

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK—CIVILIAN¹

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As we approach the time for the celebration, suitable in character, of the sesquicentennial of the American Revolution west of the Allegheny Mountains, the one name that stands out before all others is that of George Rogers Clark, leader of those intrepid little bands of men who accomplished the seemingly impossible in the capture of Kaskaskia and of Vincennes. On July 4 of this year and February 25 of next year, we lay stress, as it should be done, upon the significant military events connected with those days of 1778 and 1779 which effected the conquest of the Northwest and led to the addition of this great area to the territory of the United States. As recently stated by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, one of America's leading historians:

If the Northwest had not been acquired by the heroic action of George Rogers Clark, all the territory to the westward, which the map shows to be more than half of the United States, would never have been acquired; but if the "cribs and cabins" of the United States to use an old phrase, had been confined to the Allegheny Mountains, it could never have had that career of imperial greatness that we see before us now.²

But tonight, it is my purpose to call attention to some phases of his career which have been subordinated in our thinking to those years in which he was engaged as a leader of western troops. After all, his military life by generous interpretation did not consume more than eleven years of the sixty-six years of his life.

In the first place, I am of the opinion that he thought of himself as a surveyor. One wonders in what respect the turn of his life came when his Scotch schoolmaster, despairing of teaching him the classics, advised that he should be called

1. In this paper, I have used freely material to be found in my *Life of George Rogers Clark*, published by the University of Chicago Press, 1928.

2. This statement was made before a Congressional committee in favor of a resolution that a suitable memorial to Clark should be erected at Vincennes. One million dollars were appropriated by Congress for this purpose.

home. From eleven to eighteen years of age he was evidently engaged in helping his father to win from a Virginia farm the living for a family in which he was the second oldest of six sons and four daughters.

At eighteen, under the instruction of his grandfather who taught him the elements of surveying, he was to find the opening for a career. Two years later, he crossed the Alleghenies with a single companion, and proceeded on a journey of exploration which was to take them three hundred miles down the Ohio from Fort Pitt. While locating land in his own name, he gave much attention to surveying the farms of other pioneers who were pushing down the Ohio Valley before the opening of Dunmore's War (1774) and the first days of the Revolution.

As a captain in Dunmore's army and as a general in the Revolution his name is primarily linked with military affairs. But even in those years, his influence was sought in carrying out a program connected with civic life in Kentucky and in the Illinois country. In both, he was a leader in the setting up of government and seeing that the laws were strictly enforced.

A study of the plan, submitted by him to the surveyor engaged in laying out the town of Louisville, confirms the statement that if it had been adopted, "Louisville would have become the most beautiful city on the continent." It provided for a reservation of land along the river front as a public park. Connected with the courthouse lot, which was to contain two whole squares, was to be a park half a square in breadth extending the entire length of the town.

Clark, himself, proceeded to construct a new house in Louisville which was notable at the time for a large room, built of hewn logs on the inside, which had a good plank floor. Its completion was evidently a significant event, for men and women, upon invitation, journeyed from the other settlements to take part in the ball and other festivities which marked the house-warming. The thrills incident to attendance upon such a social function were vividly portrayed by one who was present. Trabue wrote:

Some of us went from Logans Fort we went by Harodsburg stayed all night in the morning Col Harod & his Lady Col McGarry & several other gentlemen & ladys started about 20 men & about 6 Ladys when we had got about one mile from the Fort I Discovered Indians in the woods

and running to Get before us I told McGarry of it. he halted the company and he went to examine the sign. he came back said he saw the indians and he was not able to fight them while we had these women and we retreated to the Fort. a party of men went from the fort and found the Indians had gone away. The next morning we set out again we had about 15 men & 3 ladies . . . we got safe to the falls . . . He [Clark] made a ball a number of Gentlemen & Ladies attended to it and when these Fort Ladys came to be dressed up they did not look the same everything looked anew. we enjoyed ourselves very much Col. Harrod & His lady opened the ball by Dancing the first gig we had plenty of rum Toddy to Drink we stayed there some few days.

After the Revolution, having passed an examination which was satisfactory to the faculty of William and Mary College, Clark was granted a certificate which enabled him to become one of the surveyors of the 150,000 acres in the Illinois Grant. These lands in Southern Indiana were set aside by Virginia for the soldiers who had accompanied Clark on his expeditions. While his duties, as chief surveyor, were to continue until 1788, the leading event so far as he was concerned was connected with the making of a treaty at Fort McIntosh with the Indians of the Northwest. Together with his two associates, Arthur Lee and Richard Butler, accompanied by a guard of artillery under Colonel Harmar, they proceeded to Fort McIntosh in November, 1784.

Very slowly the chiefs and warriors of the Chippewa, Ottawa, Wyandotte and Delaware tribes, accompanied by their women and children, gathered for the conference. With difficulty, their demands for provisions, ammunition, kettles, blankets and rum were complied with. The commissioners and soldiers themselves, housed in a dilapidated fort in the depth of winter, suffered for want of sufficient clothing. On January 21, 1785, agreement was reached, the first in a long series of treaties by which the United States gained the territory northwest of the Ohio River.

In exchange for goods to be distributed among the tribes, the Indians surrendered a large part of their land, keeping possession of an area in the northwestern portion of the present state of Ohio. This cession of territory, estimated at 30,000,000 acres, was far greater than had been anticipated. Certain places within this territory which were to be under the control of the United States were reserved for the establishment of trading posts. The boundary line of this reservation ran from Lake Erie up the Cuyahoga River and down the Tusca-

rawas to a spot above Fort Laurens. It then extended west to the portage between the Big Miami and a branch of the Maumee, then along the latter river to Lake Erie, and thence to the starting point.

The Shawnee, the most warlike of the Ohio tribes, were not present at Fort McIntosh. Because of their ascendancy over the other tribes, no agreement could be lasting without their assent. At this time there were clear signs of the neutralization of the efforts of the American commissioners by the work of the British agents. In fact, the leading features of the British policy relative to the Northwest which obtained during the succeeding ten years were then becoming manifest. The critical conditions in the West at the time were emphasized by Clark and his associates in an appeal to Congress. They reported that British emissaries among the Shawnee and other tribes were stirring up antagonism between the Indians and the Americans. They wrote:

The Wabash and other Indian nations in that quarter are more hostilely than peaceably disposed towards the United States and particularly against the settlement of the lower parts of Kentucky. It is to be feared, that unless Congress interfere, mutual and repeated ill-offices will continue between the parties and be the means of spreading war to the nations already at peace with the United States and thereby involve not only these too much distressed settlements, but the whole frontier, in its dreadful effects.

Americans residing at Vincennes petitioned Congress for relief against hostile savages whose antipathy to Americans exposed them to daily danger and frequent deaths. The Illinois towns were pictured as being without law or government and in greatest confusion. Unless the authority of Congress should be extended to them, Clark held, they were destined to become the victims of savage violence. Meantime, he recommended that they should resume their former customs and appoint temporary officers until the pleasure of Congress should be known. But relief seemed distant with a Congress paralyzed through lack of a quorum and with a secretary of war powerless.

After numerous appeals from the Americans at Vincennes, Clark was induced to lead an expedition for their defense against the Indians of the Wabash (1786). Because of the mutiny of some of his troops, the expedition proved a failure

and it marks the turning point in his career. Time does not suffice to even outline events connected with this disaster.

In retirement at Mulberry Hill, the home of his father, Clark devoted his time, as he wrote (1789), to reading, hunting, fishing, fowling, and corresponding with a few chosen friends. While his family, as he expressed it, was "by far the best settled of any persons in this part of the country," he was himself, like many others, burdened with lands for which there was no market. He had lost interest in public affairs. "As for the Politicks of this country," he writes, "first suppose a swarm of Hungary persons gaping for bread you may conclude that their' ideas are not Genly Virtuous but as I dont meddle in their affairs I know but little about them." Very little of his correspondence during the ensuing four years has been preserved. He had, it was said, "grown temperate." At any rate this was the period when he took up with enthusiasm the writing of his *Memoir*, a document so essential to the complete understanding of the conquest of the Northwest.

At that time, description by travelers of the mounds in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys prompted inquiry as to their origin. Noah Webster, in response to a question submitted to him on this subject by Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, advanced views which furnished the basis for extended discussion. President Stiles had himself ventured the opinion that the mounds were constructed by the followers of Madoc, a Welsh prince of the twelfth century. This theory was not wholly rejected by Webster for, as he wrote: "There is such a surprising affinity between the Indian mounds and the barrows or cemeteries which remain in England but particularly in Wales and Anglesey the last retreats of the original Britons." His preference was for the theory that the mounds were constructed by the followers of Ferdinand De Soto—a view also advanced by Benjamin Franklin. Two years later, September 3, 1789, Webster acknowledged his error in this conclusion and developed the theory which was generally accepted for many years. The Indians of Mexico and Peru, he stated, whose ancestors had lived in the territory beyond the Allegheny Mountains, were descendants of the Carthaginians or other Mediterranean nations. At an unknown date, possibly in the thirteenth century, the Siberian Tartars, "Goths

and Vandals" of North America, found their way to the north-west parts of this continent and pushed on until they met the southern and more ancient settlers. In the warfare which ensued the more civilized tribes were driven into Mexico, but in the conflict "between these different tribes or races of men were constituted the numerous fortifications discovered on the Ohio and in all parts of the western territory."

On this question, Clark, with good reason, thought himself an authority. As he wrote to the editor of the *American Museum*: "I think the world ought to be undeceived in this point, so great a stranger to the western cuntry as Mr. Webster appears to be ought to have informed himself better before he ventured to have pamed [palmed] his conjectures on the world. I don't suppose there is a person living that knows the Geography and Natural History of the back cuntry better if so well as I do myself, it hath been my study for many years." He then developed a theory which, unknown for three-fourth of a century, is now universally accepted by archeologists, namely, that the builders of the mounds were the ancestors of the Indian tribes occupying that region.

Again, his versatility is evident in an application for a patent right which would serve to protect his interest in an invention intended to facilitate river navigation by means of boats. While a number of similar proposals had been made, no patent for the purpose had yet been issued. So confident was Clark of success that in his presentation he asked for a resolution by Congress granting him a monopoly in the use of his machine throughout the continent for a period of fourteen years. He writes:

I doubt Sir, you smile at the contents of this letter, as it may appear to border a little on the marvelous, when I inform you of an invention that will give a new turn to the face of things throughout the Western country.

Frequently navigating those rivers in the course of the War, with various kinds of vessels, I was led to believe that great improvement might be made, which I was determined to study, when I should have leisure to apply myself. But at that period, Mr. Rumsey and others amused us with vessels so constructed as to answer every desirable purpose. This I believed they would have done, having a similar idea myself. They failing, I again resumed the study, and soon found that it was necessary to make myself master of the mechanical powers, which I did, and to my astonishment, found that by a combination of those powers properly applied, that a boat of any size, with a small given

force (either by men or horses on board) would be forced against a stream that no number of oars applied in the common way, could move her. . . . Not being able to discover any defect, and further to satisfy myself, I had the machine actually made on a small scale and proved every conjecture beyond a doubt. It moves any number of oars you choose to apply, with more regularity and despatch than men can possibly do.

Shortly after, a well-known traveler gave an account of his interview with Clark as follows:

Arrived at his house under an apprehension that he had forgotten me. He immediately recognized me and without ceremony entered into familiar though desultory conversation, in which I was highly pleased with the Atticism of his wit, the genuine offspring of native genius. On serious and important occasions he displays a profundity of judgment aided by reflection and matured by experience.

Clark was not unmindful of the terror which was then sweeping over the frontier communities following the surprise and disorderly retreat of General Josiah Harmar's army from the Maumee Indian villages, and after the dreadful blow to the force led by General Arthur St. Clair at the hands of Little Turtle and his Indian braves. Like Washington, Clark cried out for a leader who might be able "to put an end to this horrid Indian war that rages, and will more universally rage, on the frontier." He once more defined his policy for the settlement of the Indian problem:

It is a pity that the blood and treasure of the people should be so lavished, when one campaign, properly directed, would put a final end to the war; and a well-directed line of conduct, after such event should take place, might establish harmony between us and the Indians that might exist for many years. Two armies hath already been defeated, and I doubt [not] the third will share the same fate, if the greatest precaution is not made use of. We are suing the Indians for peace. This convinces them that we are beat and cowed, and, of course, will cause nations not yet at war to join the confederacy, and if, they treat at all, their demands will be so great that it will be as dishonorable for the states to grant as it is for them.

He confessed to his brother the secret hope that he might be called upon to put this policy to the test.

Such expression of confidence in himself was awakened, doubtless, through a friendly recommendation from Thomas Jefferson but recently imparted to him. Jefferson wrote:

Will it not be possible for you to bring Gen'l Clark forward? I know the greatness of his mind, and am more mortified at the cause

which obscured it. Had this not unhappily taken place there was nothing he might not have hoped; could it be Surmounted his lost ground might yet be recovered. No man alive rated him higher than I did, and would again were he to become again what I knew him.

In expressing gratitude to Jefferson, Clark wished it understood that his acknowledgment of such appreciation came untainted with the sordid desire of cultivating your patronage from selfish views. I am above that design but when duly called on I shall never be above the service of my Country at the risque of life and reputation, blood and treasure might have been and may yet be saved . . . On no public occasion shall my exertions be wanting, My country and yourself may at all times, command me.

Alike cheering words came from Virginia in letters from his brother Jonathan, who had been spending some time in Richmond:

I am told your Kentucky enemies are done yelping. Some of them I understand begin to fondle,—sorry Dogs. as to your enemies here, I knew them not—that you had some I was certain—but I was the last person to be informed of them—but I believe they likewise are at present still—your friends begin to talk very bold and loud—some begin to [in]quire how you came to be left in the manner you were on your last expedition, and whether some of those who were at the head of those who came off, were not afraid you would actually and in earnest carry them where there were Indians—and others think you are not an improper person to be sent on the present expedition and I have lately heard that there are those who have become bold enough to say you ought to command it; these things must give you some pleasure, after the evils that have been attempted to be done you.

In reply, Clark declared that he was more capable of negotiations and military life than ever for his whole life had been devoted to its study.

Whatever assurance he may have gotten from these hopeful messages of the possible opportunity for regaining military prestige, it was but short-lived. The honor of retrieving the situation by bringing the Indians of the Northwest into subjection was to be the achievement of General Anthony Wayne, who, in the spring of 1792, was commissioned to raise an army for that purpose.

The year 1792 was in other respects a critical one in Clark's life. His claims against Virginia, including his pay as an officer and the purchase of flour and other necessities for his army in the Revolution, amounting to \$20,500, had again been rejected by the Assembly. The arguments against their as-

sumption were: that there was doubt whether the bills had been paid in specie, and that they should have been presented earlier. The main reason, as stated by his brother, was the spirit of parsimony which controlled the majority. The court of appeals also, in June, decided adversely against the granting of half-pay to troops serving in the state line. A month earlier, Clark declared, while preparing another petition to the Virginia legislature, "I have given the United States half the territory they possess, and for them to suffer me to remain in poverty, in consequence of it, will not redound much to their honor hereafter. If I meet with another rebuff I must rest contented with it, be industrious, and look out further for my future bread." Then it was, no doubt, that he recalled the prophecy of his friends, Jefferson and George Mason, when he was setting out for the conquest of the Northwest: "We think you may safely confide in the Justice and Generosity of the Virginia Assembly." His last hope for relief was evidently shattered through the report on his memorial (November 1, 1792) containing the following statements:

Have not been able to bring on your memorial, and begin to fear I shall not have it in my power to do anything for you this Assembly. . . . As to the flour I am certain from all I can discover you will get nothing . . . as to commutation [compensation] I shall bring that on—I have your discharge from the Governor, and hope to succeed. I understand you intend in—therefore do not expect you will get this. . . .

Then scarcely forty years of age, proud, ambitious, with his services seemingly unappreciated by his country, with prospects blighted, without employment, dependent on the generosity of his family, there was left to Clark, as he thought, only a life of obscurity. Conditions at Mulberry Hill were greatly altered after the death of his mother, April 1799. Three months later his father died. Jonathan and George Rogers were among the executors of their father's will, but to William, as chief heir, was given the home farm with twenty-four slaves, the estate of 7,000 acres of Kentucky lands, and additional lands north of the Ohio. The bequest to George Rogers consisted only of a man and woman slave, for any property in his own name was subject to seizure by his creditors.

For three years he continued to live at Mulberry Hill, but he was dependent on the generosity of his brother. Life at

best was lonely for him. He was land poor and in debt because of advance payments made for supplies to sustain his troops. An indebtedness to William for \$2,100 was met through the transfer of 74,000 acres of Kentucky land on the Ohio (1803). An additional 15,000 acres were disposed of the following year in the cancellation of another debt for £434. William finally sold his own farm and residence in order to meet the further pressing financial obligations of his brother.

Clark was embittered at what he interpreted as ingratitude by Virginia, and he writes: "I have little hopes of ever getting anything from the State of Virginia as I find by your Letters that they are loath to come to tryall and I suppose never will." Was he seeking some relief for burdens which seemed intolerable by the method with which he was already too familiar, described in the terse, pained expression of brother to brother? "I am sorry to inform you that Brother George has given up more to that vice which has been so injurious to him than ever." He continued, however, to give attention, as chairman of the Commission, to the allotment of land to soldiers of the Illinois Regiment.

Glimpses of his life are seen in a letter from his nephew, John O'Fallon, whom Clark adopted as his son. He writes of the coming, each year, of Indian chiefs and warriors in order to smoke the pipe of peace and friendship with their conqueror, "the first man living, the great and invincible long knife." These visits were continued after he took up his residence at Clarksville (1803). This town, when founded, he had proclaimed as the commercial rival-to-be of Louisville. But it continued the typical frontier community of twenty houses with tavern and general store. Residents kept in touch with the world outside by the ferry to Louisville and the old Vincennes trace.

For six years Clark lived in this "deserted village," attending the meetings of the Commission on the Illinois Grant, taking part in the elections and other public affairs, and running a small stone grist-mill. This mill was located near his home, a log-house of two rooms with gables facing up and down the river. The cabin stood on a point of land overlooking the falls—one of the most picturesque and wild spots to be found on the Ohio. Here he lived attended by his serv-

ants. Here he was visited by Josiah Espy, in 1805, who writes:

I had the pleasure of seeing this celebrated warrior at his lonely cottage seated on Clark's Point. This point is situated at the upper end of the Falls, particularly the lower rapid, commanding a full and delightful view of the falls, particularly the zigzag channel which is only navigated at high water. The general has not taken much pains to improve this commanding and beautiful spot, but it is capable of being made one of the handsomest seats in the world. General Clark has now become rather frail and helpless but there are the remains of great dignity and manliness in his countenance, person and deportment, and I was struck with perhaps a fancied likeness to the great and immortal Washington.

A project, in which he was much interested, was for the construction of a canal extending from Clarksville to a point a mile and a quarter above the falls. In his application, which was granted by the trustees of the village, he provided that the control of a strip of land through which the canal was to pass should be vested in his brother William for the erection of mills, wharfs, storehouses, "or any kind of water-works that may be of public utility or for the erection of gates and locks for the passage of boats and vessels." It was his estimate that the construction of the stone containing walls and a lock with a 20-foot lift would cost about \$150,000. A company was incorporated and the strip of land was purchased by December, 1804. But after years of favorable consideration the plan was abandoned.

Relations between the three brothers were, as already noted, most intimate. It was to his youngest brother that the General appealed for the adjustment of his financial embarrassments. Their interest in military affairs was mutual and they shared in the collection and study of the remains of extinct animals. Before his cabin there were the petrified specimens of the vertebræ and tusks of the mammoth, as he called it, and petrified fish and terrapins.

Pride in his brother's ability may be seen in a letter which he wrote President Jefferson. Jefferson, jealous for the interests of the United States after the acquisition of Louisiana by France, sought to ascertain the best site for a fort at the mouth of the Ohio River. His Secretary of War submitted the inquiry to William Clark. He, in turn, passed the letter on to his brother, George Rogers, who, in making a

direct reply to Jefferson, states the results of his observations. He then pays a tribute to his brother in language which could not have failed to arrest the attention of the President:

I suggest to you Sir, if worthy of your attention, any further information, and the best perhaps that can be obtained of that country, may be got from my brother William, who is now settled at Clarksville in the Indian Territory. I have long since laid aside all Idea of Public Affairs. By bad fortune, and ill health I have become incapable of pursuing those enterprising active pursuits which I have been fond of from my youth—but I will with the greatest pleasure give my bro William every information in my power on those or any other points which may be of Service to your Administration. He is well qualified almost for any business—If it should be in your power to Confer on him any post of Honor and profit, in this Country in which we live, it will exceedingly gratify me—I seem to have a right to expect such a gratification when asked for, but what will greatly heighten it is that I am sure it gives you pleasure to have it in your power to do me a service.

Evidently the application proved effective. Shortly after, Captain William Clark, as the associate of Captain Meriwether Lewis and their small party of men, embarked at Clarksville (October 8, 1803)—an epochal event in the village—on their journey of exploration which was to extend “even to the Western Ocean.” After the lapse of two years we find William writing of their success: “Great joy in camp, we are in view of the ocian, this great Pacific Octean which we have been so long anxious to see.” (November 7, 1805.)

At the same time General Clark was preparing a memorial which in equally forceful language describes the hardships undergone and states the significance of the capture of Vincennes. Without this event the triumphant note of William Clark could not have been uttered.

In his petition to Congress he asked that there should be confirmed to him a quantity of land equal in amount to the grant made in his favor by the Piankeshaw tribe and their confederates in 1779. He had disclaimed title to this grant, two and a half leagues square, situated at the Falls of the Ohio, but his right thereto was conceded by the unanimous vote of the Assembly of Virginia. While the question was still under consideration in the Council, the claims of the state were transferred to the federal government.

My reason [he declares] for not soliciting Congress before this, was the great number of Petitions before them, and the prospect I yet had

of a future support, but those prospects are vanished. I engaged in the Revolution with all the Ardour that Youth could possess. My Zeal and Ambition rose with my success, determined to Save those Countries which had been the Seat of my toil, at the hazard of my life and fortune.

At the most gloomy period of the War, when a Ration could not be purchased on Public Credit I risked my own, gave my Bonds, Mortgaged my Lands for supplies, Paid Strict attention to every department, flattered the friendly and confused the hostile tribes of Indians by my emissaries, baffled my internal enemies (the most dangerous of the whole to Public Interest) and carried my Point. Thus at the end of the War I had the pleasure of seeing my Country Secure, but with the loss of my Manual activity and a prospect of future indigence, demands of very great amount were not paid, others with depreciated Paper, Suits commenced against me for those sums in specie, My military and other lands earned by my Service as far as they would extend were appropriated for the payment of those debts, and demands yet remaining to a considerable amount more than remains of a shattered fortune will pay—this is truly my situation—I see no other resource remaining, but to make application to my Country for redress—hoping that they will so far ratify the Grant as to allow to your Memorialist an equal quantity of land now the property of the United States.

In his invitation to his friend John Breckinridge, formerly senator from Kentucky, to assist in the plea before Congress, he makes it clear that he has really no regrets for the sacrifices he was called upon to make during the Revolution:

Although the quantity called for is considerable it will not more than compensate me for the losses I have actually sustained by my involving myself so imprudently in the publick expenses which I doubt without assistance I never shall get clear off, but a country is at stake, and if it was imprudence, I suppose I should do the same should I again have a similar Field to pass through.

An adverse report by the Committee on Public Lands defeated the petition. The alternative request in the memorial, "or for such other relief as may seem proper," was likewise ineffective.

In the meager correspondence during the three following years, chiefly letters to Clark, glimpses may be gotten of his real nature. He possessed unusual power over men. In that period when Jefferson was exclaiming to Washington, "The energetic genius of Clark is not altogether unknown to you," Clark was receiving the loyal and enthusiastic support of men such as Major Joseph Bowman, outstanding military leader; of Colonel John Todd, Jr., trained lawyer and organizer of orderly civil government; of Pierre Gibault, the Kaskaskia

priest; and of Gabriel Cerré, French merchant and trader, who, as Clark states, was one of the "most eminent men in the Countrey of great influence among the people." In years of retirement, he won the friendship of young men through the charm of his conversation, for he was an authority on the history, geography, and the development of the West. The founders and defenders were personally known to him. As we have seen, he was a lover of natural history. Jefferson refers to him as his chief authority on the Indian, and the great naturalist, John J. Audubon, after a personal interview, acknowledges his indebtedness to him on bird life.

"I recollect with signal pleasure and advantage my short visit to you," one young man writes: "I long to repeat it and draw a little more out of that treasure of information which is to be found nowhere else."

Before returning to Clarksville, after his absence of three years, William Clark, then in St. Louis, hastened to send his brother an account of the journey to the Pacific. He gives an outline of the route taken, discusses the Indians and the products of the country passed through. He was especially interested in the large numbers of beaver seen on the way.

Early in 1808 Clark was the recipient of a letter from President Jefferson, who was interested in making a collection of the remains of extinct animals which were to be presented to the National Institute of France. With Jeffersonian precision he asks to have included the ribs, back-bones, leg-bones, thigh, horn, hips, shoulder blades, parts of upper and under jaw teeth of the mammoth and elephant.

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

The breadth of his interest during these years may be seen also through the communications of two of his nephews. "All his leisure time was occupied in reading," one of them stated. "His fine and extensive library which he took to Point of Rocks was by gifts and loans reduced to a mere skeleton by the year 1809." An entry in Clark's diary on the

day he proposed to the Governor and Council of Virginia the conquest of the Northwest is here suggestive: "Got to Williamsburg bought 2 shirts and a Book £5."

"He rarely, if ever spoke of himself or of his achievements," this nephew continues. His "unselfishness was a marked characteristic and he was always willing to divide all he possessed with a friend or with those he imagined in need." These recollections of later years have their foundation in two typical schoolboy letters from the same nephew. "I am greatly Ob(liged) to you for the horse you have sent me. But I am now in as great labyrinth as before. It is uncertain when my saddle will be done. . . . I wish you could contrive me up Uncle for I have no other resource but you. Kit says he wishes to go, but I am ashamed to ask such a thing, and nothing but necessity could Compell me to do so. Mama is very uneasy about me, not knowing what to do, I wish Uncle you would form some plan and send me word as soon as you possibly can."

The reply of another nephew to the request for some books was: "I have sent you the life of Fred^k. the 2nd, but I suppose you have Read them. We have no Other Books that will Suit you as you are not fond of [MSS unintelligible] I will try and get some for you—perhaps I will be down this afternoon." Probably the last letter written in his own hand was addressed to still another of his nephews, requesting a loan of fifty dollars which was to be used in paying workmen who were engaged in finishing his house.

The letter from one of his brothers-in-law gives evidence also of the high esteem in which he was held by his family. "When I saw you at the Springs the other day, you told me you were busily engaged in finishing your house. That is well enough, but I sho[uld] feel better satisfied if you would come & spend the Winter with me. Every thing that is in my power to make your situation comfortable shall be done & think you had better come."

Six months after (1809), because of an accident, he was forced to quit Clark's Point. Stricken with paralysis of his right side, he fell unconscious in front of the fireplace in his cabin and his right leg was badly burned. From this stroke he never fully recovered. An infection of his right foot and leg made amputation necessary. The pain and danger con-

nected with such an operation, with no anæsthetic nor antiseptics, may readily be imagined. Upon his own request he was cheered by the strains of martial music during the two hours required by the surgeons in performing this task. This weird scene was described shortly after by his nephew, George Rogers Clark Sullivan:

Your Uncle George is with us in high spirits, and the wound healed up. I have stayed with him every night since he has been in town, that is about 5 weeks. I never new a man in my life to stand it so well as he did the day it was taken off. he sent for the drummer and fifer to come and play. Floyd then took the hint and had all the men placed around the house with two drums and two fifers and played for about two hours and his leg was taken off in the mean time. In the evening they returned and played for about an hour, and then ten at night four elegant violins two drums two fifes marched around the house for about an hour playing elegant marches.

Thereafter he lived at Locust Grove, eight miles from Louisville, the home of his sister Lucy, who was the wife of Major William Croghan. During the remaining nine years of his life he received every possible attention. A wheel chair enabled him to go about the house, and he was supplied with a carriage for trips to town. His interest in the allotment of lands to his Illinois troops was still unflagging. Three times, within the year following the operation, the minutes of the Commissioners show that he was in attendance at all their sessions as chairman.

Among the messages of respect and confidence of which he was then the recipient were two which served to revive the memories of those years when he participated in deeds of heroism with which his name must always be linked. It was Francis Vigo, the Italian trader, who, on January 29, 1779, when Clark was in doubt regarding his next move, brought him "every Intelligence that I could wish to have." From Vincennes this friend, faithful through the years, writes:

When I saw that on a late occasion, on the fourth of July last, the citizens of Jefferson County and vicinity, from a spontaneous impulse of gratitude and esteem had paid an unfeigned tribute of respect to the veteran to whose skill and valor America and Kentucky owe so much, I then repelled the unwelcome idea of national ingratitude and my sentiments chimed in unison with those of the worthy citizens of Kentucky towards the saviour of this once distressed Country. . . . Please Sir to accept this plain but genuine offering from a man whom you honoured once with your friendship, and who will never cease to put up prayers to heaven that the evening of your days may be serene and happy.

The second note of cheer came through an act of the legislature of Virginia, passed almost, to a day, a third of a century after Hamilton, responding to the demand "immediate surrender," marched out of Fort Sackville in the presence of Clark's bedraggled troops drawn up on parade, and the American colors were run up. By this law he was granted a life pension of \$400 a year. It was also voted to present him with a sword to be manufactured at the state armory.

Governor James Barbour, in addition to his official message which accompanied the sword, took the occasion, as he wrote Clark, for "an expression of my own feelings, . . . I have dwelt with rapture upon the distinguished part you acted in that great drama, being always convinced that it only wanted the adventitious aid of numbers, to make it amongst the most splendid examples of skill and courage, which any age or country has produced."

Judged by his reply to the tribute of the Governor, Clark's words, on the occasion when the sword was actually presented, were an expression of gratitude. As expressed by his brother-in-law:

Flattering indeed, he says, it is to him to find that his exertions when doing his Duty Should meet the Approbation of so respectable a body of his fellow Citizens as Your Excellency & the General Assembly of Virginia. The Genl flatters himself that some Conveyance will Shortly offer by which the Sword (voted to him by the General Assembly) may be forwarded. . . . he says he is much obliged by your polite offer of transmitting to him the money the Assembly voted him & says he will probably trouble you.

On February 1, 1813, Clark attended for the last time a meeting of the board on the Illinois Grant. Shortly after, a second stroke of paralysis left him with mind impaired, with loss of speech, and incapable of moving about. Five years later, February 13, 1818, death came through a stroke of apoplexy. On Sunday, February 15, "a very stormy, snowy day," services, military and religious, were conducted which were attended by "a large assemblage of persons." One sentence only of the oration given by Judge Rowan was reported: "The mighty oak of the forest has fallen, and now the scrub oaks may sprout all around."