My dear Sir, I am continu'd to favour me with your valuable letter, at the same time your Petition and as though I was your Son; when suspicious, think not that promotion or consent from me will occasion any unnecessary pride in you; you have infused too many of your Valuable precepts.
in me to be guilty of the like, or to shew any indifference to those that ought to be dear to me. It is with pleasure that I obey in transmitting to you a short sketch of my entreaties and proceedings in the Illinois and near as I can recollect or gather from memorandums. After disengaging myself from Kentucky, I went for Williamsburg in Aug. 1774, in order to settle my estate. I had just reasons known to few but myself that occasioned me to resolve not to have any further command whatever, without I should find a very great call for troops and my country in danger in such case I was determined to loose my life rather we should submit. On my arrival at Town, I found to appearance a friend in whom I placed an interest in the case I should offer for any votes. Many were surprised that I should not elect for some. But I must confess that I think myself often to blame for not making use of interest for my promotion but to meet it just in such a sort principal with me that I never could, and therefore never shall ask for a post of Honour, as I think the Public ought to be the best judge whether a person deserves it or not, if he did he would certainly be rewarded according to the virtue they had. But finding that we were in a alarming situation, the Indians desperate on one side, the Britains on the other. I immediately resolved to encourage...
an expedition to the Illinois. But to make it public was a certain loss of it. I proposed the plan to a few gentlemen, they communicated it to the Governor, it was immediately determined on, to be put in execution as soon as a bill could be passed to enable the Governor to order it. It accordingly passed, though but a few in the House knew the real intent of it. After giving the Council all the intelligence I possibly could, I resolved to pursue my other plans. But being desired by the Governor to stay some time in town, I waited with impatience; he I suppose believing that I wanted the command, and was determined to give it to me; but it was far from my inclination at that time. I was summoned to attend the Council Board; the instructions and necessary papers were ready for putting in the name of the person to command. I believe they expected me to solicit for it, but I resolved not to do so for reasons I hinted you before. However I expected it after being told the command of the little army was designed for me. I then got every request granted and fully empowered to raise as many men as I could, after being engaged, I was then as determined to prosecute it with vigour, as I was before indifferent about the command. I had since the beginning of the war taken pains to make myself acquainted with the true situation of the British posts on the
Frontiers, and since I find that I was not mistaken in my judgment, I was ordered to attack the Illinois in case of Success to carry my Arms to any Quarter I pleased I was certain that with five hundred Men I could take the Illinois, and by my treating the Inhabitants as fellow Citizens, and showing them that I meant to protect them rather than treat them as conquered People. Engaging the Indians to our Interest, it might probably have as great an effect on their Countrymen at Detroit (they had already disliked their Master) that it would be an easy prey for me; I should have mentioned my design to his Excellency but was constrained, or afraid that it might lessen his esteem for me, as it was a general opinion that it would take several thousand to approach that Place. I was happy with the thoughts of fair prospect of underwriting the Publick respecting their formidable Enemics on our Frontiers, I left Williams burg, January the 18, made as quick dispatch as possible to the Frontiers, and by the end of the month had Recruiting Parties dispersed from Pittsburgh to Carolina, had my little Army Recruited in half the time expected. Eulogized with the thoughts of the great service we should do our Country in some measure, in putting an end to the Indian War on our Frontiers, it may appear to you to be a near presumption in me, but
I was always too jealous of myself to be far wrong in my plan. That I had so long studied, and since I found that I could have executed it with the greatest ease if it had not been following conduct of many leading men in the frontiers, that had like to have put an end to the enterprise, not knowing my distinction, and through a spirit of obstinacy they combined and did every thing they lay in their power to stop the men that had collected, and wet the whole frontiers in an uproar, even continued to harrow and protect those that deserted. I found my case desperate, the longer I remained the worse it was. I plainly saw that my principal design was baffled. I was resolved to push to Kentucky with what men I could gather in New Augusta, being joined by Capt. Bowmen and Helmels, who had each raised a company for the expedition, but two thirds of them were stopped by the undersigned enemies to the country that I before mentioned. In the whole had about one hundred and fifty men collected and wet sail for the Falls. I had previous to this received letters from Capt. Smith on Holderton informing me that he intended to meet me at that place with near two hundred men, which encouraged me much; as I was in hopes of being enabled by that reinforcement, at least to attract the Illinois with a probability of success &c.
I set out from Redstone the 12 of May leaving the Country in great confusion, much distressed by the Indians. General Hand, pleased with my intentions furnished me with every necessary I wanted and the 1st of May I arrived at the Canoway the Joy of the Garrison as they were very weak, had the day before been attacked by a large body of Indians. Being joined by Capt. Chamberton came on his way to the Ohio, after spending a day or two, we set out and had a very pleasant voyage to the Falls of Ohio having went express to the Stations on Kentucky from the mouth of the Ohio, for Capt. Smith to join me immediately as I made no doubt but that he was waiting for me; But you may easily guess at my mortification on being informed that he had not arrived, that all his men had been sent by the instant orders of the populace except part of a company that had arrived under the command of one Capt. Elliott's some on their march threatened to be put into prison if they did not return; this information made me as desparate as I was before determined. Reflecting on the information that had of some of my greatest opponents censuring the Governor for his Conduct, as they thought, ordering me for the Protection of Kentucky only, that and some others
secret impulses occasioned me in spite of all council to urge the expedition to convince them of their error until that moment secret to the Principal Officers.

I was sensible of the impression it would have on many to be taken near a thousand from the Body of their Country to attack a People five times their number, and merciless Tribes of Indian their Allies and determined Enemies to us. I knew that my case was desperate, but the more I reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased with the enterprise, joined by a few of the Kentucky settlers, and, under Col. Montgomery to stop the enterprise I knew would ensue on the troops knowing their encampment. I had encamped on a small Island in the middle of the Valleys, kept strict guard on the boats, but instead of Lieutenant Hutchings, continued to make his escape with his part; after being refused leave to return, luckily a few of his Men were taken the next day by a party sent after them; on this Island I first began to discipline my little Army knowing that to be the most essential point towards success, most of them determined to follow me, the next seeing no probability of making their escape I soon got that subordination as I could wish for, about twenty families that had followed me much against my
should immediately enjoy all the privileges of our
Government, and their property secured to them
that it was only to
stop the further effusion of innocent
blood by the Savages under the influence of their
Governour, that made them an object of our attention;
and no sooner had they heard this than joy sparkled
in their eyes and fell into transports of joy that really
surprised me; as soon as they were a little moderated
they told me that they had always been kept in the
dark as to the dispute between America & Britain
that they had never heard any thing before but what
was prejudicial and tended to incense them against
the Americans, that they were now convinced that
it was a cause that it was a cause that they ought
to espouse, that they should be happy of an
opportunity to convince me of their zeal, and
think themselves the happiest People in the
World if they were united with the Americans
and beg'd that I would receive what said what they
(officially) vis'd their real sentiments; in order to be more
certain of their sentiments sincerity, I told them
that an Oath of fidelity was required from the Citizens
and to give them time to reflect on it, I should
not administer it for a few days in the meantime
any of them that chose, was at liberty to leave
the Country with their families, except two or
we marched might be seen in many places for miles; nothing extraordinary happened during our route directing my guide looseing himself and not being able, as we judged by his confusion of giving a just account of himself; it put the whole troops in the greatest confusion. I never in my life felt such a flow of rage to be wandering in a country where every nation of Indians could raise three, or four times our Number, and a certain leak of our enterprise by the enemy's getting timely notice. I could not bear the thoughts of returning; in short every idea of the sort served to picture in that passion that I did not matter for sometime; but in a short time after our circumstance had a better appearance for I was in a moment determined to put the guide to death if he did not find his way that evening; I told him his doom, the poor fellow cried almost to death out of his wit, begged that I would stay a while where I was and suffer him to go and make some discovery of a road that could not be far from us, which I would not suffer for fear of not seeing him again, but ordered him to lead on the party, that his fate depended on his success; after some little pause he begged that I would not be hard with him, that he could find the path that evening; he accordingly took his course and in two hours got within his knowledge.
On the Evening of the 12th July we got within three miles of the Town of Kaskaskia, having a River of the same name to cross to the Town. After making ourselves ready for anything that might happen, we marched after night to a Farm that was on the same side of the River about a mile above the Town, took the family prisoners, & found plenty of Boats to cross in; and in two hours transported ourselves to the other Shore with the greatest silence. I learned that they had some suspicion of being attacked and had made some preparations, keeping out fires, but they making no discoveries, had got off their guard. Immediately divided my little Army into two Divisions ordered one to surround the Town, with the other I broke into the Fort, received the Governor M. Ichabod in 15 minutes had every Street secured, went rung through the Town ordering the People on the pain of Death to keep close to their Houses, which they observed and before day light had the whole dispersed, nothing could extoll the confusion these People seemed to be in, being taught to expect nothing but savage treatment from the Americans, giving all for lost their Lives were all they could do for, which they did with the greatest readiness; They were willing to be slaves to save their Families.
Held them it did not wait me to give them an answer at that time; they prepared to their houses trembling as if they were led to execution; my principal would not suffer me to distress such a number of good people, except, through policy it was necessary; a little reflection convinced me that it was my interest to attack the French; according to my first plan: for the Town of Cohocton, the Town of St. Vincent, and the numerous tribes of Indians attached to the French was yet to influence, for I was to speak to them any other way; I went for all the principal men of the Town who came in as if to a tribunal that was to determine their fate forever leaving their fortune that they were not approved of us time enough to have defended themselves: I held them that it was necessary to find that they had been taught to harbour no bad opinion of the Americans and their cause: explained the nature of the dispute to them in as clear a light as I was capable of; it was certain that they were a conquered people and by the fate of war was at my mercy and that our principal was to make those we reduced free instead of enslaving them as they imagined, that if I could have variety of their zeal and attachment to the American cause, that they
should immediately enjoy all the privileges of our
Government, and their property secured to them
that it would stop the further effusion of innocent
blood by the savages under the influence of their
Governour, that made them an object of our attention
and no sooner had they heard this than joy sparkled
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they told me that they had always been kept in the
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that they had never heard any thing before but what
was prejudicial and tended to incense them against
the Americans, that they were now convinced that
it was a cause that it was a cause that they ought
to espouse; that they should be happy of an
opportunity to convince me of their zeal, and
think themselves the happiest people in the
world if they were united with the Americans
and beg it that I would receive what said what they
said in their real sentiments in order to be more
certain of their sentiments sincerely, told them
that an oath of fidelity was required from the citizens
and to give them time to reflect on it, I should
not administer it for a few days in the meantime
any of those that chose, was at liberty to leave
the country with their families, except two or
Those particular persons, that they might repair to their families and conduct themselves as usual without any dread. The priest that had lately come from Canada had made himself a little acquainted with our dispute; contrary to the principles of his brother in Canada) was rather prejudiced in favor of us. He asked if I would give him liberty to perform his duty in his church. I told him that I had nothing to do with churches more than to defend them from insult. That by the laws of the state his religion had as great privileges as any other. This seemed to complete their happiness. They returned to their families, and in a few minutes the ocean of mourning and distress, was turned to an ocean of joy, nothing else seen or heard—adorning the streets with flowers of Pavilions of different colors, completing their happiness by singing &c. In mean time I prepared a Detachment on Horseback under Capt. Bowman to make a descent on Cohos, about sixty miles up the country, the inhabitants told me that one of their Townsmen was enough to put me in possession of that place, by carrying the good news that the people would rejoice, however I did not altogether choose to trust them, dispatched the
Captain, attended by a considerable number of the Inhabitants who got into the middle of the Town before they were discovered, the French Gentlemen calling aloud to the People to submit to their happier fate, which they did with very little hesitation. A number of Indians being in Town, on hearing of the Big News, immediately made their Escape; in a few days the Inhabitants of the Country took the Oath. Subscribed by Law, and every Person appeared to be happy. Our friends, the Shapards, doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship, a Correspondance immediately commenced between the Governor and myself. Post St. Vincent, a Town about the Size of Williamsburg was the next Object in my view. As the whole was apprised of me, I was by no means able to march against it. (Their Governor a few months before going to Detroyet I was resolved if possible to win their affection which I thought myself in a fair way of doing more fully to know the sentiments of the Inhabitants about there; and to execute my Plans, I pretended so that I was about to send an Express to the Falls of Ohio for a Body of Troops to Join me at a certain place in order.)
To attract it, it soon had the desired effect; several immediately appeared among the people in their behalf. Mr. Yebot, the Priest, to fully convince me of his Attachment offered to undertake to win that Town for me if I would permit him and let a few of them go; they made no doubt of gaining their friends at St. Vincento to my Interest; the Priest told me he would go himself, and gave me to understand, that although he had nothing to do with temporal business, that he would give them much hint in the Spiritual way which would be very conducive to the business. In a few days the Priest, Dr. Lefert, the Principal with a few others set out, and a Proclamation I sent for that purpose, and other instructions in case of success. In a few weeks they returned with intelligence agreeable to my wishes. I now found myself in possession of the whole, in a country where I found I could do more real service than I expected, which enlarged my situation to be the more disagreeable as I wanted Men. The greatest part of my Men was for returning, as they were no longer of use surrounded by numerous Nations of Savages, whose minds had been long poisoned by the English. It was with difficulty that I could
Support that Dignity that was necessary to give my order that Dignity that was necessary for the public, but by great presence and promises I got about one hundred of my Detachment Enlisted for eight months, and to colour my staying with so few troops I made a Paint of returning to the Falls, as though I had insufficient confidence in the People, hoping that the Inhabitants would remonstrate against my leaving them, which they did in the warmest terms proving the necessity of the Troops at that place that they were afraid if I returned the English would again possess the Country. Then by their request I agreed to stay with two Companies of Troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alleged that no more was necessary, but if more was wanted I could get them at any time from the Falls, where they were made to believe was a Considerable Garrison. As soon as possible went off those that could not be got to stay with Mr. Rockblanch, and letters to his Excellency letting him know my situation and the necessity of Troops in the Country. Many of the French Lord of the service, the different Companies soon got combined. I stationed Capt. Bowman at Cohos, Capt. Helms Gorn at St. Vincent's Superintendant of Domestick affairs being
partly well settled the Indian Department came
the next object of my attention and of the greatest
importance, my sudden appearance in their
Country put them under the greatest consternation.
they was generally at war against each other; but the French
and Spaniards appearing so fond of war confused
them, they counselled with the French traders to
know what was best to be done; and of course was
advised to come and solicit for peace, and did not
doubt but we might be good friends, it may appear
otherwise to you, but always thought we took the wrong
method of treating with Indians, and strove as on
as possible to make myself acquainted with the
French and Spanish mode which must be
preferable to ours, otherwise they could not possibly
have such great influence among them. When
thoroughly acquainted with it exactly
with my own idea, and Resolved to follow that same
Rule as near as Circumstances would permit, the
Kaskawauk Peaceans, Mechegames immediately
treated for peace; I sent letters and speeches by Capt.
Belino to the Chief of the Kickebic and Tanninehaws
residing at Port St. Vincents desiring them to lay down
their Tomahawk, and if they did not choose it
to behave like Men and fight for the English as they
had done, but they would see their great Father.
as they called him given to the Dogs to eat gave Warm
language to supply the want of men; well
knowing that it was a mistaken notion in many
that soft speeches was best for Indians. But if
they thought of giving their hands to the Big Knives
to give their Hearts also, and that I did not doubt
but after being acquainted, that they would find
that the Big Knives of better Principals than what
the bad Kinds, the English had taught them to
believe. They received the Speeches from the
Capt with another of his own, and after some
consultation they resolved to take the Big-
Knives by the hand and came to a conclusion
of Peace. And said the Americans must be
Warriors and no deceivers, or they would never
have spoke as they did, that they liked such
People, and that the English was liers and they
would listen to them no longer; that by what
they had heard of the Big Knives, the Indians
had as great a ought to fight the English as they
had, that they were convinced that it was the
truth. What they alluded to was, part of the
Speech that I had sent to them, explaining to
them the nature of the War, in the following
manner. That a great many years ago, our
Our fathers lived in England, but the King oppressed them in such a manner that they were obliged to cross the great waters to get out of his way. But he not being satisfied to loose so many subjects went Governors and Soldiers among them to make them obey his laws, but told his Governors to treat them well and to take but little from them until they grew Populous, that then they would be able to pay a great deal. By the good treatment we got, we grew to be a great people and flourished east. The King then wrote to his Governors and Officers that we had got thick and numerous enough, that it was time to make us pay tribute, that he did not care how much they took, so as they left us enough to eat, and that he had sent them a great many Soldiers to make the Americans pay if they refused, that when they had made the Americans do as they pleased, they would then make the Indians pay likewise. But for fear the Indians should find it out by the Big Knives that the English intended to make them also pay, he should get mad with the English for their treatment to their Neighbours the Big Knives, that they, his Governors should make us quarrel off. We bore their Tarpey for many
Years, at last they were so hard that if we killed a
Deer they would take the skin away and leave us
only the Meat, and made us buy Blankets with
Corn to feed their Soldiers with. By such usage
we got Poor and was obliged to go naked, and at
last we complained. The King got mad and made
his Soldiers Kill some of our People and Burn some
of our Villages. The Old Ones then held a great Council
and the Tomahawks very sharp and put it into the
hand of the Young Men, told them to be strong to
strike the English as long as they could find one on
this Island. They immediately struck and killed
a great many of the English. The French King
hearing of it went to the Americans and told
them to be strong and fight the English like
Men, that if they wanted help in Tomahawks
he would furnish them 56 of
This speech had a greater effect than I could
have imagined, and did more service than a
Regiment of Men could have done. It was with astonishment that we saw
the number
of Savages that soon flocked into the Town of Suck
to treat for peace, and to hear what the English
had to say many of them 500 miles distant
Shipways, Ottoways, Petawatomies, Messerogies,
and a member of Tiana, Jacks, Force, Tagger
Samuel, Massacres, and a number of other Nations, all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them then at War against us. I must confess that I was under some apprehension among some of the enemy, with a number of Indians, and it proved to be just.

So the second or third night, a party of several others endeavored to come by the guards into my lodgings to bear me off; but was happily detected and made prisoners by the clarity of the sergeant. The town took the alarm and was immediately under arms, which convinced the Savages that the French were in our interest. I was determined to follow the principal that I had, to use it upon, let the consequence be what it would. I immediately ordered the Chiefs to be put into prison by the French Militia. They insisted that it was only to see whether the French would take part with the Americans or not, that they had no ill design. This treatment of some of the greatest Chiefs among them, occasioned great confusion among the rest of the Savages. The prisoners, with great submission, solicited to speak to me, but were refused. They then made all the interest they possibly could amongst the rest of the Indians to know what to do as there was strong guards through every quarter of the
(Town) to get to speak to me; but I told the whole that I believed they were a set of Villains, that they had joined the English, and they were welcome to continue in the cause they had espoused; that I was a Man and a Warrior: that I did not care who was my Friend or Foes; and had none to say to them. Such conduct alarmed the whole Town; but I was sensible that it would gain us no more Enemies than we had already, and if they after solicited for terms, that it would be more sincere, and probably a lasting good effect on the Indian Nations, distinct was visible in the Countenance of almost every Person during the latter part of the day. To shew the Indians that I disdained them, I remained in my Lodging in the Town about one hundred yards from the Fort seemingly without a Gast, but kept about fifty Men conceal'd in a ParLOUR adjoining, and the Garrison under Arms; there was great Councilings among the Savages during the Night; But to make them have the greater idea of my Indifference about them, I assembled a Number of Gentlemen & Ladies, and danced the whole Night. In the morning summoned the different to a grand Council, and the Chief
under guard released, and was invited to council
that I might speak to the whole in presence
of the whole. After the common ceremonies was
over, I produced a bloody belt of wampum
and spoke to them in the following manner:
I told the chief that was guilty, that I was
sensible their nation was engaged in favor of the
English, and if they thought it right, I did not
blame them for it, and exhorbit them to behave
like men and support the cause they had
undertaken, that I was sensible that the English
was weak and wanted help; that I meant to
take any advantage of them by persuading their
friends to desert them, that there were no people
but Americans, but would put them to death for
their late behavior; that it convinced me of
their being my enemies. But it was beneath
the character of Americans to take such revenge
that they were at their liberty to do as they pleased.
But to behave like men, and not do any
mischief until three days after they left the town
that I should have them executed out of the
Village, and after that expiration of time, if they
did not choose to return and fight me, they might
find Americans enough by going farther,
That if they did not want their own Women and Children massacred, they must leave off killing ours and only eight Men under Arms, which was commended; that there was the War Bell, we should soon see which of us would make it the most bloody. He then told them that it was customary among all Brave Men to treat their Enemies well when assembled as we were, that I should give them Provisions of them while they rested, but by their behaviour I could not conceive that they deserved that appellation, and I did not care how soon they left me after that day. I observed that their Countenances and attitude favoured my real design: the whole looked like a parcel of criminals. The other Nations rose and made many submissive speeches expressing themselves for their conduct in a very pretty manner and something noble in their sentiments (their talk I inclose). They alleged that they were persuaded to War by the English, and made to Harbour a wrong Opinion of the Americans, but they now believed them to be Men and Warriors, and could wish to take them by the hand as Brothers, that they did not speak from their lips only, but that I should hereafter send that they spoke from their hearts, and that they hoped I would pity their blindness, and
Their Women and Children, and also selected for their Friends that had been guilty of the late crime. I told them that I had instructions from the Great Man of the Big Knives not to ask Peace from any People but to offer Peace and War, and let them take their choice. Except a few of the worst Nation to whom I was to grant no Peace, for as the English could fight no longer he was afraid our Young Warriors would get newly without they could get somebody to fight & I prevented them with a Peace of War Belt and told them to take their choice; excepting those who had been Imprisoned. They with a great deal of merriment took the Belt of Peace. I told them I would not smoke the Peace Pipe until I heard that they had called in all their Warriors, and then we would conclude the Treaty with all the Ceremony necessary for so important an occasion they immediately solicited for some Persons to go with them to be witness of their conduct, and hoped that I would favour their Guilty Friends, which I refused, and was pleased to see them set tumbling, as Persons Frightened at the apprehension of the Court state. Their Speaker then rose and made a most lamentable speech, such as I could...
have wished you: Begging Mercy for their Women and Children: for the French Gentlemen whom they put the greatest confidence in had given them lessons that favoured my purpose: I recommended it to them to go to their father the English, as he had told them that he was strong perhaps he might help them as he had promised; that they could blame no person but themselves when their Nation should be given with the English to the Dogs to eat. When they had tried their Pledge long purpose, they pitched on two young Men to be put to Death as an atonement for the next hoping that would justify me; It would have surprised you to have seen how submissively those two Young Men prevented themselves for Death, advancing into the middle of the floor, setting down by each other and covering their heads with their Blankets to receive the Tomahawk. Peace was what I wanted with them if I got it on my own terms, but this stroke prejudiced me in their favour, and for a few moments was so adjudged that I don't doubt but that I should without reflection killed the first Man that would have offered to have offered to have hurt them: My wishes respecting this Treaty was now compleat, and Princes and no room to blame myself for any omission in what followed the Treaty: which time has already proved the good effects of it throughout the Illinois Country.
Our Influence now began to spread among the Nations even to the Border of the Lakes. I sent Agents into every Quarter. I continued about five weeks in the Town of Cohoes, in which time I had vetted a Peace with ten or twelve of different Nations. Being much fatigued I returned to Tanskaskia leading Major Bowman to act in which he did himself much Honour. An intimacy had commenced between Don Ley brave and myself Lieut. Governor of Western Illinois and myself he omitted nothing in his Power to prove his Attachment to the Americans with such Openness as left no room for a Doubt, as I was never before in consort of any Spanish Gent. I was much surprised in my expectations, for instead of finding that Revenue thought peculiar to that Nation, there was not the least symptom of it Freedom almost to express gave the greatest pleasure, at my return to Tanskaskia I found every thing as well as I could have expected. Having so far guided matters as to have moments leisure which was taken up with deeper Reflections than I ever before was acquainted with. My situation and weakness convinced me that more depended on my own Behaviour and conduct than all the People
That I had far removed from the Body of my Country. Situated among French, Hanoys and Numerous Bands of Savages on every Quarter. Watching my actions, ready to receive impressions favourable or not to yours, which might be hard to remove, and would perhaps produce lasting good, or ill effects. It was now that I saw my work was only begun, maturely examining every circumstance of my past Actions. Gaining such Resolutions, that in case of misfortune or loss of Interest, it should be for want of Judgment only. Strict subordination among the Troops was my first object, and soon effected it. It being a matter of the greatest consequence to Persons in our situation. Our Troops being all Raw and undisciplined. You must sensible of the pleasure I felt when haranguing with them on Parade. Telling them my Resolutions, and the necessity of strict duty for our own preservation &c. For them to return me for answer, that it was their goal for their Country that induced them to engage in the Service, that they were sensible of their situation and Danger, that nothing could conduct more to their safety and happiness than good order, which they would try to adhere to.
and hoped that no favour would be shown there that would neglect it. In a short time perhaps no Garrison could boast of better order, or a more valuable set of Men. By this time the English post at Detroit, finding their influence among the Savages abating, sent out messengers through the different Nations as far as they dare venture, redoubled their Precautions and inducements to little purpose; as I had a Number of Persons well acquainted with the Indians, I sent through the whole that had treated with me, and they continually in and about Detroit for a considerable time.

One of the British Agents residing at Ougaugh about eighty Leagues above St. Vincent's harbour, growing in Interest much, the Indian in that Quarter being inclined to serve the British Interest, but in some measure kept from their good intention by that Person. I resolved if possible to take him off, and sent a Detachment of Men from Kashaquia under the Command of Lieut. Bailey to join Capt. Helm of St. Vincent's and if possible surprise him, the Capt. with about one hundred Men in number, fast French, Militia and Indians, put out by water. The Agent hearing of it collected a few Savages from the neighbourhood that he could trust in order to give Battle.
The Indians in general Neutralis) but a few days before the Captains arrival Mr. Selon thought proper to make his escape, leaving the friendly Indians in the Fort, who being assembled in a Grand Council to determine what was best to be done, neglecting to shut the Gate or keep Sentinels (not supposing the Enemies to be so near) in the midst of their deliberation. Capt. Helms and a Small Party entered the Fort and ordered them to surrender before they were applied about forty in number being made Prisoners, the Capt. made a Valuable Treaty; gave them their Liberty and their stocks complicated our Interest on the Wabache St. Vincent's being a Port of great Importance, and not being able to spare many Men to Garrison it, took uncommon pains to entirely to attack them to our Interest as well as the Inhabitants of the Illinois knowing no other kind of Government than what might be expected from the least of Power, Pride and Ambition of the Officers Commanding in that Country whose will was a Law to the Whole and certain destruction to disobey the most trifling Command. Nothing could have been more to my Advantage, as I could temper the Government as I pleased, and every new Providence appeared to them as fresh Laurel to the American Cause.
They neglige laid aside every unnecessary destruction they Labour under. As I was convinced that it was the mercenary views of their former governors that established them, paying no regard to the happiness of the People, and those customs strictly observed that were most conducive to good order, and I made it a point to guard the true happiness of the People and tranquility of the Inhabitants, supposing that their happy change reaching their Brethren and Countrymen on the lakes and about Detroit, would be having my way to that Place, and a good effect on the Indians. I soon found it had the desired effect; for the greatest part of the French Gent. and traders among the Indians declared for us. A letter of congratulation went from Detroit to the Gent. of the Illinois which gave me much pleasure. I lost no opportunity in cultivating our growing interest in every quarter where there was the least appearance of a future advantage, and had as great success as I had any right to expect. Great tranquility appeared in every countenance, being offensive that the British Party at Detroit finding it hard to regain their lost interest among the
Savages would probably make a descent on the Illinois if they found themselves isolated, in fear of their finding out our numbers. Parties of men coming from Kentucky, and other places.

I suffered no barricade except the guard for a considerable time, and took every other precaution to keep every person ignorant of our numbers, which was generally thought to be nearly double what we really had. I found that my ideas respecting the movement of the English justly, having certain accounts by our spies that Governor Hamilton was on his march to Detroit with a considerable party, taking his route up the St. Clair River. In a few days received certain intelligence that General M'Intosh had left Pittsburgh for Detroit with a considerable army. Knowing the weakness of the fortifications of that post at that time, their numbers off, I made no doubt of it being chiefly in our possession. And that Governor Hamilton, sensible that there was no probability of his defending the Fort, had marched with his whole force to encourage the Indians to harass the General on his march, as the only probable plan to stop him. Little

[handwritten text continues]
Thinking that he had returned, and Mr. Hambleton had the same design on me, that I supposed he had at General McIntosh. It being near Christmas we feasted ourselves with the hope of immediately hearing from Detroit, and began to think that we had been neglected in an express not being sent with the important news of its being ours. But a circumstance soon happened that convinced us that our hopes was vain.

A young man at the town of Cohos holding a correspondence and sending intelligence to Governor Hambleton. Party was detected by Dennis and accordingly. By which we learned the return of General McIntosh, and Governor Hambleton's intentions on the Illinois. But we fully expressed in the latter as to reduce it to a certainty, but supposing that in some case of its being true they would make their first descent on Kaskaskias. It being the strongest garrison and head quarters. They first on all the roads to no purpose, Mr. Hambleton having the advantage of descending the Oubach with eight hundred men French, Indians a regular took possession of Fort St. Vincents on the 19th day of June, he had parties on the road that took some of our lives.
were hard weather immediately setting in Iowa
at a loss to know what to do, many supposed that
he had quit his design and came no farther than
One. But no Intelligence from St. Vincent. I was
still under some doubt of his being there, except
the corn had kept back the Express on account of the
High waters. In this situation we remained for many
days. Intended to evacuate the Garrison of
Cohos in case of a siege, but was anxious to have
a Conference with the Principal Inhabitants of
that I knew to be Zealous in our Interest, to give on
certain plans for their conduct when in possession
of the English, if it should be the case; and set
out on the day of January 1779 for that Town
with an Intention of staying but a few days.
Mr. Hamilton in mean time had sent a party
of 40 Savages headed by white Men from St. Vincent
in order if possible to take me Prisoner, and gave
such Instructions for my treatment as did him
no dishonour. This Party lay concealed keeping a
small party near the Road to see who passed; they
lay by a small Branch about three miles from
Hashashins, their being now on the Ground,
I had a guard of about six or seven men and a few gentlemen, one of them, I think, within one hundred yards of the place where these fellows lay hid, where we had to delay upwards of an hour. I believe nothing here saved me, but the instruction they had not to kill me in the fear of being overpowered, not having an opportunity to alarm the main body, which lay half a mile off without being discovered by themselves. We arrived safe at the town of Lassay, about twelve miles above Hashashin. The gentlemen and ladies immediately assembled at a ball for our entertainment; we spent the early part of the night very agreeably, but about 12 o'clock there was a very sudden change by an express arriving informing us that Governor Hamilton was within three miles of Hashashin with eight hundred men, and was determined to attack the fort that night, which was expected would be before the express got to me. So it seems that these fellows were discovered by a hunter and after missing their aim on me, discovered themselves to the party of negroes and told them a story suited their purpose. I never saw greater confusion among a small assembly than was at that time, every person having their eyes on me, as if my word was to determine their good or evil fate. It required but
a moment's hesitation in me to form my resolution. Communicated them to two of my officers that accompanied me, which they approved of. Ordered our horses saddled instantly if possible, so to get into the fort before the attack could be made. Ordered the company that had recovered their surprise so far as to enable them to speak, begged of me not to attempt to return, that the town was certainly in possession of the enemy & the Fort warmly attacked. Some proposed conveying me to the Spanish shore; some one thing and some another. Thanked them for the care they had of my person, and told them it was the fate of War. That a good Soldier never ought to be afraid of his life where there was a probability of his doing service by venturing on it which was my case. That I hoped that they would not let the news spoil our Division sooner than was necessary, that we would divest ourselves until our house was ready, forced them to dance and endeavoured to appear an unconcerned as if no such thing was in Adjutation. This conduct inspired the young men in such a manner that many of them was getting their horses to show fate with me. But chirping to lose no time, as soon as I could write a few lines on the back of my Letter to Captain Bowman at Schoo, I set out for Hawk's Hawkies, each man a blanket, that in case the Fort was attacked...
We were to wrap ourselves in them fall in with the Enemy's fire at the Fort until we had an opportunity of getting so near as to give the proper signals knowing that we should be let in. But on our arrival we found every thing as calm as we could expect. The weather being bad, it was then thought the Attack would not commence until it cleared up. But no person seemed to doubt of the Enemy being at hand, and from many circumstances I could not but suppose it was the case, and that they defend the Attack for some time in order to give us time to retreat, which I supposed they would rather have by their proceedings. But I was determined that they should be disappointed if that was their wish. There was no time lost during the Night in putting everything in as good order as possible. The Diet of all Men the most afraid of H. Hamilton. He was in the greatest consternation, determined to act according to my Instruction. I found by his consternation that he was sure the Fort would be taken. Except reinforced by the Garrison at Cohos I let him know it would be the case which I did not cheere although I knew him to be a Zealous Friend. I pretended that I wanted him to go to the Spanish side with Bullocks, Papers and Money. The Proovision pleased him well, he
immediately started of getting into an Island the
Ice passing is thick down the Mississippi, that he
was obliged to encamp three days in the most obscure
part of the Island with only a servant to attend him
without many serious reflections during the night.
The Inhabitants had always appeared to be attached
to us; but I was convinced that I should in the morning
have a sufficient trial of their fidelity. Several of their
Young Men had turned into the Fort in order to
defend it; but sensible at the same time that in case
They lack Arms to defend the Town that the whole
would probably be lost, as I should be obliged to give
the Enemy Battle in the Commons. I would have
chosen to have had those without Families to reinforce
the Garrison, and the rest to have lain Neuter.
Involved to burn part of the Town that was near the
Fort and guard it, as I knew the greatest service we
possibly could do, was to sell the Fort as Dean as possi-
bly, there being no probability of escaping after
Attack, on expectation of Reinforcements, as we were
too far detached from the Body of our Country. The
only probable chance of safety was Capt. Beaumans
joining me which I expected the next evening down
the Mississippi, to defend ourselves until Mr. Hamiltons
Indians got tired and returned in four or five
weeks.
Weeks which I expected the greatest part of the
had not that success that they expected. I had no
occasion to consult the Garrison in any Revolution
I should suppose as I knew that they were all as
spirited as I could wish them to be, and took pains
with them to make them as desperate as possible. If you rightly
consider our situation & circumstances, you must
conceive it to be desperate; in the morning the first
thing I did was to assemble all the Inhabitants, in order
to know their Resolutions, as they had been the night
before Counciling with each other they expected some orders.
You wish which I did not choose to do, at the Assembly I
asked them what they thought of doing, whether they
would endeavour to defend the Town or not; if they did
I would Quit the Fort leaving a small Guard, and
lead them with the Troops, and if the Enemy lay until
the weather broke, we might probably in the mean
time discover their Camp, and get some advantage
of them. They appeared to be in great confusion, and all
my fear was, that they would agree to defend them-
match, and if the Enemy was no numerous as was
expected, the whole would be lost. But I need not have
been afraid uneasy about that, for they had too
mutually studied their own Interest! To think of fighting,
which they certainly would have done if I had
only as many troops as would have given any probability of success. They displayed their situation in such a manner as was really moving and with great truth. But denied to act either on one side or the other, and begged that I would believe them to be on the American Interest. But my whole force joined with them would make but a poor figure against so considerable a party and gave hints that they could wish us to take Spanish Protection as they could not conceive we could keep possession a single day as the Enemy would immediately set the adjacent Houses on Fire which would give the Fort (not knowing that I intended to burn them myself as soon as the wind shifted). Very seldom found but I could govern my temper at pleasure. But this declaration of theirs and some other circumstances put me in a most violent rage, and as soon as I could curb my passion gave a Lecture suitable for a set of traitors (although I could not conceive the whole of them to be such) ordered them out of the Parvision, and told them that I no longer thought they deserved favour from me, that consequently they must conceive them to be my secret Enemies and should treat them as such. They endeavored to soothe me into quiet, but to have listened to them would have destroyed my intention. Determined to make myself appear to them as desperate as possible that it might have a greater effect on the Enemy. They asked me
to issue an order for all the Provision in the Town to be brought into the Fort immediately, by which I was convinced that it was their device that I should be able to stand the siege as long as possible, and only wanted an excuse to be driven by the men who expected every moment to be their Master (for making the supplies). I told them that I would have all the Provisions and then burn the Town to the enemy's hand, that they might want the Provision if they chose it, and sent them out of the Fort and immediately had fire set to come out slowly. Never was a set of people in more distress, their town on fire by those they wished to be in friendship with, at the same time surrounded by the savages, as they expected. They had but little else but destruction to expect, the house being covered with snow, the fire had no effect on those it was set to, the Inhabitants looking on without daring to say a word. I told them that I intended to set fire to all those that had much provision for fear of the enemy getting it. They were not in so great a Leathery, but they took the hint and before night they brought in six months' Provisions of all sorts, by which they were in hopes to come on better terms; but a fresh circumstance alarmed them. One of the Inhabitants
Inhabitants. Entering into the Field met a Man that told him he saw a Party of the Enemy going on the Island to take the Priest, he returning to town met the Priest's Brother in Law and told him what he had heard, and begged of him not to tell me of it the Poor fellow was half scared to death about his Brother, made all haste and told me. Took his Evidence, went for the Citizen who could not deny it, immediately ordered him hanged. The town took the Alarm hastened about the walls of the Fort, as possible to save their Friend. The Poor fellow given up to the Soldiers who dragged him to the place of Execution, each striving to be foremost in the Execution as if they thirsted after Blood: some was for Tomahawking him, some for hanging & Others for Burning; they got to quarrelling about it, which at last saved his life; the Inhabitants having time to supplicate for him in his favour, but nothing would have saved his life but the appearance of his Wife and seven small Children, which might was too moving not to have granted them the life of their Parent on terms that put it out of his power to do any damage to me. The weather clearing away Capt. Bowman arrived the following day with his own and alofty of Volunteers from Cohos, we now began to make a tolerable appearance and seemed to defiance the Enemy and went out of fire on every
Quarter to make discovery of them, hoping we might get some advantage of them, choosing for many important reasons to attack them twoDONE in the field rather than suffer them to take possession of the town, which by the form and manner of occupying the yards and gardens was very strong. I was convinced that the inhabitants now wished that they had behaved in another manner. I took the advantage of the favourable opportunity to attack them entirely in my interest, and instead of treating them more severe as they expected on my being reinforced, altered my conduct towards them and treated them with the greatest kindness, granting them every request by my influence among them, in a few hours was greater than ever; they condoning themselves and thought that I had treated them as they deserved; and I believe, had Mr. Hamilton appeared we should have defeated him with a good deal of ease, not so numerous but the men being much better. Our spies returning and that sound the first alarm gave the alarm convinced only of about forty whites and Indians making their retreat as East as possible to St. Vincent's, went for no other purpose as we found after but to take me. We were now sensible that St. Vincent's
was in possession of the English; and consequently we might shortly expect an attack though no danger at present, and some time to make preparation for what we were certain of. Had reason to expect a reinforcement on the presumption that Government ordered one on the receipt of my first letter, still encouraged each other and hoped for the best: But suffered more uneasiness than when I was certain of an immediate attack, as I had more time to reflect: the result of which was that the Illinois in a few months would be in possession of the English except the garrison which I knew would not be disposed to surrender without the greatest distress. I sent off thePowwos to St. Vincent to take a prisoner by which we might get intelligence, but found it impracticable on account of the high water; in the height of our anxiety on the evening of the 29th of January 1779, M. d'Yagou a Spanish Merchant arrived from St. Vincent, and was then the time of its being taken, and gave me every intelligence that I could wish to have. Governor Hamilton's Party consisted of about eight hundred when he took possession of that post on the 17th day of December past.
spent for his intention against Haskell's had went nearly the whole of his Indians out in different Parties to war. But to embody as soon as the weather would permit and complete his design. He had also went messengers to the southern Indians, five hundred of whom he expected to join him, only eighty troops in Garrison (our situation still appeared desperate, it was at this moment I would have found myself seven years a slave, to have had five hundred troops). I saw the only probability of our maintaining the country was to take the advantage of her present weakness perhaps we might be fortunate. I considered the inclemency of the season, the badness of the roads, &c., an advantage to us, as they would be now off their guard on all quarters. I collected the officers, told them the probability I thought there was of turning the scale in our favour. I found it the sentiment of every one of them and eager for it. Our plans immediately concluded on, and sent an Express to Cohos for the Return of Capt. McCarty & his Volunteers, and set about the necessary preparation in order to transport my Artillery Stores &c.
I had a large boat prepared and rigged mounting two four pounders. manned with a fine crew, commanded by Lieut. Rogers. She set out in the evening of the 4th Jan., with orders to force her way if possible within ten leagues of St. Vincent's and lay until further orders. This vessel, when complete, was much admired by the Inhabitants as no such thing had been seen in the Country before. I had high expectations from her. I conducted myself before I marched, as though I was sure of taking Mr. Hamilton, instructed my Officers to observe the same rule. In a day or two the Country seemed to believe it; many antiques to Retire their Characters turned out; the Ladies began also to be spirited and interest themselves in the Expedition, which had great effect on the Youngmen. By the 4th day of Jan., I got everything complete and on the 5th I marched, being joined by two Volunteer Compts. of the Principal Young Men of the Illinois Command, by Capt. McOurty, of Cahokia. The corps of the Troops was Capt. R. Bowman and William Worthingtons, of the Light Horse. We were conducted out of the Town by the Inhabitants, and the both of the Priest, who after a very suitable
Discourse to the purpose, gave us all Abulsion. And we set out on a Polier hope indeed; for our whole Party with the Boats Crew consisted of only a little upwards of two hundred. I cannot account for it, but I still had inward assurance of success; and never could when weighing every circumstance doubt it. But I had some secret check, viz. I had no idea a Route before us of two hundred and fifty miles in length. Though, I suppose, the most beauty Country in the world, but at this time in many parts flowing with water and spreading bad marching. My greatest care was to divert their Hums as much as possible in order to keep up their spirits, the first obstruction of any consequence that happened to us I met with until the 13th. Arriving at the two little Watercourses although three miles a-far under they now make but one. The slowed water between them being at least three feet deep, and in many places four: Being near five miles to the opposite Hills, the shallowest place, except about one hundred yards was three feet deep. This would have stopped been enough to have stopped any set of men that was not in the same temper as we were.
But in three days we continued to cross, by building a large canoe, ferried across the two channels, in the rest of the way we evaded; building scaffolds at each to lodge our baggage on until the river crossed to take them; it rained nearly a third of our march, but we never halted for it. In the evening of the 17 we got to the low lands of the River Negro which we found deep in water, it being nine miles to St. Vincento which stood on the East side of the Wabache and every foot of the way covered with deep water, we marched down into the little river in order again the Bank of the main River which we did in about three leagues, made a small canoe and sent an Express to meet the Boat and hurry it up from the spot we now lay on was about ten miles to Town, and every foot of the way put together that was not three feet and upwards under water would not have made the length of two miles and half and not a mouthful of provision; to have waited for our Boat if possible to avoid it, would have been impolitic. If I was sensible that you would let no Town on this relation I would give you a detail of our suffering for four days in crossing those waters, and the manner it was done; as I am sure that you would credit it, but it is too incredible for any Person.
to believe except those that are as well acquainted with me as you are, or had experienced something similar to it. I hope you will excuse me until I have the pleasure of seeing you personally. But I own

an inexpressible joy in the evening of the 23. we got safe on Terra Firma within half a league of the Fort, covered by a small Grove of Trees had a full view of the wished for spot (I should have crossed at a greater distance from the Town but the White River coming in just below us we were afraid of getting too near it) we had already taken some prisoners that was coming from the Town. Sailing in this Grove some time to dry our Clothes by the Sun we look another Prisoner known to be a friend by which we got all the Intelligence we wished for; but would not suffer him to see our Troops except a few.

A thousand Ideas flushed in my Head at this moment I found that you. Hamilton was able to defend himself for a considerable time, but knew that he was not able to turn out of the Fort, that if the Siege continued long a superior number might come against us, as I knew there was a Party of English not far above in the River, that if they found on our Numbers might raise the dissatisfied
Sawage and savages. I resolved to appear as
Daring as possible, that the Enemy might conceiv
by our behaviour, that we were very numerous and
probably discourage them. I immediately wrote to
the Inhabitants in general, informing them when
I was and what I determined to do, deceiving the
Friends to the States to keep close in their Hovels
those in the British Interest to repair to the fort
and fight for their King; otherwise, there should
be no mercy shewn them O.K. Sending the
compliments of several Officers that was known to be
expected to reinforce me, to several Gentlemen of the
Town; I dispatched the Prisoner off with this letter
waiting until near sunset, giving him time to get
near the Town before we marched. As it was an
then Plam from the Wood that covered us, I marched
time enough to be seen from the Town before dark
but taking advantage of the Land, disposed the
lines in such a manner that nothing but the
caulions could be seen, having as many of them
would be sufficient for a Thousand Men,
which was observed by the Inhabitants, who had
first read my letter counted the different
Colours and judged of our number accordingly.
But I was careful to give them no opportunity of seeing our troops before dark, which it would be before we could arrive. The Housers obstructed the Ports showing us and were not all armed as expected by many of the Inhabitants. I detached a Party to attack the Fort at a certain signal, and took possession of the strongest Ports of the Town with the main Body. The Garrison had so little suspicion of what was to happen that they did not believe the firing was from the Enemy, until a Man was blindfold through the ports, which happened the third or fourth shot expecting it to be some drunk Indians. The firing commenced on both sides very warm—a second Division joined the first. A considerable number of British Indians made their escape out of Town. The Nez-a-ouis and Shawnees to the amount of about one hundred and twenty in Town immediately armed themselves in our favor and marched to attack the Fort. I thanked them Chief for his intended service, told him the ill consequence of our People being much in the dark, that they might lay in their Quarters until light, he approved of it and sent off his Troops appeared to be much elevated himself and stayed with me giving all the Information he could.
(I knew him to be a friend.) The Artillery from the Fort played briskly but did no execution. The Garrison was entirely surrounded within eighty and a hundred yards behind Houses, Palisades and Ditches &c. &c. Never was a heavier firing kept up between on both sides for eighteen Hours with so little damage done. In a few Hours I found my Prize sure; certain of taking every Man that I could have wished for, being the whole of those that incited the Indians to War; all my past sufferings vanished; never was a Man more happy. It wanted no encouragement from any Officer to inflame our Troops with a Martial Spirit. The knowledge of the Person they attacked and the thoughts of their murthered Friends was sufficient. I knew that I could not afford to loose Men, and took the greatest care of them that I possibly could; at the same time encouraged them to be daring, but prudent. Every place near the fort that could cover them was crowded, and a very heavy firing during the Night, having plunged a considerable Intrenchment before the gate where I intended to plant my Artillery when arrived. I had learnt that one Maximville had driven that returning with two prisoners taken on the Ohio discovering some
design of us, supposed to be spies from Kentucky immediately on his arrival Capt. Lemote went out to intercept them; being out on our arrival could not gain the fort; in attempting several of his men was made prisoners, himself and party having round the town; I was convinced that they would make off to the Indians at day brakes if they could not join their friends; finding all inducement useless to take him I withdrew the troops a little before from the garrison in order to give him an opportunity to get in which he did much to his credit and my satisfaction: as I would rather it should receive that reinforcement, than they would be at large among the savages. The firing again commenced, a number of the inhabitants joining the troops of Behaved enduring well in general knowing of the prisoners lately taken and by the dissipation that of them I was sure of there being the express from Williamsburg (but was mistaken) to save the papers and letters; about eight o'clock in the morning I ordered the firing to cease and sent a flag into the garrison with a hand bill recommended Mr. Hamilton to surrender his garrison & severe threats if he should destroy any letters.
He returned an Answer to this purpose, that the Garrison was not disposed to be awed into any thing unbecoming British Soldiers: The Attack was renewed with greater Vigour than ever and continued for about two Hours; I was determined to listen to no Terms whatever until I was in Possession of the Fort; and only went to keep them in Action with part of my Troops, while I was making necessary Preparations with the other (neglected calling on any of the Inhabitants for Assistants although they wished for it). A Flag appeared from the Fort with a Proposition from Mr. Hamilton for three Days Sosiation. A desire of a Conference with me immediately, that if I should make any difficulty in coming into the Fort, he would meet me at the Gate. But first has no notion of listening to any thing he had to say; I could only consider himself as Officers as Murderers, and God intended to treat them as such; but after mature deliberation I went to Mr. Hamilton, my Compliments, and beg leave to inform him that I should agree to no other terms than his surrendering himself and Garrison Prisoners at discretion; but if he was desirous of a Conference with me I would
would meet him at the Church. He, according to
met, he offered to surrender but we could not agree
upon terms. He received such treatment on this
Conference as a Man of his known Barbarity to
would not come upon terms with him recommend
so him to defend himself with spirit and Bravery that
it was the only thing that would induce me to trust
him and his Garrison with Safety in case
I trusted it which he might expect. He asked
me what more requires than he had. The offer
he had already made I told him (which was
really the truth) that I wanted a sufficient excuse
to put all the Indians to death, as the
greatest part of those Williams was then with him;
all his propositions were refused: he asked me if not
would do but fighting... I knew of nothing else he
then begged me to stay until he should return to the
Garrison and consult his Officers: being indifferent
about him and wanted a few moments to freshen
themselves I told him that the firing should
not commence until such an hour, that during that
time he was at Liberty to pass with safety. Some time
before a Party of Warriors sent by Mr. Hamilton against
Kentucky, had taken two Prisoners, was discovered by
the Kentucky who gave information of them. A Party
was
was immediately detached to meet them which happened in the Commons: they conceived our troops to be a party sent by Mr. Hamilton to conduct them in; an horn commonly fired them. I was highly pleased to see each party hooping, hollering and striving each other. Breasts as they approached each other in the open fields, each seemed to try to outdo the other in the greatest signs of joy: the Tory Devils never discovered their mistake until it was too late for many of them to escape. Six of them were made prisoners, two of them scalped and the rest were wounded as we afterwards learnt, but one died. That now a fair opportunity of making an impression on the Indians, that I could have wished for, that of convincing them that Governor Hamilton could not give them that protection that he had made them to believe he could, in some measure to incense the Indians against him for not exerting himself to save their friends. Ordered the prisoners to be tomahawked in the face of the Garrison: it had the effect that I expected: instead of making their friends insinuate against us, they espoused the English Parties in not trying to save their friends and gave them to understand that they
they believed them to be liars and no warriors.
A remarkable circumstance hapned that I think
worthy our notice: An old French Gent. of the name
of Mr. de Louv. of Capt. McCarty's Volunteers
from Cohos had but one Son who headed these
Indians and was made Prisoner. The Question was
put whether the white Man should be saved. Indeed
they put him to Death, through Indignation,
which did not extend to the Savages. Yet he would
make his escape; his father drew his sword and
stood by him inorder to run him through incase
he should run; being painted could not know him.
The Wretch on seeing the Executioner's Tomahawk
raised to give the fatal stroke, raised his eyes
and making his last Address to heaven, cried
out Pave me. The Father knew his Son's voice
you may easily guess of the of the adjectation and
behaviour of these two Persons coming to the knowledge
of each other at so critical a moment. I had so little
money for such Murderers, and so valuable an
opportunity for an example; knowing there would
be the greatest solicitations made to save him, that
I immediately abondoned myself, but by the warm
est Solicitations from his Father who had behaved
so exceedingly well in our Service, and some of
the Officers, I granted his Life on certain conditions.
W. Hamilton and myself again met; he produced certain Articles which were refused; but towards the close of the evening I sent him the following articles.

1. That Lieut. Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clarke, Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the Store &c.

2. The Garrison are to deliver themselves up as Prisoners of War and March out with their Arms and Accoutrements &c. &c.

3. The Garrison to deliver up tomorrow at ten o'clock.

4. Three days time be allowed the Garrison to settle their Accounts with the Traders and Inhabitants of this Place.

5. The Officers of the Garrison to be allowed their necessary Baggage &c. &c.

Which was agreed to and fulfilled the next day knowing that Governor Hamilton had sent a party of men up the Oualbach to One for Piscos that he had left there, which must be on the return. I waited about twelve hours for the arrival of the Galley to intercept them; but fearing their getting Intelligence, dispatched Capt. Helms with a party in armed Boats who
Captured and made prisoners of Fort, among which was Dejean, Grand Judge of Detroit, with a large packet from Detroit, and seven boats load of provisions, Indian goods &c. Never was a person more mortified than I was at this time to see so fair an opportunity to push victory, lost for want of a few men; knowing that they would immediately make greater preparations expecting men. The galley had taken up on her passage the express from Williamsburg with letters from his Excellency. Having at once all the intelligence I could wish for from both sides, I was better able to fix my future plans of operation. By his excellency's letter I might expect to have a complete battalion in a few months, the militia of the Illinois I knew would turn out, did not doubt of getting two or three hundred Men from Kentucky. Consequently put the matter out of doubt. I contented myself on that presumption having almost as many prisoners as I had men. seeing the necessity of getting rid of many of the prisoners, not being able to guard them; not doubting but my good treatment to the Volunteers Inhabitants of Detroit would promote my Interest there, I discharged the greatest part of them that had
had not seen with Indian Parties, on them taking
the Oath of Neutrality. They went off huzzaing for the
Congress and declared though they could not fight
against the Americans, they would for them. As I
after this had spies constant to and from Detroit
I learnt they answered every purpose that I could have wished
for, by prejudicing their friends in favour of America.
As certain was the Inhabitants of that Post, that they
of my Marching immediately against it, that they
made Provision for me in defiance of the Garrison
Many of them have paid dear for it since
I dispatched off Capt. Williams and Compy with
Governor Hamilton, his Municipal Officers and a
Few Soldiers to the Falls of Ohio, to be sent to Williams-
burg, and in a few days sent my Letters to the Fox
Having matters a little settled, the Indian Department
became the next Object. I knew that Mr. Hamilton
had endeavoured to make them believe that we
intended at last to take all their Lands from them
and that in case of Success we should show
no greater Mercy for those that did not Join him
than those that did. I endeavoured to make
myself acquainted the Arguments he used. And
calling together the Neighbouring Nations,
Pankeshaw, Nipquose, & others that would not listen to him; I endeavoured to undeceive them. I made a very long speech to them in the Indian manner, told them to the skies for their Manly behaviour and fidelity, told them that we were so far from having any design on their lands, that I looked upon it, that we were then on their land where the fort stood, that we claimed no land in their country, that the first man that offered to take their lands by violence must strike the tomahawk in my head, that it was only necessary that I should be in their country during the war and keep a fort in it to drive the English, who had a design against all people, after that I might go to some place where I could get land to support myself: The treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties; they were much pleased at what they heard and begged me the next day to favour them the next day, with my Compt, at a council of their own. Accordingly attended, greatest part of the time spent in ceremony, they at last told me that they had been meditating on what they had said the day before: that all the nations would be rejoiced to have me always in their country as their...
greatest Father and Protector: And as I had said, I would claim no land in their country, they were determined that they would not lose me on that account: and resolved to give me a piece, but larger than they had given to all the French at that Village, and laying down what they would wish me to do off. I was well pleased at their offer as I had then an opportunity to deny the exception. Rather convince them that we did not want their land: they appeared dejected at my refusal; I waived the discourse upon other subjects: recommended a festival to them that night as the sky was clearer than ever; gave them a party of hasty and provisions to make merry on and left them. In a few days some Cheypees and others that had been with Mr. Hamilton, came in and begged me to excuse their blindness and take them into favour; after the warmest solicitations for mercy, I told them that the Bug Knives was merciful which proved them to be Warrriors; that I should send Belts and a speech to all the Nations, that they after hearing of it might do as they pleased but must blame themselves for future misfortunes and dispatched them. Nothing destroys your interest among...
among the Savages or soon as wavering sentiments on speeches that show the least certainty. Consequently had observed one steady line of conduct among them: Mr. Hamilton, who was almost civilized among them being captured by me, it was a sufficient confirmation to the Indians of every thing I had formerly said to them and gave the greatest weight to the speeches I intended to send to send them: expecting that I should shortly be able to fulfill my threats with a Body of Troops sufficient to penetrate into any part of their Country; and by reducing Detroit bring them to my feet. I sent the following Speech to the different Tribes near the Lakes that was at war with us:

To the Warriors of the different Nations.

Men and Warriors; it is a long time since the BigKnives sent Belts of peace among you. Selecting of you not to listen to the bad talks and delusion of the English as it would at some future day tend to the destruction of your Nations. You would not listen, but joined the English against the BigKnives and spilt much Blood of Women y Children. The BigKnives then resolved to shew no more to my People that hereafter would refuse the Belt of
Peace which should be offered, at the same time. One for War; you remember last summer a great many people took me by the hand, but a few kept back their hearts. I also sent Belts of Peace and War among the Nations to take their choice. Some took the Peace Belt; others still listened to their great father (as they call him) at Detroit, and joined him to come to War against me. The Big Knives are warriors and look on the English as old women and all those that Join him, and are ashamed when they fight them because they are no Men.

I now send two Belts to all the Nations, one for Peace and the other for War. The one that is for War has your great English fathers scalps tied to it and made red with his blood; all you that call your wives his children, make your Hatchets sharp & come out and revenge his Blood on the Big Knives. Fight like men that the Big Knives may not be ashamed when they fight you; that the old women may not tell us that we only fought Squaws. Many of you is for taking the Belt of Peace, send the bloody Belt back to me that I may know who be taken by the hand as Brothers. For you may be assured that no peace, for the future will be granted to those that do not lay down their Arms immediately.
As you will not care whether you are for Peace or War; as I flow in War and want Enemies to fight us, the English can't fight us any longer and are become like Young Children begging the Big Knives for money and a Little Bread to eat; this is the last Speech you may ever expect from the Big Knives, the next thing will be the Tomahawk. And you may expect in Four Moons to see your Women & Children given to the Dogs to eat, while those Nations that have kept their words with me will Flourish and grow like the Willow Trees on the River Banks under the care and nourishment of their Father the Big Knives.

In a few weeks great Numbers came in to St. Vincent's and treated for Peace being laughed at by those that had strictly kept their Adheard to their former Treaty with me. After giving every Department as to promise future advantage sending Letters to the County Sert. of Kentucky soliciting him to make some preparatory strokes towards Joining me when called on by with all the force he could raise, leaving a sufficient Garrison on the 20th of March I set out for Hancock's by Water with a Guard of eighty Men, spending much time in making some observation at different Places; consequently arrive too late to have
have kindled a War that commenced between the few Delawares residing in this part of the World and the Inhabitants; a few of them that had joined the British Party knowing what had happened went to Warakakion, as was supposed to conclude matters; but getting drunk with some loose Young Fellows gave some threats on each side; one of the Indians over a gun at a Woman's Breast; two of them was immediately killed the rest pursued by the Townsmen some distance down the River one killed and some others wounded. The War was carried on pretty equal on both sides for several Months; but they at last thought proper to solicit a Peace. During my absence Capt. Robert George Commandt. the Camps, formerly Capt. Willing, had arrived from Orleans taking charge of the Garrison which was a considerable Reinforcement to our little Party. Everything having the Appearance of Tranquility, I resolved to spend a few weeks in Diversion which had not done since my Arrival in the Illinois, but found it impossible when I had any matter of importance in view, the Reduction of Detroit was always uppermost in my mind, not from a motive of Enmity, but from the desire had of establishing a profound Peace on our Frontiers, being so well acquainted with its situation, Strength and Influence, that in case I was not disappointed in Number of Troops Required.
I even accounted Detroit my own, receiving letters from Col. Bowman at Kentucky informing me that I might expect him to reinforce me with three land men; when ever I should call on him, at the same time receiving intelligence from Col. Montgomery. I now thought my success reduced to a certainty, immediately set about making provision for the expedition to be ready against the arrival of the troops to give the enemy as little time as possible to supply the new fortifications. I knew they were then about to send an express to Col. Bowman desiring him to join me on the 20th. of June at St. Vincent's with all the force he possibly could raise agreeable to his letters to me; sent out Capt. Larue among the different nations of Indians to receive their congratulation on our late success, to receive the submission of those who resolved to desert the English & as well as to get such useful intelligence from Detroit. The civil division in the Illinois had heretofore consumed too much of my time that I ought to be spent in military reflection. I was now likely, I believe, by Col. Dr. Todd, appointed by Government for that purpose, I was to receive the intelligence in his appointment as the former intimacy and friendship subsisted between us, and on the day I may had the pleasure of seeing him safely landed at Newashia.
The joy of every person: I now saw myself happily rid of all piece of trouble that had no delight in.

Col. Montgomery arrived to my mortification, found that he had not half the men that I expected, immediately receiving a letter from Col. Bowman with fresh assurances of a considerable reinforcement. The officers in Gen. Went's Antiquity for the Expedition, resolved to rendezvous according to appointment, and if not deceived by the Kentuckians, I should still be able to accomplish my design, as I only wanted men sufficient to make me appear respectable in passing through the savages, by which means I could on this March command those friendly at my ease, and defy my enemies. Three hundred men being at this time sufficient to reduce the garrison of Detroit, as the new work was not complete, nor could not be ready to the plan before my arrival. The gentlemen of Detroit not being idle (having sufficient reason to be convinced that they were in no danger from the Dept of Fortinos) always suspicions of my attracting them, sensible of my growing interest among the savages.

In order to give themselves more time to fortify by making some division on the Illinois (engaged a considerable number of their savages) to make an attempt on...
St. Vincent's; those Indians that had declared for the American Interest, in order to shew their zeal went to them that if they had a mind to fight the Bostomians at St. Vincent's, they must first cut their way through them, as they were Big Knives too. This actually stopped their operation, knowing that the Expedition depended entirely on Tecumseh turning out, I began to be suspicious of a disappointment on hearing of their Marching against the Shawnee Towns which proved too true. For on my arrival at St. Vincent's the first of July, instead of two or three hundred Men that I was promised, I found only about thirty volunteers meeting with a Repulse from the Shawnees go discouraged and Consequeny 10th in the Power of the Enemy to March through. Having being for some time (as I hinted before) suspicious of a disappointment, I had conducted matters so as to make no ill impression on the minds of the Savages in case I should not proceed as the whole had suspected that my design was against Detroit, several Nations solicited me to go and suffer them to join me. Vaudre was the conjectures respecting the Propriety of the Attempt with the Troops we had (about three hundred) at a council of War held for the purposes there was only two casting voices against it and pretend it was on account of Genl. Sullivan's Marching against Niagara, which we knew heard that there was no doubt of his success.
Detroit would fall of course, and consequently was not worth our while Marching against it: although I knew at some time Detroit would not fall with Niagara, as they had an easy communication with Montreal through another Channel by way of the Grand River. A number of Indians visited me at this time renewing the Chain of friendship on all of whom I gave general satisfaction, except that of my refusal of a Tract of Land that their Chief had formerly offered me; I enquired of several gentlemen acquainted with them why they were solicitous about it; their affirmons was that the Indians being exceedingly jealous about of their Lands being taken without their consent, being told by the English that I had a design on their Country, by my excaping a Tract from them a preserving, would move that sufficient to them that what they had been told was false, being satisfied in this they also had a desire of my Remaining in their Country as their chief and guardian and that my refusal had given them suspicion; indeed to remove it I made a suitable speech to them which gave general satisfaction and in a few days they with a great deal of ceremony presented me the following Deed of gift.
By the: Tobacco Son Grand Chief of all the Tractee-Nawns Nations and of all the Nations Tribes, Grand Door to the Onatache as ordered by the master of Life, holding the Tomahawk in one hand and Peace in the other: Judging the Nations, giving entrance for those that are for Peace, and making them a clear road.

Declaration

Whereas for many years past, this once peaceful land has been put in confusion by the English encouraging all People to raise the Tomahawk against the Big Anises, saying that they were a bad People, Rebellion, and ought to be put from under Sun and their names to be no more.

But as the Sky at our Councils was always misty and never clear, we still were at a loss to know what to do, hoping that the Master of Life would one day or other make the Sky clear and put us in the right road. The taking Pittson we sent a father among us (Col. George Rogers Clark) that has cleared our eyes and made our paths straight defending our Land & so that we now enjoy Peace from the Rising to the setting of Sun; and the Nations even to the heads of the great River (meaning the Mississippi) are happy and will now and on listen to Bad Birds; but abide by the Councils of their great Father, A Chief of the Big Anises that is now among us.
And whereas it is our desire that he should long
remain among us, that we may take his council and be
happy; it also being our desire to give him lands to reside
in in our country that we may at all times speak to
him. After many solicitations to him to make choice of
a Tract of Land he choosing the Land adjoining the Falls
of Ohio on the west side of said River.

Hereby in the names of all the Great Chiefs and Warriors
of the Ousebash and their Allies, Declare that some
lands at the Falls of Ohio contained in the following
bounds, to wit: Beginning opposite the middle of the
first Island below the Falls, Bounded upwards by the
west bank of the River so far as to include two
Leagues, and half on a straight line from the beginning,
thence at right angles with said line two Leagues & half in
Breadth, in all its parts shall hereafter and ever be the
sole property of our great Father (Col. Clark) with all
things therein belonging, either above or below the Earth
shall be and in his, except a Road through the said
Land to his Door which shall remain ours, and for us
to walk on to speak to our Father. All Nations from the
rising to the setting of the Sun, that are not in alliance
with us are hereby warned to esteem the said gift as
sacred and not to make that land taste of Blood; that
all People either at peace or War may repair in safety
to get Council of our Father. Whoever first darkens
What land shall no longer have a name. This declaration shall forever be a witness between all nations and our present Father, that the said lands are forever hereby set off his property. In witness whereof I do in the name of all the Great Chiefs and Warers of the Osage in open Council affix my mark and seal done at St. Vincent's this 16th day of June 1779

(Signed) Francis son of Tobacco.

Which was, I suppose, and intended to convince the how much I prized so liberal a gift $60 as had no idea of having property in the lands myself, knowing the laws of any country equally against it. I chose it at the falls of Ohio suspecting that I might hereafter find it necessary to fortify that place for convening of free intercourse. Having a number of supernumerary officers I sent them into the settlement recruiting finding the interest of the Department required me to spend a few months at the falls of Ohio being also induced with the hopes of giving the Shawnees a drubbing in case a sufficient force could be again raised at Kentucky. After giving proper instructions for the direction of the com. of the different posts I set out for the falls where I arrived safe on the 20th day of August. I received a large present from his excellency much to my satisfaction having fresh assurance of a sufficient reinforcement and his intention to effectuate a
Fortification at or near the Mouth of Ohio, so much the desire of every Person. It being a place of great importance, and by having a strong fortification at it would immediately be the key and key of the Western Country; all my expectations in my being there have been disappointed (excepting laying up a considerable Quantity of Beef) by Sounds of the Ohio which are remarkable and that it would be worth recording, you being able to navigate it with the smallest Canoe for several months next. I shall not for the future leave it in your power to accuse me for a Neglect of Friendship, but shall continue to transmitt to you whatever I think worth your notice.

Sir, with esteem Yours,

N.B. As for the description of the Illinois Country which you seem so anxious for you may expect to have by the ensuing fall as I expect by that period to be able to give you a more general Idea of it. This you may take for granted that no more Beautiful than any Idea I could have formed of a Country almost in a state of Nature, every thing you behold is an Additional Beauty; On the River you'll find the finest Lands the Sun ever shone on; In the high Country you will find a Variety of Poor & Rich Lands with large Meadows extending beyond the reach of Your Eyes Variegated with groves of trees appearing...
like Islands in the Sea covered with Puff Foes or other Game; in many places with a good Glass. You may see all those that is on their feet in half a Million of Acres; so level is the Country, which some future day will supply in cattle. The Settlements of the Illinois commenced about one hundred years ago by a few traders from Canada. My reflections on that head its situation: the probability of a flourishing Trade. The state of the country at present what it is capable of producing. My opinion respecting the cause of those extensive plains off the advantages arising by strong fortifications and settlements at the mouth of Ohio. The different Nations and of Indians. Their traditions, numbers. &c. You may expect in my next.