 pounds gunpowder	40 00
72	For 100 flints	2 00
73	For 50 pounds lead	20 00
74	An express to Kahokia	10 00
		\$97 80
75	A coxswain for 70 days' service on board the Willing batteau on the expedition to Post Vincent	70 00
76	Joseph Menafield for 45 day's work at Fort Clarke	45 00
77	An armorer for repairing arms at Fort Clarke	24 00
78	For 232 picketr. at 1 livre each	46 40
79	Captain Leonard Helm, in part of his pay abstract transmitted to government, as per his receipt thereon	889 80
80	Captain Joseph Bowman, in part of his pay abstract trans- mitted to government, as per his receipt thereon	1,183 20
81	Captain Wm. Harrod, in part of his pay abstract transmitted to government, as per his receipt thereon	1,136 80

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1043

May	27	82	Captain John Montgomery, in part of his pay abstract transmitted to government, as per his receipt thereon	\$2,161 80'
				\$5,567 40
July	27	83	Charles Caderon, for provisions and other necessaries furnished Captain Bowman's company on their march to Illinois	76 60
		84	M. Bolsey for 1 cwt. gunpowder, per receipt of Captain Bowman	100 00
		85	For horse hire, as per receipt of Captain Bowman	8 40
Sept.	26	86	Lacroix's account, per Major Bowman's certificate	115 40
		87	Lacroix's account for provisions, per certificate of Major Bowman	254 60
		88	Thomas Brady's account for rations, per certificate of Major Bowman	560 60
Oct.	31	89	Lacroix's account, per certificate of Major Bowman (Indian account)	43 40
Sept.	20	90	Lacroix's account, per certificate of Major Bowman	359 60
		91	Richard McCarty's account, per certificate of Major Bowman	76 80
Nov.	10	92	For horse hire, per certificate of Major Bowman	8 00
				\$1,603 40
		18	93 Monsieur Lavasseur, per certificate of Major Bowman	2 40
		24	94 For stone, wood, etc., per certificate of Major Bowman	3 60
		27	95 For stone, wood, etc., per certificate of Major Bowman	7 60
		30	96 For stone, wood, etc., per certificate of Major Bowman	3 80
Dec.	2	97	Lacroix's two accounts for provisions, per certificate of Major Bowman	470 40
			1779.	
Jan.	28	98	Monsieur Cotineau for rum for volunteers and Indians, per Captain McCarty's certificate	3 20
				\$491 00
		19	99 At Prairie de Roche, per certificate of Captain Bowman	20 80
		100	Expenses at St. Philip's to St. Pierre, per certificate of Major Bowman	10 60
		27	101 Richard McCarty, for Ensign Levine's board, 11 days	3 60
		28	102 Expenses at Kaskaskia, per Captain Bowman's certificate	88 00
		103	Monsieur Barbee's account, certified by Captain McCarty	20 20
				\$143 20
May	22	104	Lacroix's provision account, certified by Major Bowman	708 40
		105	Lacroix's provision account, certified by Major Bowman	159 20
		106	For horse hire and loss of saddle, per certificate of Major Bowman	8 40

1044 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

May	22	107	For horse hire and loss of saddle, per certificate of Major Bowman.....	\$8 60
		108	For horse hire and loss of saddle, per certificate of Major Bowman.....	8 00
		109	For provisions at Kaskaskia, per certificate of Major Bowman.....	145 20
		110	For 1 ferriage, per certificate of Major Bowman.....	80 00
		112	For 2 cwt. flour, per 2 receipts of Daniel Murray.....	12 00
		113	Mr. Barbineau, for 1,000 pounds flour and 600 pounds Indian meal, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	72 00
		114	Mr. Barbineau, for 1,000 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	60 00
		115	Rago Bauvals, for 291 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	17 40
				\$1,229 20
		116	Mr. Charleville, for 2,205 pounds flour and 2,059 pounds Indian meal and 50 loads hay, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	406 20
		117	Mr. Plassy, for 2 pounds nails.....	1 20
		118	For corn, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	6 00
		119	Mr. Plassy, for 200 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	12 00
		120	Mr. Barbineau, for 200 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	12 00
		121	Mr. Barbineau, for 200 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	12 00
		122	Renow, for corn, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	6 00
		123	Renow, for corn, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	6 00
		124	Degane, for corn, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	12 00
		125	Mr. Barbineau, for 100 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray (\$18 for corn).....	24 00
		126	Mr. Barbineau, for 200 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	12 00
		127	Mr. Barbineau, for 100 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	6 00
		128	Rago Bauvals, for 49 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	3 00
		129	Mr. Plassy, for 100 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	6 00
		130	Rago Bauvals, for 250 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	15 00
		131	Rago Bauvals, 100 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	6 00
		132	Mr. Bienvenue, for 4,000 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	240 00
		133	Mr. Plassy, for 29 pounds buffalo beef, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	2 00
				\$787 40

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1045

May	22	184	Cerre, for 80 pounds meal, per receipt of Daniel Murray	\$2 40
		135	Cerre, for 542 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray	32 60
		136	Cerre, for 19,824 pounds beef, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	1,982 40
		137	Cerre, for 100 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	6 00
		188	Cerre, for 400 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	24 00
		189	Cerre, for 405 pounds buffalo beef, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	20 40
		140	Cerre, for 1,784 pounds flour, per receipt of Daniel Murray	107 00
		141	Cerre, 446 pounds Indian meal, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	13 40
		142	Cerre, for one canoe, per receipt of Daniel Murray	10 00
		143	Cerre, for cartage, 1 day, per receipt of Daniel Murray.....	2 00
				\$2,200 20
		144	For Daniel Murray's certificate to Bienvenue.....	5 00
		145	For 5,424 pounds buffalo beef, per Daniel Murray's certificate.....	325 60
		146	For 7,150 pounds flour, per Daniel Murray's certificate.....	429 00
Jan.	11	147	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date.....	1 80
	12	148	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date for, wood.....	86 00
	13	149	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for provisions.....	132 00
				\$920 40
	16	150	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for wood.....	4 00
	18	151	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for wood.....	2 00
		152	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for provisions.....	188 00
	20	153	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for provisions.....	77 40
		154	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for 1,000 pounds flour.....	60 00
	23	155	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for 5,580 pounds flour.....	445 60
		156	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for 600 pounds Indian meal.....	18 00
		157	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for 119 loads wood.....	119 00
		158	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for 725 pounds pork.....	58 00
	26	159	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for wood.....	1 60
	27	160	For Daniel Murray's receipt of this date, for 33 loads wood.....	38 00
Feb.	3	161	For Daniel Murray's receipt to Mr. Plassy.....	167 00
		162	For Daniel Murray's receipt to Mr. Plassy, for provisions.....	12 00
		163	For Daniel Murray's receipt for 1 hogshead taffia.....	140 60
		164	For Daniel Murray's certificate for provisions.....	12 00
1778.	July	28	165 For 6 days' board for an Indian interpreter.....	6 00
Sept.	24	166	J. B. Lacroix for sundry expenses treating with the Indians between 1st of August and this date, per his account rendered	205 80
				\$1,500 00

1046 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

Sept. 28	167	Thomas Brady's two accounts for sundry Indian expenses, as certified by Major Bowman.....	\$216 40
	168	Monsieur Lacroix's account for sundry Indian expenses, per certificate of Major Bowman.....	48 40
	169	Moses Henry for his account of sundry Indian expenses, per certificate of Captain Helm.....	77 60
	170	Moses Henry for his account of sundry Indian expenses, per order of Captain Helm.....	60 00
	171	An account certified by Captain Bowman.....	144 40
	172	Mr. Danis, his wages as Indian interpreter from Kaskaskia to Wian, under Captain Helm, and for horse hire, etc., etc....	260 00
	173	Monsieur Lacroix's sundry expenses while treating with different nations of Indians, as per account.	125 20
	174	For goods furnished to Indians, as per certificate of Captain Bowman	118 20
	175	For rum to Indians at sundry times.....	21 40
	176	For rum, goods, etc., to Indians.....	156 00
	177	For 5 bottles rum to Indians.....	7 40
	178	For 5 bottles rum to Indians.....	6 00
	179	For rum at a treaty in November.....	12 00
			\$1,248 00
	180	Mons. Deneau, for a trip to the Chipra nation, as Indian agent	240 00
	181	For 2 bottles of rum for Indians.	6 00
	182	For 4 pair shoes for Indians.....	12 00
	183	For 18 shirts for Indians.....	48 40
	184	For 10 pair shoes for Indians.....	30 00
	185	For 3 quarts taffia for Indians..	12 00
	186	For 1 quart taffia for Indians.....	4 00
	187	For sundry expenses at a treaty at Post St. Vincent, in February, 1779.....	47 00
	188	For taffia at sundry times for Indians.....	60 00
	189	Captain Helm's order in favor of Mr. Hubberdeau, for sundry expenses	218 00
	190	Mr. Gilbault's and Lafont's expenses at taking possession of Post St. Vincent, in 1778.....	657 00
	191	Captain Helm's order in favor of John Lourse.....	128 00
	192	J. M. P. Legras' account for sundries furnished, per Captain Helm's certificate.....	1,631 20
	193	Captain Helm's order in favor of Charles Amoneau, for sundries furnished the troops.....	57 00

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1047

Sept. 28	194	Captain Helm's draft in favor of John Lourse, for sundries...	\$171 00
	195	Captain Helm's draft in favor of F. Boseron, for sundries.....	500 00
	196	Captain Helm's draft in favor of Pierre Cornia, for sundries.....	500 00
			<hr/> \$4,846 60
	197	Quartermaster Rogers' certificate in favor of Mr. Renault, for sundries.....	128 00
	198	Captain Helm's order in favor of Jean Vauchers, for sundries.....	921 00
	199	Captain Helm's order in favor of Mr. Renault, for sundries....	114 20
	200	Captain Helm's order in favor of John Gilbert, for sundries..	279 60
	201	Captain Helm's order in favor of Mr. Lafontaine, for sundries.....	300 00
	202	Captain Helm's order in favor of the bearer for sundries.....	108 88
	203	Lieutenant Richard Brashear's order in favor of Cripeau, for sundries.....	135 00
	204	Captain Helm's order of January last, in favor of Cripeau, for sundries.....	625 80
	205	Captain Helm's order in favor of Mr. Roberdeau, for sundries.....	46 00
	206	Captain Helm's order in favor of Mr. Roberdeau, for sundries.....	178 60
	207	Captain Helm's order in favor of Mr. Roberdeau, for sundries.....	648 80
	208	Captain Helm's order in favor of Francois Boseron, for sundries.....	510 00
			<hr/> \$8,980 80
	209	Mieh. Antia, for sundry services, etc.....	30 00
	210	A blacksmith's bill of this date, for sundry iron work.....	58 80
	211	A carpenter's account for work and repairs at Fort Clarke....	48 60
	212	Mons. Cerre's account for provisions, etc., furnished the troops at Fort Clarke, between 7th last July and this date, per his account rendered.....	2,862 60
	213	James Manafee, for 12 cords wood.....	12 00
	214	James Manafee, for 12 cords wood.....	12 00
	215	Armstead Dudley, for 8 days' work.....	4 00
	216	James Graham, for 10 days' work.....	5 00
			<hr/> \$8,028 00
	218	For Paul Kennedy's bonds for different public services, per his account 2, 951, 2, 6.....	590 20
	221	{ Daniel Murray, for 24 bushels salt, at \$6 per bushel.....	144 00
		{ Daniel Murray, for casks and cooperage.....	6 00
	222	Mr. Plassy, for pitch and oakum.....	9 60
	223	For casks, by order of Captain Harrod.....	13 40
	224	For 15½ bushels salt, per Captain Harrod's order.....	77 40
	225	For 63 bushels salt and 2 casks, per Captain Harrod's order....	401 40

1048 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

Sept.	25	226	For 61½ bushels salt, per Captain Harrod's order.....	\$370 60
			For 9½ bushels salt, per Captain Harrod's order.....	47 40
		227	For 102½ pounds gunpowder, per Captain Harrod's order....	307 40
		228	For 185½ pounds lead, per Captain Harrod's order.....	185 60
		229	For repairing Captain Harrod's boat.....	6 00
				<hr/>
				\$2,159 00
		234	For 2 hogshead taffia, as per receipt of Captain George.....	400 00
		237	—— Bartlet Scarey, for going express from St. Vincent to the falls.	75 00
		238	Herman Consler, as express from Kaskaskia to Urnburg*.....	1,000 00
		239	For sundry attendance and necessaries furnished for the sick at the falls of the Ohio.	319 80
		240	Edward Murray, as express from Kaskaskia to the falls of the Ohio	100 00
		241	Boston Damewood, for taking up a boat anchor.....	100 00
		242	To cash, of the recalled emissions now returned, per receipt of George Brooke	16,271 00
		244	To cash paid Jacob Lacourse for a hogshead of taffia	600 00
				<hr/>
				\$18,865 80
			Paid Captain Helm's 3 sundry drafts on me of the 24th of October, 1778, viz:	
		245	1 in favor of Cripeau for	148 40
		246	1 in favor of Chapoton for	211 00
		247	1 in favor of J. M. Legrass (of the 29th) for.....	760 80
1778.			Omitted	
Nov.	10	248	Paid Mr. Barbeau for lodging the Chippewas when coming to treat	4 60
		249	J. R. Hanson, for his account of sundries for the friendly In- dians.....	124 60
		250	Beaussere, the tailor, per certificate of Major Bowman.....	148 00
		251	Ahavmand, at Caho, per certificate of Major Bowman, for sun- dries for the sick	60 80
		252	Kenell for making flags for Indians, per certificate of Major Bowman	22 60
		253	Major Bowman's draft on me for furniture.....	454 60
		254	Richard McCarty, for sundries, per his account by Major Bow- man.....	139 00
		255	Jos. Brown, for 793 pounds beef for the troops, per his receipt	160 00
		256	Sundry expenses, as per voucher.....	109 00

*Probably should be Williamsburg (Wmsburg).

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1049

Nov.	10	257	Major Smith, for support of the Kentucky volunteers, per receipt	\$500 00
				\$2,843 40
		258	William Helm, for bacon, as per receipt.....	7 00
		259	Joseph Andrews, for rum for Indians, per certificate of Captain Helm	269 00
		260	T. Brady, for provisions furnished at Fort Clarke.....	777 40
		261	For sundries for use of the hospital, per Dr. Rey.....	35 00
		262	Antoine Bienvenue, for provisions furnished at Fort Clarke...	264 00
		268	Charles Charleville, per receipt, for sundries.....	428 40
				\$1,762 80
		264	Charles Charleville, per receipt.....	22 20
		265	Brasseau, for his account.....	3 00
		266	J. B. Lacroix, per receipt.....	614 60
				\$639 80
		267	For a horse and furniture, per order of Moses Henry.....	80 00
1779.	Aug.	25	268 John Hargis, on part of his contract for beef.....	200 00
	Oct.	9	269 For 1 gallon taffia, as treat to Colonel Rogers' men after their defeat.....	80 00
		29	270 J of Captain Linclot's volunteers, 8 months' pay.....	177 00
			271 Moses Henry, per his 3 accounts.....	1,315 00
			272 Captain Quirk,* sundries for use of his company, per receipt.	148 00
			273 Captain Helm, in part of his accounts, per receipt.....	354 00
			274 Captain Worthington, for use of his company, per receipt.....	916 60
			275 Advanced Henry Crutcher, a reduced commissary, in part of his services before he was reduced (book debt).....	24 00
				\$3,294 60
1779.	Oct.	29	276 Advanced Captain Richard McCarty, deceased, in part of his pay for recruiting and other necessary purposes (book account).....	8,591 60
			277 Advanced Captain Abraham Kellar, in part of his pay for recruiting and other necessary purposes (book account)....	189 00
			278 Paid Lieutenant Penault, in part of his recruiting account, per receipt thereon.....	600 00
			279 Advanced Doctor Ray, for use of the hospital (book account).	150 00
			280 Advanced Captain Evans, for use of his company (book account).....	123 80
			281 Advanced Captain J. Shelby, for use of his company (book account).....	109 00

* It is difficult to make out whether this name is Quirk or Quick—most likely the latter.

1050 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

Oct.	29	282	Advanced Captain Isaac Taylor, for the use of his company (book account)	\$118 00
				\$4,881 40
		284	Cash paid J. M. Simmons for copying my public account, per receipt	100 00
		285	Paid William Shannon's 54 drafts on me in favor of sundry persons, for public services, etc , as will appear by his ac- count, 34,206 livres.....	6,841 20
June	21	286	William Shannon's draft on the treasurer in favor of Mons. Cerre (No. 120).....	875 00
	27	287	William Shannon's draft on the treasurer in favor of Charles Charleville (No. 132).....	1,095 60
			William Shannon's draft on me (No. 65).....	32 00
May	16	288	William Shannon's draft on me (102).....	461 20
			William Shannon's sundry small drafts on me, per his receipt	33 80
June	20	289	William Shannon's draft on the treasurer, in favor of M. Mc- Carty (No. 115).....	78 00
Nov.	9	290	William Shannon's draft on the treasurer, in favor of N. Ran- dolph (No. 170)	9,718 00
				\$19,126 80
	14	4	Captain Dodge, for 1 pirogue.....	365 00
	20	5	Swan for iron.....	80 00
Dec.	6	6	For a large copper kettle.....	130 00
	8	7	For wood for barracks.....	20 00
	22	8	Expenses in making 42 bushels salt at Bullet's Lick, per ac- count of Richard Chenoweth.....	1,788 00
		9	For tallow	179 00
		10	For fuel.....	10 00
	22	11	McGee, for his work, per certificate, in lieu of 9 yards cloth...	562 00
1780.				
Jan.	1	12	For 8 bushels corn	320 00
	19	13	For wood for barracks, \$100; do., \$18	118 00
		15	For beef	50 00
		16	Jesse Rood, for hauling fuel.....	50 00
	35	17	Express for St. Vincent.....	50 00
		18	For wood	60 00
Feb.	4	19	For cutting and hauling fuel	50 00
	16	20	For repairing barracks	150 00
March	12	21	Silas Harlan, for 16 bushels corn, delivered to Captain Bailey for recruits	300 00
	20	22	John Briscoe, Jr., for casks, per certificate	45 00

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1051

March	24	23	Levin Powell, for an iron chain and grate, per certificate.....	\$306 00
	25	24	Levin Powell, for a batteau, appraised at £2,000	6,666 66 $\frac{2}{3}$
		25	Levin Powell, for 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds powder; 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds lead, and 200 flints for whisky for the troops	884 00
		26	For whisky for the troops.....	798 00
		27	Thomas Vickroy, for a bag, per certificate	70 00
April	8	28	John Donne's account for provisions, etc.....	40,104 16 $\frac{2}{3}$
Sept.	1	29	Thomas Vickroy, for paper, per certificate.....	136 00
Oct.	5	30	Anthony Rollins, for 163 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds flour.....	817 50
1781.				
Feb.	12	31	Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Crocket, per receipt.....	17,060 00
March		32	Isaac Fisher, for expenses as express to Holdston.....	1,000 00
May	19	83	Coleman and Hill, as express from the falls to Fort Pitt.....	6,200 00
		20	34 Hardy Hill, for 16 bushels corn, per receipt	1,620 00
June	2	85	Ensign Tannehill, for his expenses as express from Richmond to Fort Pitt.....	4,650 00
July	28	36	William Harrison, in full of his account, per receipt, £15,156.14	50,522 33 $\frac{1}{3}$
		37	William Harrison, Benjamin Harrison's expenses, per ac- count	436 66 $\frac{2}{3}$
		37	William Harrison, in behalf of the government, per receipt, Penn. cur.—specie; £126,582.6 (this accounted for in ac- count), £18 9 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	421,941 00
		38	John Gibson, merchant, for goods he furnished Colonel Gib- son, for use of Indians on account of United States, per his receipt.....£72 2 4	
Sept.	1	39	Daniel McKinney's account of smith work.....	276 00
		40	Captain Isaac Craig's account of expenses from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia, per receipt.....	1,997 00
		40	Captain Isaac Craig, in part of his expenses at Philadelphia and returning, wagon hire, etc., per receipt.....	7,308 00
		40	Captain Craig, balance of said account.....£86 14 0	
		4	41 To cash paid Henry Hoglan, express.....	1,100 00
		5	42 Paid Butler and Hart, for going express	7,041 66 $\frac{2}{3}$
		15	43 Edward Murdock, as spy	4,800 00
		44	Thomas Phelps's account for provisions.....	29,475 00
		25	45 John Allan, in part for a rifle-gun for John Baptist, the Indian chief	900 00
Omitted 1780.				
Aug.	8	46	For subsistence for wounded soldiers.....	80 00
		47	For liquor for soldiers on command	315 00
Nov.		48	For whisky for soldiers at Baker's	200 00

1052 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

Nov.	49	My expenses at Hog's, per voucher	\$10,026 00
1781.	50	Express to the county lieutenant of Berkley	500 00
Feb.	51	For 10 quires paper	450 00
12	52	For 3 pairs stockings for soldiers.....	800 00
14	53	Expenses at Winchester, at Edmondson's, including £120 10 for N. Randolph, per receipt.....	4,941 66½
	54	John Gibson, for sundries furnished at Fort Pitt, per account £1,302 7 9½	
	55	Captain Robert George, in part of his recruiting account, as per his receipt thereon	28,550 00
	56	Captain Robert George, in part of his pay abstract, as per his receipt.....	4,427 00
	57	Colonel John Montgomery, in part of his pay, per receipt.....	3,800 00
	58	Major Thomas Quirk, as per receipt on his pay-roll.....	107,329 00
	59	Captain Richard Brashear, in part of his recruiting account, as per his receipt thereon	4,769 16¾
	60	Captain John Williams, in part of his pay, as per receipt on his pay-roll.....	2,771 00
	61	Martin Carney, quartermaster, in part of his pay, per his re- ceipt on his pay-roll	2,450 00
	62	Jacob Pyatt, per order of Captain John Rogers, for provisions, per voucher	5,560 00
	63	Captain John Bailey, in part of his account for recruiting, as per receipt thereon	16,087 00
	64	John Donne, in part of his pay, per receipt.....	4,584 00
	65	Advanced Joseph Lindsay, per receipt, for purchases in the commissary department.....	18,950 00
	66	Advanced Leonard Helm, superintendent, in part of his pay, per his receipt.....	1,500 00
	67	Advanced Captain Worthington, in part pay of his receipt, entered in account.....	8,898 83¼
	68	Advanced Nat. Randolph, for public purposes, per receipt....	115,266 66¾
	69	Advanced Wm. Shannon, per his receipt, for public purposes.	1,119,558 00
	70	Advanced John Donne, per receipt on his pay account (see voucher No. 64), £9 12s 6d. Total of amount represented in pounds, etc., £1,439 6s 1¾d	
			\$2,177,916 16¾
		To balance on this account at your credit in new account, £17 4s 7¼d plus £1,439 6s 1¾d = £1,456 10s 9d	23,476 66¾
			\$2,201,392 83¼

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1053

The State of Virginia

To Brigadier-General G. R. Clark, CR.

For sundry payments, expenses and other disbursements by him made, in behalf of the said State and Illinois Department, viz.:

1778.		By my draft of this date on Oliver Pollock, payable to—	
July	15	1 Lafont	\$285 20
	18	2 C. Charleville.....	206 00
	24	3 Rapicault.....	516 20
	25	4 Hulberdeaux	289 80
	25	5 Cerre.....	1,278 00
	25	6 Laulpe	837 00
Aug.	3	7 Datchurut.....	738 60
	7	8 Ant. Morain.....	111 00
	7	9 Fagott.....	1,100 00
	7	10 C. Charleville.....	2,789 00
	8	11 Lafont.....	657 00
	10	12 Rapicault.....	229 80
	14	13 Datchurut.....	146 00
			\$8,680 60
	14	14 Picard.....	144 00
	14	15 Dan Murray.....	660 00
	14	16 Lafont.....	544 60
	14	17 _____	116 00
	14	18 Madr. Bently	116 00
Oct.		19 Duplasi	670 80
Nov.	19	20 Motard.....	1,156 60
1778.		By draft of this date on Oliver Pollock, payable to—	
Nov.	19	21 A. Chouteau.....	481 80
	19	22 A. Chouteau	1,680 00
	19	23 Duplasi	124 20
	21	24 Pierre Cornia.....	500 00
	21	25 Bosseron.....	500 00
			\$6,886 40
	21	26 Valle.....	551 00
	22	27 Cerre.....	800 00
	24	28 James Perault.....	920 20
Dec.	4	29 Vigo	8,716 40
	10	30 Rapicault	828 00
	16	31 Datchurut	2,591 00

1054 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

Dec.	17	32	Deloncr	\$521 00
	18	33	Vigo	921 00
	19	34	Duralde	225 20
	19	35	Motard	1,040 00
	19	36	J. P. Lerrault	1,857 20
				\$18,466 00
	19	37	Vazquer	1,022 40
	19	38	Duplasi	1,000 00
	19	39	Sarpy	964 60
				\$2,987 00
	20	40	Dan Murray	192 00
1779.	Jan.	23	41 Datchurut	2,234 60
		23	42 Captain Janis	600 00
		29	43 Risharry	440 00
		30	44 Rapicault	1,456 60
		30	45 Vigo	1,452 00
Feb.		2	46 Chas. Charleville	1,752 00
		4	47 Plassy	1,565 40
		5	48 Rapicault	784 40
		5	49 Bosseron	625 00
				\$11,102 00
		5	50 Laulpe	519 00
April		30	51 Lafontaine	579 60
May		17	52 Pierre Godin	613 16
		20	53 F. Trotter	220 20
		20	54 Godin	381 40
			By my draft on the treasurer of Virginia in favor of—	
July		17	55 J. M. P. Legras	8,950 60
August		7	56 Bently	1,851 00
May		21	57 Hubberdeau	900 00
		22	58 John Girault	1,140 80
		22	59 Marie Menaze	511 00
		22	60 Charleville	482 60
		22	61 F. Charleville	800 00
		25	62 Antoine Pettice	800 00
		26	63 Rapicault	408 00
			By my draft on Oliver Pollock, in favor of—	
		27	64 A. Bienvenue	400 00
				\$13,307 80

GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA. 1055

		By my draft on the treasurer of Virginia in favor of—	
June	1 65	Louis Le Compt	\$800 00
	2 66	Pierre Boneux.....	480 00
	2 67	M. Poure	488 00
		By my draft on the treasurer of Virginia in favor of—	
1779.	June 8 68	Gratlot (say Feran)	1,427 80
	17 69	R. McCarty.....	2,716 00
	17 70	McCrae & Co.....	137 00
	17 71	Vigo	298 00
	17 72	Arhavmand	803 80
	18 73	J. B. Lacroix	447 80
	23 74	Rapicault	607 00
August	8 75	Antoine Gamelin	1,148 20
		By cash received from government, in January, 1778, £1,200 Virginia currency.....	4,000 00
		By cash received from government, in May, 1779, per Lieuten- ant-Colonel Montgomery, £9,400 Virginia currency	31,383 40
			\$44,178 00
		By bill on the treasury in favor of—	
Dec.	14	Colonel John Todd.....	10,018 00
		Thomas Phelps.....	2,666 66½
		Henry Smith	5,417 50
	23	Richard Chinoworth.....	1,198 00
	26	Evan Hinton	1,333 83¼
		James Batey.....	1,333 83¼
1780.	Jan. 18	Marsham Brashear.....	1,333 83¼
	22	Peter Sturgus.....	1,333 83¼
	28	Henry Holdman	1,333 83¼
Feb.	9	Henry French.....	600 00
		(NOTE—The first of these bills in Legross, the second set in Wm. Nathan's possession.)	
		William Pope	2,000 00
		William Pope.....	2,000 00
	17	Thomas Phelps.....	633 66½
	20	Squire Boon	1,333 83¼
	20	Evan Hinton	500 00
March	28	Charles Mija Thurston..... £1,000 00 0	
		Simon Tripolet	2,568 09 6
		Charles West.....	573 17 6
		John Smith.....	746 18 6

1055 GENERAL CLARK'S ACCOUNT AGAINST VIRGINIA.

March 25	Charles Dean	.....	\$250 00 0	
	Levin Powell	.....	4,771 75 0	
			<u>\$4,996 00 0</u>	\$52,261 33 ¹ / ₂
April 25	By cash received of Colonel Todd, per John Rogers	.....		2,323 33 ¹ / ₂
				<u>54,584 66¹/₂</u>
Jan.	By cash, \$400,000, equal to	.....	2,500,000 00	
	By 15 Mills of 57M each, drawn on the treasurer for the re-			
	cruiting service, dated February 5 and March 1, '64		9,750 00	
July 27	By my bill on treasurer in favor of John Gibson, merchant,			
	Penn. cur. specie	.....	\$1,429 25 9	
Oct. 25	By my bill on treasurer in favor of Captain Isaac Craig, 525 24			
	sum of bills of July 27 and October 17	.....	\$1,424 30 5	
	By cash received of Captain Cherry last June, 1792	.....	420 000	605,885 66 ¹ / ₂
				<u>\$61,240,892 33¹/₂</u>

*Reports Committee to Congress, Report H. R. No. 21.

NOTE.—It should be understood that the amount stated in this account is often expressed in paper money at par, but which was in fact under par, and finally became worthless.

LT.-GOV. HAMILTON'S DISBURSEMENTS DURING
HIS CAPTIVITY.

Account of Cash disbursed by Henry Hamilton, Esqr., Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent of Detroit for His Majesty's Service between the 24th of February, 1779, and the 24th of May, 1781, as also of the Bills drawn and Money received by him.

	Sterling.		
	£	s	d
1779, October 19th—To cash paid Phillip Dejean on account of his pay	197		
February, 1780, 24th—Do paid Jacob Schieffelin his pay as Lieut. and writer to the Indian Department from 15th Sept., 1778, to this date, inclusive.....	253		
May 24th—Do paid Francois Maisonville as boat master on acct. of pay	110	13	14½
June 6th—Do paid Patrick McKindley of Capt. Lamothe's company 468 days' pay from the 24th Feby., 1779, to the 6th June, 1780, @ 2s 4d per day.....	54	12	
July—Do paid for clothing and liquor for the prisoners of war.....	116	11	8
December 6th—Do paid John Hay at sundry times his pay from 15th Sept., 1778, to the 24th December, 1780, being 831 days at 15s per day as major of the Detroit V. militia and 10s per day and £40 per year as deputy agent of Indian affairs.....	1128	15	
Do paid do 200 days Bat & Forage from 15th Sept., 1778, to the 1st April, 1779.....	52	10	
Do paid Capt. Guillaume Lamothe 668 days' pay @ 10s per day from 25th February, 1779, to 24th December, 1780.....	334		
Do paid do 200 days Bat & Forage as above	42	10	
Do paid John McBeath as surgeon from the 15th Sept., 1778, to the 24th Dec., 1780, 831 days' pay at 9s 4d per day	387	16	
Do paid do 200 days Bat & Forage as above.....	25		
Do paid Antoine Bellefeuille as interpreter from 15th Sept., 1778, to the 4th December, 1780—831 days' pay @ 4s 8d per day.....	198	18	
Do paid do 200 days Bat & Forage as above.....	8	15	
Do paid Amos Ainsley as master carpenter from 15th Sept., 1778, to the 15th of February, 1780—being 509 days @ 7s per day.....	178	3	
1781, March 5th—Do paid James Parkinson as sergeant major from 24th February, 1779, to this date, being 739 days at 2s 4d per day.	66	4	4

	Sterling.		
	£	s	d
Do paid William Taylor of Capt. Lamothe's company 739 days' pay from the 24th of February, 1779, to this date, inclusive at 2s 4d per day	86	4	4
Do paid John Brebane of Capt. Lamothe's company 1739 days' pay from the 24th of February, 1779, to this date, inclusive, @ 2s 4d per day	86	4	4
Do paid a detachment of the King's or 8th regiment at different times, as per certified account	103	2	4½
April 24th—Do paid Major Hay his pay as above, from 25th December, 1780, to the 24th May, 1781, both days included	205	8	4
Do paid Capt. Lamothe as above, from 25th December, 1780, to the 24th May, 1781, inclusive	75	10	....
Do paid Dr. McBeath as above, from 25th December, 1780, to the 24th May, 1781, inclusive	70	9	4
Do paid Mr. Bellefeuille, as above, from 25th December, 1780, to the 24th May, 1781, inclusive	85	4	8
1779, June 19—By a set of (6) bills on His Excellency, General Haldimand, commander-in-chief in Canada, in favor of Col. Josiah Barker	50	.....	.....
August 17th—Do (6) bills on — do — in favor of Samuel Beale	400	.....	.....
October 5th—Do (4) bills on — do — in favor of David Geddes, Esqr. 1780, Feby. 8—Do (3) bills on — do — in favor of John *Hay	455	.....	.....
April 19—Do ——— on — in favor of Jacob Scheiffelin	296	16	8
October 21—Do one bill on David Geddes, Esqr., favor of Robt. Elam for £7311, Virginia money, at \$80 for one	253	.....	.....
December 29—By cash received from His Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, by warrant	68	10	7
1781, April 10th—Do a set of (4) bills on His Excellency, General Haldimand, in favor of David Geddes, Esqr	1500	.....	.....
By cash received from His Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, by warrant of the 6th of April	860	8	10
	800	.....	.....
Sterling £	4683	16	1

(Errors excepted.)

[*Jehu?]

HENRY HAMILTON,
Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit.

Endorsed:—Account of disbursements, etc., by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton between the 24th Feby., 1779, and the 24th May, 1781.

[B 122, p. 89.]

THE RIGHT TO IMPRESS IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1786.

“The executive board of Virginia had convened in May, 1786, and on the 15th had ordered a convention of the field officers of the Kentucky militia, to take measures for the protection of the frontier. The field officers assembled, determined on an expedition, and chose Clark to command them; but there had been no provision for supplying the troops, and nothing could be done without supplies. The question then arose whether the Virginia authorities intended them to use their discretion on this subject, and in order to get a reliable legal opinion they laid Governor Henry’s letter, the militia laws of Virginia, and the sixth article of confederation, before the attorney-general and supreme judges of Kentucky, who, after consultation, reported as follows:

“We are of opinion that the executive have delegated all their power under the said law and article of confederation, so far as they relate to invasions, insurrections and impressments, to the field officers of that district, and that the officers, in consequence thereof, have a right to impress, if necessary, all supplies for the use of the militia, that may be called into service by their orders under the said order of council.

“GEO. MUTER,

“CALEB WALLACE,

“HARRY INNIS.” *

* Dunn’s History of Indiana, pp. 170, 171, where the subject is fully and fairly considered.

OFFICERS AND PRIVATES

WHO SERVED IN SOME OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, BUT WHO WERE NOT ALLOTTED LAND IN CLARK'S GRANT AND WHOSE NAMES ARE CONSEQUENTLY NOT ON THE ROLL IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER OF THIS WORK.

OFFICERS.

MAJOR.

Slaughter, George.

BRIGADIER-MAJOR.

Crittenden, John.

SURGEON.

Ray, Andrew.

CAPTAINS.

Evans, Jesse.
Fields, Benjamin.
Mark, Thomas.
Roberts, Benjamin.

LIEUTENANTS.

Crockett, Anthony.
Ramsey, Joseph.
Ravenscroft, Thomas.
Roberts, John.
Roberts, William.

Saunders, Joseph.
Slaughter, James.
Slaughter, Joseph.

ENSIGNS.

Greene, Robert.
Kincaid, Joseph.

SERGEANTS.

Allen, Samuel.
Andree, Jean.
Ballard, Bland.
Ballard, Proctor.
Biron, J. B.
Blearn, David.
Bolton, Daniel.
Bond, Shadrach or Bland.
Breedon, John.
Brossard, Pierre.
Brown, Collin.
Burne, Pierre.
Campbell, George.
Carbine, Henry.
Clark, Adams.

Decker, Jacob, died.

Denton, Thomas.

Drumgold, James.

Durst, Daniel.

Fever, William.

Frazier, Abraham.

Garrett, John.

Goodloe, Henry.

Haut, Henry, killed.

Hazard, John.

Hicks, David.

Jamieson, Thomas.

La Venture, J.

Mason, Charles.

Mathews, Edward.

Murony, William.

Murray, Thomas.

Portwood, Page.

Piere, William.

Ranger, J. B.

Rector, John.

Rice, John.

Richards, Lewis.

Roberts, Benjamin.

Robertson, John.

Rodgers, David.

Ross, James.

Ross, John.

Roy, Julien.

Rubido, Francis, died.

Ryan, Andrew.

Ryan Lazerus.

Slaughter, John.

Stephenson, John.

Villiers, Francis, killed.

Walker, John.

White, Randolph.

Wilson, John.

Workman, Conrad.

Young, John.

CORPORALS.

Ballard, James.

Blein, Pierre.

Bowen, William.

Cameron, James.

Hawkins, Samuel.

Hain, William.

Sills, Samuel.

Crutcher, Henry, vol. and q. m.

DRUMMER.

Lovell, Richard.

FIFERS.

Conley, Thomas.

Poores, Archer.

GUNNERS.

Harrison, James.

Leney, Thomas.

Mulby, William.

Smith, Josiah.

MATROSS.

Hopkins, Richard.

Hupp, Phillip.

PRIVATES.

Abbott, William, Sr.

Abbott, William, Jr.

Adams, Francis.

Allen, Isaac.

Allen, John, Sr.

Allen, John, Jr.

Allery, Joseph.

Alonton, Jacob.

Anderson, John.

Antier, Francis.	Bush, Drewry (or Brush).
Apperson, Richard.	Buskey, Francis.
Asher, Bartlett.	Burris, John.
Back, John.	Butler, John.
Ballard, Bland William.	Butts, William (prisoner).
Ballenger, Larkin.	Cabbage, Joseph.
Barber, John.	Cabbassie, B.
Barny, William (or Barry).	Calvin, Daniel.
Bender, John.	Campo, Lewis.
Bender, Lewis, died.	Campo, Michael.
Bender, Robert.	Chambers, Ellick.
Berard, ———.	Chapman, Edward.
Berry, William.	Chapman, Richard.
Bigraw, Alexander.	Chick, William, killed.
Bingamore, Adam.	Clark, John.
Binkley, William.	Clairmount, Michael.
Bird, Samuel.	Cochran, Edward.
Blair, John.	Cochran, George.
Blancher, Pierre.	Cocles, Andrew.
Blearn, David.	Coffee, Samuel.
Bollinger, James.	Compera, Francis.
Boss, David (or Bass).	Compera, Lewis.
Bouche, John.	Conn, John.
Bowman, Christian.	Conroy, Patrick.
Brazer, Peter.	Contraw, Francis.
Breeden, Richard.	Convance, Paul.
Brenton, Thomas (or Benton).	Cooper, Joseph.
Bressie, Richard.	Cooper, Ramsey.
Brown, Asher.	Coontz, Christopher.
Brown, Calvin.	Corder, James (or Cordew.)
Brown, John.	Corneilla, Patrick.
Brown, Lewis.	Corus, John (or Corns).
Brown, Low.	Coste, J. B. De.
Brush, Thomas.	Cowan, Andrew.
Bulcher, Gasper (or Butcher).	Cowan, Mason.
Burbridge, John, died.	Cowen, Dennis.
Burbridge, William, died.	Cowdry, John.
Burk, George.	Cowgill, Daniel.
Burney, Simon (or Burnley).	Cox, James.
Bush, John (or Brush).	Crane, John, St.

Crawley, John.	Foster, Henry.
Cure, Jean Baptist.	Freeman, Peter.
Damewood, Boston.	Gagnia, Jacque.
Dardy, Baptiste.	Gains, William (or Garner).
Dardy, John.	Gains, John.
Darnell Cornelius.	Gallagan, Owen.
Davis, Joseph.	Garuldon, Baptist (or Gauch- don).
Day, William.	George, John.
Dean, James, died.	Germain, J. B.
Decrand, P.	Gibbons, Samuel.
Denerchelle, Lewis (or Druie- chelle).	Guion, S. Frederick.
Detering, Jacob.	Gognia, Pierre.
Doherty, Edward.	Gomier, Abraham (or Gaunia)
Doherty, Frederick.	Goodwin, Amos.
Doherty, John.	Goodwin, Edward.
Dolphin, Peter.	Gordon, John.
Doud, Rodger.	Graham, James.
Donovan, John.	Gratiol, Jean (or Gratiott).
Donow, Joseph.	Green, James, died.
Doyle, John.	Greenwood, Daniel.
Dulhonneau, Pierre.	Grolet, Francis, Sen.
Duncan, Archibald.	Grolet, Francis, Jr.
Duncan, Benjamin.	Grimshire, John.
Duncan, Charles.	Guess, John (or Gist).
Duncan, David.	Hall, William.
Duncan, Joseph.	Hart, Miles.
Duncan, Nimrod.	Hawley, Richard.
Duncan, Samuel.	Hays, James.
Durrett, James.	Head, James.
Durrett, William.	Hendrix, Andrew.
Dusablong, B.	Heyworth, Berry (or Hey- wood).
Duselle, Mons.	Hicks, Mordica, died.
Eastis, James.	Hico, Peter, Sen.
English, Robert.	Hico, Peter, Jr.
Evans, Stanhope.	Hildebrand, James.
Fache, Lewis (or Foche).	Hite, George.
Field, Daniel, died.	Hobbs, James.
Farers, John.	Holler, Francis.
Field, Lewis, prisoner.	

Hollis, Joshua.	Laviolette, Louis.
Horn, Christopher.	L'Enfant, Francis.
Horn, Jeremiah.	Lenay, John.
Horton, Adin (or Aaron).	Lenay, Thomas, killed.
Houndsler, Charles.	Lewis, Benjamin.
Howell, Peter.	Lewis, James.
Howell, William.	Lockhart, Archibald.
Huffman, Jacob.	Logan, Hugh.
Irby, David.	Long, William.
Jewell, Charles.	Lunsford, Anthony.
Jewell, John.	Lyon, Jacob.
Jones, Edward.	McClain, Thomas.
Johnston, Samuel.	McClure, Patrick.
Kemp, Reuben.	McDaniel, Thomas.
Kennedy, David.	McDonald, James.
Kerr, William.	McDonald, Thomas.
Kidd, Robert.	McGuire, John.
Kina, Christopher.	McIntosh, James.
Kincade, James.	McKin, James.
King, George.	McKinney, John.
King, Nicholas.	McLockland, Charles.
Kirk, Thomas.	McMichaels, John.
Kirkley, James.	McMickle, John.
La Belle, Charles.	McMullen, James.
La Casse, Jacque.	McQuiddy, Thomas.
Lafaro, Francis.	Maid, Ebenezer, killed.
Lafaston, Francis.	Mailone, J. B.
Laform, John.	Maisonville, Mons., De.
Lafour, Pierre (or Laffour).	Malbeff, Joseph.
Lamarch, Beauvard.	Malbroff, Joseph.
Lamarch, J. B.	Marsh, John.
Lamarch, Lewis.	Marshall, William.
La Paint, Lewis.	Martin, Elijah.
Larose, Francis.	Martin, Joseph.
Lasant, Joseph.	Martin, Pierre.
Lasley, John.	Martin, Solomon.
Laubrau, ———.	Maurisette, M.
Laughlin, Peter.	Mayfield, Elijah.
Lavigm, Joseph.	Mayfield, Isaac.
Laviolette, Baptist.	Mayfield, James.

Meadows, Josiah.	Porter, Ebenezer.
Miller, John.	Potter, James.
Milton, Daniel (or Wilton.)	Potter, William.
Missie, Bernard.	Powell, Micajah.
Montgomery, Edward.	Puncrass, Francis.
Montgomery, William.	Puncrass, Joseph.
Moran, Peter (or Mauron).	Rabey, Cader.
Monet, J. B.	Randall, Robert.
Morris, Jacob.	Richards, Dick.
Morris, James, died.	Riley, Patrick.
Morris, William.	Rubido, James (or Rubideau).
Munnailly, Joseph.	Ruschan, Francis.
Munrony, Sylvester.	Russell, Benjamin.
Munam, Joseph.	Rutherford, Larkin.
Mustache, ———.	Roberts, Elias.
Nave, Conrad (or Nan).	Roberts, Joseph.
Nash, Francis.	Robinson, Richard.
Neal, John.	Rodgers, Joseph.
Nelson, John.	Savage, Bryan.
Nelson, Moses.	Savage, Dominick.
Nobbs, Mark.	Scates, David.
Oates, Samuel.	Searay, John (or Searcy).
O'Fin, James.	Seare, William.
Oliver, John.	Sennilt, Richard.
Oliver, Lewis.	Severage, John (or Severns).
Oliver, Turner.	Shannon, William.
Owdidd, Lewis (or Ordett).	Shank, Jacob.
Paguin, Francis.	Shank, John.
Parault, Peter.	Sharlock, James (or Sherlock).
Parisiewne, Baptist.	Shoemaker, Leonard.
Patterson, John.	Ship, William.
Patterson, William.	Siburn, Christopher.
Panther, Joseph.	Sigonier, Francis.
Payne, Adam.	Slaughter, George.
Payne, William.	Smith, David.
Pellot, Charles.	Smith, Joseph.
Penett, Joshua, or M. Peepin.	Smith, Randal.
Peltier, Joseph.	Smithers, John (or Smothers).
Pepin, John, killed.	Smock, Henry.
Philips, Henry.	Snellock, Thomas.

Sowers, Frederick.
 Spencer, John.
 St. Mary, Baptiste.
 St. Michaels, ———.
 Stoball, Thomas.
 Taylor, Benjamin.
 Taylor, Edward.
 Taylor, James.
 Taylor, Thomas.
 Teliafferro, Richard C.
 Thomas, Edward.
 Thompson, James.
 Thorinigiton, Joseph.
 Tillis, Griffin.
 Toley, Daniel.
 Tranthan, Martin.
 Triplett, Pettis,
 Turpen, Richard; killed.
 Tuttle, Nicholas.
 Underhill, James.
 Veale, Peter.
 Villard, Isaac.
 Vonshiner, Thomas.
 Waddengton, John.
 Waggoner, Peter, died.
 Wallace, David.
 Walters, Lewis.
 Ward, Thomas.
 Ward, Lewis.
 Wemate, J. B.
 West, John.
 Wethers, Benjamin.
 Wheat, Jacob.
 Wheel, Jacob.
 Wheeler, John.
 Whitacre, David.
 White, William.
 Whitten, Daniel.

Wilkinson, William.
 Williams, George.
 Williams, Zachariah.
 Wilton, Daniel.
 Winsor, Christopher.
 Wood, Charles.
 Wray, Thomas.
 Wright, William (or Weight).
 Zimmerman, Frederick.

OFFICERS OF CROCKETT'S REGIMENT.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Crockett, Joseph.

MAJOR.

Walz, George.

SURGEON.

Greer, Charles.

CAPTAINS.

Chapman, John, killed.
 Cherry, William.
 Curney, John.
 Kinley, Benjamin, died.
 Moore, Peter.
 Tipton, Abraham.
 Young, Thomas.

ENSIGNS

Daring, Henry.
 Green, Samuel Ball.
 McGovock, Hugh.

It has already been stated in the body of this work that the list therein given of officers and soldiers who were allotted lands in Clark's Grant, for service in reducing the British posts, is believed to be correct, but that no such claim for accuracy is made for the list of those who served in other campaigns and were not allotted lands in Clark's Grant. In fact, taking into consideration the number of General Clark's campaigns against the Indians and the number of men who participated in them, it is very probable that the names of some of them are not in the above list. Of this class may be given the following names mentioned in Reynold's Pioneer History of Illinois as having served under George Rogers Clark:

Atcheson, George.
Biggs, William.
Dodge, ——.
Garrison, James.
Groots, ——.
Jarrot, Nicholas.

McDonough, Stace.
Moore, James.
Piggot, James.
Seybold, Robert.
Wadde, David.

ALLOTMENT OF LANDS IN CLARK'S GRANT.

COPY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSION FOR ADJUSTING THE CLAIMS OF THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE ILLINOIS REGIMENT TO THE LANDS GIVEN THEM UNDER A RESOLUTION OF JANUARY 2, 1781, AGREEABLE TO ACT OF ASSEMBLY PASSED OCTOBER SESSION, 1783, BY THE LEGISLATURE OF VIRGINIA.

LOUISVILLE, Aug. 2, 1784.

Commissioners met according to adjournment. Present—Walker Daniel, George R. Glark, John Montgomery, John Bailey, Robert Todd and William Clarke, Gent. Commissioners ordered that the board adjourn till to-morrow morning.

(Signed)

W. DANIELS, Chairman.

Aug. 3d. The board met according to adjournment. Present—the same members as yesterday, and also Ab. Chapline, Gent.

On motion the board came to the following resolutions: That all officers and soldiers who marched and continued in service till the reduction of the British posts on the northwest side of the Ohio, that all who engaged and enlisted in the Illinois regiment afterward and served during the war, or three years, are entitled to a share of the grant under the resolution and act of assembly, and that those soldiers who have enlisted in said regiment since the 2d day of January, 1781, for three years, or during the war, are not entitled, as there seems to be no provisions made under the resolution for those who should thereafter be incorporated in the said regiment; that the offi-

cers of the regiment are entitled to a share of the land in proportion to the commissions they respectively held on the said 2d day of January, 1781, and not in proportion to the commissions they have since held in consequence of promotions, and that, therefore, officers commissioned since that period are not entitled at all; and that those soldiers who enlisted to serve twelve months after their arrival at Kaskaskia, agreeable to an act of assembly of the fall session, 1778, for the protection and defense of the Illinois county, who did not re-enlist in the regiment, are not included in said resolution; that those officers who were commissioned under said act and resigned before the expiration of the twelve months are not entitled; last, that those who continued during the year and then retired, not having a command, are entitled. Adjourned.

Aug. 4th. The same members as yesterday.

The following claims were taken up and allowed and disallowed as they are marked, to wit:*

*Geo. R. Clark, Brig. Gen.	John Swan, Lt.
*John Montgomery, Lt.-Colo.	*Henry Floyd, Lt.
*Joseph Bowman, Major.	*Rich'd Harrison, Lt.
*Thomas Quick, Major.	*Jas. Robertson, Lt.
*Walker Daniels, Major.	*Abraham Chapline, Lt.
James Shelby, Capt.	*John Perault, Lt.
John Bailey, Capt.	*Michael Perault, Lt.
Rich'd Brashear, Capt.	*Jos. Calvert, Lt.
Rob't George, Capt.	Jas. Montgomery, Lt.
Rich'd McCarty, Capt.	*Isaac Bowman, Lt.
*Abraham Kellar, Capt.	*Jarrott Williams, Lt.
*Edw'd Worthington, Capt.	*Rich'd Clark, Lt.
*Wm. Harrod, Capt.	*Wm. Clark, Lt.
Wm. Lynn, not allowed.	*Thos. Wilson, Lt.
*Isaac Ruddle, same.	*Val. Dalton, Lt.
*Levi Todd, Lieutenant.	*Jacob Vanmeter, Ens.
*Jas. Davis, Lieut.	*Lawson Slaughter, Ens.

Those marked with an asterisk () were allowed, but subsequent proceedings of the board show that the action at this meeting as to the allowance of claims was not final.

- Isaac Kellar.
- *Andrew Clark, sol'd.
- *Wm. Whitehead, do.
Rob't Whitehead, do.
Boston Damewood, not all'd.
Wm. Crosby, same.
- *Peter Newton, sol'd.
Nich's Tuttle, not allow'd.
- *John Grimes, sol'd.
Francis Grolet, not al.
Francis Grolet, Jr., not al.
Hugh Logan, same.
John Dodge, same.
Isreal Dodge, same.
- *John Vaughn, Sergt.
- *Ber Trent, do.
John Tewell, not al.
- *Levi Teall, soldier.
- *Francis Godfrey, do.
Mat Brock, not all'd.
- *Edw'd Murray, sold.
Jas. Jerrald, not all'd.
Francis Hardin, same.
Larkin Ballink, do.
Wm. Kerr, do.
- *Henry Dewitt, Sergt.
- *Wm. Crump, do.
- *John Moore, do.
- *Edw'd Johnston, sold.
Ch's Evans, do.
Geo. Hait, not allowed.
And Ray, same.
Val Dalton, not all'd as an
adj't.
Jas. Sherlock, not all'd.
John Dougherty, do.
Ch's McLocklin, do.
- *Jessie Piner, sold.
- *Jas. Brown, Sergt.
- *Wm. Elms, do.
- *Joseph Ross, sold.
- *Chs. Ormsley, do.
- *Jas. Hillebrand or Dawson, do
- *Jas. Elms, do.
- *Dan Tygert, do.
Rich'd Breeden, not al.
- *John Cowan, sold.
- *Wm. Pritchett, Sergt.
- *Wm. Purcell, sold.
- *Pet Priest, do.
- *Geo. Veuchionn, do.
- *And. Conore, do.
- *Josiah Prewit, do.
- *Buckner Pitman, Sergt.
- *Ab. Miller, sold.
- *Nat Jones, do.
Christo Coontes, not all'd.
- *Isham Floyd, sold.
John Lines, soldier.
Sam Blackford, do.
Laton White, do.
Abraham Lusado, do.
Wm. Ray, do.
Jas. Harris, do.
Thurman Consuly, do.
John Duff, do.
Jas. Curry, do.
Shep. Stephens, do.
Ebend. Bowen, not all'd.
Wm. Swan, sold.
Simon Kenton, do.
John Saunders, do.
Geo. Clark, do.
Wm. Whitley, do.
David Glenn, do.
Silas Harlin, do.
John Severns, do.
Ebenezer Severns, do.
Wm. Oreer, do.
Jas. Inley, Sergt.

Dan Durst, not all'd.	Gasper Butcher, do.
Wm. Rubey, Sergt.	Step Ray, do.
Pat Doran, sold.	Cornelius Copland, sold.
Wm. Greathouse, do.	Wm. Shannon's pet. rejected.
Chas. Bilterback, do.	Benj. Lynn, not all'd.
Robt. Patterson, Sergt.	Sam Moore, same.
Tilman Camper, sold.	Henry Honacker, sold.
Jas. Monroe, do.	P. Honacker, do.
Chas. Jones, do.	Hanley Vance, do.
Benj. Kendall, do.	John Williams, Capt.
Robt. Garrott, do.	Geo. Walls, not allowed.
John Oreer, Sergt.	*Rob't Todd, Capt.
Dan Oreer, sold.	Leon'd Helms, Capt.
Jesse Oreer, do.	Isaac Taylor, same.
Sam Humphries, do.	Jesse Evans, not allowed.
Eben Mead, not all'd.	*John Rodgers, Capt.
Dorn Flanagan, sold.	*Jas. Merriweather, Lt.
Jonas Meniper, do.	*John Thruston, Cornet.
John Talley, do.	*John Joines, soldier.
Dan Tally, not all'd.	*Jas Baxter, sol'd.
Wm. Tackledge, sold.	*John Johnson, do.
Jas. Kincaid, not all'd.	*Wm. Bell, do.
John Sartine, sold.	*Rich'd Lovell, do.
*Henry French, not all'd.	*Sam Watkins, do.
Peter Locklin, do.	Lewis Gaynice, do.
John McGuire, do.	John Lemon, do.
John Leslie, do.	Thos. Gaskins, do.
Lough Brown, do.	Moses Lunsford, do.
Hugh Logan, do.	Wm. Smith, do.
David Bailey, sold.	*Mich. Millar, not all'd.
Sam Butcher, not all'd.	*Rob't Witt, soldiers.
Isaac Henry, sold.	*Nich's Burk, do.
Henry Hatton, not all'd.	*Wm. Bush, do.
John Isaac, sold.	*Micajah Mayfield, do.
Jas. Finn, sold.	*Thos. Hooper, do.
Wm. Chapman, do.	*John Montgomery.
David Rodgers, not all'd.	*Francis McDermed, sol'd.
Sam Byrd, do.	*Edw'd Parker, Sergeant.
Jas. Bigger, sold.	*Pet Shepherd, soldier.
Jas. McKinne, not all'd.	*Wm. Thompson, do.

*Geo. Shepherd, do.	*William Rullison, do.
*Randall White, do.	*Christ. Hatten, do.
Geo. Lunsford, do.	James Dean, not all'd.
Mason Lunsford, do.	*Geo. Gilmore, sol'd.
*Isaac Yates, soldier.	Lewis Brown, not all'd.
*Geo. Livingston, same.	*Jos. Thornton, sold.
*Reuben Camp, do.	*Daniel Williams, do.
*John Pulford, do.	*David Allen, do.
*Jas. Bryant, do.	Moses Nelson, not all'd.
*Page Sartia, do.	Aug. 5th.
*John Nelson, not allowed.	*Dennis Cockran, sold.
Enoch Nelson, sol'd.	David Jones, subst. for John
*Jonathan Sworden, do.	Nelson.

Commissioners of military stores and of provisions not allowed.
 Martin Carney, not allowed as a Lt. nor as a W. Master.

*John McGar, sold.	Armd Dudley, sold.
*John Oakley, do.	Edw'd Mathews, not all'd.
*John Haiken, do.	Chas. Morgan, do.
Jas. Ramsey, do.	Wm. Freeman, sold.
John Leverage, not all'd.	John Ash, do.

Those Continentals who came up with Captain George and never re-enlisted in the Illinois Reg't are not allowed.

John Williams, Sergt.	Van Swearer, do.
Thos. Moore, sold.	Jas. January, soldier.
John Moore, do.	Jas. McNutt, do.
Wm. Tyler, do.	Geo. Grey, do.
James Lynes, do.	Elisha Bethcy, do.
John Greenc, do.	Rich'd Reu, not all'd.
Wm. Myers, do.	Arthur Lindsey, sold.
John Paul, do.	Sam McMullen, do.
John Hughes, do.	Edw'd Wilson, do.
Isaac Vanmetere, do.	Sam Stroud, Sergt.
Andrew House, do.	Barney Watem, sold.
Ebenezer Osbourne, do.	Henry Funk, do.
Thos. Batten, do.	Jacob Coger, do.
Stephen Frost, do.	Peter Coger, do.

Jas. Bentley, do.	Ab. Taylor, do.
John Bently, do.	Sam Bell, do.
Edw'd Fear, do.	Mos. Nelson, not all'd.
Wm. Slack, do.	Edw'd Taylor, do.
Asael Davis, do.	Jas. Whitecotton, sold.
John Boyles, do.	Christo. Horn, not al'd.
Jos. Ramsey, do.	Rich'd Sinnett, do.
Thos. Clifton, do.	Noah Craine, sold.
*Israel Dodge, not all'd.	Geo. Campbell, not al'd.
Rich'd Lutterell, sold.	Sam Pickens, sold.
Wm. Crosley, soldier.	John Peartree, do.
Jas. Wood, do.	John Read, not al'd.
Jas. Holms, do.	Chas. Margan, do.
Jos. Anderson, do.	Wm. Ruby, Jun., do. all'd.
Moses Camper, do.	Corn Ruddle, do.
Isaac Farris, sold.	Pleas. Lockhart, do.
John Henry, do.	Josiah Phelps, do.
Hugh Henry, do.	Wm. Buckley, do.
David Henry, do.	Wm. B. Smith, not al'd.
Edw'd Bulger, do.	Turner Oliver, do.
Ab. James, do.	Dan Whitten, do.
Henry Prather, do.	Jos. Henter's pet. rejected.
Jacob Spear, do.	

Capt. Rodgers has the list of his sergeants and soldiers and will give a copy.

Soldiers during the war entitled to a double share Aug. 6th.

The commissioners direct certificates to be issued in the following mode, to wit: To a brigadier-general, 7,500; to a lieutenant-colonel, 4,500; to a major, 4,000; to a captain, 3,000; to a subaltern, 2,000; to a sergeant, 200, and to a private, 100 acres of land, which, on a calculation, is supposed to leave 19,500 acres of land as a residuum, subject to be granted to future claimants that shall appear entitled and to have labored under legal disability to have brought in their claims and to the further directions of the commissioners, and in case of a future division among the claimants the lands are to be apportioned according to the preceding regulations. The agent is ordered to make

out certificates, etc., to be signed by the chairman, delivered to the surveyor, who is to advertise and distribute them among those entitled, taking a receipt therefor, and receiving a dollar per hundred acres.

Aug. 7th. The surveyor is directed to deliver the certificates of claim to the persons entitled, but if a purchaser produces an assignment or obligation for the conveyance, he is directed to deliver the certificates to such purchaser, taking his receipt therefor.

Ordered, that John Campbell, George R. Clark, John Bailey, or any two, with the surveyor, fix on the most convenient place in the grant for the town and lay off the 1,000 acres appropriated for the purpose, and also draw up and report a plan for the same.

Leave is given General Clark to erect the mill he is now building on a branch above the lots already laid off in Clarksville, and, if completed and of public utility, the right of the soil to so much land as shall be deemed sufficient for the water shall be confided to him.

The twelve lots already occupied shall be confirmed to the claimants upon their building houses, actually residing themselves on the lots for twelve months, or settling others thereon, and complying with the directions of the act for saving the lots in Clarksville, agreeable to a promise of a majority of the commissioners heretofore made, and twelve other lots to be laid off adjoining and back of those already laid off shall be appropriated in the same manner, provided they are settled in two months from this date.

On reconsidering Martin Darney's claim, it is the opinion of the board that he is entitled to a lieutenant's quota in the Illinois Grant. Pat Kennedy's petition rejected.

Adjourned to the first Monday in October next.

Signed, by order of the board,

WALKER DANIEL, Chairman.

LOUISVILLE, Aug. 7, 1784:

A copy, but not examined.

Test: W. DANIELS.

LOUISVILLE, August 16, 1784.

At a meeting of the commissioners in consequence of the death of Mr. Walker Daniels, Gent., present—John Campbell, G. R. Clark, John Montgomery, John Bailey, Ab. Chapline and W. Clark, Gent., commissioners.

Ordered that,

WHEREAS, The original proceedings of the board being lost when Mr. Walker Daniel was killed, the foregoing copy to be ratified and confirmed; but, if the original should be obtained, then they are to be in force.

Ordered, that General Clark make out and sign certificates and deliver them to the surveyor, who is to distribute them according to the former resolutions. The board proceeded to the election of another commissioner in the room of Mr. W. Daniel, when Wm. Croghan, Gent., was elected.

Resolved, That General Clark take into his care the proceedings and other papers belonging to the commissioners, and them safely keep for the use of the parties concerned.

Adjourned till the first Monday in October next, unless the chairman shall find it necessary to call a meeting sooner.

JOHN CAMPBELL, Chairman.

At a meeting of the board of commissioner for appointing the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, etc., at Louisville, July 6, 1785, present, John Edwards, John Campbell, Abraham Chapline, John Bailey, Robert Todd and William Clark, commissioners. Captain Rodgers produced a list of his company, which had before been allowed their claims by a board that sat in August last, but their names had been lost or mislaid, which said claims are confirmed by the present board: William Merriweather, sergeant, Thomas Key, sergeant; Geo. Key, Geo. Snow, David Pagan, Henry Blankenship, Dominack Welsh, Gasper Galer, Robert Barnet, Frank Spilman, James Spilman, Travis Booton, William Booton, Wm. Leare, William Kendall, William Froggart, William Givin, William Goodwin,

John Campbell, Charles Martin, Barney Higgins, Fred Doharty, Nathaniel Mershon, David McDonald, James Hammit, John Jones, John Murphy, Michael Glass, Michael Oharow, Rice Curtis and Geo. Smith, soldiers.

On motion made in behalf of Thomas Hays, the board think him entitled to a soldier's part of land in the Illinois Grant. Also Francis Hardin, also Patrick Marr, also Charles Morgan as a sergeant, also John Setzer and Michael Setzer as soldiers.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning.

JOHN EDWARDS, Chairman.

July 7, 1785. The board met according to adjournment. Members the same as yesterday. The board entered into the following resolutions:

That a majority of the surviving commissioners mentioned in the act should, at any time, compose a board and do business.

On motion made in behalf of Michael Miles, are of opinion that he is entitled to a sergeant's quota of land in the Illinois Grant. On motion made, the board came to the following resolution:

That the lots be drawn in the name of the assignee as far as they can be known and made appear, but when doubt arises, they may be classed according to the request of those who claim by assignment and drawn in the name of the original proprietor.

On motion made in behalf of the heirs of Major William Lynn, deceased, who marched to the Illinois under Colonel Geo. R. Clark, and acted as a major at the reduction of the posts therein,

Resolved, That the heirs of the soldier William Lynn, deceased, be entitled to receive a major's quota of land in the Illinois Grant.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning.

JOHN EDWARDS, Chairman.

July 8, 1785. The board met according to adjournment. Members the same as yesterday. On motion made, the board came to the following resolution:

That they have no power to decide in any matter of controversy between claimants claiming as heirs at law.

Resolved, This board have a right to judge and determine to whom they shall grant a deed when two or more persons claim the same by assignment or conveyance from the original proprietor.

Resolved, That this board will not proceed in such judgment and determination in the absence of the parties, unless it is proved to them they have been summoned and do not appear.

Resolved, That when any dispute between claimants should be before the board unfit for issue, for want of necessary vouchers, that the preference in classing the so disputed claim should be determined by lot.

Resolved, That Thomas Walker be allowed a soldier's claim in the Illinois Grant.

Resolved, That the commissioners' certificate now produced to the board by assignees be returned to them, but first marked in whose name they were classed, and in case the assignment or assignments are on the back of the certificates, then to be retained by the board and another given to the last assignee expressing therein their original owner and every assignee named and quantity of land.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

JOHN EDWARDS, Chairman.

July 9, 1785. The board met according to adjournment. Members present the same as yesterday.

A memorial of John Rodgers, captain of cavalry, respecting a grant made to Walker Daniel by a former board as a major to Illinois regiment, to which he objects, and affirms he, the said Daniel, had no right or pretensions, having never served in that regiment.

Resolved, The consideration of the said memorial be postponed till the next meeting of the board, and that a summons issue citing Robert Daniel, heir at law to the said Walker, to appear at that time.

Resolved, That the plot of the 149,000 acres of land granted to the Illinois regiment be proved by the oath of Mr. William Clark, the surveyor, and that it be transmitted to the register's office in Richmond by Colonel Richard Clough Anderson.

A draught of a petition to the assembly from this board agreed upon and ordered to be signed by the chairman.

Adjourned to the first Wednesday in August.

JOHN EDWARDS, Chairman.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for appointing the lands granted to the Illinois regiment at Louisville, the 9th December, 1785, present, George R. Clark, Ab. Chapline, Robert Todd, John Bailey and William Clark, commissioners.

Resolved, That the further consideration of Captain Rodgers' memorial respecting the claim of Walker Daniel, deceased, be postponed till the next sitting of the board, and that the board now proceed to draw the lottery for all claims that appear reasonable and are allowed.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning.

Dec. 10, 1785. The board met according to adjournment, members the same as yesterday.

A number of assignments and conveyances being produced, the board proceeded to class them in the name of the assignees and direct that title papers be kept with the board.

Adjourned till Monday next.

Dec. 12th. The board met according to adjournment. Members the same as yesterday. The surveyor produced a general plat of the surveys contained in the I. grant, which was approved by the commissioners.

Capt. Ab. Hite and Mr. E. Rodgers, at the request of the board, attended and drew the classes and numbers and Messrs. Walter Davis and William Croghan acted as clerks in taking down the names of the respective claimants and numbers they drew.

Resolved, That the surveyor be directed to issue plats and certificates of surveys to the different claimants on their paying the fees and expenses due thereon, as also the dollar per hundred acres directed to be paid by law, to be appointed toward defraying the expenses of adjusting the claims, surveying and apportioning the grants, etc.

Adjourned till the first Wednesday in March next.

G. R. CLARK.

LOUISVILLE, 13th December, 1785.

At a meeting of the trustees for the town of Clarksville, present, General Clark, Captain Chapline, Captain Bailey, Captain Todd and William Clark.

Resolved, That the surveyor be directed to lay off forty lots in the town of Clarksville, above Mill creek, adjacent to those already laid off below, to be sold the first Wednesday in March next, and that they be advertised in the adjacent counties, directed by law.

Resolved, That all the lots now occupied be confirmed to the claimants on their complying with terms prescribed by the trustees to those who took possession of and settled on the first lots.

Resolved, That the lots to be laid off be sold for cash and that William Clark, G. R. Clark and Captain Chapline, or any two of them, be appointed to superintend the sales, and that the money arising from such sales be lodged in the hands of W. Clark, who shall be liable for the same when called for by the board.

The board proceeded to the election of trustees in the room of Walker Daniel, deceased, and John Montgomery, removed, when William Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent., were elected.

Adjourned till the first Wednesday in March next.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of trustees for the town of Clarksville on Tuesday, the 9th of May, 1786, present, George R. Clark, Ab. Chapline, William Clark, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Resolved, That a further sale of lots in the town of Clarksville be held in said town the first Tuesday in August next, for cash, and that the sale be immediately advertised in the adjacent counties by the chairman.

Adjourned till the first Tuesday in August next.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, etc., at Louisville, the 5th day of September, 1787, present, John Campbell, George Rogers Clark,

Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge, William Croghan, Andrew Heth and William Clark, Gent., commissioners.

Resolved, That two meetings of the board be held at this place for the purpose of receiving and determining on such claims as have not yet been given in agreeable to the direction of an act of last session of assembly; the first of said meetings to be the second Monday in October and next, and the other the 31st day of December following, being the last day fixed by law for receiving claims, and that a copy of this resolution be advertised in the "Kentucky Gazette" for three weeks successively.

Adjourned till the second Monday in October next.

JOHN CAMPBELL, Chairman.

Monday, 8th of October, 1787. The following members of the commissioners met according to adjournment, viz.: G. R. Clark, William Clark and William Croghan, and adjourned till to-morrow morning.

G. R. CLARK.

LOUISVILLE, 9th October, 1787.

The following members of the commission met according to adjournment, viz.: John Campbell, William Clark, Richard Taylor, William Croghan, and adjourned till to-morrow, twelve o'clock.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

Wednesday, October 10th. The board met according to adjournment: present, John Campbell, George R. Clark, Richard Taylor, James F. Moore, Alexander Breckenridge, William Croghan, Robert Breckenridge and William Clark, Gent., commissioners.

Resolved, That the officers and soldiers who were left at the falls by order of Colonel Clark, when the detachment were going against the Illinois, be allowed quota of land in the grant.

James Sherlock's claim disallowed. Alexander McIntire allowed as a private. Isaac Riddle (*Ruddle*) allowed as a captain. William Foster and Samuel Finly allowed as privates; also James Patton, Richard Chenoweth and Neal Doherty and Isaac McBride.

Adjourned till the 31st of December next. JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, at Louisville, the 31st of December, 1787, present, George R. Clark, Ab. Chapline, Richard Taylor, William Croghan, Richard Terrell, Alexander Breckenridge and William Clark, Gent., commissioners.

Resolved, That Florence Mahony, Eben Bowen, private, John Brand, sergeant, Angus Cameron, private; (absent, R. Taylor; present, J. F. Moore) and William Guthrie, private, also, Sam Harris and John Peties, be allowed quotas of land. Present, John Campbell, Gent. Samuel Harris, Sen., allowed as a private.

Resolved, That such claims as may be offered to any of the members of the board this evening be received this evening and determined at a future meeting.

Adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow. JOHN CAMPBELL.

January 1st, 1788. The board met according to adjournment. Present, George R. Clark, Ab. Chapline, Alexander Breckenridge, Richard Terrell, William Croghan, Richard Taylor and William Clark. The following claims given in yesterday were taken up and determined on, as follows: George McManess, John McManess and John McManess, Sen., allowed as privates; also, James Jarrold, Samuel Stephenson, John Maline Harris, William Coger, William Asher and Richard Cox, privates; John Walker, sergeant. Absent, A. Breckenridge; present, J. F. Moore, Gent. Thomas Simpson allowed as a soldier; also, J. Elms and Robert Davis as soldiers. William Shannon not allowed.

Resolved, unanimously, That all claims heretofore adjusted and allowed by a former board be confirmed as they stand, drawn in the lottery, except the claim of Walker Daniel, which is rejected, and the claim of Martin Carney, which is to be reconsidered.

Adjourned till to-morrow, nine o'clock. G. R. CLARK.

Wednesday, 2d January. The following members met, viz.: George R. Clark, Ab. Chapline, Richard Terrell, William Croghan and William Clark, commissioners, and adjourned till to-morrow, nine o'clock. G. R. CLARK.

Friday, 4th January. At a meeting of the board of commissioners at Louisville, present, John Campbell, G. R. Clark, Ab. Chapline, Richard Terrell, Alexander Breckenridge, Andrew Heth, William Croghan and William Clark, Gent., commissioners.

The board proceeded to reconsider the claim of Martin Carney and determined that the said claim be confirmed. Absent, John Campbell.

The board then proceeded and drew the lottery for such claims as have been lately allowed and were not in the lottery drawn by a former board.

Resolved, Whereas, there appears to be a residuum of 10,800 acres of land, that a future division take place and the said residuum be apportioned agreeable to this former regulation of the board.

Resolved, That the dollar per 100 acres paid for certificates be apportioned toward defraying the expenses of the original survey provisions, paying chain carriers, choppers, hunters, etc., etc., the balance, if any, applied as part of the surveyor's fee.

Resolved, That three meetings of the board be held at this place for the purpose of executing deeds, the first meeting to be the 20th of February next, the second the first Tuesday in April, and the third meeting the 17th of July, and that public notice be given of those meetings in order that the claimants may take out their plats and apply for deeds.

Adjourned till the 20th of February next.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the board of trustees for the town of Clarksville, at Louisville, the 5th of January, 1788, present, George R. Clark, Abraham Chapline, Richard Terrell, William Croghan and William Clark.

Resolved, That a number of lots in the town of Clarksville be sold at public auction at this place on the first Tuesday in March next, being Jefferson court day, and that the time and place of sale be advertised at the court-houses of the adjacent counties.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, at Louisville, the 20th February, 1788, present, G. R. Clark, James F. Moore, Richard Taylor, William Croghan, Alexander Breckenridge, Andrew Heth and William Clark, Gent., commissioners.

Resolved, Whereas satisfactory proof is made to this board of Jacob Bowman being heir at law of Joseph* Bowman, deceased, that deeds for the lands allowed said Joseph be issued in the name of said Jacob.

Resolved, That claimants of choices of lots in the Illinois Grant be notified by advertisement to apply and make their respective choices in rotation on or before the 17th of July next, and in case of failure, the commissioners will proceed to ballot for them in order that the subsequent choices may be made by such as are entitled and apply.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, etc., at Louisville, the 4th of April, 1788, present, Wm. Clark, Alexander Breckenridge, Robert Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, Wm. Croghan, Jas. F. Moore and Richard Terrell, Gent., commissioners.

Adjourned till Tuesday next, 9 o'clock.

WM. CLARK, Chairman.

LOUISVILLE, Tuesday, the 8th of April, 1788.

The board met according to adjournment; present, Geo. R. Clark, Wm. Clark, Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge, Robert Breckenridge, Wm. Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Resolved, That Wm. Clark be appointed to receive the money payable to the register of the land office, as may arise from the execution of deeds.

The following deeds were presented to the board and executed, viz.: To John Moyland, Adam Hoops and Abner Martin Dunn, Nos. 27,

*This is Jacob in the manuscript, but evidently a mistake of the clerk or copyist.

132, 151, 217, 218, 105, 253, 265, 287, 284 and 291, of 500 acres each; to Adam Hoops, No. 242; to Isaac Bowman, his four surveys of 500 acres—Nos. 1, 158, 213 and 289.

Resolved, When sufficient proof is produced to the board that Wm. Croghan hath purchased the several claims in 500 acres—No. 4—the surveyor be therefore directed to make out a plat of said tract in Croghan's name.

Adjourned till to-morrow, 3 o'clock.

G. R. CLARK.

Wednesday, the 9th April, 1788. The board met according to adjournment; present, same as yesterday. The board proceeded to apportion, by lottery, a number of claims in the residuum of lands, and then adjourned till Friday, the 18th inst.

G. R. CLARK.

Friday, the 18th April, 1788. The board met according to adjournment; members same as before, also James Francis Moore, Gent. The board proceeded and drew the lottery for the balance of the residuum of lands.

Resolved, When James Francis Moore hath produced to the board a sufficient assignment from David Glenn for his claims in 500 acres—No. 20—the balance being already vested in said Moore, that the surveyor be directed to make out the plat in Moore's name.

The following deeds were presented and executed by the board, viz.: To Wm. Croghan, No. 4 and No. 113, 500 acres each; to Wm. Vanlear, assignee of Montgomery, No. 167, 202, 239, 270 and 283, 500 acres each.

Adjourned till the 17th of July next.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the trustees for the town of Clarksville, at Louisville, the 5th of June, 1788, present, John Campbell, Geo. R. Clark, Wm. Clark, Richard Terrell and William Croghan, Gent.

On motion made by Mr. Terrell to appoint a trustee in the room of Colonel Robert Todd, who had authorized him to inform the board he could not attend, and requested another to be appointed in his stead.

Resolved, That Mr. Andrew Heth be appointed a trustee for the town of Clarksville in the room of Colonel Robert Todd.

Resolved, That the clerk be directed to write to Colonel Fleming, Colonel Edwards, Messrs. John Baleys and Ab. Chapline, requesting them to inform the board whether they can attend the business as trustees of the town of Clarksville or not; if not, to signify their resignation in order that others may be appointed in their stead.

Resolved, That the lots laid out above the mouth of Mill creek, in the town of Clarksville, be sold in said town agreeable to law, for cash, on Saturday, the 9th of August, next; that the same be advertised at the court-houses of the adjacent counties; and that William Clark, Richard Terrell and Andrew Heth, or any two of them, superintend the sales in case the board should not meet at that time.

Resolved, That Mr. Wm. Clark be appointed clerk to the board of trustees; that he be directed to provide a book and transcribe therein the proceedings of the board, which have hitherto been kept on detached papers, and that the proceedings so transcribed be examined by the board at their next sitting.

Adjourned till Monday next.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the commissioners for appointing the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, on Thursday, the 17th day of July, 1788, present, Geo. R. Clark, Richard Terrell, Richard Taylor, James F. Moore, Andrew Heth, William Croghan and Ab. Chapline and Alexander Breckenridge, John Campbell, Gent., produced to the board a conveyance from John Bailey in favor of Michael Hilligas and John Dunlap for (500) five hundred acres of land, the choices of three tracts of that size, and claim No. 16 as the choice. The question being put, it was determined that said Hilligas and Dunlap are entitled to said tract of land, and that a deed issued accordingly. Present, John Campbell and William Clark.

The following deeds were presented to the board and executed, viz.: To Richard Terrell, No. 6; to Hector Moore Wright, assignee of James Francis Moore, No. 20.

Resolved, That further time be allowed the different claimants to apply and take out their deeds till the first Tuesday in April next.

Resolved, That Richard Taylor and Ab. Chapline, Gent., be appointed to examine the deeds to be presented to the board and sign such as are found to be truly made out. Adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

Friday, 18th July, 1788. The board met according to adjournment. Present, Abraham Chapline, William Clark, Richard Taylor, James Francis Moore, William Croghan, Andrew Heth, Alexander Breckenridge and R. Terrell.

The following deeds were presented and executed, viz.: To Ab. Chapline, No. 222; to Croghan, assignee, No. 145 and 180 in one deed; to Richard Terrell, assignee, No. 9; to Terrell and Elie Williams, No. 157; to R. Terrell, assignee, No. 115; to Terrell and Elie Williams, assignee, No. 8 and 58; to R. Terrell, assignee, No. 262; to R. Terrell and Elie Williams, assignee, No. 221; to John Mayfield. Adam Hoops and Abner Martin Dunn, assignee, 101; to Jacob Bowman, heir at law, No. 125, 49, 237, 5 and 97; to Isaac Ruddle. No. 110, 153, 34, 14, 77 and 149; to William Croghan and Gab. Madison, assignee, No. 267. (Present, General Clark). To Richard Terrell, assignee, No. 83, 127, 252 and 83; to John Shelby, heir at law of James Shelby, No. 42, 43, 249, 95, 88 and 89; to Robert George, No. 17, 159, 137, 149 and 275; to William Leas, assignee of R. George, No. 172; to William Clark, No. 96 and 272; to Pat Joyes, assignee, No. 75 and 109. Present, John Campbell, Gent.; absent, G. R. Clark.

Adjourned till five o'clock to-morrow morning.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

Saturday, 19th July, 1788. The board met according to adjournment. Present, John Campbell, Ab. Chapline, William Clark, Richard Taylor, Andrew Heth, James F. Moore, Alexander Breckenridge and Richard Terrell, Gent.

The following deeds, being produced to the board, were executed, viz. : To Nathaniel Parker, assignee, No. 225 and 33.

Richard Jones Waters appeared before the board and claimed a title to the land allowed William Smith, which was drawn for in the name of Daniel Brodhead, as assignee of Smith. On motion, the board determined that the matter shall be taken up and revised.

Mr. Mich. Campbell produced to the board two conveyances from John Montgomery for five hundred acres each, one in favor of said Campbell, the other in the name of James Watt, and claimed the land accordingly. The claim being contested by Mr. Breckenridge, on account of his having sold 3,600 acres of such land as attorney of said Montgomery. The papers being produced, the board determined that the conveyances of Breckenridge take preference.

John Harrison and William Sullivan applied to the board for the third and fourth choice tracts of Major Quick's claim by virtue of assignments for such choices. Said Harrison chose No. 71 and Sullivan No. 70. Those choices were contested by G. R. Clark. The question being put, the board determined in favor of the claimants and order that deeds issue accordingly. A deed issued to Mich. Hilligas and John Dunlap, assignees of John Bailey, for No. 16.

The title of 500 acres of land being contested between Mich. Campbell and William Croghan, both having assignments from Colonel John Montgomery, the board determined that Croghan's assignments take preference.

Deed issued to Benjamin Sebastian, Alexander Scot Bullett and Elie Williams, assignees, for No. 23, 78, 277, 40, 122 and 36, in one deed; to Mich. Campbell, assignee of Montgomery, No. 35. Absent, John Campbell, Gent.

An order omitted to be entered yesterday is ordered to be inserted here, viz. :

William Croghan, applying for Chapline's third choices, and no person appearing to make the second, the board proceeded to ballot therefor, when No. 222 was drawn; this choice, as appears, ought to have been made by Joel Rease. Two deeds issued to William Van-

lear, assignee of Montgomery, by Alexander Breckenridge, his attorney, one for No. 143, the other for No. 51.

Resolved, In the division of 500 acres surveys, among sergeants, soldiers, etc., that the plats be divided into five equal tracts, and any claimants, applying to the surveyor after the first day of November next, may ballot with him for his part and have the same laid off. But in case of a claim or claims for more than 100 acres, the greatest claim shall have preference of choice in order that he may be able to obtain his proportion together in one tract, and his choice shall be so made and in such manner as to leave other claims entire and undivided.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be advertised by the surveyor immediately, in order that those concerned may attend at the proper time to fix their claims.

Adjourned till the first Tuesday in November next.

ABRAHAM CHAPLINE.

Tuesday, 4th Nov., 1788. The board met according to adjournment. Present, John Campbell, Geo. R. Clark, Wm. Clark, Wm. Croghan, Richard Terrell, Andrew Heth and James Francis Moore, Gent.

The board proceeded to apportion, by lot, the claims of the sergeants, soldiers, etc., and determine in what manner the 500-acre tracts shall be divided among them.

Adjourned till to-morrow, 9 o'clock.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

Wednesday, 5th Nov., 1788. The board met according to adjournment. Present, Geo. R. Clark, William Clark, Richard Terrell, Andrew Heth, Wm. Croghan, James Francis Moore and Alexander Breckenridge, Gent. On motion made, the board proceeded to point out and determine in what manner the 500-acre lots are to be divided among those who hold unequal quantities, in such tracts agreeable to a plan produced by the surveyor and approved by the board.

The following deeds being presented and executed by the board, viz.: To Nat. Parker, assignee No. 233; to Levi Todd, Nos. 29, 46, 87 and 290; to William Vanlear, assignee No. 247.

Adjourned till the first Tuesday in January next.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the commissioners agreeable to adjournment, at Louisville, the 7th April, 1789, present, John Campbell, Geo. R. Clark, William Clark, Richard Terrell, William Croghan, Andrew Heth and Alexander Breckenridge, gentlemen.

Adjourned till to-morrow, 8 o'clock.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

April 8, 1789. The board met according to adjournment. Present, John Campbell, Geo. R. Clark, Wm. Clark, Richard Terrell, Wm. Croghan, Andrew Heth and Alexander Breckenridge, John Bayleys and James F. Moore, Gent.

Resolved, Whereas William Clark produced to this board assignments for the claims of Wm. Orear, John Orear, Daniel Orear and Jesse Orear, that plats and certificates of said lands issue in the name of Clark. That plats, etc., for the claims of Wm. Cosby and Moses Camper in No. 52, issue in the name of Richard Terrell, he appearing to be assignee of Ben Pope, who was assignee of the original claimants; also for the claims of Richard Lutrell and Charles Jones upon the same principle.

Richard Terrell and G. R. Clark each produced an assignment for the claim of said David Henry, that in favor of Terrell being eldest, to have preference. Deeds executed in favor of Wm. Croghan, assignee for No. 69 and 15. Absent, John Campbell, Gent., and R. Terrell.

Mr. Wm. Easten produce assignments for the several claims in No. 170. Ordered, therefore, that a plat issue in the name of the assignee.

A deed executed in favor of L. Protzman, F. Rolmer and Morgan, assignee of V. T. Dalton, for No. 76; to Wm. Harrod, for No. 91, 99, 164, 234, 261 and 264; to Michael Lacaassigne, assignee of

Lynn, for No. 12; to John Holker, assignee for No. 22, 188, 191, 197, 204, 212, 215, 219, 226, 227, 229, 241 and 297; to Moore and Rhea, assignee for No. 258, 268, 274, 285 and 288; to Geo. R. Clark, assignee of J. Hoker, for No. 18, and to same for No. 62 and 84 in his own right, and to same as assignee of Quick for No. 163; to Richard Terrell, assignee for No. 129, 203, 206, 104, 184 and 144; to Jas. Overton, Jr., assignee of Lynn for No. 93; to R. T. Waters, assignee of Smith, for 100 acres, part of No. 2. Present, R. Terrel, who signed the before-mentioned deeds in favor of General Clark. Other deeds, being presented, were executed for Geo. R. Clark, viz.: For 223 and 56 in his own right, and for 100 acres, part of No. 28, as assignee of Robert, assignee of Harris; also three others, 100 acres each part of No. 30, as assignee of the claims of Patton, Doherty and Chenowith.

Adjourned till 3 o'clock.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the board on Tuesday, the 9th April, 1789, present, John Campbell, Wm. Clark, Alex. Breckenridge, Jas. F. Moore, Wm. Croghan, Richard Terrell and Andrew Heth, Gent.

The following deeds executed by the board, viz.: To John Holker, assignee for No. 45, 298 and 181; to Michael Lacaassigne, assignee for No. 10 and for 100 acres, part of No. 13 A, and to R. I. Waters, assignee for 400 acres, part of No. 19, B, C, D and E. (Present, Geo. R. Clark.) Deeds executed for Wm. Clark, assignee of John Baleys, for No. 24, and as assignee of sundries for 400 acres, part of No. 31, A, B, C and D.

James Francis Moore produced to the board an assignment for the claim of Mason Lunsford. Ordered, therefore, that a plat and list of survey issue in the name of said Moore, notwithstanding any former order of the board.

Resolved, That the time for taking out deeds be prolonged to the first day of September.

Adjourned to the third Monday in May, but in case a board should not meet at that time, then to the 4th of July. JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the commissioners for appointing the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, etc., at Louisville, the 2d of June, 1789, present, G. R. Clark, Alexander Breckenridge, James F. Moore, Richard Terrell, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and William Clark, Gent. Deeds executed for Jacob Bowman, heir of Joseph Bowman, deceased, for No. 140, 186 and 193.

Mr. William Croghan produced to the board assignments for the claims of Samuel Harris, Samuel Harris, Jr., and John Mahn Harris, John Sertain and Page Sertain, and 156 acres, part of James Merriweather's claim. Ordered, therefore, that the surveyor be directed to issue plats and certificates for said lands in the name of said Croghan.

Adjourned till the 4th of July.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the commissioners at Louisville, the 7th July, 1789, present, George Rogers Clark, Alexander Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, James F. Moore, William Croghan, Richard Terrell and William Clark.

Deeds executed in favor John Rodgers, for 1,234 acres, Nos. 11, 72 ; 234 acres, part of No. 248. (Present, Robert Breckenridge.)

Deeds issued in favor Christo. Greenup, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 54 B, and 100 acres, part of No. 73 A ; to Isaac Ruddle for 234 acres of No. 190 ; to Nat Parker for 300 acres, part of No. 123 ; to William Croghan, a deed for 844 acres, viz.: 200 acres in No. 116, 300 in No. 128, and 344 in No. 106, and another deed for 300 acres, part of 195 C, D and E ; to William Clark, for 200 acres, the claims of John Brand, part of No. 130, and one other deed for 500 acres, No. 160. (Present, John Campbell, Gent.) Deeds to Richard Terrell, assignee of Harland, for 100 acres part No. 13 ; also assignee of Luttrell 100 acres, part of No. 79 ; also for 200 acres, part of No. 52, the claims of Camper and Cosby ; also for 200 acres, part of 12, the claims of Prichard. Deeds to John Thruston for all his claims, and deed to John Rodgers, No. 235, 282 and 29. (Absent, John Campbell.) Deed to Mr. Lacaassigne for 100 acres, part of No. 60, Copland's claim. To John Holker, assignee, for No. 103. To B. Tarascon, for No. 152 and 240, and for 100 acres, part of No.

94, Isaac Faris's claims. To R. Terrell, three deeds, 100 acres each, viz.: A No. 57, E No. 118, and C No. 142. To William Buckley, 200 acres, part of No. 162, including his own and Zeckledge's claims. Deeds issued to the heirs of Richard McCarty for the whole of said McCarty's claim. To Ab. Hite, Jr., assignee, for 312 acres, part of No. 32. To Isaac Bowman, for his balance of 156 acres, part of No. 32. A deed issued to Thomas Thornburg, assignee, for the claim of Samuel Humphries, the assignment containing other matters of consequence to Thornburg, he is permitted to retain the same in his hands.

Adjourned till five o'clock.

G. R. CLARK.

The board met pursuant to adjournment. Present, John Campbell, George R. Clark, William Clark, William Croghan, Richard Terrell, Richard Taylor and James Francis Moore.

Deed executed in favor William Sullivan, assignee, for No. 70; do. to George Wilson, assignee, for No. 207; to Basil Prather, assignee, for No. 68, 112 and 114.

Adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the following members of the board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 31st August, 1789, viz.: George R. Clark, Alexander Breckenridge, Robert Breckenridge, Richard Terrell, William Croghan, William Clark and John Campbell.

Deed signed in favor Tarascon brothers, assignees, for 200 acres James Irby's claim, B. Tarascon for Lemon's claim and 120 acres, part of No. 196; to John Holker, assignee, for 400 acres, part of No. 81, 400 acres, part of No. 178, and 200, the right of M. Miles in No. 85. One other deed to same for No. 136 and 187. To John Lewis, assignee, for No. 47, 257, 100 acres Watkins' claim in No. 243, 100 George Sheppard's claim in No. 116, 100 do. William Tyler's claim in No. 142, all in one deed. To Robert Todd, for No. 3; to Francis Spilman, 100 acres D in No. 2; to Sergeant John Moore, for 200 acres in No. 126, his own claim; to Moses Lumsford, his own claim, 100 acres; to John Swan, heir, for his four surveys, 500 acres,

and one other deed for his balance of 156 acres; to Richard Terrell, assignee, for No. 39; to Robert K. Moore, assignee, a deed for 312 acres, part of No. 216, 100 acres, Oreer's right in No. 211, Charles Jones' right in No. 198, 100 acres, the right of William Guthrie in No. 281, 100 acres, the right of John Peters in No. 281—in all, 712 acres. To William Croghan, for 200 acres, the right of Jonas Manifee, Florence Mahoney; to Pat Doran, for his claim, 100 acres; to Phil Walker, assignee of John Walker, sergeant, for 200 acres, part of 130; to James F. Moore, assignee of Mason Lunsford, for 100 acres, part of No. 44; to Robert George, for 234 acres, part of No. 149; to Jacob Reagan, assignee of Edward Worthington, for No. 67; to John Rogers, assignee, for 300 acres, viz.: The claim of John Campbell in No. 60, the claim of William Booton, 100 acres, in No. 44, and the claim of John Jones, 100 acres, in No. 198; one other deed for 200 acres, viz.: 100 acres, the claim of Fred Doherty in No. 220 and 100; do. the right of William Gynn in No. 224; one other deed for 300 acres, viz.: 200 acres, the right of Thomas Key in No. 245, and 100 acres, the right of Michael Oharrow in No. 211; to George Rogers, for 100 acres, the right of Dom. Welch in No. 255; to David McDonald, 100 acres in No. 211; to Travis Booton, — acres, his own right in No. 85; to Adam Hoops, assignee, for 500 acres, No. 121; to Walter C. Davis, 500 acres, No. 86; to John Lewis, assignee, for 500 acres, No. 263; to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, the right of Robert Garrott in No. 224; to same, for 100 acres, the right of James Monroe in No. 254; one other deed to same for 100 acres, the right of James Wood in No. 25; to John Moyland, for 500 acres, No. 168; John Moyland and Pat Joyce, 500 acres, viz.: 140 to Moyland, the balance to Joyes, No. 208; to John Moyland, assignee, for 500 acres, No. 185; to Pat Joyes, assignee, 500 acres, No. 165, and one other deed for 234 acres, the balance of Bailey's claim; also, one other deed for 500 acres, No. 256; to Jacob Reagan, 156 acres, Carney's balance in No. 154; to John Girault, five deeds for his whole claim; William Harrod, for his

balance, 234 acres; John Shelby, for his balance, 234; to William Easton, assignee, for 500 acres, No. 170.

Adjourned till to-morrow, ten o'clock. JOHN CAMPBELL.

Thursday, the 1st of September, 1789. The board met pursuant to adjournment. Members same as yesterday.

The following deeds presented to the board and executed, viz.: To James Davis, for balance of his claims, 156 acres; to Isaac Anderson, assignee, for 500 acres, No. 192; to John Harrison, assignee, for 500 acres, No. 21; to Robert Todd, for 500 acres, No. 55; to George Sheppard, assignee, for 100 acres, the claim of D. Bailey in No. 195; to Richard Terrell and Benjamin Sebastian, for 400 acres, part of No. 108, surveyed in the name of A. S. Bullett, viz.: two-thirds to Terrell, the balance to Sebastian; to Richard Terrell, for 100 acres in No. 13, the claim of J. Holms; to George R. Clark, for 100 acres, part of No. 57, the claim of Hugh Henry; to John Harrison, assignee, for 351 acres, the balance of Montgomery claim; to John Moyland, Adam Hoops and Abner M. Dunn, assignees, a deed for 1,500 acres, viz.: No. 131, 250 and 293; to Adam Hoops, assignee, for 500 acres, No. 166; to Basil Prather, assignee, from deeds for balance of Brashear's claim, viz.: No. 111, 134 and 236, 500 acres each, and 234 acres, part of No. 194; to Adam Hoops and William McPherson, assignees, jointly, 500 acres, No. 48.

Adjourned. JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment at the falls of Ohio, the 6th July, 1791, present, John Campbell, William Clark and James F. Moore, Gent.

Mr. Joseph Calvit produced to the board a deed for his proportion of land in the Illinois Grant, amounting to 2,156 acres, viz.: No. 41, 50, 61, 161, and 156 acres, part of No. 216. The board having examined the deed, etc., executed the same. JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the following members of the board of commissioners at Louisville, the 7th December, 1791, to wit: James F.

Moore, Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge and Richard Terrell. Ordered, that Richard Terrell be appointed clerk and surveyor to the board, in the room of William Clark, deceased, and that he take possession of the records, books and papers accordingly.

Deed issued to Michael Lacaassigne, assignee of Michael Sitzer and John Sitzer, for 200 acres in No. 2, being B and E.

Adjourned.

JAMES F. MOORE.

At a meeting of the commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment at the falls of Ohio, the 8th day of January, 1792, present, Alexander Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, Robert Breckenridge and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Deeds issued to James Merriweather for No. 26, 92, 150 and 214, for 500 acres each; also to Levi Todd 156 acres, part of No. 271; to Edward Douse, assignee Daniel Brodhead, assignee Buckner Pittman, for 200 acres, part of No. 171 and E; also to Thomas Wilson, lieutenant, for 156 acres, part of No. 169 A; also to John Moore for 100 acres, C part of No. 126.

Adjourned.

ALEXANDER BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of the commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment at Louisville, the 6th March, 1792, present, John Campbell, Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Deed issued to Samuel Oldhorn, assignee of Jacob Vanmeter, for No. 7, 500 acres. Deed issued to Jacob Vanmeter for No. 64, 187, 232, 500 acres each, amounting to 1,500 acres. Deed issued to Jacob Vanmeter for 156 acres, being B part of No. 155.

Adjourned.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 3d day of April, 1792, present, G. R. Clark, Richard Terrell and Wm. Croghan, Gent. Deed issued to Wm. Vanlear, assignee of Edward Worthington, for No. 176, containing 500 acres.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 17th day of May, 1792, present, Geo. R. Clark, Robert Breckenridge, Alexander Breckenridge and William Croghan, Gent. Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee of Pleasant Lockhart, for 100 acres, part of lot No. 54, and to Peter Priest, for 100 acres, part of lot No. 571.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for appointing the lands granted to the Illinois regiment, at Louisville, May 23, 1792, present, John Campbell, Alexander Breckenridge and Wm. Croghan, Gent.

Deeds issued to Henry Floyd, Jr., assignee of Henry Floyd, for Nos. 65 and 107, in one deed, and to Henry Floyd, for Nos. 230 and 280, also in one deed.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for apportioning the lands granted the Illinois regiment, at Louisville, May 28, 1792, present, John Campbell, Geo. R. Clark, Alexander Breckenridge and Richard Taylor, Gent.

A deed issued to William Croghan, assignee of Henry Floyd, for 156 acres of lands, part of a 500-acre survey, No. 154.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, the 7th day of March, 1797, present, George R. Clark, Alexander Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, Robert Breckenridge and William Croghan, Gent.

Deeds issued to the heir at law of Abraham Kellar, deceased, for the following six tracts of lands of 500 acres each, viz.: No. 71, No. 120, No. 156, No. 173, No. 238, No. 295, and for 234 acres, part of a 300-acre survey—No. 148 being the letter B.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, the 2d day of May, 1797, present, Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Deed issued to John Armstrong for 100 acres No. 57, letter D, allowed Barney Higgans and conveyed by assignment produced.

Deed issued to Samuel Applegate for 100 acres allowed Stephen Frost, of No. 73, letter B, conveyed by assignment produced.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, the 4th day of January, 1797, present, Richard Taylor, Robert Breckenridge, William Croghan, James F. Moore and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Deed issued to Abraham Chapline for 500 acres, No. 199, allowed Edward Worthington and conveyed by assignment produced; deed issued to Elizabeth Morgan, devisee of David Morgan, deceased, for 100 acres, part of No. 220, letter D, allowed James Elms and conveyed by assignments. Deed issued to Thomas Mollay for 100 acres, part of No. 286, letter D, allowed John McMannass, Sen., conveyed by assignment, produced.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for the Illinois Grant, at Captain Richard Terrell's office, the 14th day of October, 1797, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan, Richard Terrell, Gent. Deed issued to James Ramsey for 100 acres, part of No. 119, letter A. Deed issued to William Swan, assignee of Abraham Lusader, for 100 acres, part of No. 79, letter A, conveyed by assignment, produced.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners for the Illinois Grant, at Major William Croghan's, the 15th day of November, 1797, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent. Deed issued to Tilman Camper for 100 acres, letter C, part No. 52. A deed issued to Robert George, assignee of Abraham Chapline, for 156 acres, part of No. 276, letter A, conveyed by assignment, produced.

Deed issued to Abraham Lucas, assignee of Henry Frank, for 100 acres, part of No. 73, letter D, conveyed by assignment, produced.

Deed issued to Jesse Rowland, assignee of Layton White, for 100 acres, part of No. 255, letter D, conveyed by assignment, produced.

Deeds issued to John Isaacs for 100 acres, part of No. 123, letter B.
RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 5th day of December, 1797, present, Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Deed issued to William Croghan, assignee, for the following claims, to wit: Of Samuel Finley, 100 acres, letter D, part of No. 30; John Boyles, 100 acres, letter C, part of No. 60; Armstead Dudley, 100 acres, letter E, part of No. 60; Van Swearingen, 100 acres, letter B, part of No. 116; George Venshioner, 100 acres, letter B, part of No. 119; Ebenezer Bowen, 100 acres, letter A, part of No. 128; and of James Jerrold, 100 acres, letter B, part of No. 128.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners at Louisville, the 9th day of December, 1797, present, James F. Moore, Richard Taylor, Alexander Breckenridge and Richard Terrell, gentlemen.

Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 234 acres, part of No. 246, A. Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 81, B. Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 162, B. Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 79, C. Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 174, A. Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 286, C. Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 286, A. Deed issued to James Guthrie, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 211, E.

JAMES F. MOORE.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners at Louisville, the second day of January, 1798, present, Alexander Breckenridge, Robert Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, gentlemen.

Deed issued to George Hucklebery, assignee of Richard Harrison, for 500 acres, No. 135, by assignment produced.

ALEXANDER BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners at Louisville, the 1st day of June, 1798, present, George R. Clark, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, gentlemen.

Deed issued to Adam Brenton, assignee of Isaac Vanmeter, for 100 acres, part of No. 243, letter C.

Deed issued to Robert Biggs, assignee of John Baldwin, assignee of William Montgomery, heir of James, for 156 acres, part of No. 133, letter C.


Deed issued to the heir of Isaac Hite, assignee of Isaac Kellar, for 200 acres, part of No. 245, letters C and D.

Deed issued to Richard Terrell, assignee, for 100 acres, part of No. 59, letter B, and for 152 acres, part of No. 196, letter H.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners at Louisville, the 6th day of August, 1798, present, Alexander Breckenridge, Robert Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, Richard Terrell and William Croghan, gentlemen.

Deeds issued to James Gordon Heron, for three tracts of 500 acres each, to wit: No. 102, 139 and 183, as assignee of Richard Harrison. Two hundred acres deeded to William Croghan, assignee of Cox and Fenwick, assignee of Daniel Brodhead, assignee, etc.

C and D  { William Smith, C, No. 44.
William Kendall, D, No. 44.

A. BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 6th of November, 1798, present, Alexander Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Deeds to Martin Adams, assignee of James Merriweather, assignee of Rice Curtis, for 100 acres, part of No. 60, letter B.

A. BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Major William Croghan's, the 27th day of February, 1799, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, gentlemen.

Deeds issued to Aquilla Rogers, assignee for 200 acres, part of No. 231, letters D and E, by assignment produced. Deed issued to Daniel Covert for 100 acres, part of No. 177, letter B, by assignment produced. RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 4th day of June, 1799, present, Alexander Breckenridge, Robert Breckenridge, Wm. Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent.

Deeds issued to James Hughs, assignee of Joseph Anderson, for 100 acres, letter C, part of No. 178. A. BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 21st day of February, 1801, present, Richard Taylor, James F. Moore, Richard Terrell and Wm. Croghan, gentlemen.

James F. Moore made oath before the board that he knew Wm. 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 oath before the board that he long knew Wm. Myers and his family, and he knew not of any other heir he had, except his sister, Catherine, the wife of Henry Thomas, and believes her to be his only heir.

Deed issued to Adam Brenton for 100 acres, letter C, No. 220, and also for 100 acres, letter C, 171, by assignments.

Deed issued to Francis McGuire for 100 acres, letter B, No. 171, by assignment.

Deed issued to Isaiah Long for 100 acres, letter D, No. 174, by assignment. RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Jacob Owens', on Bear Grass, the 23d day of February, 1801, present, Richard Taylor, James F. Moore and Richard Terrell, gentlemen.

Deed issued to Jacob Crumb, assignee of Peter, alias Frederick Honaker, for 100 acres of land, part of No. 57, known by the letter E. RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Major William Croghan's, on Bear Grass, the 17th day of January, 1802, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, gentlemen.

A deed issued to Christopher McCullough, assignee of Patrick Joyes, assignee of John Williams, for 200 acres of land, part of No. 124, B and E.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners, at Louisville, the 2d day of August, 1802, present, Richard Taylor, Robert Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, gentlemen.

Deed issued to Adam Shell for 100 acres, part of No. 273, letter B, assignee of Thomas Gaskins.

Deed to Jacob Key Kendall for 100 acres, part of No. 116, letter E, assignee of Querten Swoodin, heir of Jonathan.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners, at Richard Terrell's, the 12th of August, 1802, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Richard Terrell, Gent.

On the application of John Thornton and producing proof that he is heir at law to Joseph Thornton, a deed issued to him for 100 acres, part of No. 2, letter C, the original plat being lost or mislaid by Michael Lacaassigne, to whom it was delivered.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

Proceedings of the commissioners of the Illinois Grant commenced the 28th October, 1802.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners for the Illinois Grant, at the house of Major John Harrison, in Louisville, on Thursday, the 28th day of October, 1802, present, George Rogers Clark, Richard Taylor and William Croghan, Gent.

Resolved, That Marston Greene Clarke be appointed surveyor of the Illinois Grant, in the room of Captain Richard Terrell, deceased.

Resolved, That Captain William Clark be appointed clerk of the commissioners, in the room of Richard Terrell, deceased.

Resolved, That Major William Croghan be authorized to apply to and receive from the administrator of Captain Terrell, deceased, all the papers belonging to the board of commissioners and that he deliver to the surveyor the record book of the surveys and the remainder of the papers to deliver to Captain William Clark, clerk of the commissioners.

Resolved, That the board do adjourn. G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, in Louisville, the 22d April, 1803, present, George Rogers Clark, Richard Taylor and William Croghan, Gent.

The following deeds were issued for lands within the said grant, viz.: One hundred acres to Phillip Fulkerson, assignee of John Cowen, designated by letter A, in No. 231; 100 acres to Val Stoner, assignee of John Brenton, assignee of Harrison, assignee of J. Brooks, assignee of Charles Ownsby, as designated by letter D, No. 211; 100 acres to the heirs of Richard Terrell, assignee of Daniel Brodhead, assignee of Edward Mathews as attorneys in fact for Charles Belderbeck, designated, by letter D, No. 85.

One hundred to Geo. Shake, assignee of Richard Terrell, assignee of John Ray, heir at law to William Ray, as designated by letter B, in No. 118; 100 acres to Aaron Moore, heir of William Moore, deceased, assignee of James Murray, heir at law to Edward Murray, as designated by letter E, No. 54; to John Harrison, assignee of George Lewis, assignee of George Clark, for 100 acres, letter E, part of No. 205; to John Harrison, assignee of George Lewis, assignee of Simon Kenton, for 100 acres, letter E, part of No. 198.

Adjourned. G. R. CLARK, Chairman.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Major William Croghan's, the 20th of July, 1803, present, George Rogers Clark, Richard Taylor and William Croghan, gentlemen.

The following deeds were issued for lands within the said grant, viz.: One hundred acres to Elizabeth Talley, heir at law to John Talley, deceased, designated by letter D, part of No. 142; 100 acres

to John Blackburn, assignee of David Morgan, assignee (and attorney in fact), of Peter Cogen, as designated by letter B, part of No. 52; 100 acres to said John Blackburn, assignee of David Morgan, assignee (and attorney in fact), of Jacob Cogen, designated by letter B, in part of No. 205.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, the 6th day of June, 1804, present, James F. Moore, William Croghan and Richard Taylor.

Deed issued to Abraham Meresham, heir at law to Nathaniel Meresham, for letter C of 100 acres in the Illinois Grant, in No. 254.

Board adjourned.

JAMES F. MOORE.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, the 2d day of July, 1804, present, Robert Breckenridge, James F. Moore, Richard Taylor, Gent.

A deed issued to John Bottorff, assignee of John McDonald, assignee of Lampson Gray, who was assignee of James Godfrey, for 100 acres, letter A, in No. 94, in the Illinois Grant.

JAMES F. MOORE.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, on the 11th day of October, 1805, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Robert Breckenridge.

A deed issued to Fulton Lindsey, assignee of Robert Patterson, who is assignee of James Gray, heir at law to George Gray, for 100 acres, letter E, in No. 224, in said grant.

Deed issued to Hugh Espey as assignee of William Griffin, who is assignee of Samuel Henry, heir at law to John Henry, deceased, for 100 acres in the said grant, being letter B, in No. 13.

Adjourned.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on Saturday, the 23d of November, 1805, present, George R. Clark, Richard Taylor and William Croghan.

A deed issued to James Gilmore, assignee of Noah Crocz, for 100 acres of land in the Illinois Grant, letter A, in No. 52. Also to John Berry, assignee of Solomon Walker, who was assignee of Robert Davis, for 100 acres of land, letter E, in No. 59.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, on the 20th March, 1806, present, George Rogers Clark, William Croghan, Richard Taylor.

Deed issued to William Robey, assignee of William Robey, Thomas Robey and John Robey, heirs at law of William Robey, deceased, for 100 acres, known by letter A, in Lot No. 118. Also deed issued to the same as heir at law to William Rubey, deceased, for 200 acres, letters C and D, in lot No. 118.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 4th day of May, 1806, present, George R. Clark, Richard Taylor and William Croghan.

Deed issued to John Berry, assignee of John Harris, who was assignee of George Gilmore, for 100 acres, being letter C in No. 94.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, on the 28th June, 1806, present, George R. Clark, William Croghan and Richard Taylor.

A deed issued to William Brenton, assignee of William Clark, for 45 acres, letter A, in No. 141, in Illinois Grant.

A deed issued to John McLoney, assignee for 200 acres of land, letters A and B, the claim of Beverly Trent, No. (142).

A deed issued Adam Brenton, assignee for 100 acres, letter E, in No. 79.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, on the 29th of September, 1806, present, Geo. R. Clark,

William Croghan, Robert Breckenridge and Richard Taylor, gentlemen.

William Ferguson and John Berry laid before the board an assignment from James Robertson to David Frazier, and from said Frazier to the said Ferguson and Berry, and prayed the board to grant them a deed for said Robertson's claim in the said grant. And Robert A. New, as agent for the heirs and representatives of the said Robert, prayed the board to suspend the issuing of the deeds for said claim, suggesting that fraud had been committed on the part of the said Berry and Ferguson in producing and authenticating said assignment. It is ordered that a further time, until the first Monday in April next, be given the parties to establish their claims, at which time the board will determine on the same.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on Thursday, the 30th day of June, 1808, present, Robert Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Taylor, commissioners.

Deed issued to Robert Whitehill, Jr., for 100 acres of land, letter C, in No. 28; granted to John Hughes, deceased, and assigned by James Hughes as the heir at law to said John Hughes, deceased, to said Robert Whitehill.

(Signed)

ROBERT BRECKENRIDGE

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 3d day of August, 1808, present, James F. Moore, William Croghan and Robert Breckenridge, commissioners.

A deed issued to William Cornell, assignee of Jonah Phelps, for 100 acres of land in the Illinois Grant, letter A, in No. 177.

ROBERT BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant at the house of John Gwathmy, agreeable to public notice, on Thursday, the 1st day of September, 1808, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Robert Breckenridge, commissioners, a deed issued to Benjamin Brewer, assignee of Steth. Daniel, assignee of Jerry Har-

rison, assignee of Michael Graves, who was assignee of James Brown, for 200 acres of land, being letters D and E in No. 273, the claims of the said James Brown.

A deed issued to William Asher, assignee of Bartlett Asher, who is heir at law to William Asher, deceased, for 100 acres, letter C, in No. 59.

The commissioners having examined the papers laid before them by the representatives of Richard Terrell, and those laid before them by Jacob Peck, it appears from said papers that in the original plat of the survey there is an assignment made by Henry Thomas, assignee, to Andrew Crockett, to which assignment there is no date, and on the said plat of survey is an assignment from Frederick Edwards, as agent of Andrew Crockett, to Richard Terrell, bearing date the 21st day of April, 1798. That on the part of Jacob Peck is an assignment of the said Henry Thomas to said Jacob Peck on the certificate of George R. Clark to John Lines, who served for the claim now in question, dated the 24th day of November, 1794.

The commissioners, having considered said claims, are of opinion that the claim of Jacob Peck is better than that of the representatives of Richard Terrell, inasmuch as the date of the assignment to Peck is prior to the date of that from Edwards, as agent for Crockett, to Richard Terrell.

It is ordered that a deed issue to the said Jacob Peck for the said claims of Henry Thomas as assignee of John Lyne (Lines), which claim is 100 acres of land, letter C, in No. 119.

Resolved, That the board adjourn until Saturday, the 29th day of October next.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, agreeable to adjournment at the last meeting, on the 29th day of October, 1808, present, George Rogers Clark, William Croghan and Richard Taylor, Gent. A deed issued to John Crum, assignee of William King, assignee of Henry Honaker, for 100 acres of land, letter C in No. 57. A deed issued to William Goodwin, assignee of David Jones, for 100 acres, letter C in No. 138. A deed issued to

James McKinney, assignee of John Lang, assignee of Isaac Yates, for 100 acres, letter B in No. 210.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, on the 3d day of December, 1808, present, George Rogers Clark, Robert Breckenridge, Richard Taylor, James F. Moore and William Croghan.

The board having met on this day for the purpose of determining on the contest between the heirs of James Robertson and John Berry and Ferguson and Philip Barbor, heir and representative of Phil. Barbour, deceased, but, no person appearing on the part of said Berry and Ferguson to advocate their claim, the board think it not most proper to suspend the investigation of said claims until Tuesday morning next, for which purpose a board will be formed on said day, at the school-house, near Colonel Taylor's.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the commissioners of the Illinois Grant, agreeably to the adjournment of the 3d instant, present, George Rogers Clark, James Francis Moore, William Croghan, Richard Taylor and Robert Breckenridge.

The commissioners having examined the papers adduced by Messrs. John Berry and William Ferguson, and the heirs of James Robertson deceased, and of Philip Barber, heir at law to Philip Barber, deceased (and having examined Aaron Prather touching the claim of the above-named Berry and Ferguson), all of whom have prayed the commissioners to grant them deeds for the lands in the Illinois Grant allowed to James Robertson for military services, are of opinion that it is proved by the testimony of said Prather that the assignment of the said Berry and Ferguson from said James Robertson was fraudulently procured, as appears from the deposition of Aaron Prather.

It is ordered that deeds issue to the (legal heirs, representatives, devisee or devisees) of the said James Robertson for all the lands in the said grant allowed to him by the board of commissioners.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, on the 11th day of May, 1809, present, William Croghan, Robert Breckenridge, Richard Taylor and James F. Moore.

A deed issued to Lucy Sullivan, Daniel Sullivan, William Sullivan, Rebecca Sullivan and Sophia Sullivan, heirs of William Sullivan, deceased, as assignee of Marston G. Clark, assignee of John Pulford, for 100 acres, being letter E, in No. 31 (thirty-one).

A deed issued to Adam Brenton, assignee of David Millhanks and Annie, his wife, for letter E, in No. 38, of 100 acres.

Adjourned.

ROBERT BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on Friday, 22d of September, 1809, present, George Rogers Clark, William Croghan and Richard Taylor.

A deed issued to John Corkey Owings, assignee of Robert Patterson, for 200 acres of land, being letter D and E, in No. 177.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 27th day of November, 1809, present, Geo. R. Clark, James F. Moore, William Croghan, Richard Taylor and Robert Breckenridge.

Philip Barbour, Jr., petitioned this board to grant him a deed for the lands, lying in the Illinois Grant, of which James Robertson, late lieutenant in the Illinois regiment, died possessed, and produced to the board an authenticated copy of the last will and testament of the said James Robertson and other testimonials to establish his claim.

Robert A. New, as attorney for Jeremiah Turpin, who intermarried with Ann Robertson, the daughter of John Robertson, heir at law to said James Robertson and who is assignee of Wattball Robertson. Henry Turpin and Elizabeth Turpin, Eleazer Cheatham, Martha Cheatham, John Robertson, Richard Robertson, William Robertson, Jr., and others, who claim to be the heirs and representatives of said James Robertson, deceased, which, being considered of by the board, it is ordered that deeds do issue to the said Philip Barbour, Jr., heir at law to Philip Barbour, deceased, who was devisee of said

James Robertson, for lots No. 25, of 500 acres; No. 200, of 500 acres; No. 206, of 500 acres, and No. 294, of 500, and for letter B, of 156 acres, part of No. 106, which lands were granted to said Robertson as lieutenant in said regiment. The said deeds to be made with the following condition, to wit:

“Saving to the said Jeremiah Turpin such title as he may be able to establish either in a court of equity or law, to said lands as representation aforesaid.”

It is also ordered that the order made for granting the before-mentioned lands to the “legal heirs, representatives, devisee or devisees of said Robertson,” in the month of December last, be rescribed.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 23d day of January, 1810, present, George R. Clark, William Croghan, Richard Taylor, a deed issued to John R. Nugent, assignee of Thomas Consola, heir at law to Hannah Consola, for 100 acres, being letter C, in No. 205.

Adjourned.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 14th day of March, 1810, present, George R. Clark, Richard Taylor and William Croghan.

Resolved, That the 500-acre survey, No. 74 (seventy-four), be laid off into 100-acre lots, and that the said 100 acres be, each of them, distinguished on the map by letters A, B, C, D and E, in the same manner as is distinguished in lot No. 73, and that the surveyor of Clark county be requested to lay off the said lots accordingly and return a plat of survey to the next meeting of the board.

Resolved, also, That on the application of any individual to the board and producing assignments from persons owning eight-acre lots in said No. 74, to the amount of 100 acres, the board will proceed to ballot and make a deed for the letter drawn accordingly.

G. R. CLARK.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Louisville, on the 17th day of May, 1810, present, William Croghan, Robert Breckenridge and Richard Taylor, commissioners.

A deed issued to James Cratcher, assignee of Nathaniel Gains and Ingrey, his wife, formerly Ingery House, heiress of Andrew House, for 100 acres, being letter E in No. 28.

Adjourned.

W. CROGHAN.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 12th of November, 1810, present, Robert Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Taylor.

Evan Shelby, surveyor of Clark county, Indiana territory, pursuant to a former resolution of this board, has surveyed lot No. 74, in the Illinois Grant, and laid the same out into five equal lots, distinguished by letters A, B, C, D and E. Ordered, that the same be recorded.

George Huckleberry having produced assignments to the board for twenty claims of eight acres each, in said number, which the board consider sufficiently authenticated, and the said Huckleberry, by Evan Shelby, having proceeded to ballot for the same, drew the said 160 acres out of letters C and D.

Resolved, That the commissioners will make a deed of conveyance to the said Huckleberry, his heirs or assigns, for the said 160 acres, to include letter C and the remainder in letter D, adjoining the same, or that the commissioners will convey the whole of the said two letters when the said Huckleberry shall produce assignments for the forty acres which shall be considered sufficiently authenticated by the commissioners. Ordered, that the said Huckleberry be authorized to take possession of the said 160 acres whenever he shall think proper so to do.

Ordered, that the board do adjourn.

R. BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 22d of January, 1811, present Robert Breckenridge, Will Croghan and R. Taylor.

George Huckleberry, Jr., having produced to the board five other assignments for eight-acre lots in lot No. 74, a deed issued to the said

George Huckleberry for 200 acres of land, being letters C and D in said No. 74, heretofore drawn by said Huckleberry, and being each of the residuary claims of Van Swearingen, Florence Mahoney, John Tally, Peter Priest, Jacob Spears, Nathaniel Mershon, William Whitly, James Whitecotton, Ebenezer Osborn, William Ray, George Vensioner, Michael and John Setzer, John and Page Sarten, Charles Onsley, Isaac Vanmeter, Josiah Phelps, Isaac Yates, Henry Vance, John Paul, William Thompson, Barney Waters, George Shepherd and Samuel Watkins.

Adjourned.

R. BRECKENRIDGE.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 1st day of February, 1813, present, George R. Clark, Richard Taylor and William Croghan.

A deed issued to Isaac McBride for 100 acres, letter D, in No. 281.

Adjourned.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 4th day of August, 1813, present, Robert Breckenridge, Richard Taylor and William Croghan.

Ordered that a deed issue to William Wilson, assignee of James Beggs, assignee of Henry Vance, for 100 acres in the Illinois Grant, letter D, in No. 243.

Ordered that a deed issue to James Biggs, assignee of Fulton Lindsey, assignee of the heirs of Arthur Lindsey, for 100 acres, letter D, in No. 79.

Adjourned.

ROBERT BRECKENRIDGE.

The fees paid for plats taken out of the office whilst the papers were in my possession were paid to Major Croghan, executor of William Clark, deceased, Nov. 11, 1815.

SAMUEL GWATHMEY.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 9th day of August, 1815, present, Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Robert Breckenridge, gentlemen.

A deed issued to Robert Cornell, assignee of Thomas Key, assignee of Gasper Gaylor, for 100 acres, letter D, No. 224.

Ordered that a deed issue to William Goodwin, assignee of John Jackson, assignee of Mary and Jane Vaughan, assignee of Garrard Enoch Nelson, by power of attorney (or letter to James Patton), for two undivided third parts of 100-acre tract, letter E, No. 85.

A deed issued to Philip Daily, assignee of Original Young, assignee of Aaron Moore, assignee of Christopher Greenup, assignee of Elisha Freeman, heir at law to William Freeman for 100 acres, letter E, No. 73.

Adjourned.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

At a meeting of a board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 2d day of September, 1815, présent, Richard Taylor, Wm. Croghan and Robert Breckenridge, Gent.

A deed issued to Abram Appler, assignee of William Cawillfax, assignee of Richard Cox, for 100 acres of land in the Illinois Grant, part of a tract of 500 acres, No. 59, letter D, which deed bears date August 14, last.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

On the 14th of December, 1816, William Croghan, Richard Taylor and Robert Breckenridge, commissioners of the Illinois Grant, made a deed to Aaron Prather, assignee of Edmund Fear, for 100 acres of land in the Illinois Grant, being the letter C, part of the 500-acre survey No. 73.

W. CROGHAN.

On the 20th of December, 1816, William Croghan, Richard Taylor and Robert Breckenridge, commissioners of the Illinois Grant, made a deed to Absalom Parker, assignee of Thomas Allen, who was assignee of Wm. Slack, for 100 acres of land in the Illinois Grant, letter E, part of the 500-acre survey No. 174.

W. CROGHAN.

On the 19th of February, 1818, Mr. John Sullivan, guardian of the heir of William Sullivan, deceased, produced to the commissioners of the Illinois Grant, viz.: Robert Breckenridge, William Croghan and Richard Taylor, an assignment from Samuel Stephenson, form-

erly a soldier in the Illinois regiment, to the said William Sullivan for the land which he is entitled to for his services in the said regiment, upon which assignment the said commissioners granted a deed for 100 acres of land lying in the said grant lettered E, No. 286, to Daniel P. Sullivan, William, Sophia and Rebecca, heirs of the said Wm. Sullivan, deceased.

W. CROGHAN.

At a meeting of a board of the commissioners of the Illinois Grant, on the 3d day of June, 1819, present, William Croghan, Richard Taylor, Robert Breckenridge, Gent. A deed from the said commissioners to Thomas Joyes, for 156 acres of land in the Grant, assignee of the heirs and devisees of Valentine T. Dalton, which is known in the plan of said grant by the number, 155, letter C.

A deed from the commissioners to James Ross, assignee of James Scott, who was assignee of James January, the original claimants for 100 acres of land in the Illinois Grant, part of No. 198, letter C, granted the 7th day of July, 1819, by Richard Taylor, William Croghan and Robert Breckenridge, Esquires.

November 25, 1819. A deed from Richard Taylor, Robert Breckenridge and William Croghan, commissioners, etc., to Aaron Moore, assignee of Jacob Miller, heir at law of Abraham Miller, deceased, for 100 acres of land in the Illinois Grant, part of No. 54, letter C; also a deed to the said Moore for 100 acres as assignee of William Lear, part of No. 54, letter A.

March 21, 1820. The commissioners of the Illinois Grant (to wit, William Croghan, Richard Taylor and Robert Breckenridge, Gents.), on the application of Thomas Joyes, who produced satisfactory papers in evidence of his right, granted a deed for two tracts of land of 500 acres each, and distinguished on the map of said grant by their numbers, 168 and 185, to the said Joyes as the grantee of Robert Walsh and Anna Maria Walsh, his wife, the sole heir of Jasper Moyland, deceased, and Samuel Fox and Maria Fox, his wife, and William Lansdale and Elizabeth Lansdale, his wife; the said Maria Fox and Elizabeth Lansdale being the only heirs of Stephen Moyland, deceased, and the said Jasper and Stephen Moyland being the

only heirs of John Moyland, deceased, to whom a deed had been executed by a former board of commissioners for the said two tracts of 500 acres of land each, as assignee of General G. R. Clark, which deed is represented to be lost or mislaid, and therefore the said heirs and legal representatives of the said John Moyland have conveyed the said land to said Thomas Joyes, and by their attorney, Robert Wickliffe, have authorized and requested the renewal of the deed accordingly.

ROBERT BRECKENRIDGE.

LOUISVILLE, June 1, 1820.

The undersigned, one of the commissioners for settling the claims to lands in the Illinois Grant and granting deeds for the same, having examined the following residuary soldiers' claims and the assignments thereof to George Huckleberry, which are found to be correct, viz.: Daniel Williams, James Ramsey, Jesse Piner, Isaac McBride, G. E. Nelson, Ebenezer Severns, Jonathan Sworden, Will Ruby, Robert Witt, Francis Spilman, Henry Prather, John McManness, Sen., for eight acres each, and John Thompson, heir at law to Joseph Thornton, deceased, for eight acres, four acres of which are appropriated to make the quantity of 100 acres; and the said George Huckleberry, by Evan Shelby, proceeded to ballot for one of the unappropriated lots of the survey for 500 acres, which is distinguished in the map of said grant by its number, 74. When he drew the lot, letter E, for which a deed may issue upon his procuring an additional claim regularly assigned, for so much as will complete the 100 acres, and in the meantime the said Huckleberry may enter upon and take possession of the same.

March —. 1821, the said Huckleberry produced the above claim of John Thornton, heir, etc. Deed issued accordingly.

ROBERT BRECKENRIDGE.

Deed signed by R. Breckenridge in favor of William Goodwin for one-third part of letter E, No. 85, and delivered to Evan Shelby for the signatures of the other commissioners, William Croghan and Richard Taylor, Esquires.

Also, a deed in favor of William Morgan, assignee of R. Witt, for 100 acres, letter B, part of No. 243, and a deed to Reece Williams, heir at law of Daniel Williams, for 100 acres, letter E, part of No. 243, which deeds were signed by R. Breckenridge and delivered by him to Evan Shelby to obtain the signatures of the other commissioners, William Croghan and Richard Taylor, Esquires.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant, at Charlestown, on the 20th day of August, 1825, for the purpose of creating deeds, etc., present, Joseph Bartholomew, James Beggs, Andrew P. Hay, Benjamin Ferguson and Stephen Hutchings, Gent. Joseph Bartholomew was appointed chairman of the board and John Douthatt the clerk of the same.

Ordered that the board of commissioners adjourn until the 15th day of October.

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW, Chairman.

At a meeting of the commissioners of the Illinois Grant, according to adjournment, in Charlestown, on the 15th day of October, 1825, present, Joseph Bartholomew, James Beggs, Benjamin Ferguson, Orlando Raymond and Stephen Hutchings, Gent. Andrew P. Hay present.

Ordered, that a deed issue to Henry Renacking, assignee of Shadrach G. Moore, assignee of William Coll, assignee of Benjamin Brown, assignee of Alexander McIntire, for 100 acres of land in No. 130, letter C.

Ordered, that deed issue to Joseph Coombs, assignee of Isaac Greathouse, assignee of H. Greathouse and Isaac Greathouse, heir at law of William Greathouse, deceased, 100 acres of land in No. 224 and letter B.

Ordered that deed issue to Shem Hostedler, assignee of Daniel Bower, assignee of Elizabeth Alexander, heir at law of James Alexander, deceased, assignee of Andrew Spear, assignee of Isaac Sampson, assignee of Thomas Short, who was assignee of Robert Barnett for 100 acres of land in No. 162 and letter C.

Ordered, that the clerk of this board receive two dollars for each deed which is executed by the board of commissioners of the Illinois Grant.

Ordered, that deed issue to James Curry, assignee of Jacob Teeple, assignee of James Drake, assignee of Robert A. New, assignee of James Ferguson, assignee of Evan Shelby, assignee of Jacob Spear, for 100 acres of land in No. 174 and letter B.

The board adjourned.

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW.

At a meeting of the board of commissioners of the Illinois regiment, according to adjournment, in Charlestown, the 27th day of November, A. D. 1846, present, Andrew P. Hay, Alexander Mars, Samuel McCampbell, David W. Dailey and Christopher Cole, Gent., the board unanimously appointed Andrew P. Hay president of the board of commissioners, and also unanimously appointed Joseph Bower clerk of said board, in place of John Douthitt, Esq., former clerk, who has heretofore resigned his said office as clerk aforesaid.

The board proceeded to investigate the claims of the heirs of John Hacker, and the heirs of Christopher Hatten. After due consideration, was continued until the next meeting of the board on the 1st Monday in December next, 1846, to which time the board adjourned.

ANDREW P. HAY, Pres. B.

On the 7th day of December, 1846, the following gentlemen, commissioners, met pursuant to adjournment, to wit: A. P. Hay, president, John D. Shryer, Samuel McCampbell, and not being a majority sufficient to act, the board adjourned until convened at some future day.

Then on the 3d day of April, 1847, the board met pursuant to adjournment. Present, Hon. A. P. Hay, president, Samuel McCampbell, David W. Dailey, Alexander Mars and Christopher Cole.

Ordered that a deed issue to George A. Hatten and Ann E. Hatten, sole heirs at law of Christopher Hatten, for 100 acres of land in No. 28, letter A, of the Illinois Grant.

The board adjourned until convened at some future day.

Examined.

ANDREW P. HAY, P. B. C.

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THOSE ORIGINAL CLAIMANTS WHO SOLD THEIR RIGHTS AS APPEARED BY ASSIGNMENTS, ETC., PRODUCED TO THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS PREVIOUS TO THE 13TH OF DECEMBER, 1785, WITH THE NAMES OF THE SEVERAL ASSIGNEES TO WHOM THE SAME RIGHT PASSED, AS THEY STAND ARRANGED.

ORIGINAL CLAIMANTS.	ASSIGNEES.
Allan, David, private.....	James Sherlock,Bartho.Tardivcan*(whole claim) John Holker, 100 acres.
Ash, Reubin, heir of John	
Ash, private.....	Burwell Jackson,Richard Jones Waters, 100 acres.
Blackford, Joseph, heir of	
Sam, private.....	James Francis Moore, whole claim.
Bryant, James, private.....	B. Tardivcan, whole claim, J. Holker, 100 acres.
Bush, William, private.....	James Sherlock, Bartho. Tardivcan, whole claim, John Holker, 100 acres.
Bailey, John, captain.....	John Holker, 1,400 acres.
Bailey, John, captain.....	Joyes and Hoops, 500 acres.
Burk, Nicholas, private.....	Daniel Brodhead, Nat. Neilson, 100 acres.
Bentley, John, private, heir of James, private.....	Samuel Shackleford, Daniel Brodhead, whole claim, Richard Terrell, 200 acres.
Bell, William, private.....	Daniel Brodhead, Richard Terrell, 100 acres.
Biggar, James, private.....	Alexander Scot Bullett, 100 acres.
Clifton, Baldwin, heir of	
Thomas, private.....	Joseph Saunders, Bartho. Tardivcan, whole claim, John Holker, 100 acres.
Clark, Richard, lieutenant.....	L. Martin, B. Tardivcan, J. Holker, 1,000 acres.
Clark, Richard, lieutenant.....	Bartho. Tardivcan, John Holker, 566 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres.
Clark, Richard, lieutenant.....	D. Brodhead, J. R. Jones, J. Holker, 433 $\frac{1}{3}$ acres.
Crump, William, sergeant.....	D. Brodhead, whole claim, R. Terrell, 200 acres.
Clark, Andrew, private.....	D. Brodhead, whole claim, R. Terrell, 100 acres.

* Probably Tarsacon.

PLANS WILL BECOME PUBLIC

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- Montgomery, John, private.....D. Brodhead, whole claim, R. Terrell, 100 acres.
 Newton, Peter, private.....James Francis Moore, whole claim.
 Prichard, William, sergeant.....William Johnston, 200 acres.
 Pagan, David, private.....William Wickoff, whole claim.
 Perault, Michael, lieutenant.....William Croghan, whole claim.
 Paul, John, private.....Nat. Parker, 100 acres.
 Peersley, William, private.....Alexander Skinner, Nat. Parker, whole claim.
 Pickens, Samuel, private.....Benjamin Sebastian, Adam Hoops.
 Quick, Thomas, major.....George Rogers Clark, whole claim.
 Ross, Joseph, private.....Susana Merideth, Daniel Brodhead, whole claim,
 Nat. Neilson, 100 acres.
- Slaughter, Thomas, heir of
 Lawrence, Ensign.....George Slaughter, whole claim, John Holker,
 Alexander Scot Bullett, 2,000 acres.
- Stephenson, Stephen, private...Richard Brashear, whole claim, William Pope,
 Alexander Scot Bullett, 100 acres.
- Strode, Samuel, sergeant.....Richard Jones Waters, 200 acres.
- Severns, John, private.....D. Brodhead, whole claim, N. Neilson, 100 acres.
- Sheppard, Peter, private.....George Sheppard, Daniel Brodhead, whole
 claim, Nat. Neilson, 100 acres.
- Smith, William, private.....Daniel Brodhead, whole claim.
- Spilman, James, private.....Henry Thomas, William Croghan, Walter Da-
 vies, Alexander Scot Bullett, whole claim.
- Tigard, Daniel, private.....Richard Breashear, whole claim, William Pope,
 Alexander S. Bullett, 100 acres.
- Taylor, Isaac, captain.....Thomas Quick, William Adams, Daniel Brod-
 head, whole claim, Richard Terrell, 3,000 acres.
- Thompson, William, private.....Lewis Dickson, Alexander S. Bullett, 100 acres.
- Vaughan, John, sergeant.....B. Tardivcan, whole claim, J. Holker, 200 acres.
- Whitehead, William, private.....James Francis Moore, whole claim.
- Whitehead, Robert, private.....James Francis Moore, whole claim.
- William, Jarred, lieutenant.....Bartho. Tardivcan, John Holker, (three separate
 assignments), 2,000 acres.
- Whitecotton, James, private.....Sam Watkins, J. Davies, Nat. Parker, 100 acres.
- White, Randall, private.....Frederick Rath, Daniel Brodhead, whole claim,
 Nat. Neilson, 100 acres.
- Whitley, William, private.....William Croghan, Alex. Scot Bullett, 100 acres.
- Zickledge, William, private.....Joseph Shaw, William Beckley, whole claim.

CLARKSVILLE AND CLARK'S GRANT.

EXTRACT FROM A DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF
INDIANA MADE IN MAY, 1822, IN RELATION TO CLARKS-
VILLE AND CLARK'S GRANT, REPORTED IN THE
FIRST EDITION OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF
BLACKFORD'S REPORTS, PAGES 160, 161.

Prior to the year of 1783, the state of Virginia had the sovereignty of all the territory now included in the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. By her act of cession to the United States in 1783, and her deed in conformity thereto, she transferred all her territory northwest of the Ohio river saving and excepting certain reserves. Among others she reserved a tract granted by her to the officers and soldiers of the Illinois regiment containing one hundred and fifty thousand acres, now known by the name of the Illinois Grant, with the express stipulation that the said tract should be divisible among the said officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia. The power of legislation may cease, and the operation and obligation of the laws remain; such is the case generally in a conquered and ceded country; such is the case in all the new states of this Union. 1 Cranch, 321. But the compact, in this case, seems to intend something more than a stipulation for a continuance of the operation of laws already in existence. The state of Virginia and the United States were two sovereigns, treating as a cession of territory. Virginia had made a grant to and for the officers and soldiers of her regiment for military services. In her act of cession she reserves this grant, and stipulates for a continuance of her right to do so, in as far as it should be found necessary to carry it into complete effect. The object was the right to carry into complete and successful effect the contracting



parties appears evident, not only from the compact itself, but also from the subsequent conduct of both parties. The right of soil remained in Virginia. Virginia claimed the right of legislation long after this compact, and did actually legislate on the subject of these lands in the years 1786 and 1796. The United States acquiesced in the right claimed and exercised by Virginia. Congress has never attempted to make any regulation respecting the lands in this grant; nor have the United States, in any instance, claimed the right to legislate on the subject, or in any manner to interfere with Virginia respecting the primary disposal of the soil. If this is a fair construction of the compact, Virginia retained and still retains the sole and exclusive right of legislation, so far as respects the transfer from the government to individual claimants of the legal title to lands in the Illinois Grant; and, with respect to these lands, the acts of the general assembly of Virginia have the same force and authority as the acts of congress have with respect to the other lands in these states. As respects the primary disposal of the soil, Virginia has a right to legislate for one part of the state, and the United States for the other part. The acts of both are equally obligatory, and are presumed to be equally within the knowledge of our courts and judges, as forming a part of the law of the land. . . .

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LOCATION OF TOWNS IN CLARK'S GRANT, SHOWING NUMBER
OF THE TRACT, WHERE LOCATED AND NAME OF THE
SOLDIER TO WHOM SAME WAS ALLOTTED.

Charlestown. 117. Lieutenant John Gerault.
 Charlestown Landing. 56. General George Rogers Clark.
 Hamburg. 108. Sergeant William Elms, and others.
 Henryville. 254-5. Private James Monroe, and others.
 Herculanum. 57. Private David Henry, and others.
 Hibernia. 105. Major William Lynn.
 Jeffersonville. No. 1. Lieutenant Isaac Bowman.
 Marysville. 248. Private Travis Borton, and others.
 Memphis. 203. Captain Robert Todd.
 New Market. 196. Sergeant John Vaughan, and others.
 Otisco. 210. Private John Biggar, and others.
 Petersburg. 130. Private Isaac McBride, and others.
 Port Fulton. 2. Private Francis Spilman, and others.
 Sellersburgh. 110. Captain Isaac Ruddle.
 Springville. 92. Private Isaac Faris, and others.
 Utica. 26. Captain John Bailey; 27. Captain Robert George.
 Watson. 36. Captain Robert Todd.
 Clarksville 199. Site the falls between Jeffersonville and New Albany.
 Stone Fort Mound Builders. 76. Lieutenant Valentine Dalton.

PROCEEDINGS

IN THE LOUISVILLE, KY., CHANCERY COURT IN THE MATTER OF THE LEGALITY OF AN ALLEGED WILL OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

A bill in chancery was filed in said court on the 6th of May, 1835, as follows:

To the Honorable George M. Bibb, Chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court:

Humbly complaining, your orators, Isaac Clark, George Clark, William Clark, Benjamin Temple and Eleanor, his wife, who was Eleanor Clark; Henry W. Vick and Sarah, his wife; William F. Bullock and Mary, his wife; William Bodley and Ellen, his wife; Edmund Pearce, Martha Pearce, Jonathan Pearce, Eliza Pearce and James Anne Pearce, the said Martha, Jonathan, Eliza and James Anne, who are infants, by their next friend, William F. Bullock; Elizabeth Gwathmey, Anne C. Logan, Cecilia Anderson, Anderson Miller, Jr., and Elizabeth C., his wife; Annita G. Anderson, who is an infant, by George C. Gwathmey, her next friend, and George C. Gwathmey, administrator of the estate of Richard C. Anderson, Jr., deceased, would respectfully represent to Your Honor that heretofore, to wit: on the — day of February, 1818, George Rogers Clark departed this life, and that on the 4th day of October, 1830, at a county court held for Jefferson county, in the state of Kentucky, an instrument of writing purporting to be the last will of the said George Rogers Clark was produced and then and there established by the said court to be the last will and testament of the said George, and administration of the estate of the said George, with the will an-

nexted, was granted to a certain George Woolfolk. They file herewith as an exhibit and pray to be made a part hereof a certified copy of the said supposed will and order of the county court establishing the same, marked A. They further state that at the time of the death of the said George his heirs at law consisted of his brother, General William Clark, of Saint Louis, Missouri; Frances Fitzhugh, wife of Dennis Fitzhugh, one of the devisees in the said supposed will, the said Frances being one of the sisters of the said George; Lucy Croghan, wife of William Croghan, Senr., another devisee in the said will, the said Lucy being another sister of the said George; and your orators, the said Isaac, George, William, Eleanor Temple, wife of the said Benjamin Temple, and Anne Pearce, wife of James A. Pearce, and John H. Clark—the said Isaac, George, William, John, Eleanor and Anne being the children and heirs of Jonathan Clark, another brother of the said George, and who died before the said George; and your orators, the said Anne C. Logan, who was the wife of John Logan, now deceased, and Elizabeth C. Gwathmey was the wife of Isaac Gwathmey, now deceased, Cecillia Anderson and Richard C. Anderson, Jr.—the said Anne, Elizabeth, Cecillia and Richard being the children and heirs at law of Elizabeth C. Anderson, wife of Richard C. Anderson, Senr., the said Elizabeth being a sister of the said George and having departed this life before the said George, and Anne Gwathmey, wife of Isaac Gwathmey, another of the said devisees, the said Anne being a sister of the said George.

Your orators further show that the said Dennis Fitzhugh and Frances have departed this life since the death of the said George, the said Frances having survived her said husband, and the said Dennis has two children, to-wit: Clark Fitzhugh and Lucy Anne Fitzhugh, the said Lucy Anne having intermarried with a certain Henry S. Coker and since his death, when Cecillia and the said Clark and Lucy Anne, and Charles W. Tompkins and Anne C. Farrington, wife of Bernard Farran, and Benjamin O'Fallon and John O'Fallon were the children and heirs at law of the said Frances, and the said William Croghan, Senr., has departed this life since the death of

the said George, leaving as his children and heirs at law John Croghan, William Croghan, George Croghan, Charles Croghan, Anne Jessup, wife of Thomas S. Jessup, and Eliza Hancock, wife of George Hancock, the said Charles and Eliza having, since the death of the said William, departed this life without issue, leaving their brothers, the said John, William, George, and sister Anne, their heirs; that the said Jonathan Clark departed this life before his brother, the said George, leaving as his children and heirs at law your orators, Isaac, George, William and Eleanor Temple, John H. Clark and Ann Pearce, wife of James A. Pearce, the said John having since died without issue, and the said Ann, who survived her husband, the said James, having also departed this life, leaving as her children and heirs at law your orators, the said Sarah, wife of Henry W. Vick, Mary, wife of William F. Bullock, Ellen, wife of William S. Bodley, Edmund, Martha, James, Anne, Jonathan, Eliza Pearce, your orator, the said Isaac, having administered upon the estate of the said John. That the said Owen and Anne Gwathmey have also departed this life since the death of the said George, leaving as their heirs at law John Gwathmey, Temple Gwathmey, Samuel Gwathmey, Isaac R. Gwathmey, your orator, the said George C. Gwathmey, Diana M. Bullitt, wife of Thomas Bullitt, now deceased, Elizabeth C. Anderson, wife of Richard C. Anderson, Jr., Frances Jones, Lucy Priest, wife of Peter Priest, and Catharine Woolfolk, wife of George Woolfolk, the said John Gwathmey having, after the death of the said Anne and before the death of the said Owen, departed this life, leaving as his children and heirs at law Owen and William, Eleanor and Matilda Gwathmey, all of whom are now alive, no person having ever administered upon the estate of the said John, the said Isaac having also departed this life, leaving as his children and heirs at law Benjamin, Richard, Anne, Eliza and Maria Louisa Gwathmey, all of whom are now alive, your orator, the said George C. Gwathmey, having administered upon the estate of the said George, and your oratrix, the said Elizabeth C. Gwathmey, wife of the said Isaac, having survived the said Isaac, the said Elizabeth C. Anderson having, after

the death of the said Anne and before the death of the said Owen, departed this life, leaving as her children and heirs at law your orators, the said Elizabeth C. Miller, wife of Anderson Miller, Jr., Annita G. Anderson and Louis Arthur Anderson, the said Louis having departed this life since the death of his said mother without issue, the said Richard C. Anderson, Jr., having also departed this life since the death of his said wife, your orator, the said George C. Gwathmey, having administered upon his estate.

That the said Elizabeth C. Anderson, wife of Richard C. Anderson, Sr., departed this life before his brother, the said George, leaving as his heirs your orators, the said Anne C. Logan, wife of John Logan, now deceased, Elizabeth C. Gwathmey, wife of Isaac R. Gwathmey, also deceased, Cecilia and Richard C. Anderson, Jr., and the said Richard C. Anderson, Jr., having, since the death of the said George, departed this life, leaving as his children and heirs at law your orators, the said Elizabeth C. Miller, wife of the said Anderson Miller, Jr., Annita G. Anderson and Louis Arthur Anderson, who has, as above stated, died without issue, the said George C. Gwathmey, one of your orators having administered upon the estate of the Richard C. Anderson, Jr. Your orators further show that the said George Rogers Clark died seized in his own right of the real estate in the said supposed will described, as well as of other real estate not therein named, and entitled to a large amount of money due from the state of Virginia for services rendered to the said state as an officer in the settlement of Kentucky and its conquest from the Indians, and other important services rendered by the said George, as well as for large advances made on account of the said state; and that the said George Woolfolk has received, as administrator of the estate of the said George from the said state of Virginia and other sources, between \$25,000 and \$26,000, leaving an unsatisfied balance in favor of the said George against the said state of Virginia of about \$20,000, which is now in course of adjustment, and will, as they understand, in all probability, be soon received by the said George Woolfolk as administrator.

Your orators further charge that some years before the death of the said George Rogers Clark, he had been, and, at the time of the execution of the said supposed will, was afflicted with paralysis produced from apoplexy, whereby he was deprived of the use of his limbs and his mental faculties weakened and deranged; and that the supposed will was drawn up by some of the persons in attendance upon the said George with a view merely of gratifying the wishes of the said George in making some disposition of his estate, with a belief that it would tend to relieve his mind from the excitements under which it labored, and was not considered by any of the persons present as a valid will but only designed, as above stated, and your orators charge that the said supposed will is not the will of the said George Rogers Clark.

Your orators would further show that all the real estate of which the said George died seized has been divided among his heirs as though he had died intestate, the said supposed will, although in the possession of General William Clark from the death of the said George till its probate, being always regarded by him and all the other devisees as invalid, having been executed at a time and under circumstances which rendered the said George incompetent to make disposition of his estate.

Your orators would further show that the said George Woolfolk has distributed four-sixths of the money thus received, as above shown, among Lucy Croghan, William Clark, the heirs and personal representatives of Owen and Anne Gwathmey, and Dennis and Frances Fitzhugh, reserving in his hands two-sixths of the same, amounting to near \$7,000, to be paid to the heirs and personal representatives of Jonathan Clark and Elizabeth C. Anderson, if the said supposed will shall be set aside, which appropriation of the said money has been assented to by nearly all the heirs of the said George Rogers Clark, but has not been made because of the great number of the heirs, it being thereby sufficient to obtain their assent and the infancy and coverture of others.

Your orators make William Clark, Lucy Crogan, John Crogan, William Crogan, George Crogan, Thomas S. Jessup and Anne, his wife; John O'Fallen, Benjamin O'Fallen, Charles W. Thurston, Bernard Farrar and Anne C. Farrar, his wife; Clark Fitzhugh and Henry S. Cox, Temple Gwathmey, Samuel Gwathmey, Diana M. Bullitt, Frances Jones, Peter Priest and Lucy, his wife; George Woolfolk, administrator as aforesaid, and George Woolfolk, and Catharine, his wife; Owen Gwathmey, William Gwathmey, Eleanor Gwathmey and Matilda Gwathmey, children and heirs of John Gwathmey, deceased; Benjamin Gwathmey, Richard Gwathmey, Anne Ellen Gwathmey and Maria Louisa Gwathmey, children and heirs at law of Isaac Gwathmey, deceased, defendants hereto, and pray the commonwealth writ of Spa against them and that they may answer the allegations hereto. Your orators pray that an issue may be directed to try whether the said pretended will is the will of the said George Rogers Clark or not, and that if it shall be found not to be the will of the said George Rogers Clark, then the same may be set aside, and distribution and division of his estate among your orators and the defendants hereto, the heirs of the said George Rogers Clark, as to the said pretended will, and never devised, and that all such other and better relief may be granted to your orators as the equity of their case may require, and the said relief so found, will they pray, etc.

BROCK & BARNES, P. C.

To this bill of complaint, Governor William Clark, of Missouri, the youngest brother of General George Rogers Clark, responded, under oath, May 3, 1837, substantially as follows:

The undersigned William Clark, of the foregoing name and residence in the United States, do hereby certify that the said George Rogers Clark, deceased, did never make the pretended will, nor ever devised, nor gave any benefit thereunder, and that he is a true and lawful heir at law of the said George Rogers Clark, and that he is entitled to the same as to the said pretended will, and that he is entitled to the same as to the said pretended will, and that he is entitled to the same as to the said pretended will.

This respondent wrote the will of the said George R. Clark, referred to by complainant, at the desire of said George, and he will state that the [some words illegible] to the execution of the said writing, on the part of the said George, was that he might will his claim against the state of Virginia for locating 101,000 acres of land on the Mississippi, in behalf of the state of Virginia, and two or three tracts of land to Major Croghan, and it was not contemplated or spoken of that any claim, except as above stated, should pass by said writing. The said George always expressing himself as having been badly treated by the state of Virginia in refusing to liquidate his accounts upon principles of justice, it pressed upon his mind and rendered him, on this subject, very much dissatisfied. It harassed his mind, which was thought to add to his unhappy affliction, and the execution of this writing was hoped would give some relief to his situation.

This respondent does not claim, and will not receive, but one-sixth of whatever may be coming from the said L. W. Woolfolk, administrator of said G. R. Clark. This respondent having fully answered, prays to be dismissed, etc.

WILLIAM CLARK.

September 8, 1837. Attorneys Pirtle and Speed suggest that Eleanor Gwathmey, of full age, has intermarried with Walter Bement since commencement of the suit; also Matilda Gwathmey, of full age, has intermarried with Joseph S. Bates, and Martha Pearce has intermarried with Robert C. Stanard, and asking that said husbands be made parties.

November 3, 1837. C. W. Thruston answered that he was entirely willing that such a decree should be made in the case as justice and equity might seem to demand.

Up to this period, the proceedings seem to have been of an entirely amicable character, but the status was slightly changed on the 12th of January, 1838, by the appearance of a new party in court with the following petition:

To the Honorable the Chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court:

The petition of James D. Breckenridge, executor and trustee, and Mrs. Maria Breckenridge, devisee in trust of General R. O. Breckenridge.

Your petitioners state that on the 5th November, 1815, Gen. Geo. R. Clark made his last will, in which he devised to Major William Croghan 3,600 acres of land in Bracken county; also 3,922 acres below Mayfield creek on the Mississippi, and to his brother, Will Clark, all his lands and land claims northwest of the Ohio river, and to his nephews, John and Benjamin O'Fallon, 1,500 acres on Clark river, a branch of Tennessee. Also, 1,500 acres on Cumberland river, at the mouth of Little river.

He devised to his brother, William Clark, his friends, Major Will Croghan, Owen Gwathmey and Dennis Fitzhugh, his claim to the locator's fees or part of an entry of about 100 and 1,000 acres made by him in the surveyor's office in Lincoln county, which lands are situated between Tennessee river and the river Mississippi. Also, all his land and claims of every description not otherwise disposed of to them and their heirs and assigns forever. This will was admitted to record in Jefferson county where Clark died, in October, 1830, General Clark having died many years before.

In 1817 Owen Gwathmey, one of the devisees in the said will, for a valuable consideration, assigned to his son, John Gwathmey, a certain part of the land and money devised to him by General Clark, and in 1819 the said assignment was transferred to Ra. Breckenridge, deceased. Owen and John Gwathmey are both dead, the former intestate, leaving several children, and no administrator on his estate. George W. Clark administered upon the estate of General Clark, with the will annexed.

Your petitioners have brought their suit in this honorable court to recover such land and money as said Breckenridge's estate may be entitled to under the will and assignments aforesaid.

Some time since Isaac Clark, et al. instituted their suit in this honorable court against General Will Clark, et al. amongst other things,

to set aside the will. Should the will of General Clark be set aside, Owen Gwathmey would be entitled to no part of the estate, though all his children as nephews and nieces of General Clark would.

Your petitioners are apprehensive that sufficient vigilance may not be used to sustain and support the said will by testimony, etc. Your petitioners pray that the plaintiffs in said suit may be compelled to make them defendants in said suit to set aside the said will.

J. D. BRECKENRIDGE.

And on the 26th of the next April, an amended bill was filed by the plaintiffs as follows:

The amended bill of Isaac Clark and others to their original bill exhibited in the Louisville Chancery Court against William Clark and others:

Your orators, in obedience to Your Honor's order, amend their bill herein and make James D. Breckenridge and Maria Breckenridge parties hereto. They state that the land alluded to in the contract mentioned in the petition is the same mentioned in the pretended will of said General G. R. Clark, called "My claim to the locator's fees, or part of an entry of about one hundred and one thousand acres made by me in the surveyor's office of Lincoln county, which lands are situated between Tennessee river and the river Mississippi," and is not the land immediately below the mouth of the Tennessee river or that land mentioned in the petition, but this land lies about forty miles below the mouth of the Tennessee river, has never been carried into grant, and never can be, as they suppose.

They say it is true that General G. R. Clark did contract, a great many years ago, to sell to Humphrey Marshall this tract of land immediately at and below the mouth of the Tennessee river, granted in 1795, and containing together 73,362 acres; but this contract was canceled long since by agreement between General William Clark, to "whom said land was conveyed by said G. R. Clark in 1803, and said Marshall, and no money was ever paid by said Marshall to any one on account of his contract for the purchase of said land, nor was any

judgment ever recovered or any decree made against him for any money in respect to said contract, and this contract was the only one ever made by said G. R. Clark with said Marshall. There never was any contract or agreement between said G. R. Clark and said Owen Gwathmey, by which said Gwathmey was entitled, as is recited in said agreement with said John Gwathmey, but said provision aforesaid in the will of said Clark no doubt alluded to in said writing, and the land therein mentioned never was contracted to be sold to said Marshall.

They charge that the said contract was champertous, at any rate, and void.

They report and charge that the said George Rogers Clark, at the time when the said pretended will was executed, had been struck with paralysis, and was so affected thereby, and by age and disease generally, that he was not of sound mind, and was not capable of making a will, etc.

They pray as in their original bill, etc.

PIRTLE.

May 17, 1839. General Thomas S. Jessup and Ann H., his wife, answered through Judge Pirtle that they do not personally know whether General George Rogers Clark was at the time of executing his alleged will capable of making a will or not; and that they rely upon the answer of General William Clark filed in the case, and accept his statements as a part of their answer, etc.

Feb. 21, 1840. James D. Breckenridge and Maria Breckenridge answered the complaint denying that said George Rogers Clark was at the time of making said will of unsound mind. They charged that said will was duly made, and that said Clark was capable at the time of making it, and of sound mind and memory; and that said will was a valid testamentary act made in due form of law.

LOUGHBOROUGH & FIELD, Attorneys.

On the 24th of February, 1846, Samuel Gwathmey deposed that from the time General George Rogers Clark was afflicted with

paralysis, up to the time of his death, he was not at any time within that period competent to make a will, as he believes. Deponent can not speak of particular dates; he does not know when the will was made, and if made within that period deponent does not think he was competent in mind to make said will. Deponent states that he was so well satisfied of said Clark's incompetency to make his will, that he would receive only his share in one-sixth of certain moneys collected for said Clark's estate, when, by the will, he was entitled to receive a share in one-fourth of said moneys. He frequently saw General Clark both before and after his affliction of paralysis, and after said affliction his mind was impaired and memory defective so as to render him incompetent to make a will as before stated.

Mrs. Amelia Clark* testified, June 25, 1847, that her husband and herself were well and intimately acquainted with General George Rogers Clark for many years before his death—there were, perhaps, but few who knew him better than deponent did in his several relations. For a long time (many years) before his death, he had been laboring under great bodily afflictions—he was paralyzed—his bodily afflictions and habits together had greatly shattered and impaired his intellect, and his speech also became much impaired, so much so that his most familiar friends and acquaintances could scarcely, and with difficulty, understand him. Deponent thinks he was from these causes incompetent at the time to make a valid will. Deponent saw General Clark both before and after the date of the will, though more frequently before; she thinks it was a year before his death that she did not see him, but at and before his will was made his bodily infirmities and afflictions had been so great and bore so heavily upon his mind and had so impaired his faculties as to render him almost a child. His afflictions also rendered him incapable of moving about.

March 30, 1849. William Clark states, by Pirtle & Smith, his attorneys, that, as administrator *de bonis non* of George Rogers Clark,

* Seems to have been signed Cornelia H. Clark, but is Amelia in body and officer's certificate.

he has now in his hands \$6,347.90. which he received from the state of Virginia on account of moneys which the state had assumed to pay his representatives for services during the revolution, but which she had formerly refused to pay as early as the year 1790. and to which he did not allude in his will, as he had, long before the will was written, given up all expectation of obtaining any money for his services from Virginia. and, but for the act of Congress of 1832. no money ever would have been paid or any debt acknowledged. The said claims in his will allude to claims connected with lands. States he is ready to pay this money over to representatives of said General Clark as may be entitled to it, the complainants not having received the money derived from the United States or Virginia and said Woolfolk's estate being insolvent.

September 20, 1850. Complainants state that since filing of bill and amendments defendant, George Croghan, has departed this life intestate, leaving Serena Croghan, his widow, and George Croghan, Angelica Croghan (now Wyatt) and Serena Croghan, an infant, his children and heirs, and that no administration has been granted on his estate. . . . ; further state that Ann Jessup has departed this life, leaving Lucy Ann Jessup, Mary Jessup (now Blair), intermarried with James Blair, and Isaac Jessup, William Jessup, Charles Jessup and Julia—said Ann, William, Charles and Julia being infants—her children and heirs; further state that Samuel Gwathmey has died intestate, leaving Polly Gwathmey, his widow, and Baylor Gwathmey and Rebecca Gwathmey (now Tyler), intermarried with Henry Tyler, his children and heirs, and no administration has been granted of his estate, . . . ; further state that John Croghan has died, leaving a last will, which has been duly proved and execution thereof committed to George C. Gwathmey, one of the executors therein named, with the complainant, William F. Bullock and Joseph R. Underwood, to whom the estate of the said John Croghan was devised by said Will in trust for the heirs of the said George Croghan and Ann Jessup; further state that defendant, George C. Gwathmey has also died, leaving a will, which has been

proved and execution committed to Joshua F. Bullitt, one of the executors therein, devising his estate to his children, Alfred Gwathmey, Ellen Gwathmey, Louisa Gwathmey and John Gwathmey—Louisa and John being infants—ask that guardians be appointed for said infants and that all the parties named be made parties to the suit and required to answer.

September 20, 1850. Death of complainant Sarah Vick was suggested, and revivor asked in name of her children, viz.: Henry G. Vick, Ann P. Vick, Mary Vick and George R. C. Vick, by their father, Henry W. Vick.

Thomas P. Smith, commissioner of the court, reported that the deposition of J. B. Gwathmey showed that prior to the year 1840, George Woolfolk, as administrator of the estate of George Rogers Clark, received about \$25,000 and distributed the same to all the heirs of said Clark in the proportions to which they were respectively entitled as heirs by the law of descents, except to the representatives of Jonathan Clark, deceased, and Elizabeth Anderson, deceased, a brother and sister of said General George Rogers Clark; there being six heirs, the four who received their portions of said \$25,000 received about \$4,000 each. It will therefore require about \$8,000 to equalize the heirs of said Jonathan Clark and Elizabeth Anderson with the others.

The question of fact was finally submitted to a jury, who returned a verdict "that the writing purporting to be the will of General Clark is not his will," whereupon the court entered the following decree:

STATE OF KENTUCKY, LOUISVILLE CHANCERY COURT,
24TH NOVEMBER, 1851.
ISAAC CLARK, ETC., Complainants,
vs. In Chancery.
WILLIAM CLARK'S HEIRS, ETC., Defendants.

General George Rogers Clark, in 1815, executed a writing purporting to be his last will, and died in 1820.* The complainants bring

*Mistake. He died in 1818.

this suit for the purpose of vacating the will and for distribution of the estate. George Woolfolk was appointed administrator, with the will annexed, and received about twenty-five thousand dollars assets of the estate. Of this sum he paid four-sixths to the devisees, who constituted four-sixths of his heirs at law.

No part of this fund has been paid to the representatives of his sister, Mrs. Anderson, or his brother, Jonathan Clark. A verdict has been rendered in this case by a jury upon an issue out of chancery to try the validity of the will, "that the writing purporting to be the will of General Clark is not his will," and it is now ordered and decreed that said writing be set aside and annulled.

After the death of George Woolfolk, William Clark was appointed administrator of the estate and has received and paid into court the sum of \$6,485.42. It is now ordered and decreed that the costs of this suit be paid out of the sum so paid by William Clark, and that the residue be paid to the representatives of Jonathan Clark and Mrs. Anderson—that is, that one-half be paid to the representatives of Jonathan Clark and the other half to the representatives of Mrs. Anderson.

To George W. Clark, William Clark, Isaac Clark and to Eleanor Temple one-fifth of one-half each; to Edward Peace (*Edmund Pearce*), Jonathan Peace (*Pearce*), William F. Bullock and wife, William Bodley and wife, Robert C. Stanard and wife, George B. Kinkead and wife, Henry C. Brudle (*Pindell*) and wife and to Henry W. Veech (*Vick*), in right of his deceased wife, Sarah Veech (*Vick*), one-eighth of one-fifth of one-half each—the said Bullock and wife, Bodley and wife, Stanard and wife, Kinkead and wife, Brudle (*Pindell*)* and wife and Sarah Veech's (*Vick's*) representatives to receive but six shares or portions. The other half of said sum is decreed to the representatives of Mrs. Anderson—that is, to Elizabeth Gwathmey, Ann C. Logan and Cecilia Anderson, one-fourth of one-half each, and to S. M. Flournoy and Aeminta Gray, one-eighth of one-half each, the share or portion of Aeminta Gray to be paid for her to John T. Gray, her guardian.

* The number of clerical mistakes in the record of this decree seems to be remarkable.

It is ordered that this controversy as to any money which may have been received by Woolfolk, as administrator aforesaid, be reserved for further order and decree; and the complainants may have execution of this decree forthwith.

A copy.

Attest:

CH. I. CLARK.

STATE OF KENTUCKY:

At a county court held for Jefferson county, at the court-house in the city of Louisville, on the 12th day of April, 1852, the foregoing instrument of writing, purporting to be a certified copy of a decree of the Louisville chancery court, rendered on 24th November, 1851, setting aside and annulling the writing bearing date in 1815 and purporting to be the will of George Rogers Clark, was this day produced in court and ordered to be recorded and is recorded in my office as clerk of said court.

Attest:

CURRAN POPE, Clerk.

On the 22d of April, 1853, Robert O. Woolfolk, executor of George Woolfolk, filed the following under oath:

Respondent, Robert O. Woolfolk, admits that he is the sole surviving executor of George Woolfolk, deceased, who was administrator of General George Rogers Clark, deceased.

Respondent admits the receipt of assets from his said testator sufficient, as he believes, to pay the amount of any decree that may be rendered against him in this case.

Respondent states that one Levi Jones, administrator of one John Halker, obtained a decree in the Louisville Chancery Court in case No. 999, against said George Woolfolk, administrator of said G. R. Clark, on the 25th June, 1839, for \$3,333.33, with six per cent. interest from July 6, 1802, subject to a credit of \$1,157 on 12th December, 1821; said decree and the said suit are referred to as part hereof. On the 3d July, 1839, said George Woolfolk gave his individual notes, with George C. Gwathmey surety, to said Halker's administrator, for \$5,000 in full satisfaction of said decree, as shown by the receipt of W. Browne, attorney for said Halker's administrator, filed in said suit No. 994, and referred to as part hereof.

Respondent further states that when said G. R. Clark died he was regarded as insolvent: he left no property, nor claims for money or property, respondent believes, except a claim of long standing against the commonwealth of Virginia for services as a general in the Virginia State *Lite* in the Revolutionary War, and for moneys advanced by him for said commonwealth in said service.

Said George Woolfolk was a lawyer, and at the request of the heirs of said G. R. Clark, or some of them, he became the administrator of said Clark in Virginia as well as in Kentucky, for the purpose of prosecuting said claims against the commonwealth of Virginia, and under an agreement that he should have for his services a contingent fee equal to one-fourth the sum that might be recovered.

Respondent believes and charges that the said George Woolfolk had a written contract to that effect, which was destroyed by fire, with most of said George Woolfolk's papers, some time before his death. Respondent does not know whether he will be able to prove said contract; but he states that it has been usual and customary throughout the western country, for persons employing attorneys to prosecute such claims, to allow contingent fees equal to from one-fourth to one-third of the sum recovered. Respondent states that said George Woolfolk went three times to Richmond, Va., and Washington, D. C., and spent about six months in the business, and in the time of that period he made up the notes, and other part of the proceedings of said claims, and his only personal expense in paying commissions, travel, expenses, and other charges, he was obliged to deduct out of his contingent fee, and he thinks that in the said contingent fee he was entitled to receive, his original bill was not paid for. That he was not paid for the interest claims, and that he was not paid for his expenses, and that said sum would not pay him for his services, and for his expenses, and for the interest claims, and for the interest claims.

The bill was not paid for, and he thinks that he paid four-fifths of the sum recovered, and that he was not paid for the original bill, or complaints having been destroyed, and he thinks respondent can not state

how much was paid to them, but he believes that said Geo. Woolfolk retained twenty-five per cent. of said four-sixths for his fee for collecting same, expecting to make a like deduction from the other two-sixths when the same should be distributed.

After receiving the money mentioned in complainant's original bill, said Geo. Woolfolk brought suit in chancery in the Henrico circuit court against the state of Virginia claiming a large balance as administrator of said G. R. Clark, and employed Chapman Johnson, of Richmond, Va., to attend to the same, and as respondent believes paid him a fee therefor, but how much he can not state, as the said Johnson's receipt, if he gave any, has been destroyed by fire or lost.

Respondent, after his father's death, went to Richmond, Va., at the request of said Johnson to see about said suit and about having administration *de bonis non* taken out for the purpose of prosecuting said suit, and it cost respondent some \$200. After consultation with said Johnson it was concluded that his son, G. N. Johnson, should administer; he did so, and the sum of \$6,347.90 received by Wm. Clark, administrator *de bonis non* of said G. R. Clark, as stated in an amended bill in this case, was made out of the state of Virginia by said suit and by said G. N. Johnson, administrator *de bonis non*, in the state of Virginia. Respondent supposes and asks that some allowance should be made to him on account of said Geo. Woolfolk's expenses and services therein.

Respondent further states that said Geo. Woolfolk paid to Mrs. Ann C. Logan, one of the plaintiffs, the sum of \$275 as shown by her receipt herewith filed, and bearing date 13th January, 1838.

Respondent claims credit for the \$5,000 paid to Halker's administrator, the \$275 paid to Mrs. Logan, and claims compensation for the collection of the money undistributed by said Geo. Woolfolk and for the prosecution of the aforesaid suit in the Henrico circuit court, and is ready to pay any balance that may be found due to plaintiffs, but he denies that plaintiffs are entitled to interest as prayed for by them.

BULLITT & SMITH, P. D.

November 20, 1865. William Clark, administrator *de bonis non* of George Rogers Clark, deceased, petitions the court for an order allowing him to receive \$3,000 in compromise of the claims herein against the estate of George Woolfolk, deceased. He states that it appears that said George Woolfolk, as administrator, collected on a claim in Virginia \$25,000 or \$26,000, and paid four shares out of six, retaining twenty-five per cent. for his repeated visits to Virginia, and realizing a contested and complicated claim against the government; that the \$5,000 retained for the complainants (the other heirs) was paid in compromise of a judgment of Holker for a much larger amount, and that this left but \$1,250 of the \$25,000 in his hands. He states that the parties are so numerous and scattered that a regular revivor, etc., would occasion heavy loss, and he deems it best to accept the \$3,000 offered by Robert O. Woolfolk, executor of George Woolfolk, deceased, in full satisfaction. He asks leave to compromise and give a full release to Woolfolk on these terms.

BODLEY, Attorney.

On the same date the last-mentioned petition was filed the following order was made :

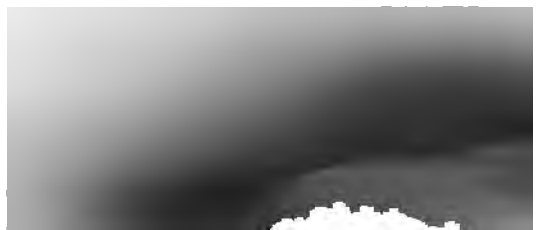
ISAAC CLARK AND OTHERS, Plaintiffs,	}	Order.
AGAINST		
WILLIAM CLARK AND OTHERS, Defendants.		

William Clark, administrator *de bonis non* of George Rogers Clark, deceased, this day filed his petition asking to be permitted to accept the offer of Robert O. Woolfolk to compromise the claims herein in behalf of said G. R. Clark's estate, against the estate of George Woolfolk, deceased, by receiving the sum of \$3,000 in full satisfaction of the claims in this suit against said Woolfolk. Whereupon it is ordered, that said compromise be approved, and the said William Clark is authorized to make release of said claims accord-

ingly for said sum of \$3,000 (and on motion of W. S. Bodley, attorney for the plaintiffs, this suit is dismissed) .

See order book No. 60, page 445.

NOTE.—All the entries in this case are not included in the foregoing proceedings, but enough to show the material action taken, and all that is of historical importance. It is possible the copyist has made mistakes in not giving correctly some of the names mentioned.



DESCENDANTS OF GEN. JONATHAN CLARK
AND SARAH HITE.

The star (*) indicates that the person was dead in 1895.

CHILDREN.

1. Eleanor Eltinge,* married Rev. Benjamin Temple.*
2. John Hite, died unmarried.
3. Isaac, died unmarried.
4. Mary, died in childhood.
5. Ann,* married James Anderson Pearce.*
6. William,* married Frances Ann Tompkins.*
7. George Washington,* married Martha Price.

GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Eleanor Eltinge Clark and Rev. Benjamin Temple.

1. Mary,* married Henry Winbourn,* Mississippi.
2. Sarah, widow of Lewis Lee, lives in Louisville, Ky.
3. Eleanor,* married Josiah Newman,* Mississippi.
4. Clark,* married Frances Brashear.*
5. Robert*, married Anne C. Mills,* Hernando, Mississippi.
6. John B.,* married Susan M. Bibb,* Mary Falls,* Blandina Broadhead.
7. Rev. James N., married first Margaret A. McMahon,* second Narcissa H. Barksdale,* lives at Paducah, Ky.
8. Elizabeth Ann, married Rev. George Beckett, New York City.
9. Lucy Croghan, married Judge R. C. Bowling,* Russelville, Ky.
10. Julia Clark;* 11, George William.*

Children of Ann Clark and James Anderson Pearce, Louisville, Kentucky.

1. Sarah,* married Henry W. Vick * (a cotton planter), Vicksburg, Miss.
2. Edmund* (farmer), married Myra Steele,* second Mrs. Mary Grinnell.*
3. Mary,* married William F. Bullock * (lawyer), Louisville, Ky.
4. Ellen,* widow of William S. Bodley * (lawyer), Louisville, Ky.
5. Martha,* widow of Robert C. Stanard * (lawyer), Washington, D. C.
6. Jonathan * (farmer), married Francena Low,* Spottsylvania county, Va.
7. Eliza, widow of George B. Kinkead * (lawyer), Lexington, Ky.
8. James Ann, widow of Henry C. Pindell * (lawyer), Louisville, Ky.

Children of William Clark and Frances Ann Tompkins,* Louisville, Ky.*

1. Frances Ann,* married first, Samuel Lawson,* second, Mr. Biddle.*
2. Jonathan *(doctor), married Emma Noble, Paducah, Ky.
3. Ellen, married Newton E. Milton, Memphis, Tenn.
4. Mary, married Dr. George E. Cooke.*
5. Katherine,* married W. H. Churchill,* Louisville, Ky.
6. Eugenia; 7, Eliza; 8, William (married Annie Bailey,* Louisville, Ky.)

Children of George W. Clark and Martha Price,* Fayette County, Kentucky.*

1. Sarah, married Shepherd Rogers,* Clark county, Ky.
2. Ann,* married William Bell,* no children, Lexington, Ky.
3. Elizabeth,* married John McMurtry,* Lexington, Ky.
4. Julia, married Joseph R. Gross,* Fayette county, Ky.

GREAT GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Mary Temple and Henry K. Winbourn.

1, Benjamin;* 2, Ann Mary;* 3, William;* 4, Ellen;* 5, John;* 6, Sarah;* 7, Victoria;* 8, James;* 9, Lucy Cook; 10, Columbia; 11, Alexander.* Victoria, married Horace Smith. She died and he married her sister, Columbia. William, married Sarah Miller;* Lucy, married Roland J. Cook.

Children of Eleanor Temple and Josiah Newman, Mississippi.

1, Harriet,* married Mr. Cocke;* 2, Lucy, married Mr. Cocke* (brothers); 3, Josiah.*

Children of Clark Temple and Frances Brashear.**

1, Benjamin;* 2, Mary Ellen;* 3, Dr. James R.; 4, Walter; 5, Camilla,* married Edward Stevenson;* James R., married first, Miss Kirby, second, Miss McCoy.

Children of Robert Temple and Anne C. Mills.

1, Betty B.; 2, Eleanor C.::* 3, Fanny M.; 4, Annie M.::* 5, William Robert;* 6, James Edward; 7, George Rogers Clark;* 8, Sue B.; 9, Lemuel B.; 10, Louisa B.::* Fanny M., married Clarence C. Ward.

Children of John B. Temple and Blandina Brodhead (his Third Wife).*

1, Eleanor;* 2, Mary, married R. Alexander Robinson, Jr., Louisville.
3, Blandina, married Dr. Wm. M. Griffiths,* Louisville; 4, Annie.

*Children of Rev. James N. Temple and his First Wife, Margaret A. McMahon.**

1, Frances Carter;* 2, Sally Lee, married Francis N. Gardner.

*Children of James N. Temple's Second Wife, Narcissa H. Barksdale.**

Some died in infancy, and four daughters survived her.
1, Robertine, has since died, unmarried; 2, Eleanor Eltinge, married Dr. Charles H. Brother; 3, Willie, Paducah, Ky.; 4, Susan Polk.

Children of Elizabeth Ann Temple and Rev. George Beckett.

They lost three and their fourth, John Temple Beckett, lives in N. York City.

Children of Lucy Croghan Temple and Fudge R. C. Bowling.

1, James R., married Emma Walters.
2, Temple,* left children, two sons and a daughter.
3, Ella, married Judge Umphrey McThus.
4, Elizabeth;* 5, Annie, married Rev. G. W. Eichelberger, Adairville, Kentucky; 6, Lulah (married George Holeman, Adairville, Kentucky).

Children of Sarah Pearce, Vicksburg, Miss., and Henry W. Vick* (a cotton planter).*

1, James Pearce;* 2, Henry Gray;* 3, Ann Pearce;* 4, Susan;* 5, Mary; 6, George Rogers Clark.* Mary married Dr. Alonzo J. Phelps.

Children of Edmund Pearce and his First Wife, Myra Steele.*

1, James Anderson;* 2, Amelia Neville,* married George Weissinger; 3, Richard Steele;* 4, John C., married Susannah Steele,* Louisville, Ky.

Children of Mary Pearce and Judge William F. Bullock.**

1, Ann;* 2, Edmund;* 3, William F.,* (married Ella Ballard, Louisville, Ky.); 4, Alfred Carr;* 5, Mary;* 6, Sarah;* 7, Edmund;* 8, Pearce (married Penelope Lowry, Shelby county, Kentucky); 9, Henry;* 10, Wallace (married Nellie Rogers, New York state).

Children of Ellen Pearce and Judge William S. Bodley.**

1, Hugh Shiell; 3, Ann James; 4, Elizabeth;* 5, Martha Stanard; 6, Pearce; 7, Harry Innes;* 8, William Stewart; 9, Temple; 10, Stanard;* 11, Ellen Pearce.* Pearce married Mary McHenry;* Temple married Edith Fosdick.

Child of Jonathan Pearce and Francena Low.

George Low, who married Indiana Bourges.

Children of Eliza Pearce and George B. Kinkoad, Lexington, Ky.

1. Stanard, married Katharine Carneal,* Ashland, Ky.
 2. (Dr.) John, married { 1. Annie Dodge,* } Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 { 2. Elise Hamilton, }
 3. Ellen.*
 4. James Pearce.*
 5. Annie, married Rev. Dr. Ben B. Warfield, Princeton College, New Jersey.
 6. Henry, married Edith Hamilton, Lexington, Ky.
 7. Margaret, married Rev. John Fox, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 8. William, married Sarah Shipman, Galveston, Texas.
 9. Mary; 10, Frank;* 11, Churchill;* 12, Jimmie Pindell (James Ann); 13, Eliza Pearce.

Children of Frances Ann Clark and Her First Husband, Samuel Lawson.**

1, Charles; 2, Fannie* (married Mr. Burks).

Children of Jonathan Clark and Emma Noble.*

1, Fannie; 2, Edmund; 3, Emma; 4, ———, dead.

Children of Ellen Clark and Newton E. Milton.

1, Mary Louisa,* married Karl Junglbuth, Louisville, Ky.
 2, Charles, J., married Lucy Loring, St. Louis, Mo; 3, Frank, St. Louis, Mo.

Children of Mary Clark and George E. Cooke.

1, Fannie;* 2, George.*

*Children of William Clark and Annie Bailey.**

1, Katharine; 2, Louise; 3, William Rogers;* 4, Annie Winford.*

Children of Sarah Clark and Shepherd Rogers, Lexington, Ky.*

1, Martha C., married James N. Embry, Waxahachie, Texas; 2, Fanny Clark;
 3, Laura; 4, Jerry E., married Nettie Howell, Lexington, Ky.

Children of Elizabeth Clark and John McMurtry, Lexington, Ky.*

1, George (married Sadie E. McMurty); 2, John; 3, Elizabeth, married Philip Bird; 4, Edmund; 5, Julia, married Mr. Bryson; 6, Annie, married Mr. Watkins; 7, Eleanor; 8, Isaac.

Children of Julia Clark and Joseph R. Gross, Fayette County, Ky.

1, Edward T.; 2, Joseph; 3, Mattie C. (married S. St. McCann); 4, George C.

GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of William Winbourn and His First Wife, Sarah Miller.**

1, Mary E., married Mr. Kelly; 2, William A.;* 3, Matthew B; 4, Sarah Victoria; 5, Henry Duncan.

Children of H. Victoria Winbourn and Horace C. Smith.

1, H. Victoria Smith.*

Children of Lucy F. Winbourn and Roland J. Cook.

1, Frances; 2, Manie Lee; 3, Lucy Winbourn;* 4, Janie Clark; 5, James R.; 6, Winbourn; 7, Sue Louise.*

*Children of Columbia C. Winbourn and Horace C. Smith.**

1, Huesea; 2, Marion W., married James C. Hicks; 3, Eleanor T., married Dr. A. A. McClendon; 4, Martha M., married F. T. Johnson; 5, George C.; 6, A. M. B.;* 7, Henry K.; 8, DeWitt H.; 9, Lucy Newman; 10, Scottie.

Children of Alexander Winbourn and Louise Covington,* His First Wife.*

1, Eleanor T.; 2, Henry K.; 3, Ann Mary; 4, Mary E.; 5, Lucy Newman.

Child of Alexander Winbourn and Fannie Lee Gregg, His Second Wife.*

1, Alexander.

Only Child of Harriet Newman Cocke.

1, Benjamin.*

*Children of Dr. James R. Temple and His First Wife, Miss Kirby.**

1, Mary F. (married John McDaniel); 2, Warner R.;* 3, Robert E.

Children of Dr. James R. Temple and His Second Wife, Miss McCoy.

1, Charles B. (married Miss Tucker); 2, William C.;* 3, Lucy B.; 4, Max G. (twins); 5, A. J.;* 6, B. A.* (twins); 7, Rena.*

Child of Camilla Temple and Edward Stevenson.*

1, Eleanor T.*

Children of Dr. Walter Temple.

1, Harry; 2, Eleanor;* 3, Camilla; 4, Curran B.; 5, Mary.

Children of Fannie Temple and Clarence C. Ward.

1, Clara L. (married J. Newell Brooks); 2, Lloyd; 3, Richard; 4, Clarence.

Children of Mary Temple and R. A. Robinson, Jr.

1, John T.; 2, Wm. A.; 3, Richard A., Jr.

Child of Blandina Temple and Dr. Wm. M. Griffiths.

1, Blandina T.

Children of James R. Bowling and Emma Walters.

1, R. W.; 2, Wm. L.

Children of Temple Bowling and Sadie Anderson.*

1, Ula; 2, Temple; 3, Umphrey.

Child of Annie Bowling and G. W. Eischeberger.

1. Roberta B.

Child of Lula Bowling and George H. Holman.

1. Lucie M.

Children of Sally and Francis N. Gardner.

1. Temple; 2. Nelly.

Children of Mary Vick and Dr. Phelps.

1. Nannie; 2. Henry Vick; 3. Mary Pearce; 4. Ellen Bodley. Nannie married Peter George; Mary Pearce Phelps married Renato Piola Casselli, of the Italian army, live at Rome. They have one daughter.

Only Child of Amelia Pearce and George Weissinger.*

Ann Amelia, married J. Hoadley Cochran.

Children of John C. Pearce and Susannah Steele.

1. Myra Steele; 2. Amelia Nevilie; 3. John; 4. William Bodley; 5. James.

Children of Wm. F. Bullock and Ella Ballard.*

1. Ballard; 2. William; 3. Mary Pearce; 4. J. Pindell.

Children of Pearce Bullock and Penelope Lowry.

1. Helen;* 2. Lowry; 3. Anderson; 4. Henry; 5. Mary Elizabeth; 6. Edmund; 7. Lunsford Y.; 8. Helen; 9. Thomas; 10. Pearce.

Children of Wallace Bullock and Nellie Rogers.

1. Ellen; 2. Mary E.; 3. ———*; 4. Agnes;* 5. William W.

*Children of Pearce Bodley and Mary McHenry.**

1. Beverly Meriwether; 2. Innes Harwood.

Child of Temple Bodley and Edith Fosdick.

1. William Fosdick.*

*Children of Steward Kinkaid and Katherine Carneal.**

1. Ellen; 2. Davis; 3. Steward; 4. William.

Children of John Kinkaid and Annie Dodge (his first wife).*

1. Correll; 2. George.

Children of Margaret Kinkaid and John Fox.

1. Eliza Pearce; 2. Edward.*

Children of Henry P. Kinkaid and Edith Hamilton.

1. Joseph; 2. John;* 3. Elise.

Children of Martha C. Rogers and James N. Embrey, Waxahachie, Texas.

1. Furdie R., married J. Rush Williams; 2. J. Will; 3. Jerry R.; 4. Jacob; 5. George C.

Children of Mary Louisa Milton and Karl Jungbuth.

1, Karl; 2, Marion.

Son of Charles J. Milton and Lucy Loring, Alonzo Loring.

Children of Jerry E. Rogers and Nettie Howell.

1, Anna G.; 2, Fannie C.; 3, Florence H.

Children of Elizabeth McMurtry and Phillip Bird.

1, Bettie C.; 2, Sara H.; 3, Annie B.; 4, G. Lee; 5, Virginia R.; 6, Temple B.

Children of Julia McMurtry and Ollie Bryson.

1, Harry G.; 2, Bessie C.; 3, Clym O.; 4, Isaac N.; 5, Eleanor T.; 6, Dorothy.

Children of Annie McMurtry and Thomas Watkins.

1, Thomas B.; 2, John; 3, Elizabeth C.; 4, Jane W.; 5, George C.; 6, Caroline; 7, Harry W.

Child of Mattie Gross and S. S. McCann.

1, Julia G. McCann.

GREAT-GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

1, Child of Charles B. Temple and Miss Tucker.

Child of Ann Amelia Weissinger and J. Hoadley Cochran.

Harriet.

Children of Marion W. Smith and James C. Hicks.

1, Susie Clark; 2, Robert; 3, James (twins).

Children of Martha M. Smith and F. T. Johnson.

1, Floy; 2, George Russel.

Child of Clara L. Ward and C. Newell Brooks.

1, Vera Brooks.

Child of Nannie Phelps and Peter George.

1, Alonzo Phelps;* 2,

Child of Mary Phelps and Renato Piola-Casselli.

1, Theresa Mary.

Child of Fanny R. Embry and C. Rush Williams.

1, Rush Williams.

NOTE.—For the information contained in the foregoing list the author is indebted to Miss Ann J. Bodley, of Louisville, Kentucky, one of the descendants of General Jonathan Clark.

DESCENDANTS OF ANN CLARK (ELDEST SISTER OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK) AND OWEN GWATHMEY.

CHILDREN.

John; Temple; Samuel; Diana Moore; Ann (married Wm. Booth, no children); Elizabeth; Benjamin and Lucy (twins); George; Isaac R.; Frances Matilda; Catharine.

GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of John Gwathmey and Ann Booth.

Owen; William; Ellen (married first Mr. Burnett, second Samuel Hillman); Matilda (married Mr. Bates).

Children of Temple Gwathmey and Ann Marks.

Sidney (married Mr. Woods); Diana (married Mr. Thurston); Eliza (married Mr. Tilly); Fortunatus (married Miss Lyons); Henry (married Mary Eliza Casey); Catharine; Frances Matilda (married Thomas Wollan).

Children of Samuel Gwathmey and Mary Booth.

Mamie; William; Baylor H.; Rebecca (married Henry Tyler); Mary Eliza.

Children of Diana Moore Gwathmey and Thomas Bullitt.

Mary (married first Gen. Adkinson, second Col. Stewart); Ferdinand; Alexander (married first Fanny Smith, second Irene Williams); Washington; Eloise (married Mr. DeKantrow); Owen (married Virginia Berry); Ann (married Richard Clough Anderson); Diana (married Phillip Kearney); Cora.

Children of Elizabeth Gwathmey and Richard Clough Anderson, Jr.

Elizabeth (married first Mr. Miller, second Lieut. Stephen Johnston, third Fayette Flournoy); John Clark; Arthur; Anneto (married John T. Gray).

Children of Lucy Gwathmey and Peter Priest.

Temple; Richard O.; Ferdinand.

Children of George Gwathmey and Sophia Girard.

Alfred (married Virginia Keats); Julia (married Mr. Bacon); Frances Ann; Elizabeth; Ellen (married General Cary Fry); George; Sophy; Eloise (married Mr. Polidexter); Mary Atkinson; John; Kate.

Children of Isaac R. Gwathmey and Elizabeth C. Anderson.

Benjamin; Richard; Isaac Benjamin; Richard C.; Owen; Mary Eliza; Maria Louis.

Child of Frances Matilda and Mr. Skidmore (first husband).

Ann.

Children of Frances Matilda and Mr. Jones (second husband).

John W. (married Harriet Boswell); William H. (married Kate Given); Ellen.



Children of Catharine Gwathmey and George Woolfolk.

Richard O. (married Mrs. May); Ann; Elizabeth; George (married Miss Owen); Frances (married Phillip Wallan).

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM CROGHAN AND
LUCY CLARK.

John; Nicholas; Charles; Edward; William; Ann; George.

GRANDCHILDREN.

Child of William Croghan and Mary O'Hara.

Mary, married Captain Edward W. H. Schenley.

Children of Ann Croghan and Thomas F. Jessup.

Lucy Ann; Mary Serena; Jane Findley (married Augustus S. Nicholson); Julia Clark; William; Charles.

Children of George Croghan and Serena Livingston.

Mary Angelica; St. George; Serena Livingston (four died in infancy.)

GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Mary O'Hara Croghan and Edward W. H. Schenley.

Wm. Croghan; Edward; Alfred; Elizabeth; Jane; Agnes; Richmond; Alice; Hermione.

Child of Lucy Ann Jessup and Lorenzo Sitgreaves.

Mary.

Children of Mary Serena Jessup and James Blair.

Violet (married Henry Janin); James Lucy (married George Wheeler); Jessup.

Children of Mary Angelica Croghan and Rev. Christopher Wyatt.

Fanny; William; Christopher; Mary Livingston.

Children of St. George Croghan and Cornelia Ridgely.

Cornelia; Lucy Serena; George; Elizabeth.

Children of Serena Livingston Croghan and Augustus F. Rogers.

Cornelia Livingston; Montgomery; Marian St. George; Nannie Augustus; Henry Croghan; Grace; Robert.

GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Fanny Wyatt and Henry Allen.

Wyatt; Fanny; Harriett; Lucius.

Children of William Wyatt and Jane Kirby.

Christopher; Merritt; Cornelia.

Children of Christopher Wyatt, Jr., and Isabel Morris.

Alleyn; Katharine.

Children of Mary Livingston Wyatt and Henry K. Newhall.

Alice; Donald; Cornelia.

Child of Cornelia Croghan and Horatio Hornet.

Mary Sophia.

Children of Lucy Serena Croghan and Spencer Brown.

Lucy; Florence; Spencer, Jr.

Child of Elizabeth Croghan and Duncan Kennedy.

Duncan, Jr.

Child of Cornelia Livingston Rodgers and Norval St. Nokes.

Virginia Rodgers.

DESCENDANTS OF ELIZABETH CLARK AND RICHARD CLOUGH ANDERSON.

Richard Clough, Jr. (married Elizabeth Gwathmey, no family); Elizabeth; Cecilia; Ann (married John Logan).

GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Ann Anderson and John Logan.

John Allen; Richard A.; Robert W.; Elizabeth C. (married Mr. Simpson); Sarah Jane (married James M. Gambel); Catharine Mary; Charles Isaac.

DESCENDANTS OF GOVERNOR WILLIAM CLARK.

CHILDREN.

Governor Clark was first married to Miss Julia Hancock of Fincastle, Virginia, January 5, 1808. She died June 27, 1820, and on the 28th November, 1821, he married Mrs. Harriet Kennerly Radford* of St. Louis, Missouri. His children by the first wife were:

1, Meriwether Lewis Clark* (married, first, Abby Churchill, had seven children, second, Julia Davidson, who had no children by him); 2, William Preston*; 3, Mary Margaret*; 4, George Rogers Hancock*; 5, John Julius.*

By the second wife he had, 1, Jefferson Kearney (who married Miss Mary Susan Glasgow, May 8, 1849); and 2, Edmund,* who died unmarried.

GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Meriwether Lewis Clark and Abby Churchill.

1, William Hancock (married Camilla Gaylord, of New York, August 22, 1883); 2, Samuel Churchill* (killed at battle of Pea Ridge); 3, Mary Eliza*; 4, Meriwether Lewis, second, (married Mary Martin Anderson, May, 1871); 5, John O'Fallon, second*; 6, George Rogers, second; 7, Charles Jefferson (married Lena Jacob, July 5, 1873).

Children of George Rogers Hancock Clark and Eleanor Ann Glasgow

1, Julia (married Robert Stevenson Voorhis); 2, Seddie Leonida*; 3, John O'Fallon, 1st (married Beatrice Chouteau, January 15, 1867); 4, Ellen Glasgow (married Willis Edward Lauderdale, October 26, 1865).

GREAT GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Meriwether Lewis Clark, second, and Mary Martin Anderson.

1, John Henry Churchill; 2, Carrie Anderson; 3, Marie Barbaroux.

Children of Charles Jefferson Clark and Lena Jacob.

1, Mary Susan; 2, Evelyn Kennerly; 3, Marguerite.

Child of Julia Clark and Robert Stevenson Voorhis.

Eleanor Glasgow.

Children of John O'Fallon Clark, first, and Beatrice Chouteau.

1, Henry Chouteau; * 2, Beatrice Chouteau; 3, Carloto; 4, William Glasgow; 5, Clemence Eleanor; 6, John O'Fallon, third; 7, Harriet Kennerly; 8, George Rogers Clark, the third.

Children of Ellen Glasgow Clark and Willis Edward Lauderdale.

1, Seddie Clark married Wilmot E. Ellis, April 8, 1890; 2, Walter Clark.

GREAT-GREAT GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Seddie Clark and Wilmot Edward Ellis.

1, Edward Lauderdale.

NOTE.—The information in the above list was furnished the author by William Hancock Clark, Esq., eldest grandson of Governor Clark.

*Those marked with a star were dead in 1895.

DESCENDANTS OF FRANCES ELEANOR, YOUNGEST SISTER OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

Descendants of Frances Eleanor Clark and Dr. James O'Fallon (her first husband).

John; Benjamin.

Children by second husband, Captain Charles Mynn Thruston.

Charles William; Ann Clark.

Children by third husband, Judge Dennis Fitzhugh.

Clark (married Susan Rudd, had one daughter, Ann Clark); Lucy (married Henry Sydney Coxe).

GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of John O'Fallon and Harriett Stokes (first wife).

Ellen; William; Harriett.

Children of John O'Fallon and Ruth Caroline Sheets (second wife).

Caroline; James Joseph; Benjamin; Henry Algernon; John Julius.

Children of Benjamin O'Fallon and Sophia Lee.

Frank Clark, John, William Clark (married Miss McCreary); Charles
Thurston, Emily Rousseau; Ellen.

Children of Charles William Thurston and Mary Eliza Churchill.

Samuel Churchill (married Kate Keller); Francis Ann, Mary Eliza; O'Fallon.

Children of Ann Clark Thurston and Dr. Bernard Gaines Ferriss.

Charles Thurston, John O'Fallon; Benjamin O'Fallon; Bernard Gaines;
James Sweetinger, Ellen Frances.

GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Charles O'Fallon and Dr. Charles Alexander Pope.

Ruth Caroline, John O'Fallon, Charles, Abigail Ellen Wright, Emily Alice
Lucy.

Children of James Joseph O'Fallon and Ann Harris.

Harriet Taylor.

Children of Sebastian O'Fallon and Sally Dwayne Carter. His first wife.

Catherine Carter, Ruth Caroline, Rebecca Rosalie, Harriet Louise.

Children of Sebastian O'Fallon and Mary Stearns Carter. His second wife.

Sally Carter, Florence Mary, Howard Lawrence, Carter Randolph, Ethel.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason.

Frank Mason, Catherine Rose, William Joseph, Milton, Charles Fane.

GREAT-GRAND-GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason. Frank Mason.

Marion Louis, Susan Clara, Catherine Carter.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason. William Joseph.

Marion, Henry.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason. Milton.

Marion, Charles, Robert, Benjamin, William, George, Estlin.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason. Charles Fane.

Frank, William, George, Estlin.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason. Catherine Rose.

William, George, Estlin, Milton.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason. Susan Clara.

Sarah, William, Stephen, George, Estlin, Milton, George, N. V. C.

Children of John James O'Fallon and Sarah A. Mason. Marion Louis.

William, George, Estlin.

William, George, Estlin.

Children of Frances Ann Thruston and Andrew Jackson Ballard.

Charles Thruston; Bland Ballard; Abigail Churchill; Samuel Thruston; Rogers Clark Ballard Thruston (who adopted his mother's family name of Thruston).

GREAT-GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

Children of Charles Thruston Ballard and Emilina Modeste (Mina) Breaux.

Abby Churchill; Emilie Locke; Mary Thruston; Charles Mynn Thruston; Gustave Breaux; Fanny Thruston; Churchill; Mina Breaux.

Children of Samuel Thruston Ballard and Sunshine Harris.

Mary Harris; Theodore Harris; Samuel Thruston, Junior.

John O'Fallon Farrar married first Caroline Garland—they had no children.

Children of John O'Fallon Farrar and Sally Christy (his second wife).

William Christy (married Clara Jennings, and has six children); Charles Thruston (married Anna Gorman, has two sons, Benedict and Thruston); Ellen Morgan (married James C. Duke, has one child, Sarah Christy); Benjamin (married Carlotta S. Gardner); Calvin Christy; John; Eliza Christy (married Clarence C. Obear); Arthur Barret; Frank Blair.

Children of Benjamin O'Fallon Farrar and Anna Kennett.

Lucy Swon; Bernard Gaines (married Eliza Howard); Luther Kennett; Martha Sweringen (married M. D. Burns, has one child, Kennett Farrar); John Royal; Agness Kennett (married Professor W. B. Potter, have three children, Mary Chauncey; Anna Farrar; Horatio Potter); Franklin Dick; Coburn; Harry.

Children of Bernard Gaines Farrar and Isabel J. Mitchell.

Francis Jerdone; Ann Clark Thruston (married George C. W. Belcher, and has one daughter, Isabel Jerdone); Alexander Mitchell; Bertie Cecil.

Child of James Sweringen Farrar and Eliza Christy (his first wife).

James Sweringen.

Children of James Sweringen Farrar and Adele Rutherford.

Lucile; Bernard Royal; Adele.

Children of Ellen Frances Farrar and White Kennett (her first husband).

Harry Percy; Samuel H.; Anne Clark Thruston.

Children of Ellen Frances Farrar and S. T. Houser (her second husband).

Ellen T.; Thomas.

Children of Ann Clark Fitzhugh and Allen J. Polk.

Susie H. (married T. W. Keese, and has two children, Zeldia and T. W., Jr.); Anna Lee (married S. A. Pepper, and has two children, Allen and Zeldia); Zeldia H. (married D. T. Hargraves); Robin A.

NOTE.—The information in this list was kindly furnished the author by R. C. Ballard Thruston, Esq.



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1	100	100	100	100
2	100	100	100	100
3	100	100	100	100
4	100	100	100	100
5	100	100	100	100
6	100	100	100	100
7	100	100	100	100
8	100	100	100	100
9	100	100	100	100
10	100	100	100	100
11	100	100	100	100
12	100	100	100	100
13	100	100	100	100
14	100	100	100	100
15	100	100	100	100
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22	100	100	100	100
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30	100	100	100	100
31	100	100	100	100
32	100	100	100	100
33	100	100	100	100
34	100	100	100	100
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