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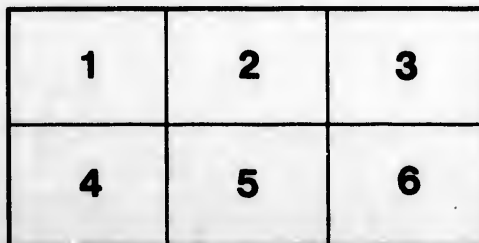
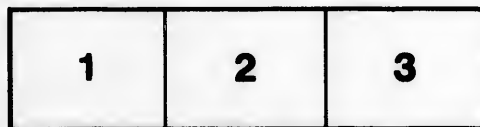
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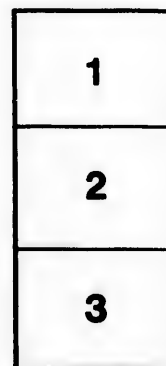
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THE NORTH-WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN,

Tuesday Evening, January 31, 1871,

By HON. CHARLES I. WALKER, OF DETROIT.

Published by Order of the Legislature.

MADISON, WIS.:

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

While this excellent production is passing through the press, and beyond the reach of consultation with the author, I have ventured, as the Editor of the publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society, to append a few historical notes where the context seemed to require them.

The intelligent reader need scarcely be reminded, that this Address contains much new matter relative to an interesting period of our frontier history, especially pertaining to the British and Indian forays having their origin and stimulus at Detroit, the headquarters of British influence in the North-West during the border warfare of the Revolution.

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THE NORTH-WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

"The North-West" has had, in our history, no fixed locality. It has been constantly receding from the Atlantic coast with each advancing wave of the great tide of emigration, and has in succession crossed the Alleghanies,—passed beyond the Great Lakes—the Mississippi—the desert plains of the West—and the Rocky Mountains; and its onward march has only been stayed by the waters of the Pacific.

But the North-West of which I shall speak, has a well defined locality and fixed boundaries. It comprises the region encompassed by the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, and embraces the territory now occupied by the five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, with a population of over nine millions, and rich with the productions of human industry and human art.

No other section of the Union of the same area, comprises so many advantages, or is capable of sustaining so dense a population. With scenery of great and diversified beauty, a climate varied and delightful, a soil of surpassing richness and fertility, sustaining a wealth of timber that the energies of man cannot destroy for generations to come, with exhaustless mines of lead, iron, coal, copper and salt, and traversed and environed by noble rivers and Great Lakes, the equal of which are not to be found upon the face of the earth, it is not surprising that its growth in population and wealth is without a parallel in the history of the world.

At the commencement of the American Revolution, there was not a settlement of English origin within this whole territory, and its entire population, other than Indians, did not probably exceed five thousand.

From the time the flag of Great Britain was raised at Jamestown, in 1607, and that of France had been unfurled from the heights of Quebec the following year, for a century and a half, the mighty struggle had been going on between these two great nations for the dominion of a continent. The combatants were worthy, and the prize well worth the combat. That contest was determined by the victory of WOLFE, upon the plains of Abraham, on the 17th day of September, 1759; and by the treaty of Paris, of 1763, France ceded to Great Britain her American dominions from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.

Previous to this period some of the English colonies had laid claims, and sometimes conflicting claims, to portions of the territory of which we speak, but they had in fact exercised no jurisdiction over it. The whole territory was in the occupation of France, and in her grand design of hemming in the English colonies and connecting Canada with Louisiana, she had dotted it with trading posts, missionary stations, settlements and forts.

THE NORTH-WEST IN 1763.

To understand this period of history, it is *essential* that we obtain a clear idea of the settlements and forts existing at the time of this conquest, their locality, strength and character.

Detroit was founded in 1701, and a fort, called Ponchertrain, erected upon the high bank of the river. This had long since gone to decay. The town proper occupied only about three acres, and was enclosed by pickets, variously stated to be from fifteen to twenty-five feet high, and pierced by four gates defended by block houses and guns. There were, within the pickets, from 80 to 100 dwellings, all of logs, except the house of the Governor or Commandant, and the enclosure contained a population of about six hundred. The settlement extended from the fort up and down the river on both sides about eight miles, and when Major ROGERS took possession for the British Government, in November, 1760, he estimated the entire population of town and settlement, at about 2,500, of which number 500 were capable of bearing arms. They were all French. Their farms were all narrow and deep, with a frontage on the river, so that the houses were near together. They were kept neatly whitewash-

ed, and presented, especially from the water, a very picturesque appearance. The great importance of this point sprang from its position, which enabled it to command largely Indian trade and influence.

At *Mackinac*, Father MARQUETTE established a mission as early as 1671. A fort was erected on the point of the lower peninsula in 1686. There was at this time, within the pickets, about 30 families, and as many more without, numbering, perhaps, a population of about 400. This too, was an important point with reference to the Indian trade.

Sault St. Mary had been visited by missionaries as early as 1641, and a permanent mission was established in 1668, but it was now a very insignificant military post, surrounded by a small cluster of French houses.

Green Bay was occupied as a missionary station in 1669. At this period it had a small stockade fort, and probably not to exceed 50 inhabitants besides soldiers and their families.

Fort St. Joseph was a small stockade near the mouth of the river St. Joseph, and, like the others, had around it a small cluster of French settlers and traders.

The same may be said of Fort Miami, (Fort Wayne).

Fort Sandusky was not a permanent post, and had no settlement around it.

SETTLEMENTS UPON THE WABASH.

The two principal settlements on the Wabash, were Vincennes—then called Fort St. Vincent, and Waw-ca-ta-non, near Lafayette. According to CROGHAN, there were at Vincennes in 1765, about 80 or 90 French families, and at Waw-ca-ta-non, 14 families living within the Fort, and there were doubtless some small intervening settlements.

These settlements on the Wabash were commenced probably, as early as 1710-11, and seem at one time to have been rich in agricultural productions, which found a market down the Mississippi.

SETTLEMENTS IN ILLINOIS.

The largest settlements in the North-West, were those of Illinois, of which Kaskaskia was the oldest and the principal. In 1766 it had 65 permanent families.

There were besides, Cahokia with 45 families; St. Philip with 16 families; Prairie-du-Rocher with 12 families; Fort Chartres with 40 families. This fort was erected at great expense by the French in 1720, re-built in 1756, and was for a long time the seat of government of the country of Illinois; but this fort was undermined by the river about 1772, and was abandoned. There was also a fort at Kaskaskia, upon a rock on the other side of the river from the village.

There were agricultural settlements in the vicinity of these places, and the entire white population in Illinois was probably about 3,000. There were also many slaves in the country; one farm kept eighty.

These were all the settlements existing in the North-West, at the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and the entire white population did not exceed 10,000, and was exclusively of French origin, and of the Roman Catholic religion.

If we were to trust to contemporaneous English accounts, we should find the inhabitants not only a very worthless people, but positively unworthy. Thus, Col. GEORGE CROGHAN, deputy of Sir Wm. JOHNSON, who visited these settlements in 1765, says of the inhabitants of Vincennes, that "they are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegades from Canada, and are much worse than the Indians;" and of those of Detroit, "they are generally poor wretches, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for subsistence,"—"whose manners and customs they have entirely adopted."

That this description was applicable to many of the *voyageurs* and *courriers de bois*, as seen about the towns, is undoubtedly true; but as a description of the inhabitants generally, it is most unjust.

There were two distinct classes of these *habitans*, both, however, having the same general and national characteristics. One was the class of active, intelligent, gentlemanly traders and farmers; many of them of *respectable*, and some of *noble*, birth and connections. The other class were the *voyageurs*; *courriers de bois* and peasants. Here, side by side, these two classes planted their residences, and lived in perfect harmony; yet each in his own sphere—each contented with his place.

The *voyageur* and peasant indulged in the dreams of the equality of man, and ambition never embittered his heart, while the gentleman, jealous of no encroachment, was the indulgent and kind-hearted employer and patron. On the banks of these western rivers they built their simple, cheerful homes, and surrounded them with fruits and flowers. They were a light-hearted, gay people, full of vivacity and graceful hilarity; honest among themselves, generous and hospitable. Surrounded by danger, they were of undoubted courage, but when the pressure of a present peril was passed, their habitual gaiety returned. No memory of the past or fear of the future was permitted to mar the happiness of the present hour. Sorrow and suffering were soon forgotten, and privations laughed at, or cheerfully endured. Simple and frugal in their habits, contented with their lot, they renewed in the forest recesses of the New World the life of the Old. They were free from ambition and its cares, and without high aims. While they enjoyed much personal license, they had no conception of *municipal freedom* and of *self government*—of liberty regulated by *law*, originating from the will of the governed themselves. They received with equal and unquestioning submissiveness their law from the King and his subordinates, and their *religion* from their priests.

Of *such*, great nations are not made; and one can but reflect, what this mighty North-West would have been *to-day* had it continued *French* and *Catholic*, and what a change was wrought in its destiny by the victory of WOLFE, upon the plains of Abraham.

By a proclamation of GEORGE THE THIRD, of October 7th, 1763, the Government of Quebec was established for the Canadas, but this distant region was not included within its boundaries, and until the passage of the famous Quebec Act, in Parliament in 1774, it was without a civil government, and exclusively under military control. Magistrates derived both their appointment and their powers solely from the military commandants, and soldiers were the only executive officers of the law. Mutual distrust and dislike existed between the people and the British officers placed over them, and this was greatly increased by the Pontiac War, in which many of the inhabitants sympathized with the savages in their attack upon

the English power. The result was, that a very large emigration took place, especially from the Illinois settlements, to the western side of the Mississippi River, and to Louisiana.

The treaty of peace and cession was signed at Paris in March, 1763. On the 27th of September of the same year, NEYON-DE VILLIERS, French commandant of Illinois, dispatched couriers from Fort Chartres with a written invitation addressed to "Mr's les habitants du Detroit," cordially inviting such as chose to emigrate to St. Genevieve, Arkansas or New Orleans, and pledging his protection and assistance to such as should go.*

In 1764 LACLEDE founded St. Louis, and persuaded thither many emigrants from Illinois, and some from Detroit. Kaskaskia, which under French rule, had at one time numbered 1,500 or 2,000 inhabitants, was reduced to a population of less than 500. Detroit, which had probably numbered more than 600 inhabitants in 1763, had but about 300 at the commencement of the Revolution. The whole Detroit settlement did not then exceed 700 or 800, in the place of 2,500, as estimated by ROGERS in 1760.

The emigration of original British subjects to the Canadas, after the conquest, had been very limited. In 1770 there were less than 400 Protestant *men* in the whole new dominion. In Detroit, in 1778, there were 30 Scotchmen, 15 Irishmen and 2 Englishmen, mostly traders, and without families.† No new settlements had been formed, and I am satisfied, that at the commencement of the Revolution, exclusive of officers and soldiers and their families, the entire white population of the North West did not exceed 5,000 souls.

By the Quebec Act of 1774, the North West became a part of the Province of Quebec, and was brought nominally under civil government.

While this act was under discussion, Sir GUY CARLETON, who was then Governor of Canada, and had been since 1768, was called as a witness before the House. His examination is full of curious interest. He is asked whether Detroit and Michigan were under the government. He replies, "Detroit is not under

*The original letter was a few years since in the possession of the well known antiquary, the late JAMES VIGER, Esq., of Montreal, who furnished me with a copy.

† Judge MAY's statement as taken down by his son-in-law, Mr. FRAZER. Judge MAY came to Detroit in 1778.

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the government; Michigan is." He was asked, "Do you look upon Illinois as a part of old Canada?" He replies, "I believe so. New Orleans was under the government of Quebec, but where the precise district ends, I really do not know;" and he confesses that he has no idea of the distance that Illinois is from Quebec.

In connection with this specimen of official ignorance, it may not be uninteresting to give a specimen of description and prediction of a later period. Detroit and its dependencies, including Wisconsin, remained in the possession of Great Britain until after JAY'S Treaty of 1794. In 1791, when the act dividing Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada was under discussion in Parliament, a leading merchant of Quebec, Mr. LYNEBURNER, was heard in opposition to the act. He contended that "Niagara was the utmost extent westward of the *cultivable* part of the province;" that while it was true that there was a small settlement at Detroit, and it was of great importance as a post for the Indian trade, it could *never* become of great importance *as a settlement*;" that the falls of Niagara presented a barrier to the transportation of produce, which "must greatly impede the progress of settlement and cultivation *for ages to come*."*

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

Under this Quebec act, Col. HENRY HAMILTON, formerly a Captain in the 15th regiment, was appointed by Gov. CARLETON, in 1775, Lieut.-Governor, and Superintendent of Detroit and its dependencies, including the entire North-West. He had doubtless been selected, because of his capacity, energy and zeal, and with reference to the impending difficulties between the Colonies and the Mother Country. Henceforth, and during the entire Revolution, Detroit became the center of British power in the North-West. The relentless and cruel Indian warfare, that was carried on against the border settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, received its inspiration and direction from this point. The Indian power of the North-West was at this period *fearfully great*. It was mainly under the control of British influence and British gold, and it was used without

*Smith's Canada, 1 vol., p. 81.

scruple to harrass, cripple and destroy the struggling Colonies, and in its cruel ferocity it spared neither sex, infancy or age.

In 1763, Sir WM. JOHNSON, than whom there is no better authority, makes the following estimate of the number of the Indian warriors of the North-West:

Wyandotts.....	450, at Detroit and Sandusky.
Pottawatamies.....	350, at Detroit and St. Joseph.
Ottawas and Chippewas.....	1850, at Detroit and Mackinaw.
“ “	4000, elsewhere.
Sacs, Foxes and Menomonees.....	1170, west of Green Bay.
Menomonees, Kickapoos and Piankashaus.....	800, on the Wabash.
Shawnees	300, Sciota Valley.
Delawares.....	600, Muskingum Valley.
	<hr/> 8990, in all. <hr/>

This does not include the Illinois Indians, of whose numbers he gives no estimate.

The use made of this power, supported by British gold and wielded by British skill, we shall have occasion to notice.

Under Governor HAMILTON were various subordinates at the different stations. Thus Captain (afterwards Major) ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER—an honored name—a native of New York, was in command at Mackinaw from 1774 until 1779, when, on HAMILTON's capture, he succeeded him at Detroit.

SR. DE ROCHEBLAVE, who had been a Lieutenant of Marines in the French service in Illinois as early as 1760,* was Governor of Kaskaskia, and its dependencies; and a Mr. ABBOTT, an Irish civilian of Detroit, was Governor of Vincennes. Although civil government was nominally established, justice was administered very much as under the preceding military régime. Thus Governor HAMILTON acted as magistrate, and took cognizance of all civil cases under £10, York currency. An orderly-sergeant acted as constable. No process was issued, but the orderly commanded the debtor to appear, when a hearing was summarily had; and if the case was found against the debtor, he was ordered to pay the claim; and if he could, yet refused, he was sent to the guard-house until he did.

Judge MAY gives a curious instance of this summary justice:

* Original order in possession of the late JAMES VIGOR, Esq., who furnished me a copy

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"One GRAUCHIN owed me a debt. I complained to Governor HAMILTON, who sent for him. He came, and being asked if he had anything to say against the debt, he said *no*. He then ordered him to give me an old negro wench in payment, and she served me twenty-five years."*

Criminal justice was administered by a Justice of the Governor's appointment, and a jury, which was provided for in criminal cases by the Quebec act; and the sentence of death was more than once inflicted for theft and other like offenses.

A contemporary record shows what was in fact three trials before a jury at one time, and disposed of by one verdict. A Frenchman was found guilty of stealing some furs of Messrs. ABBOTT & FINCHLEY; and ANN WYLEY, a former slave, of stealing a purse containing six guineas, from the same firm; and the two were tried for attempting to set fire to the house of the same firm; but the jury found the proof on this point not sufficient, although as they said, "the circumstances were very much against them." PHILIP DEJEAN, the Justice, of whom we shall hereafter hear more, sentenced them to be hanged upon the King's domain or public common, and they were hanged accordingly.†

No sooner had the war commenced, than efforts were made to enlist both the whites and the Indians of the North-West, against the Colonies.

In the fall of 1775, Dr. JOHN CONOLLY, of Pittsburgh, after visiting Gen. GAGE at Boston, was appointed by Gov. DUNMORE, of Virginia, to proceed to Detroit and enlist a regiment of Canadians there and elsewhere, which was to rendezvous there, and which he was to command, and also a force of Indians; and to return to Virginia with the force thus raised, and join Gov. DUNMORE. He and two traveling companions were arrested in Maryland, while on their way, and his papers, carefully concealed in his saddle, revealed the plot.

The importance of Detroit to the British interest, and the desirableness of capturing this center and stronghold of British power in the North-West, became apparent to Gen. WASHINGTON and to Congress, at an early day in the fearful struggle, and it

* Judge MAY's statement.

† DEJEAN was Secretary of the Governor, and was understood to be his willing instrument. This act brought down upon him the censure of the Government officials at Quebec.

was never for a moment lost sight of, although effective efforts for the accomplishment of this purpose were deferred from time to time from sheer necessity—the utter want of men and means. As early as April, 1776, the committee on Indian Affairs were instructed to enquire as to the possibility of taking Detroit.

Early in this year, Capt. DE PEYSTER, commanding at Mackinaw, by his persuasions, enlisted in the British service Capt. CHARLES DE LANGLADE, of Green Bay, a gentleman of extensive influence among the Indians, and who had distinguished himself as a French officer in the war with Great Britain, which resulted in the conquest of Canada. He soon raised a large force of Indians from the several nations of the North-West, and together with some Canadian volunteers, proceeded with them to the neighborhood of Montreal, there to render aid to the King's forces in attacking the rebels, and defending Lower Canada against them. These forces rendezvoused at Mackinaw, and the orders for their marching thence were issued on the day of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. Capt. DE LANGLADE is charged with the duty on the way of "annoying the rebels wherever you meet with them."* This force received a most cordial reception at Montreal, where on its arrival a grand council was held, at which an ox was roasted whole, and served up to the Indians; and subsequently they rendered valuable service in the cause of the crown.

The audacity of the American rebellion against the mighty power of Great Britain stung to the quick the sensitive and haughty pride of her ruling statesmen, and aroused to bitterness and unrelenting hate the narrow, obstinate mind of the King; and the subsequent Declaration of Independence produced a degree of exasperation, which it is difficult for us to fully appreciate. Under the influence of these feelings, the British King and Ministry resolved (in the language of Secretary GERMAINE) "that every means should be employed that Providence had put in his Majesty's hands for crushing the rebellion." Every possible effort was to be employed, and was employed, not only to enlist the Indians in legitimate warfare against the Colonies, but to turn loose upon peaceable settlements, upon unarmed men and

* Copies of orders of Capt. DE PEYSTER in the collections of the Michigan Historical Society, p. 17.

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helpless women and children, what CHATHAM called "the horrible hell-hounds of savage war." This ruthless and dastardly policy met with a cold support from Sir GUY CARLETON and Gen. HOWE; but it found a ready, active, zealous supporter in Gov. HAMILTON, of Detroit, who, as early as September of this year, 1776, promised the ministry that he would send parties of the savages "to fall on the scattered settlers on the Ohio and its branches;" and to encourage the enforcement of this policy towards the rebels, adds: "their arrogance, disloyalty and impudence had justly drawn upon them this deplorable sort of war."

In the execution of this policy, Gov. HAMILTON exhibited great energy, and an embittered zeal. His first effort was to enlist in the British interest, by the power of British gold, such men as could best influence the Indians, and lead them on in their work of destruction. For this purpose a large number of traders, and others, familiar with the Indian language and Indian character, were regularly employed and paid by the Indian Department of Detroit, and amongst these were five men, who became infamously conspicuous, and whose very names became a terror to the border settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky,—these were MATTHEW ELLIOTT, for many years a trader among the Ohio Indians; ALEXANDER MCKEE, who had been an Indian Agent; and the three brothers, SIMON, GEORGE and JAMES GIRTYS. The father of the GIRTYS was a drunkard, and their mother a bawd. They had been taken prisoners while young, and adopted by the Indians, and they honored alike their parentage and their education, and united in themselves the vices of civilization and the cruel perfidy and ferocity of the savage. SIMON, the most capable of the three, had been an Indian interpreter for the Americans, but, like the others, was seduced to British interests by British gold. He was a drunken, blustering ruffian, but of great force of character and unquestionable courage. Each of these men received a regular compensation from Detroit. MCKEE received 10 shillings sterling; the others 16 York shillings per day.*

Then too, the Indians themselves were subsidized by rich and

*List and pay roll of Indian agents, &c., in possession of Michigan Historical Society.

valuable presents, not only of blankets, other clothing and provisions, but of those articles so attractive to the savage;—vermillion to give the proper war color, and articles of personal adornment, such as brooches, ear-rings, bracelets, &c., &c. By these and other means most of the North-Western Indians were early secured to British interests. Through the influence of the Moravian missionaries on the Muskingum, most of the Delawares remained neutral.

The results of their efforts were not seriously felt upon the border settlements until 1777. In the latter part of winter, or early in the spring of that year, Gov. HAMILTON sent a war hatchet, wrapped in a belt of red and white beads, to the Ohio Indians. It was accepted by the Wyandotts and Shawnees, but rejected by the Delawares. Its effect was at once apparent. On the 6th of March a large party of Indians appeared before Harrodsburgh, in Kentucky. On the 24th of April Boonsborough was attacked, and again on the 23d of May; and on the 30th of May, Logan's Fort.* None of these attacks were successful, but several persons were killed, others wounded, and cattle and other property destroyed.

These stations or settlements on the border were all very much after the same pattern. A company of settlers selected farms adjacent to each other. At some convenient point they for the most part congregated their houses as in a village, and surrounded them with pickets, usually from twelve to fifteen feet high; the log houses of the settlers frequently formed a part of the outer wall of the enclosure, with pickets extending from house to house, where gaps occurred. Through these pickets were gate-openings, and the houses were pierced with holes to enable those within to fire upon a surrounding foe. For a space outside the forest was completely cleared away, so that an enemy could neither find a lurking place for an attack, nor conceal his approach. During the day the settlers cultivated their lands around, and in times of peril, often with arms by their side.

*These dates are different from those given in the printed accounts extant, but they have been verified by an original diary of Gen. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, in the possession of L. C. DRAPER, Esq., Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. He has several volumes of original manuscripts, that belonged to CLARK, and among them many papers obtained upon the capture of Gov. HAMILTON. Mr. DRAPER is preparing a memoir of CLARK, for which he has the most ample material, never before used. Its publication is looked for with great interest.

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These defences, rude as they were, proved a great protection against Indians and their still ruder weapons.

The failure of these expeditions against the Kentucky settlements gave little security to the border. Bands of marauding Indians were constantly engaged in their works of plunder and blood.

On the 27th of July, HAMILTON reports to Secretary GERMAINE that he had already sent out fifteen several parties of Indians, consisting of 289 braves, with thirty white officers and rangers, to prowl on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

But the great effort of this year was the attack upon Fort Henry, at Wheeling, on the 1st of September, by a force of about four hundred Indians, fully armed by Governor HAMILTON. The events of this siege—the gallant defence—the brave conduct of ELIZABETH ZANE in securing powder for the garrison, in the face of the Indian foe—the narrow escape of Major McCULLOCH—the severe loss—the opportune reinforcement—are all recorded in general history, and make this one of the most thrilling incidents of the border; but it does not belong to my purpose to describe such incidents in detail.

In February of 1778, the famous Kentucky partisan, DANIEL BOONE, was, with twenty-seven men, taken prisoner while making salt at the Blue Licks. In March, BOONE was brought to Detroit, where he received much attention from English gentlemen, and Governor HAMILTON offered to ransom him of the Indians at £100, but they were greatly attached to him and refused the offer. They took him back to Chillicothe, and here, in June following, on learning of a proposed attack upon Boonesborough, he escaped, traveling one hundred and sixty miles in four days, with but one meal. His wife, supposing him dead, had, with their children, gone back to North Carolina. Boonesborough was immediately prepared for defence, but the escape, the warning and the preparation, delayed the attack until September 7th, when the whole Indian force of over four hundred, with eleven Canadians, led by Captain CHENE, of Detroit, appeared and surrounded the little post. After some delay, negotiation, and an attempt at treachery, an attack was commenced, which lasted about ten days, when the Indians, having lost thirty-

seven of their number, retired. Only two of the garrison were killed.*

In the early spring of this year (1778), the Moravian mission upon the Muskingum was thrown into great consternation by a letter bearing an official seal, purporting to be from Gov. HAMILTON, commanding them to put themselves at the head of their Indians and march against the "rebels," whom they were to attack on their farms and in their settlements, slaying them without mercy, and bringing their scalps to Detroit. They did not at the time suspect a forgery, but it was probably the work of some miscreant in the British service, plotting mischief, for it is difficult to believe that such a paper could have issued from a British officer.

This letter was followed up by a visit from ELLIOTT, McKEE, and some deserters from Pittsburgh, who, by persuasions and falsehoods, sought to induce the Delawares to take up the hatchet; but the effort failed, through the wise intrepidity of the missionary HECKEWELDER.

In the mean time great preparations were being made by Congress for an expedition into the Indian country, and perhaps against Detroit itself, with a force of 3,000 men; but the men and munitions were both wanting. Gen. MCINTOSH came to Pittsburgh in the Spring with 500 troops. Soon after he built Fort McIntosh near the mouth of the Big Beaver, where in October he assembled 1,000 men, and marched to the Tuscarawas river, and erected Fort Laurens, and garrisoning it with 150 men, in command of Col. GIBSON, returned to Fort Pitt; thus leaving this garrison in the Indian country beyond the reach of succor—too weak for aggressive or even defensive warfare.

But the most notable event of this year in the West, and one of the most notable events of the war, was the conquest of Kaskaskia and the other British posts in Illinois and on the Wabash by GEORGE ROGERS CLARK. The circumstances attending this conquest are full of stirring and romantic interest, while the consequences flowing from it were most momentous. The events of the campaign are so fully narrated in every local and general

* Here again the dates in printed accounts are corrected by original manuscripts in Mr. DRAPE's possession. The name of Capt. DU QUESNE is also given as the commander of this expedition. On Mr. DRAPE's authority, I give the proper orthography of the name of this British-Indian leader as CHENE. He also accompanied Capt. BIRD's expedition.

history, that it would be inexcusable in me, to do more than state results, and that in the most general way.

Major CLARK, an emigrant to Kentucky, although a man of limited culture, had the grasp of mind, and the energy of character, which fitted him for great events. Kentucky had suffered greatly from the Indians during the year 1777. CLARK made up his mind that the best mode of defending Kentucky was to give employment to the enemy elsewhere. He sent spies to visit the posts upon the Wabash and in Illinois. In December, 1777, he laid open his plan of capturing these posts to PATRICK HENRY, then Governor of Virginia, who at once fell in with it, especially as Virginia laid claim to this western territory as far north as the 40th degree of north latitude. CLARK was commissioned a Colonel in the service of Virginia, and was authorized at the expense of that State to raise a sufficient force, was furnished with £1,200 currency, and by secret instructions was directed to carry out the plan conceived by him.

On the 24th of June, 1778, he left the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) in barges, with his force of less than 200 men, and descended the Ohio to Old Fort Massac, within sixty miles of its mouth, and then marched north to Kaskaskia, which he captured by surprise on the night of July 4th, taking its commandant, ROCHEBLAVE and its inhabitants prisoners. The other posts were taken before any opposition could be made. With great skill, and by a wise mingling of kindness and severity, he gained the good will of the French, and commanded the respect of the surrounding Indians. The then recent treaty between the Colonies and France aided greatly in his success with the French.

Gov. ABBOTT, of Vincennes, was at that time absent in Detroit, and there were no troops stationed there. Father GIBBAULT, of Kaskaskia, Vicar General, etc., undertook to get the French at that point to side with the Americans, and immediately started upon his mission, which was entirely successful, and the American flag waved over the place.

Waw-ca-ta-non was captured by a small force, and thus without the loss of a man, the conquest of Illinois and the Wabash settlements was complete; and, in October, Virginia organized this

territory into the county of Illinois, and the next year Col. JOHN TODD was, at CLARK's request, sent out as civil Governor.

The news of this disaster to British interests aroused Gov. HAMILTON to the most vigorous efforts to retrieve it. It was obvious that this conquest had panic-stricken the Indians, and threatened the whole British power in the North West. In the spring of 1777, Col. MORGAN, at Pittsburgh, wrote to Gov. HENRY, that there were only 66 soldiers at Detroit ; but there were at this time about 500 troops there. There were four companies of the Eighth or King's Regiment, commanded by Maj. LERNOULT ; two companies of BUTLER's Rangers, commanded by Capt. CALDWELL, and one of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Capt. AUBREY.* The British also had a small navy that commanded the Lakes. There were usually several hundred Indians gathered about the Fort at Detroit ; but never more than twenty-five were permitted within the gates at one time, and these were unarmed. At the very time when HAMILTON received the news of CLARK's success, there was a large gathering of Indians there with whom he was holding negotiations. He gave them the hatchet anew, and urged them to more general and violent assaults upon the frontier, and to hold themselves in readiness to join him in proposed movements against the Americans. He sent by some Delawares present, a menacing letter to the Council of the Delawares, calling upon them "for the last time" to take up the hatchet, and was greatly infuriated at their firm refusal, and at once ordered an expedition against them, consisting of Indians and a few soldiers, commanded by two Captains, with orders to return with the scalps of both chiefs and missionaries, but the sudden death of the two officers frustrated the expectation.

HAMILTON immediately planned an exhibition for the recovery of the Illinois, to be commanded by himself. It was composed of thirty regulars, fifty volunteers, and four or five hundred Indians. The volunteers were subsequently paid for their services from the 17th of September, but the expedition did not leave Detroit until the 7th of October. It is evident that his first purpose was

* Judge MAY's statement.

It may be added, that the Capt. AUBREY alluded to, was probably Capt. THOMAS AUBREY, of Sir GUY CARLETON'S, or the Forty-Seventh British Regiment, serving in America at this period. The Army List of 1780 gives no other officer of that or any similar name then in the British service.

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to proceed at once to Kaskaskia, where CLARK's force was stationed, for he urges Maj. DE PEYSTER to send him assistance. DE PEYSTER had also received special orders from Gen. HALDIMAND, commanding at Quebec, to do all in his power to assist HAMILTON in his enterprise.

In compliance with these orders DE PEYSTER, on the 26th of October, dispatched Capt. DE LANGLADE, and Lieut. GAUTIER* to arouse the Indians around Lake Michigan, assemble them at St. Joseph, and to join HAMILTON with all the force they could raise, or to descend the Illinois, if that was better calculated to promote the success of HAMILTON's operations. These officers are exhorted to use economy, "as the nations in general have already had many presents from his Majesty," and to exhort the warriors "to use humanity towards the prisoners," who "will be ransomed."†

HAMILTON was greatly delayed by storms and bad weather, and did not reach Vincennes until the 17th of December. This point, as we have seen, had yielded to the Americans without other force than the moral suasion of Father GIBAULT, and it was now held by Capt. HELM and one American. As HELM saw this terrific force gathered about the fort, he placed a loaded cannon in the gateway and stood by it with a lighted match; and as the enemy approached, called out with a loud voice, "*Halt!*" HAMILTON demanded a surrender. HELM replied, "No man shall enter here until I know the terms." The "honors of war" were granted, and Capt. HELM with his garrison of *one* received the customary honors.

HAMILTON at once dismissed his Indian allies to prowl upon the frontiers or return to their homes, with the purpose in the early spring of re-assembling them, with a largely increased force both from the north and the south, and then, after re-establishing the British power in Illinois, of marching to Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky and Western Virginia on the way, and thus completing the conquest of the frontier. Nor did this plan seem visionary to the coolest judgment, and nothing but the genius and intrepidity of CLARK frustrated it. On the 29th of

* This probably has reference to GAUTIER DE VERVILLE, a nephew of DE LANGLADE, who served with him during the French and Indian war, and also during the Revolution, and died at Prairie du Chien, about 1803, at about the age of sixty-five. See GRIGNON'S *Recollections*, Vol. 8d, Wis. His. Coll's. L. C. D.

† Manuscript orders—Michigan Historical Society.

of January, 1779, he received the news of HAMILTON's occupation of Vincennes, and the condition of his forces. His determination was at once taken. In speaking of HAMILTON he says, "I knew if I did not take him, he would take me."

On the 7th of February, with a force of 176 men, partly composed of French volunteers, he started for Vincennes. Forty-six of these went by water in a keel-boat with some small guns, ammunition, stores, etc., and 130 marched with CLARK across the country. On the 23d, CLARK was before Vincennes, and on the 25th HAMILTON surrendered himself and his force as prisoners of war. This wonderful march of 240 miles through a flat country, over a soft soil, deluged by constant rains—the men wading for days through low wet prairies, exhausted and benumbed by fatigue, fasting and cold; the intrepid bearing of the noble leader in his utterly desperate and exhausted condition; the gallant attack upon the fort; the unique correspondence between the comparatively illiterate back-woodsman and proud British officer,* and the final capture of the post and the defending force, with all the stirring and romantic details, are known to every reader of history, and need not be recounted.

On the ninth of February previous, a company of about forty men under the charge of Mr. ADREMAR, a commissary, left Detroit with a large amount of supplies for Gov. HAMILTON. By the urgent request of Justice DEJEAN, he was permitted to accompany the expedition, in order to obtain from Gov. HAMILTON his warrant or authority to justify his own conduct as magistrate, and especially as to the executions already noticed.

On the fifth of March the entire expedition was captured while descending the Wabash with seven boats, and all the letters to Gov. HAMILTON. DEJEAN is called by the captors, "Grand Judge of Detroit."

On the seventh of March CLARK dispatched Capt. WILLIAMS and Lieut. ROGERS with twenty-five privates, to conduct Gov. HAMILTON, "Grand Judge DEJEAN," Major HAY, Capt. LA MOTHE and Lieut. SCHEIFFLEIN, and twenty others, as prisoners of war, to Virginia. The rest of the captured force, being principally Frenchmen, were discharged on taking the oath of neutrality.

Gov. HAMILTON, DEJEAN and LA MOTHE were for a while

* The correspondence is in the possession of Mr. DRAPER.

ironed and closely imprisoned in a dungeon at Williamsburg, were prohibited the use of pen, ink and paper, and from all intercourse, by order of the Council of Virginia, who upon examining the evidence before them, found that HAMILTON had been guilty of great cruelties to American prisoners at Detroit; that he had offered rewards for scalps, but none for prisoners, thus inciting the Indians to murder the defenceless; that DEJEAN was the willing instrument of his cruelty, and that LA MOTHE had himself led scalping parties, who spared neither men, women nor children. This imprisonment led to a notable correspondence between WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON, the Governor of Virginia, and others, as to whether as prisoners of war, HAMILTON and his companions were not entitled to different treatment. They were subsequently released and paroled.

HAMILTON was afterwards, for one year, Governor of Canada, and was then appointed Governor of Dominica, and not long after died. While Governor of Canada he did not entirely forget his subordinates at Detroit. On the ninth of November, 1785, he issued an order that no one should disturb MATTHEW ELLIOTT in the possession of a lot near the dock yard by the water side, without producing titles.

It has often been charged upon HAMILTON that he was relentlessly cruel, that he encouraged the taking of scalps rather than prisoners, and that the reign of terror on our Western border was measurably his work. That he willing, zealously and vigorously carried out the ruthless policy of the British ministry, there can be no doubt, and he cannot therefore have been a kind or tender-hearted man; that he was wantonly cruel in the execution of that policy, I think is not sufficiently proved.

The conquest of Illinois, and the subsequent capture of HAMILTON constituted a turning-point in the history of the North-West. By these events, and *by these alone*, was the north-western boundary of the new American Union removed from the Ohio to the Great Lakes. No where else did the Americans have a foothold in the territory comprising these great States, and except for GEORGE ROGERS CLARK and his victories, the North-West would have been to-day a *British Canadian colony*. Just this result was anticipated by JEFFERSON, who wrote to CLARK expressing his interest in the proposed expedition, and predict-

ing that, if successful, it would have an important bearing ultimately in establishing our north-western boundary."

All honor then to GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, and to Virginia—worthy of her name of "Mother of States"—who sent him forth, and then nobly ceded the territory thus snatched by her from the common enemy to the whole Union, and devoted it to freedom.

No sooner was HAMILTON captured than CLARK turned his eyes towards Detroit, but his force was quite inconsiderable, and he exclaims with mortification: "Detroit lost for want of a few men!"

Previous to the reception of the news of HAMILTON's capture, there was no little uneasiness in Detroit. McINTOSH's expedition, so fruitless in good results, had created no little apprehension, and the letters written to HAMILTON at Vincennes, clearly indicate that the loyalty of both the French and Indians to the British cause was distrusted, and the early return of HAMILTON was strongly urged. Major LERNOULT, who was in command during HAMILTON's absence, commenced the erection of a strong fort, which was completed the following season, and which bore his name, until re-christened Fort Shelby, in the war of 1812. The Major, in his correspondence with HAMILTON, complains, that, while the merchants freely aided in this work of defence, the French only did so on compulsion.

The news of the capture of HAMILTON, produced great consternation in Detroit among the adherents of the crown, and no little gratification to many of the French.

The Fort (Laurens) which had been established by Gen. McINTOSH the fall before, was besieged in January of this year, 1779, and its inmates were reduced to the greatest distress, and almost to starvation. Many were killed. They were finally, after a siege of six weeks, relieved by Gen. McINTOSH, who with seven hundred men brought supplies. Col. GIBSON was succeeded in the command of the garrison by Maj. VERNON.

In the summer of the same year, there was another siege by a small Indian force, but by the interposition of the friendly Delawares, it was relieved, and soon after in August, the fort was abandoned; its establishment having accomplished no good, while it had greatly irritated without over-awing the Indians.

In July of this year, Col. BOWMAN headed an expedition of

one hundred and sixty men from Kentucky, against the Shawanees at Chillicothe. After some fighting, in which nine men were killed and a few wounded, they retreated without accomplishing any decisive results.

In October of this year, Major ROGERS, who was in command of some keel boats and 100 men, while ascending the Ohio with supplies from New Orleans, was surprised and attacked near where Cincinnati now is, by a large Indian force. Major ROGERS and forty-five of his men were killed almost instantly, and only a few finally escaped.

These events were well calculated to excite and encourage Indian hostilities, and unprotected families and settlements were continually suffering all the horrors of savage war.

The conviction was strong, and growing stronger, that there could be no safety to the border as long as Detroit was in possession of the British, who from that point directed and controlled the Indians, and supplied them with munitions of war.

On the 12th of January of this year, (1779) WASHINGTON, in a letter to a committee of Congress, discusses the importance of an expedition against Detroit. He suggests that security to the border is only to be obtained by offensive measures. On the 21st of April he writes to Col. BRODHEAD, at Pittsburg, to ascertain the best season for such an enterprise, and in November BRODHEAD suggests a winter expedition.

CLARK had again considered, during the summer, the possibility of raising a sufficient force to march upon Detroit, and had been promised 300 volunteers from Kentucky, but owing to the repulse of BOWMAN, and other circumstances, only 30 appeared, and he was forced to abandon the enterprise.

The news of this proposed expedition reached Detroit, and to create a diversion in favor of the British, Lieut. BENNETT, of the 8th regiment, was sent on an expedition against the Illinois settlements, by the way of Chicago. On the 1st of July, Major DE PEYSTER, at Mackinaw, issued instructions to Capt. DE LANGLADE to do his utmost to raise "the people of the Milwaukee Fork, the Indian tribe of Stinkards" (around Green Bay), "and others bordering on Lake Michigan, and with them hurry and join Mr. BENNETT at Chicago," and to follow him by forced marches if he had left.

On the 30th of July, BENNETT was at Chicago with one hundred whites and two hundred Indians, but nothing further is known of the expedition. When the failure of CLARK's intended enterprise was ascertained, this was doubtless abandoned.

An abortive effort was also made about this time to incite an Indian expedition against Vincennes, but it was found that the Indians in that vicinity had espoused the cause of the "Bostonians," as they called the Americans, and proposed to defend them, and nothing was done.

Major DE PEYSTER had long sought to be transferred from Mackinaw to some other command. Gen. HALDIMAND expressing a high appreciation of his services there, transferred him to Detroit, where he was in command as early as October, 1779. He was succeeded at Mackinaw by Major St. CLAIR, who remained in command until the close of the war. In 1781 the British held a treaty with the Indians, by which the Island of Mackinaw and Prairie du Chien were ceded by the Indians, and both points were soon afterwards occupied by the British as military posts.

The conquest of Illinois, the utter defeat of all the magnificent plans of HAMILTON, of whom the Indians had the highest opinion, and his capture had greatly lessened the *prestige* of the British name among the Indians, and increased that of the Americans. Savages, quite as much as civilized men, respect and believe in success, and the British officers at Detroit felt the necessity of striking some great blow to restore and retain the confidence of the Indians.

Disaffection was too rapidly spreading among the French, who never loved the British, and who, since the treaty between France and the United States, began to express in various ways their sympathy with the Colonies. Under the direction of Gen. HALDIMAND in command at Quebec, who was to furnish funds therefor, ample arrangements were to be made for the most imposing, extensive and destructive Indian expedition against the border, that had ever been organized; to be accompanied and aided by Canadian volunteers, and led by British officers of the regular army. To give *eclat* to the expedition and make it irresistible, cannon were to accompany it.

Preparations of the most extensive character were commenced

in the winter of 1779 and '80, and were kept up without intermission until the expedition was upon the war path the following spring. A large corps of agents and interpreters was at work among the Indians, arousing their cupidity, exciting their passions, embittering their zeal, and enlisting their energies. They were largely and freely furnished with those articles, which increased their comfort, attracted their fancy, or added to their murderous efficiency.

One single merchantile firm in Detroit, "MACOMB, EDGAR & MACOMB," charged to the Indian Department from December 29, 1779 to May 16, 1770, for goods furnished thereto, £42,989 8s 8½d sterling, or about \$215,000; and £12,185, 15s 6d for provisions, which account was paid by Maj. DE PEYSTER by draft on Gen. HALDIMAND.

The first charge on this account is for

	£	s.	d.
3,972 blankets.....	2,625	5	4

The second:

750 pounds vermilion.....	750	0	0
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Other items of the account may not be without interest:

Munitions of War.

	£	s.	d.
4,574 blankets.....	9,381	6	0
14,975 pounds ball, lead and shot.....	1,123	2	6
11,925 flints.....
8,000 pounds powder.....	2,000	0	0
476 dozen scalping knives.....	428	8	0
204 dozen red-haft knives.....	183	12	0
41½ dozen other knives.....	37	7	0
188 tomahawks.....	119	0	0
3,363 pounds of brass and copper kettles.....	1,198	13	4
6,894½ pounds tobacco, 10s.....	2,502	9	0

Ornamental Supplies.

1,206 pounds vermilion.....	1,206	0	0
21,063 yards tinsel lace.....	456	16	0
301 dozen looking-glasses.....	424	10	0
120 gross Morris bells.....	120	0	0
8,811 silver buckles.....	3,343	3	3
8,200 ear bobs.....	1,640	0	0
36 stone necklaces.....	6	6	0
280 pounds beads.....	49	0	0
522 gross brass rings.....	77	11	4
142 wristbands, 7s.....	49	14	0
135 arm-bands, 30s.....	212	10	0
147 gorgets, 25s.....	183	15	0
229 ear wheels, 12s.....	137	8	0
36 watch chains for the ears, 60s. per doz.....	9	0	0

	£	s.	d.
59 hair pipes, 10s.....	29	10	0
15 hair plates, 25s.....	18	15	0
51 large double crosses, 16s.....	40	16	0
13 Christs [silver crosses?], 14s.....	9	2	0
151 pieces flowered broad ribbon, 30s.....	226	0	0
129 head hats, 20s.....	129	0	0
6 yards scarlet cloth, 40s.....	12	0	0

Besides these items furnished at Detroit, goods were distributed to the Indians in their own country by emissaries, who used every artifice to arouse them to take up the hatchet:

	£	s.	d.
Thus, CHARLES BEAUBIEN furnished goods to Indians at Miami			
Town	1603	8	0
MATTHEW ELLIOTT, in Indian Country.....	47	6	9
Capt. McKEE.....do.....	835	5	6
GEORGE GIRTY.....do.....	75	17	0

The latter was also furnished with a gun, three horses, a saddle and bridle, for the Indian country, doubtless to aid him in subsidizing the Indians to British interests.

At Detroit there were usually at this time several hundred Indians gathered around the Fort; and these were doubtless largely fed at the public expense, and occasionally some were received within the pickets, and there entertained. Thus bills like these are found:*

	£	s.	d.
FONTENOY DEQUINDRE—lodging, &c., Indians,	11	0	0
CHARLES GUION.....do.....	13	0	0
PIERRE DROUILLARD.....do.....	95	2	6
ANDREWS & MELDRUM, lodging, &c., Wabash Indians	11	0	0

On one occasion two Indian chiefs, a Shawnee and a Miami, are furnished with horses.

It cannot be wondered at, that such efforts and such largesses as these, skillfully addressed to the strongest passions of the savage character, enlisted them so generally in the British interests.

If the inhabitants of the border had any inkling of the prodigious efforts which were thus making to hurl upon them a force at once so murderous and so overwhelming, they must have looked forward with dread and foreboding to the coming season.

But in the meantime, mirth and gayety reigned and held high festival at Detroit. Without were the congregated Indians sporting their ornaments and gay attire, indulging in savage games and dances, making day and night hideous with coarse

*Original MS. Books in Michigan Historical Society.

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hilarity, and not unfrequently making a display of American scalps. Within were gathered many army and navy officers, and their families, together with many intelligent, enterprising traders, whom this large expenditure of public money had attracted to this point, and quite a number of agreeable and attractive French settlers with their families. Altogether, they were too few in number to be divided into classes, and they lived almost as one great family. Shut out for a long winter from all intercourse with the rest of the world, dependant upon themselves for society, secure from the actual presence of the war that elsewhere prevailed, the inhabitants gave themselves up to social pleasures with a joyous zest. Dancing assemblies were usually held weekly, at which all attended; or as Capt. GRANT, in a letter of a different date, says, "We hop and bob every Monday evening in the Council Room." The ladies dressed richly, and always in silk. Silk petticoats costing from £3 12s to £5, are frequently charged to officers and citizens in merchants' accounts.*

Dancing must have been a favorite amusement, and must have been cultivated as a fine art. The following are some of the "dancing bills" actually paid in the spring of 1780:

	£	s.	d.
Maj. DE PEYSTER.....	14	9	11
Capt. BRITTON, of the navy.....	12	12	7
Capt. GRANT, of the navy.....	14	9	1
Capt. BURNET.....	14	9	1
Mr. FORSYTH.....	20	12	7

Dining and other parties were frequent when choice wines were freely drank. On the 17th of March Major DE PEYSTER is charged with

	£
4 casks of Maderia (115 gallons), 40s.....	230
1 cask red port (30 galls.), 30s.....	45

Other gentlemen are not unfrequently charged with wine by the cask.

Cards must also have been a favorite amusement, as Maj. DE PEYSTER is charged with two and a half dozen packs within three months, and other gentlemen in about the same ratio.

*GRANT's letter in Mr. DRAPER's possession. Judge MAY's statement, and account books, p. 43, collection of Michigan His. Society.

Prices are indicated by the following charges:

	£	s.	d.
Pork, per bbl.....	10	0	0
Flour, per bbl., of 166 lbs.....	8	6	0
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Indian corn.....	32s.	per bush.	
Rum.....	30s.	do gal.	
Vinegar.....	16s.	do do	
Green tea.....	20s.	do lb.	
Coffee.....	5s.	do do	
Chocolate.....	7s.	do do	
Castile soap.....	5s.	do do	
Cinnamon.....	40s.	do do	
Nutmegs.....	40s.	do do	
Cloves.....	4s.	do oz.	
Salt.....	£1	do keg.	
Candles.....	3s. 6d.	do lb.	
Snuff.....	12s.	do do	

In one instance a slave is charged at £100.

A somewhat unique currency, or measure of values, prevailed among those who traded with the Indians, viz: "bucks" and "does,"* instead of pounds and dollars. Thus Col. GIBSON, commanding at Fort Laurens, acknowledges himself indebted to "Capt. JOHNNY" for pork furnished the garrison, "seven bucks and one doe."

I find a contemporaneous charge to GEORGE GIRTY, as follows:

	Bucks.
To salt, at Shawny towns.....	4
To 116 lbs flour.....	14
To one bag with do.....	2
Tobacco.....	3
	<hr/>
	23

A "buck" was equivalent to about one dollar.

The expedition for which such ample preparations were made, was organized in the Spring of 1780. An attempt was made to get up a volunteer force to accompany the Indians. For this purpose, a popular and influential Frenchman, LOUIS JEANCAIRE CHOBAIT, was commissioned as Captain, and an Englishman, afterwards a leading and influential merchant, JONATHAN SCHEIFFLEIN, as Lieutenant. These with two sergeants and a corporal, all Frenchmen, undertook to organize a company. Twenty-five men, of whom twenty-one bore French names, did volunteer, but no more. Then follows in the record a list of thirty-two names, under the significant heading "*ordered to go.*" Of these, all but

*Abbreviated parlance for buckskins and doeskins.

four are French names. And under the same heading, follow the names of twenty-three, all French but one, who were "ordered to go" with Captain CUENE. This irregular force thus consisted of eighty privates and six officers.

The Indians who joined the expedition are variously estimated from five hundred to one thousand.* Whether any regular soldiers accompanied it, I have not been able to ascertain; but it is probable that there were at least sufficient to man the six small cannon that were to make the attacks against the stockades of the frontiers irresistible.

The expedition was under the command of Captain BIRD, of the Eighth or King's regiment. When it left Detroit, I do not know, but the militia force was completely organized by the twenty-fourth of March, from which day they were paid—privates receiving four shillings per day. It doubtless passed up the Maumee, or Miami of the Lakes, and crossed to the head waters of the Great Miami, which it descended in canoes. I find twenty-two pirogues or canoes charged to the Indian Department at this time, two of which were delivered to Captain BIRD while on the way.

The expedition aimed its first and only blow at two small stations on the Licking river. It must have moved very slowly. It appeared before Ruddell's Station, (Harrison county,) on a branch of the Licking river, a small settlement of the previous year, on the 23d of June. It had been twelve days marching from the Ohio, some forty or fifty miles distant. The inhabitants were taken by surprise; resistance was hopeless, and they surrendered. One man and two women were killed; the rest became *Indian* rather than *British* prisoners. The settlement was plundered, families were separated, and the inhabitants laden like pack horses with their own effects; and those who sank under their burdens were mercilessly tomahawked.

A similar scene took place at Martin's station, a few miles above. These successes, small as they were, sharpened the Indian appetite for murder and pillage, and they urged Capt. BIRD to attack the older and more important settlements; but he refused, and precipitately retired with his whole force.

* A manuscript statement of Captain JOHN DUNKIN, one of the captives says, "about eight hundred warriors," accompanied the expedition, but nothing is said as to the number of whites engaged in it. L. C. D.

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Thus ingloriously ended the expedition from which so much had been anticipated. Two small stations had been captured and some prisoners taken. It is believed that Capt. Burr found himself unable to control the treacherous cruelty of the Indians, and that his course was dictated by the noblest feelings of humanity.* Most of the captives were brought to Detroit, where the expedition arrived early in August, probably on the 4th, as the militia were paid to that time.

This expedition aroused the Kentuckians to retaliation, and on the first of August, nearly one thousand men under Gen. CLARK, gathered at the site of Cincinnati, and marched into the Indian country on Mad River, where after a battle with the Indians, they burned their villages and destroyed their crops, thus greatly crippling their resources and power of mischief. The loss of the invaders was seventeen men. These were the principal events of this year, 1780, but it is interesting to note the constant reference to the great importance of capturing Detroit.

On the 10th of February, Gov. JEFFERSON writes to WASHINGTON, suggesting an expedition against Detroit, to be commanded by CLARK, rather than BRODHEAD.

On the 11th of February, BRODHEAD writes to WASHINGTON, informing him of the new fort at Detroit and its situation, great strength, and that its garrison is four hundred and fifty regulars. On the 24th of April, the same officer writes that the expedition against Detroit must be given up, unless CLARK's troops can be united with his. On the 30th of May, he writes that the contradictory statements as to the garrison at Detroit had determined him to send Capt. BRADY† with five whites and two Delaware Indians to Sandusky, to take a British prisoner, and that he had promised to other Delaware warriors, fifty hard dollars worth of goods for one British soldier. He hopes for success, and if an

*This memorable expedition was originally designed to strike at Col. CLARK and his garrison at Louisville; but the streams were unusually full that season, which circumstance induced Burr to change his original purpose of attacking Louisville first: and therefore, decided to ascend Licking river, into the heart of the Kentucky settlements, conveying his artillery by water to Ruddell's and Martins' Stations, and thence by land to Bryan's Station and Lexington.

After the capture of Ruddell's and Martin's Stations, his Indian allies pressed his going forward to assist them to take Bryan's and Lexington, Burr declined, urging as a reason the improbability of procuring provisions to support the prisoners they already had, also the impracticability of transporting their artillery by land to any point on the Ohio river—therefore the necessity of descending the Licking before the waters fell, which might be expected to take place in a few days. L. C. D.

†The forty years border warfare, from 1754 to 1794, produced no better spy and scout than Capt. SAMUEL BRADY. His adventures, full of thrilling interest, it is the design of the writer of this note to embody in a volume, for which he has been over thirty years collecting the necessary materials. L. C. D.

intelligent prisoner is obtained, he proposes to grant him some indulgence for intelligence. On the 25th of August, he writes that the British treat the French at Detroit with great severity, and the latter are ready to welcome American troops.

On the 25th of September, Gov. JEFFERSON writes that the exposed state of the Virginia frontier makes it necessary to keep from five hundred to eight hundred men on duty, to defend them against northern Indians, acting under the influence of the British post at Detroit. He suggests an expedition against Detroit under CLARK, at the general expense, estimating its cost at \$2,000,000. On the 15th of December, he writes that they have reason to expect that the ensuing spring a force of two thousand British and Indians will descend upon the border, and that Virginia has determined to undertake the destruction of Detroit, and asks the loan of arms and munitions of war for the expedition.

On the 19th of December, WASHINGTON writes to Col. BRODHEAD, at Pittsburgh, to furnish the required arms and munitions, and to aid the expedition of Col. CLARK, to the extent of his power. He states that the inability of the Continent to undertake the reduction of Detroit, "has imposed the task upon the State of Virginia."

The invasion of Virginia in 1781, by the British under CORNWALLIS, prevented that State from furnishing the proposed aid to this expedition; still CLARK made a great effort to secure the necessary force. He visited Fort Pitt in May of this year, and not getting all the aid in men that he had expected, he writes to WASHINGTON, on the 26th of that month, soliciting orders for such aid. He says, "the Indian war is now more general than ever, and any attempt to appease them except by the sword will be fruitless." He predicts fatal consequences to the whole frontier should the expedition fail. But like many another well planned expedition for the cause of the Colonies, it *did* fail for want of means and men.

CLARK attempted to rendezvous a force at the mouth of the Licking, which, when organized, was to ascend the Miami, but instead of gathering two thousand men, as he hoped, only seven hundred and fifty came, "and the buffalo meat was all rotten." A force of over one hundred men, coming to his aid, from Wes-

tern Pennsylvania, was waylaid and nearly exterminated. To the great chagrin of CLARK, the expedition was abandoned.

Gen IRVINE, then in command at Pittsburgh, writes to Gen. WASHINGTON on the 2d day of December, 1781, announcing the failure of the expedition, and predicts the most disastrous results. The Indians and perhaps the British from Detroit, will fall on the country with double fury. Fort Pitt is indefensible, and the inhabitants on the frontier talk of flying east of the mountain. He says, CLARK "is apprehensive of a visit from Detroit," in Kentucky; and that the Indians are so numerous there, "that all the inhabitants have been obliged to keep close in forts." He believes "if Detroit was demolished," it would give "at least temporary ease to this country."

On the 7th of February, 1782, he writes, that it would take 2,000 men and three month's time to reduce Detroit, and that August is the best time for the expedition. He estimates the garrison to consist of 300 regulars, from 700 to 1,000 militia (Canadians), and that 1,000 Indians could be assembled in ten day's time

This was the last of all the projects for the taking of Detroit. The long-deferred hope of the capture of this nest, where were hatched all the projects for carrying devastation and murder to our borders, and from whence these projects received their support, made the settlers of the border sick at heart, and led to cold-blooded, cowardly acts of murderous revenge, which have left a dark and indelible stain upon our annals, that we may not read without indignant and burning shame.

THE MORAVIAN INDIANS.

I have already adverted to the fact that, for the most part, the Delawares, through the influence of the Moravian missionaries on the Muskingum and its branches, remained neutral. These missions were established by the famous DAVID ZEISBERGER in 1772, and afterwards there were associated with him the scarcely less famous HECKEWELDER and other co-laborers.

They had met with remarkable success among the Delawares—a most intelligent tribe—and had gathered around them some four or five hundred converts, including some powerful chiefs, and were rapidly introducing amongst them the customs and ha-

bits of civilized life, and especially were they becoming successful cultivators of the soil. On the breaking out of the Revolution, their settled policy was one of peace and neutrality. This policy, as well as their location, exposed them to the suspicions of both of the contending parties. They were on the shortest and best route for the Northern Indians to the Virginia border, and from necessity, as well as by the force of Indian customs, they treated these Indians with hospitality. On the other hand they persuaded many an Indian band to abandon some murderous design, and warned the frontier settlers of many another. The fierce passions of the hour made no allowance for this apparently contradictory conduct, and they were looked upon with undisguised jealousy from both sides. That infamous trio of British emissaries, McKEE, ELLIOTT and SIMON GERRY, were especially inimical to the missionaries. More than once had the last named of them planned the murder of ZEISBERGER, but his plans seemed frustrated by a Divine interposition. In April, 1781, Col. BROTHHEAD, in command at Pittsburg, organized an expedition of about three hundred men and marched to the Tus-ca-ra-was, and attacked some pagan Delawares, who had espoused the British cause, and succeeded in killing fifteen, and taking twenty prisoners. He treated the missionaries and their converts with kindness. This excited the suspicion and the ire of those in British interests, and it was determined that the mission should be destroyed. Early in August a large company of Indians, led by ELLIOTT, and accompanied by six other white men, appeared at one of the missions, bearing the British flag. After many days of attempted negotiation, and of menace, it was determined to remove the missionaries to Detroit. They were seized by force, and on the 11th of September, they with their families, and the whole body of Christian Indians, left their plundered homes, and on the first of October reached Sandusky river. The story of these meek, brave, noble men; their cruel treatment by GERRY; their compulsory march on foot to Detroit through the horrors of the Black Swamp, leaving their families and converts; their arrival, and manly bearing at Detroit, tattered, weary, hungry and friendless, as they were; their reception and courteous treatment by the commandant, Maj. DE FEYSTER; the permission to return to Sandusky; their sufferings there from cold and

famine in the midst of unfriendly Indians, inspired by GURRY, form one of the most thrilling narratives of our Revolutionary history.

In the course of the winter, so intense was the famine, that about 150 of the Christian Indians were permitted to return to the Tus-ca-ra-was to gather the corn left there the fall before, and they were there in March following.

In February of this year, 1782, a party of Indians from the region of Sandusky penetrated the settlements of Western Pennsylvania, and committed their customary depredations. The family of one WALLACE fell beneath their murderous stroke, under circumstances well calculated to arouse the most intense feeling, and a deep thirst for revenge. Suspicion, though without cause, rested upon the Moravian Indian. An expedition was at once organized of about 90 men, mainly from the settlements of the Monongahela, of which Col. WILLIAMSON was commander.

They marched to the Moravian towns early in March, where they found a portion of the Christian Indians who had been sent back from Sandusky, dwelling in peace and unsuspecting security. They received WILLIAMSON'S party as friends, treated them with hospitality, and cheerfully delivered to them their arms. They were then driven together, bound and thrust into some huts. It was then voted, that the whole body, men, women and children should be put to death. The details of the cold-blooded butchery which followed, are too horrid for repetition. Twenty-nine men, twenty-seven women and thirty children, twelve of whom were mere babes, were thus shamefully murdered. The victims died like Christian martyrs, praising God.

This atrocious slaughter fills us with such horror and indignation, that it is difficult for us to conceive the state of mind which led to it. But we should remember, that for years, the border had suffered all the terrible murderous atrocities of an Indian war; that the settlers did not, and could not, fully distinguish between the perpetrators of these deeds of blood, and those innocent of them; that with them an Indian was but an Indian, and that the passion for revenge had been roused to deepest fury.

This expedition gave birth to another and a much more formidable one, organized with a like intent—to spare no Indian, friend or foe. Four hundred and eighty men, well mounted and

armed, rendezvoused at the Mingo Bottom of the Ohio, above Wheeling, on the 25th of May, 1782, and Col. CRAWFORD was elected commander. They reached Sandusky river June 6th. On the 7th, the Indians gave them battle without decisive results, but the savages were evidently gathering a large force, and on the 9th a retreat was ordered. Col. CRAWFORD, and several others, got separated from the main force, and were taken prisoners. Several of them were tomahawked, but to CRAWFORD, in retaliation for the Moravian massacre, was reserved the doom of death at the stake, aggravated for three hours by the more than devilish ingenuity of his savage tormentors, and the derisive taunts of SIMON GERRY. Thus ended this disastrous campaign, commenced in cruelty and crime.

While these terrible events had been transpiring, by the intrigues of SIMON GERRY, the Moravians had again been ordered to Detroit, which they reached April 15th. They were treated with great kindness by Major DE PEYSTER, who informed them, however, that owing to the complaint of the HALF-KING, the Wyandott chief, they could not remain at Sandusky. They then concluded to establish their mission on what was then called the Huron River of the North (now the Clinton), near Mount Clemens, where they remained for some years.

On this occasion ZEISBERGER preached the gospel at Detroit. The only Roman Catholic priest, Father SIMPLE, was an old man, who at that time never preached. The Protestants had no minister nor service of any kind. Justices of the peace attended their weddings and funerals, and sometimes baptised their children.

A somewhat notable character, the famous Mohawk Indian Chief, Capt. BRANT, was probably in Detroit in the spring of this year, as eight gallons of "best port" are there charged to him, at 32s per gallon.

The capture of CORNWALLIS at Yorktown, in October, 1781, was virtually a triumph of the American Revolution, and although the final treaty of peace was not signed until 1783, the war had practically ceased except upon the frontier. In the beginning of August, 1782, Sir GUY CARLETON wrote to Gen. WASHINGTON that negotiations for peace had commenced at Paris, and that the independence of the United States would be conceded as a preliminary step.

But in the same month a most formidable force of Northern Indians, led by SIMON Girty and McKee, invaded Kentucky. On the 16th of August they appeared at Bryan's Station, invested it for two days, when they retired, after the loss of thirty warriors.

The Kentuckians, aroused by this invasion, gathered in small force; and then followed, on the 19th, the short and disastrous battle of the Blue Licks, in which, out of about 180 men, 60 were killed and 7 taken prisoners; among the killed was Col. TODD, the civil Governor of the Illinois country.

To avenge this disaster CLARK assembled about 1,000 mounted riflemen, and invaded the Indian towns of Ohio; but the alarm had been given, and he found them empty of inhabitants. The villages were fired, and the cornfields laid waste. Seven prisoners were taken and ten of the enemy killed, and two white captives re-taken.

The last event of this border war was the investment of Fort Henry, at Wheeling, by a force of three hundred and fifty Indians under GEORGE Girty, and a company of Queen's Rangers, commanded by Capt. PRATT. An attempt was made to storm the fort, but by the aid of a small cannon, it was repulsed. On the second day of the siege, Capt. WILLIAMSON with seventy mounted men, came to the relief of the little garrison, and the Indians quickly disappeared. A portion of them appeared before Rice's Fort, some fourteen miles distant, but they were repulsed by its garrison of six men, with a loss of four warriors.

This was the last effort of Indian hostility which we have to notice.

Peace was not formally proclaimed until April, 1783, but a state of quietude had existed for months before. By the terms of the treaty, the North-West, although never completely conquered by American arms, became a part of the American Union. Detroit and its dependencies continued to be occupied by the British until July, 1796, when for the first time this *whole* North-West, came under the dominion of the American flag.

Of its progress, of its great wealth and unprecedented growth, both in population and all the elements of a Christian civilization, I have spoken. It has no grim, war-worn battlements, telling us, in their mute and expressive language, of an iron age—an iron

race—long since passed away. It has no ruined temples and columns—no broken statues—no exhumed cities left as monuments of a civilization, which no longer exists. Its greatness is in the future, yet clear to those who look through the vista of coming years with an intelligent and steady gaze.

But even here we have a *past*, and one of no small interest—a past that reaches back beyond the clearly-defined regions of fact, into the dim and shadowy regions of romance. We have the history of the gay and happy Frenchman leaving his storied, native land—its vine-clad hills and sunny valleys, and with a passive heroism, that defies every danger, and endures every trial, here cheerfully—nay, joyously—struggling with nature in her obscurest, wildest depths, and meeting upon his own ground, and around his own camp-fires, the still wilder savage; *here* planting the footsteps of an advancing civilization, and in the midst of every peril and every privation, creating an Arcadia of simple happiness amid the green prairies and the somber forests that lined the banks of our noble lakes and beautiful rivers. The author, who with a genial spirit and an artist's eye, looking through the dim transparency of the past, shall reproduce to us a true and lively picture of the first century of the French occupation of the North-West, will deserve and receive the warmest gratitude.

Then comes in our history the stirring events connected with the conquest of Canada by Great Britain—the surrender of the North-West to the conquering power—the conspiracy of PONTIAC—the siege of Detroit—the capture or abandonment of other posts so graphically described by PARKMAN; and finally the American Revolution, some of the incidents of which I have sought to trace.

Nor is our later history without its absorbing interest. During the war of 1812, the North-West was the scene of stirring and tragic events; and when armed rebellion raised its bloody hands against the UNION, the North-West poured forth its hardy sons in one generous, mighty and continuous stream, and where there was danger to be met, suffering to be endured, or glory to be won, they were among the foremost. Stalwart blows they dealt, and their blood has enriched, and their bones whitened, every battle field.

Nor in the glorious victories of peace does it stand second to any portion of our common country. It becomes us, in the spirit of filial devotion, to *know* and to *record* this history—to gather up even the minute threads thereof, and to weave them with a bright and natural coloring into one beautiful, harmonious whole.

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APPENDIX.*

List of Officers, Inspectors, Smiths, &c., in the Indian Department at Detroit, October 24, 1779.

Duperon Baby,	Fontenoy Duquender,	Francis Diel,
Alexander McKee,	(Each sixteen shillings,	Duplessis,
Isadore Chesne,	York currency, per	La Senexe,
Charles Braubin,	day.)	Gregor McGregor,
(Each under pay at ten	Nicolas Loraine,	Sampson Fleming,
shillings sterling per	(Ten shillings, York cur-	Charles Gouin,
day.)	rency.)	Thomas McCarty,
Matthew Elliott,	Jeancaire Chabert,	24th June—
Simon Girty,	(Eight shillings York	Francis L'Coellie,
James Girty,	currency, and ten	D. Duquinder,
George Girty,	shillings sterling from	(Each eight shillings
Pierre Drouillard,	24th March.)	York per day.)
William Tacker,	Claud Lubute,	John Mackay,
Robert Surphlit,	Henry Baby,	(Four shillings, York.)

List of Volunteers, &c., on the Expedition of Captain Bird, with their pay from 24th March to 24th May, 1780.

Captain Chabert, sixty-one days, at ten shillings sterling per day; Lieutenant Jonathan Scheiffelin, eight shillings, York currency; Anton Charon and Francis Babant, sergeants, each six shilling York; Joseph Carrie, corporal, five shillings, York; and the following privates, each four shillings, York currency:

Louis Somlers,	Guillaume Mallet,	Joseph Laliberte,
F's Trudelle,	J. B. Baazau,	William Greg,
Antoine Truttie,	John Jones,	Edward Shehe,
Claude Richard,	Jean Marie Marion,	John Flurry,
Bazil Moran,	Pierre Tessier,	John Stockwell,
Jean Mary Plante,	Francois Tessier,	Joseph Reagh,
Pierre Loson,	Antoine Martell,	John Murray,
Andrew Bertiaume,	Joseph Longuiel,	James Tussy.
Joseph Lafont,		

"Ordered to Go"—Each four shillings, York, per day:

Jean Marie LeCerp,	Etienne Trambly,	J. B. Lajennesse,
Jacques Chartier,	Caleb Reynolds,	Pierre St. Louis,
Amable Jitter,	J. B. Tavan,	J. B. Ledaux,
Joseph Bergeron,	Jacques Loson,	Charleboy,
Paul Lasaline,	Joseph Cote,	J. B. Peltier,
Bonnavanture Lariviere,	Charles Campau,	Francois Bylair,
Pierre Demerk,	Amable St. Etienne,	Joseph Drouillart,
Jacques Prudhomme,	Benja. Chapin,	Alex'r Johnson,
Pierre Labutte,	Pierre Misse,	Julien Labutte,
J. B. Labudy,	Louis Moine,	J. B. Trambly,
Louis Desautier,	Simon Bergeron,	

The amount paid to the above was £823 18s. 8½d.

* From MSS. Michigan Historical Society. These names are as in the original, but no doubt many of them are incorrectly spelled.

The following persons were "ordered to go" with Captain Chene:

Joseph Blay, Joseph Degagne, Charles Leblanc, Pierre Robert, and James McPhee, each eight shillings, York currency; and the following each four shillings, York:

Pierre Miny,	J. B. Mouinere,	Francois Prndhomme,
Charles Roseau,	Joseph Grimard,	J. P. Yax,
Simon Yax,	Andre Viger,	J. B. Labady, Jr.,
Michel Trambly,	Andre Maw,	Jacques Chauvin,
Chrisostome St. Louis,	Etienne Lebean,	Pierre Clenchette, Cl'k,
Ignace Billette,	Jean B. Lajeunesse,	J. B. Ledue.

The total pay of the above, added to Capt. Chabert's company, amounted to £1,165 10s. 8½d.

Pay Roll of Volunteers with Capt. Bird, from May 25th to August 4th, 1780, 72 days:

Louis Jeancaire Chabert, Captain, ten shillings, sterling, per day; Jonathan Shifling, Lieutenant, eight shillings; Baubautt Chanon, Wm. Gregg and James McAplie, Sergeants, six shillings; Josep Carrier, Joseph Tronillier and Joseph Rough, Corporals, five shillings; and the following privates at four shillings each:

Francois Trudell,	John Johnes,	Louis Dezonier,
Gullame Mellet,	John Murry,	Etienne Tromble,
Bapt. Brazau,	James Tressey,	J. B. Faveran,
Claud Richard,	Jean Marie Marion,	Jacque Lozen,
Bazil Morran,	Pierre Tisier,	Benjamin Chapue,
Jean Marie Plant,	Francis Tizier,	Pierre Mizie,
Antoine Truttier,	Antoine Martelle,	Louis Morran,
John Fleury,	Joseph Laliberty,	Bapt. Laduke,
Pierre Lazon,	J. B. Labadee,	Touissant Charleboy,
Andre Berthiaume,	J. M. L'ierf,	Bapt. Piltier,
Joseph Laforest,	Joseph Bergeron,	Julian Labute,
Joseph Longite,	Bonavanture Larivier,	Jean B. Trumble Junr,
Edward Shehe,	Jacque Prndhomme,	Alex. Johnson.
John Stockwell,	Pierre Lalurette,	

Daniel Whaler, from the 25th May to 20th June, 27 days; Joseph Guilbeaux, from 25th May to 1st July, 38 day Henry Aunger, from 25th May to 18th June, 25 days; John Rix, from 25th May to 23d June, 30 days; Roger Welsh, do., 30 days; Caleb Reynolds and Pierre Chinchett, volunteers, each 72 days, four shillings per day; Capt. Morran, one lieutenant, one sergeant, and forty men, for 21 days on Survey, with provisions for Capt. Bird's party, Capt. Moran's pay roll amounting to £199 10s., and the total of this pay roll, including Moran's, £1,079 12s. 3½d.

CONDITION OF THE SOCIETY.

A synopsis of the Annual Report of the Society, January 3, 1871, shows: That the receipts into the General Fund the past year, were \$3,588.04; disbursements, \$3,341.40, leaving an unexpended balance of \$246.64. The Binding Fund, which was last year reported at \$368.52, has been increased by a \$20 life membership fee from Col. THOMAS REYNOLDS, and from annual dues and accrued interest, to \$458.07. The Society earnestly pleads for contributions to this important fund.

The past and present condition of the Library, are shown by the following table:

DATE.	Volumes Added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,988	8,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,523	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	2,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	354	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
	22,294	23,336	45,530

The additions of the year to the Library, have been 1,970 volumes, of which 1,270 were acquired by donation, and 700 by purchase; and 1,372 documents and pamphlets. Of the book additions, 56 volumes are folios, and 241 quartos—making a total of 1,661 folios now in the library, and 2,075 quartos, and 3,736 folios and quartos together. There have been added 54 bound volumes to the newspaper department, making the total of that valuable collection, 1,601 volumes, of which 156 volumes were printed prior to the present century. The present number of maps and atlases, 501. A portrait of Capt. GILBERT KNAPP has been added to the Art Gallery, and a superior marble bust of Hon. ALEXANDER MITCHELL, by F. B. Ives, an eminent sculptor at Rome. The Cabinet of Curiosities and Natural History has received many important additions.

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