

Selected Papers
From the 1987 and 1988
George Rogers Clark
Trans-Appalachian Frontier
History Conferences



SELECTED PAPERS
FROM THE 1987 AND 1988
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK
TRANS-APPALACHIAN FRONTIER
HISTORY CONFERENCES

Edited by

Robert J. Holden

Vincennes, Indiana
1990

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IN REPLY REFER TO:

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
401 SOUTH SECOND STREET
VINCENNES, INDIANA 47591

Dear Reader:

This is the third volume of selected papers from the George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conference published by Vincennes University and Eastern National Park & Monument Association. It contains six interesting papers presented at the 1987 and 1988 conferences, and we are proud to be able to offer it to you for your edification and enjoyment.

We also are very proud of the history conference itself. Inaugurated in 1983, it has become the foremost conference for the study of the region between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. Co-sponsored by Vincennes University and the National Park Service, it was established to encourage research into the frontier period and to provide a forum for scholars to share their findings with interested professional and amateur historians alike. Over the past seven years, scholars from more than a dozen states have contributed to the success of this conference by presenting papers of interest and importance. Many of these papers appear in this and in previous volumes of selected papers from the George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conference.

We hope you enjoy reading the papers in this book, and that, as a result, you will gain a better understanding of the people, places and events that shaped the history of our nation and the Trans-Appalachian frontier.

Sincerely,

Terry M. DiMattio
Superintendent



VINCENNES UNIVERSITY
Vincennes, Indiana 47591
PHILLIP M. SUMMERS, *President*

Dear Reader:

Vincennes University is proud to be part of the annual George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conference. This educational endeavor is important in the study and accumulation of papers about the history of the Midwestern United States. It is appropriate that Vincennes University be the site of the George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conference, because so much of the history of the early territorial period occurred in Vincennes and in the area of the university campus.

The papers from the 1987-88 George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conferences comprise an interesting and informative document. This volume represents scholarly inquiry into various aspects of the frontier period in the north central section of the United States. The selected papers represent a variety of topics and add to the knowledge of the life, government, and practices of the period.

I hope readers of this document will find the information useful and beneficial. Also, readers are extended an invitation to attend the conference, which is usually held in early October on the Vincennes University campus. The presentations by scholars are stimulating, and the opportunity is provided to interact with the authors.

If you have any comments or questions about the conference or the selected papers, please contact Robert Holden at (812) 882-1776, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. I wish you the best and look forward to other annual George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conferences.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Phillip M. Summers".

Phillip M. Summers
President

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PREFACE

Robert J. Holden

The annual George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conference was inaugurated in October 1983 to encourage research into this important field of study and to serve as a focal point for its presentation. The importance of George Rogers Clark's victory over the British at Vincennes during the Revolutionary War makes this historic city on the Wabash River a logical setting for these gatherings. As a further historical connection, these meetings are conducted on the campus of Vincennes University, the oldest institution of higher learning in Indiana.

The events that took place in the Trans-Appalachian region include a direct confrontation among the Indians, French, British, Spanish and Americans. Underlying this cultural and political confrontation was a conflict between man and the elements of an untamed land. The outcome of this struggle had a lasting effect on both American and world history.

There has been a long and distinguished tradition of frontier historical studies on the vast Trans-Appalachian region. Among the early historians who concerned themselves with this area were Lyman C. Draper, Francis Parkman, Frederick Jackson Turner, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Louise P. Kellogg, Milo Milton Quaife, Clarence W. Alvord and James Alton James. Turner's famous essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," with its emphasis on the frontier as a major formative agent of American character, is reflected clearly in these papers.

Arranged roughly in chronological order, the selected papers from the 1987 and 1988 conferences cover a broad spectrum. Peter Peregrine's "Claude Jean Allouez, S.J.: A Discussion of His Life on the 300th Anniversary of His Death, August 27, 1689" looks at the priest's mis-

sionary efforts from a different perspective. George H. Carroll's "Indian Captivities of the Upper Ohio Valley, 1755-1795" provides insight into tribal life during a period of dynamic and unsettling change. J. Martin West's "The Henry Hamilton Sketches: Visual Images of Woodland Indians" gives a view of how the Indians really appeared during this era. Kenneth C. Carstens' "Issues at Fort Jefferson, 1780-1781: The Quartermaster Books of John Dodge and Martin Carney" illuminates the situation at this post built by George Rogers Clark on the far western frontier. Leo W. Graff Jr.'s "Toussaint Dubois: Political Patriarch of Old Vincennes" looks at an interesting and varied career on the frontier. Robert W. McCluggage's "The Passing of the Woodland Pioneer" explores the life and times of this colorful character of fact and legend.

This third volume in the series of *Selected Papers* is dedicated to the memory of Robert W. McCluggage, whose tragic death occurred in the spring of 1989 when he attempted to rescue his son from a fire at their home. A true gentleman and scholar, he also demonstrated the best heroic qualities of the frontiersmen of whom he often wrote.

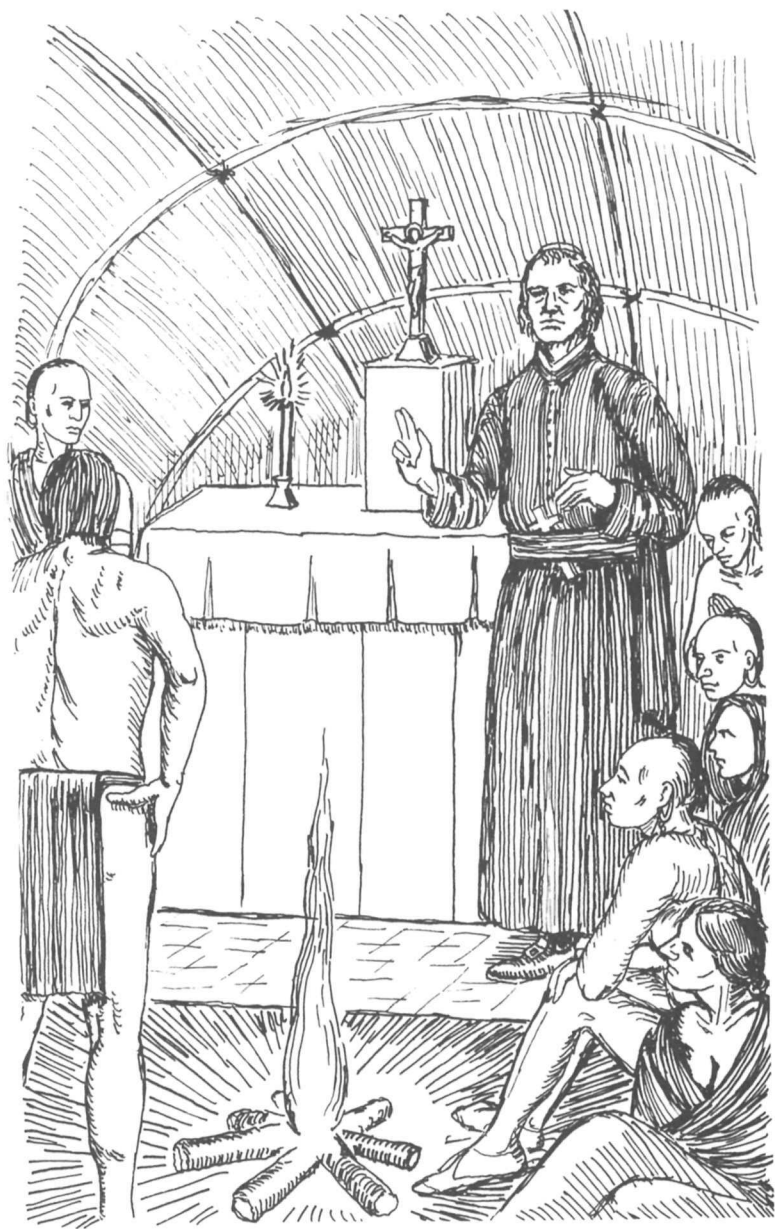
For their great assistance and efforts in the 1987 and 1988 conferences, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Superintendent Terry M. DiMattio, Terri Utt and Pat Wilkerson of the National Park Service, and to President Phillip M. Summers, Robert R. Stevens and David A. Bathe of Vincennes University.

Robert J. Holden
Historian and Conference Coordinator
George Rogers Clark National Historical Park

Vincennes, Indiana
September 1989

*This volume is dedicated to the memory of
Robert W. McCluggage,
Professor Emeritus, Loyola University
of Chicago.*

Selected Papers from the Fifth and Sixth George Rogers Clark
Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conferences



CLAUDE JEAN ALLOUEZ, S.J.:
A Discussion of His Life on the 300th Anniversary
of his Death, August 27, 1689

by
Peter Peregrine
Purdue University

Claude Jean Allouez died near present-day Niles, Michigan on August 27, 1689, after almost 30 years spent in missionary work among the native peoples of the northeastern United States. He is credited with baptizing at least 10,000 native Americans, and instructing more than 100,000. The purpose of this paper is to look more closely at this impressive life's work, to see if a common thread can be found that will tell us something of who Allouez was, what motivated him, and what he was trying to accomplish in the wilds of North America. The paper is not meant to be the final word on Allouez or on Jesuit missionary activity in New France. It is offered as a eulogy to a man I have come to respect through three years' work with the documents he produced.

Allouez was born on the sixth of June, 1622 in the town of Saint-Didier, Haute-Loire, France.¹ Little is known about his parents, but they must have been fairly well-to-do, for they were able to give him a fine education. In October of 1631, at the age of nine, Allouez entered the Jesuit college at LePuy.² Language was the major subject for the first three years of study, and Allouez became fully versed in the grammar and syntax of Latin, which, at the time, was the common language of science, politics, and theology. Allouez first went through four classes of Latin grammar, which probably took about two years to complete.³ He spent the next two years reading Latin classics of literature and history.⁴ Rhetoric was given

great emphasis, and class presentations and discussions (conducted entirely in Latin) gave him a deep and well-rounded knowledge of eloquent speech. Greek and perhaps Hebrew also were studied in these higher classes of grammar. At about the age 13, Allouez moved from the faculty of languages to the faculty of arts at LePuy. Here he was taught the natural sciences — logic, physics, philosophy, and mathematics.⁵ In 1639, after four years of study with the faculty of arts, he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree, and was given the choice of pursuing law, medicine, or theology when he entered a university.

Perhaps spurred onward toward the missionary field by his mentor at LePuy, the then famous missionary Francois Regis, Allouez chose to study theology, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Toulouse on September 22, 1639.⁶ His “first probation” began at once, 10 days of relaxed spiritual retreat and conferences in which the constitution of the Society of Jesus was outlined. On November 3, Allouez received his Jesuit robe and was welcomed into the novitiate.⁷ Daily life at the novitiate was more ordered than Allouez had been used to at LePuy. Bells summoned the novitiates to different tasks throughout the day, most lasting no longer than a half hour. These tasks, and the rapidity with which they shifted, were meant to promote obedience and servitude.⁸ Allouez also undertook a series of “experiments” designed by Saint Ignatius of Loyola, which were used to broaden novitiates spiritually. The first of these “experiments” concerned the Spiritual Exercises, upon which the ideology and spiritualism of the Society of Jesus still is based.

The Spiritual Exercises required the novitiate to spend a month examining his conscience, past life, sins, and the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. Silent and vocal prayer constantly accompanied these examinations. The Spiritual Exercises

were meant to purify the novitiate's soul, and are still a powerful influence on the lives of novice Jesuits, as René Fulop-Miller explains:

He who goes through Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* has to experience hell and heaven with all his senses, to know the burning pain and blessed rapture, so that the distinction between good and evil is for ever indelibly imprinted in his soul.⁹

Allouez must have come out of the month's retreat with a new view of himself and the world, a view based on his commitment to give himself and his life over totally to the will of God, and to serve God by carrying out His will. Throughout the remainder of his novitiate training, the lessons taught by the *Spiritual Exercises* would be reinforced and built upon, partly through more "experiments."

Among the other "experiments" that Allouez performed was a month spent at a local hospital nursing the sick (one must remember that this was 1640 — hospitals were shelters for the destitute and dying, and this must have been quite an experience for a young man who had spent virtually his entire life sheltered in various Jesuit institutions).¹⁰ This "experiment" was meant to give the novitiate practice in mercy, and to show him the dignity and love possessed by every human being. Another "experiment" meant to expand the novitiate's understanding and compassion for others was to teach the catechism to children.¹¹

Perhaps the most interesting "experiment" undertaken was to make a month-long pilgrimage without any money, requiring Allouez to beg for food and shelter.¹² This "experiment" was meant to make the novitiate learn to have complete faith in God, and to experience the poverty of Christ.

Following two years at the novitiate, Allouez took his vows and became a Jesuit. The novitiate had given Allouez

a unique and distinctly Jesuit outlook on life. As described by Joseph DeGuibert, that outlook can be characterized as “the service of God; service through love of Christ; service with Christ by following Him and walking in his footsteps.”¹³ Allouez, as a dedicated Jesuit, would strive throughout his life to carry out the will of God; to serve God fully and entirely. The strict rules of the novitiate, and the ordered life he had lead in all the Jesuit institutions he had attended, gave him a strong sense of obedience, and in becoming a Jesuit, Allouez promised to become obedient completely to the will of God. His life, again as described by DeGuibert, would be spent in “the firm determination to do everything possible to assure a better service to God,”¹⁴ and for Allouez, that service could be done best in the mission field.

Several years were spent in further education and training before Allouez received his orders for the North American missions. Indeed at this time the missions in North America were in a terrible state. The Iroquois were becoming hostile, and shortly would annihilate the Huron, destroying two mission towns in the process, and torturing several Jesuits to death.¹⁵ Allouez, however, was one of the first Jesuits called to North America when the Iroquois wars finally settled down and North America was safe again for the missionaries.

In the meantime, Allouez completed his theological studies at the College of Billom. He studied rhetoric and philosophy between 1641 and 1645, and then became a teacher at the college.¹⁶ In 1651 he began the most difficult course of study in the Jesuit educational system, theology, which he finished in 1655.¹⁷ Allouez then spent a probationary year (the third year of novitiate training before ordination) at the College of Rodez, where he remained after his ordination as a priest until he was sent to North America in the spring of 1658.¹⁸

Allouez arrived in Quebec on July 11, 1658, after a passage across the Atlantic of perhaps three months.¹⁹ His first business was to learn a native language, and the one selected for him was Algonquian. Allouez learned quickly, certainly aided by his extensive education in grammar and rhetoric, and was assigned to the Saint Lawrence missions. On September 19, 1660, he became the Jesuit superior at Trois Rivières.²⁰ Allouez proved himself a good leader, and on July 21, 1663, he was appointed vicar general to the virtually unmissionized regions around lakes Superior and Michigan.

The appointment as vicar general for the western Great Lakes meant that Allouez was expected to journey into the region, make contact with the native peoples, set up missions among them, recruit missionaries for these missions, as well as be responsible for the souls of the French who traveled into the area, just as a priest in France would be responsible for his parishioners.²¹

Allouez's first voyage into the wilderness was almost a disaster. On August 8, 1665, soon after his flotilla of six Frenchmen and 400 Amerinds left Trois Rivières for Lake Superior, Allouez's canoe ran aground in a rapids, and broke.²²

Although repaired, Allouez knew it would not last, and that he and the other Frenchmen would have to travel in the Amerinds' canoes.²³ The following day Allouez was told there was no room for him, and the Amerinds paddled off, leaving him alone in the wilderness.²⁴ Although the other Frenchmen persuaded a canoe to retrieve him, the next day Allouez again had trouble finding a canoe to carry him, and was going to be again left to die in the wilderness.²⁵ He tells us:

In this abandoned state I withdrew into the woods, and, after thanking God for making me so acutely sensible of my slight worth, confessed before his divine Majesty that I was only a useless burden on the earth.

My prayer ended, I returned to the water's edge, where I found the disposition of that Savage who had repulsed me with such contempt entirely changed; for, unsolicited, he invited me to enter his Canoe, which I did with much alacrity, fearing he would change his mind.²⁶

Allouez became the butt of Amerind jokes, his clothes and bedding were taken, and he was denied food, but he was not abandoned again.

Allouez's abandonment obviously had an impact on him, on his perceptions of his own worth and safety. He was forced to realize his own reliance upon the Amerinds. Without their acceptance he was, quite literally, dead. Even so, his faith never wavered. Indeed, soon after his abandonment Allouez witnessed a demonstration of shamanistic healing, and tells us:

I could not endure the invocation of any of their imaginary divinities in my presence; and yet I saw myself quite alone, and at the mercy of all these people. I wavered for some time, in doubt whether it would be more fitting for me to withdraw quietly, or to offer opposition to their superstitious practices. The completion of my journey depended upon them; if I incensed them, the Devil would make use of their anger in closing against me the door to their country, and in preventing their conversion. Besides, I had already perceived how little weight my words had with them, and knew that I would turn them still more against me by opposing them. Despite all these reasons, I believed that God demanded this little service from me; and accordingly I went forward, leaving the result to his Divine providence. I accosted the chief Juglers. . .²⁷

Despite this courageous showing, and despite the

numerous baptisms Allouez performed and the large crowds he preached to in the 25 years of missionary work that were to follow this episode, I see no evidence that he ever was successful in converting the Amerinds of the western Great Lakes to the Catholic faith. The key word here is faith, for it brings up the crucial distinction between form and meaning.²⁸ Baptism, prayer, instruction, all are forms of Catholic worship, and merely participating in them does not mean that one is a member of the Catholic faith. In order to be one of the faithful, one must make a leap from the forms of worship to the meanings that lie behind them. The Amerinds of the western Great Lakes never made that crucial leap from the forms of Catholic worship to the meaning of Catholic faith.²⁹

Religion, for the people of the western Great Lakes, centered around individual and group attempts to gain power from a supernatural source known as manitou. Power was sought through spirit mediums (also referred to as a manitou) by giving feasts, public and private offerings, or by individual contact through a dream while fasting. As described by Allouez:

they have among them a sort of tradition which makes them Believe that, if they have some vision, or rather some dream, they will be fortunate in Hunting and war; and that, should they fall into the hands of their enemies, they will escape from them. Thence it comes that they cling to dreams and visions of These kinds as they would cling to life.³⁰

Religion, for these people, was power-oriented. One made sacrifices, gave feasts, or fasted in order to gain the support of a spirit or manitou, and through it, the power to be successful in whatever venture one was about to assume. This was quite different from Allouez's beliefs. His faith was built upon the desire to carry out God's will. Although power and

support could be (and was) solicited through Christ, the saints, and the Virgin, Allouez's faith was not power-oriented, rather the reverse: to be a good Jesuit Allouez felt he must yield himself totally to the will of God.³¹ For Allouez, God was not used to gain power to fulfill human desires, rather God used humans to carry out His will.

The Amerinds of the western Great Lakes saw God as a source of power, not as a means to salvation. They used God as they had their manitous, and were not inclined to surrender themselves to His will. They looked to God for help in hunting and war, and to cure their ailments, as some of Allouez's own writings show:

they invited us to many feasts, not so much for the sake of eating as of obtaining, through us, either recovery from their ailments, or good success in their hunting and in war.³²

on meeting the enemy, the first thing they did was to make the sign of the Cross, after which they gave battle so confidently that they happily won the victory. And upon returning home they celebrated the triumph of the Cross, proclaiming everywhere that they were solely indebted to it for such good success.³³

A band of young men who have blackened Their faces enter our Cabin in The evening, and say that they come to sleep in The Chapel so that God may appear and speak to Them in Their slumber, and promise to Deliver Their enemies to Them.³⁴

Since the Amerinds' Christianity was based solely on the use of God as a source of supernatural power we can hypothesize that if an invocation of God's power was made and success was not achieved there would be a loss of faith

in the power of God. This, again, would stand in direct opposition to Allouez's faith, where the failure of God to provide does not cause one to doubt his power, but rather to doubt the strength of one's own faith. An example from Allouez's own writings offers strong support for this hypothesis:

during The previous year, a band Of Young Outagami [Foxes] defeated eleven of the enemy's Canoes, and attributed this happy result to the prayer that they had said in the Chapel before starting on That expedition. But another band, who had likewise prayed to God after The example of the former, and who had even painted the Cross on Their bucklers, were defeated. This gave rise to rumors which Spread among The people — who said everywhere that God loves not Those who pray, but Those who pray not, and that to the latter He gives such great advantages. . . All these things had so changed Their minds that I had great difficulty in finding a place where in I might lodge; and I was compelled to take refuge in an old Cabin, open to all The winds.³⁵

Allouez apparently realized that a gulf existed within most of the Amerinds between the forms of worship they presented and the meanings they carried within, but he seemed unconcerned that the Amerinds might be feigning belief, acting out forms without believing the meanings. For Allouez the forms were sufficient:

with the grace of God, The deceptions of the evil spirit are discovered; The people are disabused, and come as usual to listen to us, and outwardly perform everything connected with a Christian's duty.³⁶

In this statement, Allouez seems to recognize the gulf between outward form and inward meaning, but shrugs it

off as insignificant. He seems to be saying that it is enough that the Amerinds go through the motions, that they need not understand what the motions mean.

Why was Allouez so unconcerned about this apparent lack of faith among the Amerinds? Hadn't he come to the wilds of North America to convert the Amerinds? Hadn't he endured hardship to make them Christians? I think there are two answers to these questions: first, Allouez realized that if he pushed them too hard, the Amerinds would abandon him again, and a dead missionary was no use to anyone. Allouez wanted to carry out God's will, and although His will might require Allouez to die, Allouez certainly believed it would not help God's purpose on earth for him to be abandoned because of overzealousness. Some of Allouez's private papers suggest this very thought:

To convert the savages not so much knowledge is needed as holiness. Too ardent zeal ruins everything; their natural coldness and indifference does not like to be sharply pressed.³⁷

Secondly, Allouez realized that he could not teach Christianity to the Amerinds in a way they did not understand. He knew he could not turn the Amerinds into French Catholics (as, for example, the Recollects attempted to do),³⁸ but tried to foster a native Catholicism from within them. Allouez's education and training had infused him with the idea that God existed within each human soul, and that the goal of spiritual education was to help an individual to forge a personal connection with God. Such a connection could not be forced, but had to develop slowly. And the way Allouez had learned to foster the connection between an individual and God was through the type of formal instruction and ritual practice that Allouez had received throughout his Jesuit education.

Just as Allouez had created a personal connection with God through years of instruction and practice, so the Amerinds would come to know God in their own way if given proper direction. For Allouez the meaning of Catholic faith was less important than the Amerinds performing “a Christian’s duty.” If they were performing correctly, following the correct forms of worship, the meanings would come, and those meanings would flow from within native culture and experience. In short, Allouez felt he could not impose Christianity upon the Amerinds, but had to foster it from within them.

It was Allouez’s ability to maintain rapport with the numerous Amerind peoples of the western Great Lakes, and to foster a native Christianity from within them, that Allouez’s confreres also found remarkable about him:

He has, in truth, a very peculiar gift for winning The Hearts of the savages. . .[his hard work] showed them How much the father loved them, were a powerful inducement to make them Believe Those truths, to preach which so much trouble was taken without any other Object in view than their salvation. . .The Father did not fail to Show them. . .that he looked upon Them As men, in Whom He recognized The image of a God who had Created them, who had died for them, and who destined them to The same happiness as the Europeans.³⁹

Allouez gives us much the same picture of himself in this description of one of his first meetings with the Amerinds of the western Great Lakes:

blessed be God, who gives us all these opportunities and richly recompenses, besides, all these hardships by the consolation that he makes us find, amid the greatest afflictions, in the quest of so many poor

Savages' souls — which are not less the work of his hands and the price of the Blood of JESUS CHRIST, his son, than those of the Princes and Sovereigns of the earth.⁴⁰

Allouez's long Jesuit training had taught him that religion grew from within and could not be forced from outside. The political situation of the western Great Lakes made it imperative that he maintain rapport and friendship with the Amerinds. For these reasons, Allouez did not attempt to master the Amerinds' souls or to civilize them. He tried to help them gain an understanding of God, and that in their own way. When Allouez died at St. Joseph on the night of August 27, 1689, he left behind a life's work not of conversion, as the list of the missions he founded and the baptisms he conferred suggest, but of accommodation and assistance.

NOTES

¹James J. Wynne, "Claude Jean Allouez," in *Dictionary of American Biography, Volume 1*. (New York: Scribner, 1953), 222.

²Ibid.

³George E. Ganss, *St. Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1954), 47.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 50.

⁶Wynne, "Allouez," 222.

⁷See Denis Meadows, *Obedient Men*. (New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1954), 35-36.

⁸Ibid., 47-107, is an excellent description of life as a Jesuit novitiate.

⁹Rene Fulop-Miller, *The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus*. (New York: Capricorn, 1956), 6.

¹⁰Joseph P. Donnelly, *Jacques Marquette, S.J.*. (Chicago: Loyola, 1968), 44-45.

¹¹Ibid., 45-46.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Joseph DeGuibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*. (Chicago: Loyola, 1964), 176.

¹⁴Ibid., 170.

¹⁵James T. Moore, *Indian and Jesuit: A Seventeenth-Century Encounter*. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), 26-31.

¹⁶Leon Pouliot, "Claude Allouez," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume 1*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 57.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Wynne, "Allouez," 222.

²²Reuben G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), 50:251.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 50:253.

²⁵Ibid., 50:255.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 50:261.

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²⁸Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*. (New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1936), 403; also see Roy Rappaport *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*. (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 194.

²⁹Peter Peregrine, *Miami-Jesuit Relations at Green Bay, 1669-1679: A Study in Acculturation*. (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Purdue University, 1987), 50.

³⁰Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 59:229.

³¹See Fulop-Miller, *The Jesuits*, 3-27.

³²Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 55:203.

³³Ibid., 56:145-47.

³⁴Ibid., 58:51.

³⁵Ibid., 58:65-67.

³⁶Ibid., 58:57.

³⁷Pierre Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale (1674-1754)*. (Paris: Imprimerie D. Jouaust, 1875), 1:72 (translation mine); cf. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 8:178-180.

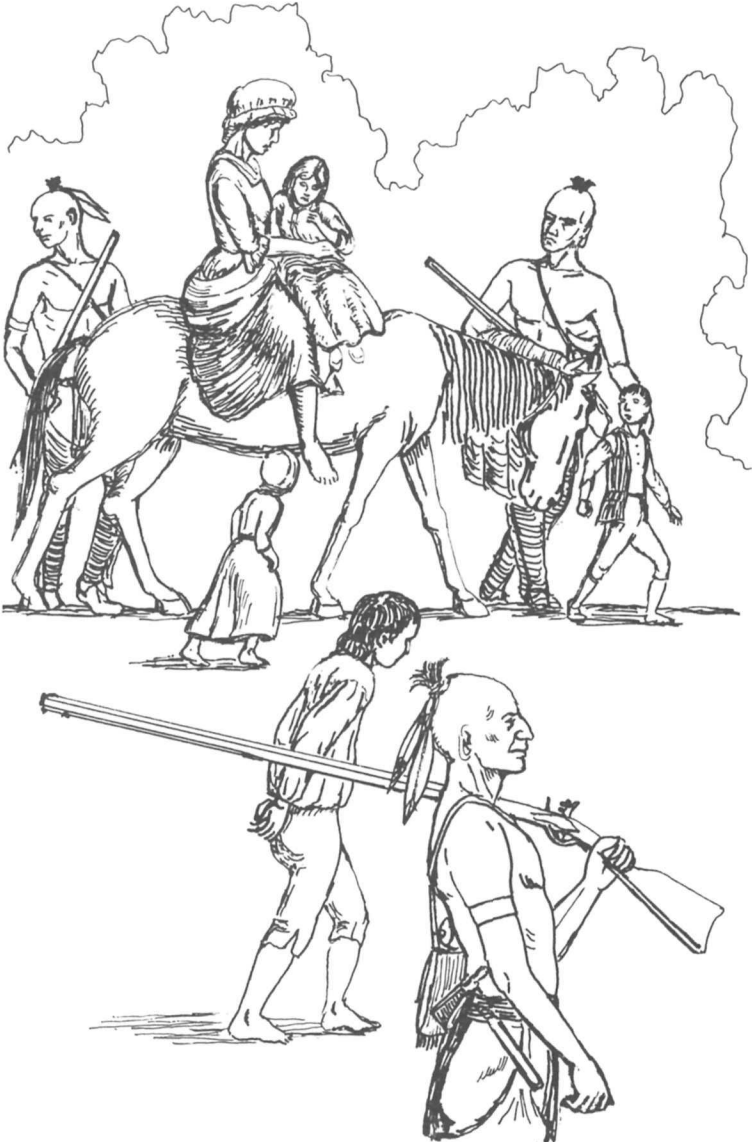
³⁸See James Axtell, *The Invasion Within*. (New York: Oxford, 1985).

³⁹Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 62:205, 209-11.

⁴⁰Ibid., 54:207.

*Claude Jean Allouez, S.J.: A Discussion of His Life on the
300th Anniversary of His Death, August 27, 1689*

Selected Papers from the Fifth and Sixth George Rogers Clark
Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conferences



Indian Captivities of the Upper Ohio Valley, 1755-1795

by

George H. Carroll

Urbana University

After more than 40 years' experience studying the native American populations of the Upper Ohio Valley, Moravian missionary David Zeisberger confided to his diary on May 11, 1787 that "... the worst and most oppressive is that among the Indians it is hard to come behind a thing and learn the truth . . ."¹ In 1976 historian Preston Holder, in attempting to recreate the fur trade as seen from the Indian perspective, concluded that "Strictly speaking there is no Indian point of view, only the viewpoint of Indians."² One can thus survey both the primary and secondary source authorities and emphatically be warned about the dangers of developing a too facile overview of historic period Indians.

The rationale for offering a review of Upper Ohio Valley captivity narratives (ca. 1755-95) stems from the conviction that herein a reader is most likely to meet historic Indians as definable human beings. A second objective is to present their fur trade and horticultural society as being a cohesive and reasonable lifestyle. Of the 11 journals reviewed herein, seven were either contemporaneously kept accounts or those composed within a year of the captives' return. An eighth journal was dictated late in life by a woman who never left her Indian family. All accounts reflect an internal consistency that has made them acceptable to present day academic scrutiny.

Though it may be reasonably observed that a captive's testimony is not that of an "Indian," it should be remembered that adopted captives were counted as Indians by members of their host societies. The practical result was that upon adop-

tion, the captives experienced Indian life as full-fledged participants. This perspective is in contrast to observations collected from missionaries, military personnel, or fur traders and trappers. Even under circumstances of prolonged exposure to Indian societies, these latter individuals seldom found themselves constrained to psychologically surrender their original cultural identities. Conversely, the adopted captives had to accept Indian identity and thus acclimate themselves to native customs. As adopted captives were returned and resumed their white cultural identities, they did so by offering accounts that paid tribute to the equality of treatment they had received. To these returned members of an emerging democratic nationality, the narratives indicate that Indian egalitarianism had made a profound impression.

As to general utility of captivity narratives, Marius Barbeau suggested one conclusion of scholarly opinion which has involved itself with this literature. "Their value is enhanced by the candor of the observers who found themselves among the natives before the ancient customs had been abandoned, and the ethnographers had entered the field."³ Dwight Smith tempered this observation with a salutary note of caution. He affirms the obligation of assessing the various rationales for publishing the narratives, and for an accounting of when and how they were brought before the public. He suggests that, "At best, in the Old Northwest, the captivity can only be used as a source of information supplemental to data obtained elsewhere."⁴

Smith's perspective is parallel with the position of Julian H. Steward. In his own studies of captivities Steward found it necessary to distinguish between what could be reported quantitatively and/or perceived as basic subsistence skills versus an in-depth qualitative report of societal attitudes concerning "... marriage, social groups, religion and other things

not visible in a literal or physical sense . . .”⁵ While Smith and Steward are correct to maintain the most vigorous standards attainable for describing aboriginal culture, the captivity narratives still should be seen to convey an important insight into Indian cultural status in the Upper Ohio Valley of 1755-1795. A due regard for bias should not serve to disqualify captivity testimony upon even the attitudinal perceptions as held by Indians of the period. The following data on subsistence is indicative not only of quantifiable practice, but it also is replete with attitudinal inferences. It justifiably might be observed that a captive’s sensitivity to the adopting society’s economic agenda probably formed one of the most important criteria in determining the stark issue of a new member’s survival. Even within this period of continuous military action, the narratives offer far more description of family and band-level daily routine.

Uncritical reflection upon the quality of life incident to hunter-gatherer-horticulturalist existence can persist in making the historic Amerind peoples seem incomprehensible and unattractive. Beginning in 1755 when the Mingo, Delaware and Shawnee peoples of Mary Jemison’s youth still were occupying some of their optimum territories, she commented of them that “Their wants were few, and easily satisfied; and their cares were only for today; the bounds of their calculations for future comfort not extending to the incalculable uncertainties of tomorrow.”⁶ When Jonathan Alder was captured in 1781, the unidentified white man operating with the Indians attempted to abate Alder’s fears by depicting their destination as “a fine country where we could live easy and without work and besides a great deal of fine sport in taking the wild game.”⁷ Though these two statements can be interpreted as being the idyllic and self-serving vindications offered by acculturated individuals, their reflections sound more fac-

tually oriented when compared with recent anthropological analysis of hunter-gatherers.

Unfamiliar subsistence methods sometimes caused the adopted captives to undergo a considerable readjustment. Amerind society was divided sharply into two food-producing social patterns which were differentiated by well-defined gender roles. David Zeisberger noted in 1780 that men hunted to provide “meat for the household, clothing for their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides.”⁸ He further remarked that men built houses and helped their wives clear and fence land. The women procured the firewood and pursued horticultural activities with hand tools. The missionary indicated that the women’s produce included corn, pumpkins, potatoes, beans and vegetables, such as cabbage and turnips, adapted from the Euro-Americans. Mary Jemison, who eventually had a large farm along the Genessee River and employed a succession of white tenant farmers, remembered her Ohio Valley Indian routine as a horticulturalist in the following manner.

In the summer season we planted, tended and harvested our corn, and generally had all our children with us; but had no master to oversee or drive us, so that we could work as leisurely as we pleased. We had no ploughs on the Ohio; but performed the whole process of planting and hoeing with a small tool that resembled, in some respects, a hoe with a very short handle.⁹

She observed that since their possessions were few and diets so uncomplicated, little time was needed to maintain a household. This judgment seemed especially true to Mary Jemison as she compared the aboriginal female role with “that endless variety” of laborious chores common to women of Euro-American agricultural society.

Hunting was conducted with equipment derived from both Euro-American technology and traditional aboriginal manufacture. Colonel James Smith recorded that during his captivity from 1755-1759, the Indians harvested beaver "with wooden and steel traps."¹⁰ Smith's adopted brother, Tontileaugo, carried a rifle gun. On one occasion the captive and his adopted brother were smoking a bear out of its winter hibernation den in a hollow tree. Since the bear did not appear until after dark, accurate sighting with the rifle was impossible. As the animal descended the tree trunk, Tontileaugo set his rifle aside "and instantly bent his bow, took hold of an arrow, and shot the bear a little behind the shoulder."¹¹

European weaponry was not always an unmixed blessing for aboriginal hunters who found themselves caught up in the fortunes of war. Charles Stuart recorded during the French and Indian War that he heard some Indians openly condemn other tribesmen for aiding the French in reducing the British post at Oswego. The result was that all goods were higher when purchased from the French. According to Stuart, an even more serious dilemma was the fact that in 1757 only one gunsmith was working among the French at Detroit. No other smith work could be obtained closer than Montreal.¹²

Nevertheless, the lure of surer methods continuously eroded the utilization of aboriginal technology. Jonathan Alder remembered hunting deer at night from a canoe by use of what was called a shade board. The shade board was fixed in the front of the canoe and contained a lighted candle. With the aid of this simple yet significant European lighting device, the hunter could "sit behind it and you could push right up to a deer, that was the easiest and surest."¹³

Along with their horticultural occupations, the women's winter activities included food preparation and storage. Important among such employments were the making and stor-

ing of maple sugar and the collecting and storing of bear fat or grease. In these tasks as in the men's hunting routines, a combination of Amerind and European artifacts customarily was used.

During a winter season, Colonel Smith described the women's construction and use of their own containers while also using those of European manufacture. Smith's band possessed two brass kettles of 15 gallons each and several others of smaller capacity. These were insufficient for the volume of sugar produced for storage which eventually totalled "about 200 weight of sugar." Besides the processing of maple sugar, bear fat also was being collected. To accommodate these commodities the women constructed vessels of elm bark for the sugar and deer skin pouches for the bear fat. Numerous two-gallon elm bark containers were fashioned for syrup collecting and several 100-gallon elm bark vessels were prepared to store syrup until it could be boiled. Bear oil vessels were prepared by pulling off the deer skin so that no openings were made except at the neck. These were then blown up and allowed to dry. Closure was accomplished by use of string ties and plugs at the neck. When completed, the deer skins furnished containers of four to five gallons. These were transported two at a time across the back of a horse.¹⁴

Common European domestic items often were found in use within Indian households. In 1788, the wife of Thomas Ridout's captor heated her tea water "in a small copper kettle." Ridout was served venison on a pewter plate. His meat was prepared in a metallic frying pan which was unusual because the Indian mode of cooking was nearly always that of boiling or roasting.¹⁵ O. M. Spencer mentioned that his captor's mother, in whose charge he had been placed, provided several guests with "horn, wooden and pewter spoons." Use of acculturated artifacts in this instance is even more likely

because Cooh-coo-chee's daughter was married to George Ironside, a resident English trader.¹⁶ He took some responsibility for his mother-in-law's maintenance.

Euro-Americans usually experienced difficulties in adjusting to what they considered the filthiness of Indian cookery and the unusual food items. O. M. Spencer's testimony for 1792 indicates that he generally found Indian fare to be quite good. The Green Corn Festival menu was even termed a "splendid feast." It consisted of

boiled jerk and fish, stewed squirrels and venison, and green corn boiled some in the ear and some cut from the cob and mixed with beans, besides squashes and roasted pumpkins. For bread, besides that prepared in the ordinary way from corn meal we had some made of green corn cut from the cob and pounded in a mortar until it was brought to the consistency of thick cream, then being salted and poured into a sort of mold of an oblong form more than half the length and twice the thickness of a man's hand, made of corn leaves, and baked in the ashes, was very palatable.¹⁷

On a more normal occasion, Spencer was taken on a visit to his captor's home, and as custom required, immediately was invited to eat. The "refreshment consisted of some dried green corn boiled with beans and dried pumpkins and making, as I thought, a very excellent dish."¹⁸ Colonel Smith recorded what he thought to be good food. Bear fat was saturated with maple sugar and served as a dip for roasted venison. He also liked cranberries mixed with sugar.¹⁹ Charles Johnston reported bear fat to be quite an acceptable substitute for butter when used in conjunction with venison.²⁰

Other captives were not so fortunate in their experiences. Hugh Gibson found that his Delaware captors often suffered

want during the French and Indian War. Their dietary habits under these circumstances were especially difficult for Gibson: their ordinary way of living is miserable and poor, often without food. They are amazing dirty in their cookery, sometimes they catch a number of frogs, and hang them up to dry, when a deer is killed they will split up the guts and give them a plunge or two in the water, and then dry them, and when they run out of provisions, they will take some of the dried frogs, and some of the deer guts and boil them, till the flesh of the frogs is dissolved, then sup the broth.²¹

On the journey to Ft. Niagara in 1780, Sarah Gilbert was afrighted by the suggestion of her Indian guard that should hunting continue to fail, the two of them would be forced to cannibalize the 11-year-old Benjamin Gilbert, Jr.²² Fortunately some mouldy corn was found in a burned out village which recently had been destroyed by General Sullivan's army. Thomas Peart of the Gilbert party of captives reported that after the killing of an elk, the weather turned warm and "it soon became putrid, and was filled with maggots, which they, notwithstanding, eat without reserve."²³

Matters of diet were dependent upon several variables. These included custom, the current military situation, and the personalities and abilities of those adopting or holding prisoners. The family of a chief who adopted Rebecca Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert, Jr., had the single advantage of having greater access to British government stores. Accordingly, they were fed better and more regularly. Otherwise all women of the family labored throughout the summer to produce about 75 bushels of corn. In this endeavor they worked in common with all other Indian women of whatever rank or station.²⁴

A practice common to hunter-gatherers of eating all

available food stores often perplexed the captives. Joseph Gilbert complained of the irregularity of meals, and the usual indulgences by the Indians of "their voracious appetites, which soon consumed their stock, and a famine succeeded."²⁵ Colonel Smith recounted an occasion when a Wyandot stopped at his camp while an adopted kinsman was hunting. Smith readily provided him with venison then roasting on the fire, but neglected to offer his guest either sugar or bear oil. Upon Tontileaugo's return he censured the adopted captive for behaving "just like a Dutchman." Visitors always were entitled to the best; Smith was informed that a great warrior never must be suspected of basely hoarding provisions from anyone in need.²⁶

The captivity accounts confirm the economic influences of Euro-American fur trade and military patterns upon native society. The aboriginal attitude of allowing the future to take its own course apparently was still very strong, but the effects of acculturation were evident in the widespread use of material culture items and the credit schedules of the fur trade. In addition to other financial benefits that derived from military enterprises, Indians of the area were utilizing captives as economic commodities. Prisoners could be productive of labor or ransom; a traffic in stolen horses was also in evidence.²⁷

An Indian nativistic emphasis upon a return to aboriginal subsistence skills would make itself strongly felt by the opening of the nineteenth century. This was an important theme of Tecumseh and his brother, The Prophet.²⁸ During the period of the greatest white and Black captivity traffic from 1755 to 1795, only one instance of a return to a complete reliance upon native crafts is recorded in these narratives. This effort signaled an Indian attempt to forestall further economic dependence upon Euro-American technology. In 1756, John

McCullough reported a single band of Indians who withdrew from fur trade and military contact with white society during the French and Indian War. This group attempted a livelihood with traditional bows, arrows, and horticulture. They were reacting to an unnamed Delaware prophet who counseled such action. McCullough reported that several women "resorted to their encampments," and that his own knowledge of their new lifestyle extended over a two year period.²⁹ Notwithstanding this early precursor of a periodic nativist trend, the bulk of the Indians remained attached to the Euro-American acculturated lifestyle throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century.

Perhaps economic acculturation best is illustrated with the evidence indicating a Euro-American exchange medium and widespread usage of the fur trade credit structure. O. M. Spencer's captors encountered "a small company of Indian hunters" when bringing the new prisoner up the Great Miami River Valley. The Mohawk delivered a complete accounting of his exploits, and then purchased "of them for a small silver brooch a few pieces of dried venison."³⁰ Spencer later observed of Indian economic transactions that a hybrid barter and silver circulating medium was common during his 1792 sojourn. Trade was carried on with "venison and skins and brooches."³¹ Charles Johnston described his 1790 ransom by the trader Francis Duchouquet as being accomplished when "The price was paid down in six hundred silver brooches; which answers all the purposes of a circulating medium with them."³² At Matthew Bunn's ransom in 1791, the Indians received \$120 and provided the purchasing trader with a receipt "bill of me."³³

Commerce was facilitated by resident fur traders who lived in proximity to the scattered Indian bands during the winter hunting season. Johnston described the trader's operations after having observed his ransoming benefactor, Francis

Duchouquet. This trader, in common with others of his profession, met the Indians during the fall and equipped them on credit for the winter hunt. The Indians returned in the spring and paid for their earlier purchases "as well as for the few light articles necessary to them through the summer."³⁴ Most collections and transactions were complete by the beginning of June. The traders then transported their peltry to a central depot such as Detroit or Pittsburgh. Johnston found that the Indians were thought of as being "in general, punctual to their engagements." David Zeisberger commented that "If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, who must pay and rarely refuse to do so."³⁵

Colonel Smith described the Indians as being prodigal with their assets after the winter hunt.³⁶ When the Indians again gathered after the rigors of the hunt, they gave over to feasting and open-handed consumption of all they possessed. Any visitor to an Indian abode received an invitation to eat as long as anything remained. Failure to accept the invitation was tantamount to an insult or a signal of grave displeasure. Smith indicated that the Indians were well able to afford this expensive leisure. During the spring of 1757 he recorded that after having paid for "fine clothes, ammunition, paint, tobacco, etc." in addition to a new gun for himself, the Indians "had parted with only about one-third of our beaver." Much of this surplus subsequently was spent on alcoholic sprees. When an individual's band had consumed its own resources, the Indian only had to visit another nearby camp and be invited for the ensuing revelry.

The position taken in offering this review is that while none of the captives were qualified ethnohistorical observers, they obtained data from a rare perspective which accords their testimony a singular importance. They had to grasp the essentials of their host culture from a position of unparalleled per-

sonal involvement and abject dependence. Even fragmentary data from this vantage should be considered of value because the captives had not only to observe and to record, but they were impelled to successfully act out their new cultural roles in order to remain alive.

Indian desire to obtain more trade goods encouraged the natives to become partners in the trading enterprises of the European Commercial Revolution. In so doing, the aborigines began to harvest surplus furs, employ European credit schedules to accomplish this end, and to accept a broadening of their cultural reliance upon military activity for adjudicating problems. By the period under consideration, Amerind society in the Upper Ohio Valley had become what Alfred A. Kroeber described as "a partly new, assimilated, hybrid-Caucasian culture." Anthropologist James A. Clifton, in commenting upon Amerind groups historically occupying the Upper Ohio Valley, noted that all of these peoples had moved into the area during the eighteenth century. Clifton underscored their acculturated economic status of this period in commenting, "Let me emphasize again that these societies settled in Ohio at that time were not Indian."³⁷

The captivity accounts exhibited little evidence that the bands and tribes composing this hybrid society were undergoing substantial cultural alteration during the years under investigation. Though Indians increasingly were conscious of a mutuality in their interests, most remained uninterested in a return to some form of nativist precontact lifestyle. The cultural synthesis described in the narratives had been forged during the first half of the eighteenth century in what William W. Newcomb described as the ca. 1690-1750 "Period of Consolidation." The important exception is found in the increased military role evident for the Delawares. The ruin of this acculturated synthesis of Amerind and European traits lay

in its subsistence base. The practitioners of the fur trade, red and white, could not withstand the expansion of the agricultural frontier.

The seeming availability of western territory was not only an "escape valve" for Euro-American easterners of the Frederick Jackson Turner mold; it encouraged a native resistance to altering what had become a successfully acculturated subsistence pattern by ca. 1755-1795. The Indian male was still a hunter and trapper, but he now functioned within a market economy. It was also possible for him to become a trader and perhaps an artisan within this new economic context. In addition, nearly two generations of war had established a military role providing wartime pay, annuities during intervening periods of uneasy peace, and the omnipresent lure of plunder.

William W. Newcomb's analysis of Amerind society led him to the following conclusions regarding the Delawares in the Northeastern woodland cultural area.

There has been considerable dispute about why the population density for the Eastern Area as a whole was low when the subsistence potential was relatively high . . . for the Delaware economy to support a larger population would have required male participation in agriculture, stronger government mechanisms to control larger cooperative groups of workers, various sorts of specialists, more effective political groupings for offense and defense, and perhaps other alterations in the social system. The small, individually oriented, kin group socioeconomic institutions were sufficient to operate the basic technology, but nothing more.³⁸

This judgment doubtless reflects the social orientation of other closely associated native people inhabiting the Upper Ohio Valley during the late eighteenth century.

Footnotes

¹Eugene F. Bliss, ed. & trans., *Diary of David Zeisberger: A Moravian Missionary Among the Indians of Ohio* (Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co., 1885) Vol. I, p. 342.

²Preston Holder, "The Fur Trade as Seen from the Indian Point of View," in John F. McDermott, ed, *The Frontier Re-examined*. (1967), p. 129.

³Marius Barbeau, "Indian Captivities," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 94 (Nov., 1950): p. 531.

⁴Dwight Smith, "Shawnee Captivity Ethnography," *Ethnohistory* 2 (Winter, 1955): p. 17.

⁵Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Cultural Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 300.

⁶James E. Seaver, ed., *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (Canandaigua, N.Y.: J.D. Bemis & Co., 1824), p. 72.

⁷Henry Alder, recorder. *A History of Jonathan Alder: His Captivity and Life with the Indians* (Typescript copy by Doyle H. Davidson, The Ohio Historical Society, 1935), p. 5.

⁸A. B. Hulbert and W. H. Schwarze, eds., *David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1910), p. 13.

⁹James E. Seaver, ed., *Mary Jemison*, p. 55.

¹⁰Col. James Smith, *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1870), p. 60.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹²Beverly W. Bond, ed., "The Captivity of Charles Stuart," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13 (1926), pp. 77, 80.

¹³Henry Alder, recorder, *Jonathan Alder*, p. 36.

¹⁴Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurrences*, pp. 36-38.

¹⁵Matilda Edgar, ed., *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805-1815: An Appendix of the Narrative of the Captivity Among the Shawanese Indians in 1788 of Thomas Ridout* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), p. 355.

¹⁶Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *The Indian Captivity of O. M. Spencer* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1968), pp. 86, 107.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁹Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurrences*, pp. 37, 58.

²⁰Charles Johnston, *A Narrative of the Incidents Attending the Capture, Detention, and Ransom of Charles Johnston* (New York: J. J. Harper, 1827), p. 38.

²¹Archibold Loudon, ed., *A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages Committed by the Indians in Their Wars with the White People* (Carlisle, PA.: A. Loudon, 1808), Vol. II., p. 183.

²²Ibid., p. 134.

²³Ibid., p. 144.

²⁴Ibid., p. 125.

²⁵Ibid., p. 102.

²⁶Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurrences*, pp. 43-44.

²⁷Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger were hired out to work for members of the French garrison at Ft. Duquesne during the French and Indian War while their Indian master received the wages. Charles Stuart indicated that in the conduct of the raid in which he was captured, the Indians took over 100 horses. Charles Johnston described his captor's sale of horses to a Wyandot trading Indian for five gallons of whiskey per horse. See John B. Lain and William H. Engle, eds., "The Narrative of Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger, Who Spent Three and One Half Years as Prisoners Among the Indians, and Arrived Safely in This City on the Sixth of May," *Pennsylvania Archives* 7 (1890): p. 342; Beverly Bond, ed., *Charles Stuart*, p. 162; Charles Johnston, *A Narrative*, pp. 58-59.

²⁸William W. Newcomb, *The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956), p. 94.

²⁹Archibold Loudon, ed., *Narratives of Outrages*, Vol. I, pp. 273-275.

³⁰Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *O. M. Spencer*, p. 72.

³¹Ibid., p. 86.

³²Charles Johnston, *A Narrative*, p. 60.

³³Frank H. Severance, ed., *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Matthew Bunn, In an Expedition Against the Northwestern Indians, In the Years 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 & 1795*, (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1904), p. 407.

³⁴Charles Johnston, *A Narrative*, p. 66.

³⁵A. B. Hulbert and W. H. Schwarze, eds., *David Zeisberger's History*, p. 92.

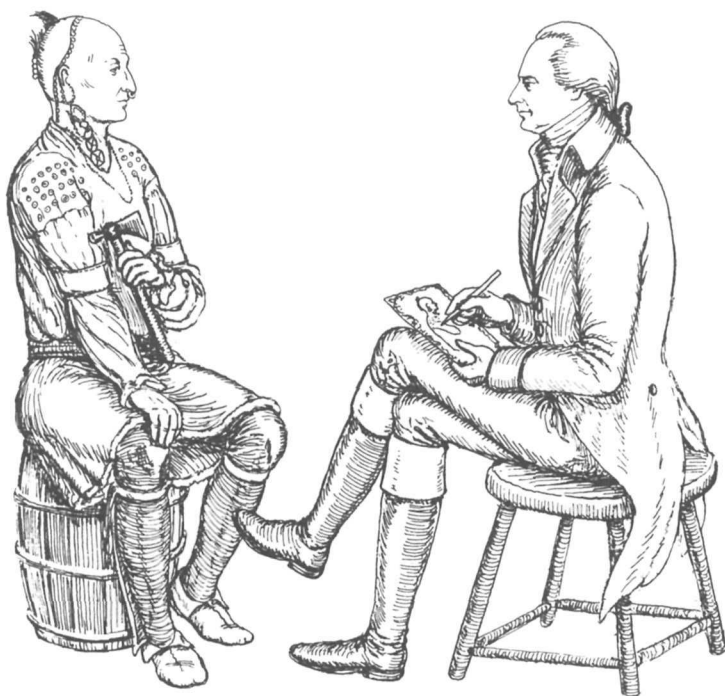
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³⁶Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurrences*, p. 45.

³⁷Alfred A. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), p. 90
James Clifton, "The Post-Removal Aftermath," in Randall L. Buchman, ed., *The Historic Indian in Ohio* (Columbus: The Ohio American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Commission, 1976), p. 40.

³⁸William W. Newcomb, *Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians*, p. 77.

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**The Henry Hamilton Sketches:
Visual Images of Woodland Indians**

by

J. Martin West

Fort Ligonier Association

Interest in the ethnohistory of Native America has grown markedly in recent years, but insufficient attention has been paid to the actual physical appearance of the Eastern Woodland Indian from the eighteenth century. For practically everyone, the only acceptable — and recognizable — visual image of any Native American is the mightily distorted and de-humanized product which has resulted from decades of American popular culture. Is there a national icon any more thoroughly familiar than that of the 1870s Plains Indian warrior? He embodies the romantic contradiction of savagery and virtue; impassive but noble; astride a pony, bedecked in buckskin, beads and paint; feathered war bonnet trailing down his back; and bow and arrow in hand, scanning the horizon dotted with teepees for signs of buffalo. One permissible variation is the southwestern Apache as depicted on celluloid in the 1950s, his clothing of fabric rather than leather, a cloth headband tied around his “Prince Valiant” wig and armed with a Winchester carbine possessing unlimited ammunition. According to the gospel of Hollywood and television, all Indians, regardless of chronology, locale, tribal background or tradition, looked basically the same in a timeless, unchanging way of life. Ignoring the facts that America’s native peoples differed from each other as much or more as Spaniards differed from Finns or Greeks from Scots in Europe, and that their cultures underwent constant change and adaptation, this visual stereotype has gone practically unchallenged. It has been reinforced countless times by studio wardrobe depart-

Trans-Appalachian Indian Tribes at the Time of the American Revolution



ments providing “instant Indian kits” of indeterminate clothing, weapons and equipment that no Native American from the past would ever recognize.¹ This canard is accepted as literal truth by the vast majority of Americans, and by tens of millions of others around the world who have been exposed to the plethora of films and television programs originating in the United States which feature so-called Indians who, one can be certain, will remain “fixed in frame” for all time.²

This most prominent and graphic facet of the Pan-Indian myth presents serious problems in getting at the truth. An added complication is that since the academic disciplines of history, anthropology and archeology arose in the modern sense only after the eighteenth century, there exists substantial ethnographic material from the America of the 1800s and 1900s, but little from before. Consequently, the few attempts at reconstructing eighteenth century Indian appearance usually have been hindered by over-reliance on a culture basically trans-Mississippian and in existence long after the period in question, the aftermath of radical modification through European contact. The convenience and availability of these later sources is probably the reason that there has not been much serious study of the subject. However, that is little justification for perpetuating a stereotype in light of the intense scholarly interest in Native Americans and the historical reassessments of race relations in the past generation. The germane sketches, drawings, paintings and sculpture of Woodland Indians antedating 1800 that actually exist, can, if one takes the time to identify them, provide much useful information. They reveal varying levels of accuracy and authenticity and are, along with written descriptions by witnesses who actually saw Indians, and those few examples of material culture extant, all that there is in the way of

dependable primary sources.

The bibliography offers only limited assistance. Three articles appeared in 1949, two of which were written by Frank Weitenkampf. In his "How Indians were Pictured in Earlier Days" he assigned just two brief paragraphs to the eighteenth century, criticizing the Indian work (executed in London) of American emigrant artist Benjamin West with the question "how much did he remember of crucial [racial] traits?"³ He made similar observations in his "Early Pictures of North American Indians, a Question of Ethnology," in which he dismissed most eighteenth century Indian portraiture "as conventionally European."⁴ He also alluded to historian Howard H. Peckham's criticisms of West as an incompetent ethnologist whom, Weitenkampf agreed, imbued his subjects with "quite un-Indian-like" characteristics. The third article, "An Anthropologist Looks at Early Pictures of North American Indians" by John C. Ewers, is more original; he argued that the product of West and others seemed not so much an obtuse ethnocentrism but rather a suggestion that racial differences between Europeans and Woodland Indians may have been much more subtle and less pronounced than tradition would have us believe.⁵ A good but brief overview of representative artwork appeared in 1958 by art historian Robert C. Smith, entitled "The Noble Savage in Paintings and Prints," based on an exhibition *The Noble Savage* at the University of Pennsylvania.⁶ Another study, Philip Drennon Thomas' "Artists among the Indians 1493-1850," had little to say on the eighteenth century, but concluded that this period of Indian art was not a subject for serious study.⁷ In 1982 James West Davidson's and Mark Hamilton's essay, "The 'Noble Savage' and the Artist's Canvas," appeared, which again concentrated primarily on the nineteenth century, but included a useful annotated bibliography.⁸

An important step forward was the fresh look given to material culture by examination of the context and significance of objects produced or utilized by Native Americans before 1800. One of the first examples of this approach was found in Dirk Gringhuis, "Indian Costume at Mackinac: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century" (1972), an introductory sketch that included color reproductions of eighteenth century native items.⁹ In recent years there have been several excellent monographs highlighting Eastern Woodland objects and published in conjunction with professional museum exhibitions: Ted Brasser, "*Bo'jou, Neejee: Profiles of Canadian Indian Art* (1976); J.C.H. King, *Thunderbird and Lightning: Indian Life in Northeastern North American 1600-1900* (1982); and David W. Penney, editor, *Great Lakes Indian Art* (1989).¹⁰ In his 1984 dissertation, "His Majesty's 'Savage' Allies: British Policy and the Northern Indians During the Revolutionary War. The Carleton Years," Paul Lawrence Stevens presented a helpful listing of contemporary sources describing period Indian appearance, and called for some much needed attention to be given to this subject.¹¹

European artists, going back as far as John White in the sixteenth century, saw Indians as symbols of another world, and as an exotic form of life discovered in a new continent. Historically accurate artwork is not easy to locate, some of it being the product of one's imagination, often based on second or third-hand accounts. By the time of the eighteenth century the rare painting that features an Indian usually shows a chieftain or historic event.

A good example of chieftain portraiture is that by Swedish-American artist Gustavus Hesselius, in his *Chief Lapowinsa* and *Chief Tischohan* (1735). These individuals, Delaware participants in the infamous "Walking Treaty" of 1735, are quite realistic looking — weary and disillusioned

— clearly showing the effects of European contact.¹² In the same vein was Joseph Brant, “the most painted Indian,” and the subject of several artists including George Rommey, Gilbert Stuart and Charles Willson Peale.¹³ It is Benjamin West, though, who is easily the most prominent of the artists who utilized Indian subjects. His *Death of General Wolfe* (1770) was the first full-scale history painting in which an accurate, historically correct Native American played a role. He quickly followed that with *Penn’s Treaty with the Indians* (1772) in which half the subjects are authentic-looking Woodland Indians. West long has been condemned, often unfairly, for taking liberties with his history paintings. Dramatic license was an important aspect of the “Grand-style” school, but a thorough analysis of West’s work reveals a careful sense of detail regarding his Indian subjects. The reason for such accuracy was revealed by West himself in letters from 1772 and 1805: “The leading characters which make the composition [*Penn’s Treaty*] are the Friends [Quakers] and Indians — the characteristic[sic] of both have been known to me from my early life . . . by possessing the real dresses of the Indians, I was able to give that truth in representing their costumes which is so evident in the picture of the Treaty.”¹⁴ One of West’s students, artist John Trumbull, also produced several reliable Indian illustrations.¹⁵

Somewhere beneath the polished accomplishments of the above artists is the modest but important artwork executed by Henry Hamilton, the lieutenant governor of Detroit and superintendent of Indian Affairs, and later prisoner of George Rogers Clark at Vincennes in February 1779. Of Scottish descent, Hamilton first served as a British officer in the French and Indian War before receiving his North American command in the American Revolution. While on the latter assignment he seems to have cultivated an interest in drawing, pro-

ducing landscapes and portraits, of which forty are known to exist. Hamilton's revisionist biographer, John D. Barnhart, appraised this small body of work to be of "little value either as historical documents or as works of art," except as it revealed the artist's character.¹⁶ There are just eight existing Indian renderings, fragile and somewhat deteriorated, line drawings penciled on small gilt-edged cards. They were maintained by one of the lieutenant governor's collateral descendants and presented to Harvard University in 1902, where they form a part of a reference collection of Hamilton materials in the Houghton Library.¹⁷

It is suspected that Hamilton drew the Indian portraits from life at the time of the Vincennes expedition which, if so, fixes both date (between the late summer 1778 and February 1779) and locale (southeastern Michigan, northwestern Ohio and much of Indiana). These drawings exemplify the diversity of the different Indian nations, intermingled and refugees from the American war, which gravitated toward Detroit as allies of the British. Hamilton's "core sample" includes two Wyandots, a Mohawk, a Potawatomi, an Ojibwa, a Miami, a Nipissing and one drawing unidentified. It is indeed true that Hamilton's sketches intimate something about his own character. While he cannot be expected to be anything more than a man of his times, unlike most of his contemporaries Hamilton displayed a human sensitivity by portraying Indians as distinct personalities, replete with individuality and dignity.¹⁸ Not only was he a relatively sympathetic observer of the Native Americans, but also as an artist he possessed a modicum of ability. Far more important than what they reveal of an eighteenth century European gentleman, Hamilton's sketches actually represent the opposite of the aforementioned historian's judgment; they may represent the best single source available of accurate depic-

tions from life of actual Woodland Indians of the American Revolution and perhaps of the eighteenth century.



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1. "Old Baby Ouooquandarong"

Hamilton's comment:

"This was a very wise and moderate Sachem of the Wyandot nation — his name in that language Ouooquandarong — "

Ouooquandarong was a Wyandot, a northern Iroquoian group consisting primarily of Huron and Petun peoples. They were located in the Detroit area and also south of Lake Erie in the Sandusky and lower Maumee River vicinities.

His hair has been plucked out in the warrior's scalplock style, with what appears to be white wampum beads tied into three locks. He is wrapped in a fringed trade blanket. He holds a decorated calumet-pipe, one of the most revered objects in Native America. Tobacco smoke was venerated and employed in a ritual context for diplomacy, commerce, politics, trade, friendship and peace and war.



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2. "Wawiahton a Chief of Poutcowattamie"

Hamilton's comment:

"This resembles strongly, Wawecaughton, a Chief of the Poutcowattamie nation — "

Wawiahton was a Detroit chief of the Potawatomi. They were an Algonquin people, many of whom lived with the Ojibwa and Ottawa. Their territory was the Detroit, St. Joseph and Wabash River regions, as well as southern Michigan, northwest Ohio and south of Lake Michigan.

He is dressed in a European wool cap and coat, edged with gold or silver metallic lace, the products of the Indian trade. Caps appear in contemporary trade lists, although most warriors preferred to expose the scalplock except in inclement weather.



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3. "A Jibbowey Indian."

Hamilton's comment:

Hamilton offered no additional information about this subject. The Ojibwa (or Chippewa) were a numerous Algonquin people, largest of the northern tribes, occupying a vast territory around Lake Huron. They were culturally related to the Potawatomi and Ottawa.

He is attired in a hooded blanket coat, cut in the European fashion. Around his neck is a purple and white wampum choker or neck band. Wampum was worked from a clamshell (*Venus mercenaria*), and was favored both for personal adornment and ceremonial usage.



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4. "Skangress in Huron" "Otcheek in Iroquois"

Hamilton's comment:

"This man was a very respected warrior of the Mohawk nation — his name in the Huron or Wyandott language is Skangress — in the Iroquois Otcheek."

Skangress was a Mohawk living with the Iroquoian Wyandot. The Mohawks were "Keepers of the Eastern Door" of the Iroquois Confederacy in eastern New York State.

On his head is a raven skin, complete with head, beak and wings, and formed into the Iroquoian headdress, the *Gus-to-weh*. A purple and white (diamond) wampum choker is worn about the neck. He wears a "stroud" (a wool tradecloth mantle, blue, red or black in color).



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5. Unidentified Subject

Hamilton's comment:

"I have forgot the name of this Indian, who was one of those characters, always to be found among the Indians — He travels from Village to Village, being provided with news, generally to suit his own views — they are termed bad birds, or birds of ill omen as their reports generally tend to intimate which they presume to be the best road to accomplish their views —"

Hamilton did not further identify him. He is wearing what appears to be either a hoodless wool blanket coat or a pullover smock. Tied around his head is a black or possibly red silk handkerchief from which a silver brooch dangles. The handkerchief as a bandana-like head covering was worn by Indians and frontiersmen alike in the eighteenth century.



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6. "Papiquenne Sauvage Nipissin"

"This is a savage of the Nipissin or lake of the two mountains about 19 miles above Montreal — his name Papiquenne which means the flute — his extraordinary resemblance to the Tartars is startling. He had but little character or authority, he was nearly a silent flute." Papiquenne was a Nipissing, an Algonquin people whose homeland was the environs of Lake Nipissing, the Lake of the Two Mountains (Montreal area) and the Ottawa River of Canada. Christianized, they often spent autumn with the Huron.

He wears the warrior's scalplock and, uncommon for a fighting man, a wispy mustache and tuft of beard. A silver ear wheel is suspended from his right ear. He is clad in a wool trade coat edged with fur. He is holding a pipe-tomahawk, emblematic of peace and war, which has an ax blade and functional pipe bowl making up the iron head.



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7. "Tzenoritzzi"

Hamilton's comment:

"the nominal prince of the Huron or Wyandot Indians, a well disposed man who was easily led, given to Liquor, and not attended to in his Nation other than as hereditary chief, about 38 years of age."

Tzenoritzzi (Sastaretsi), also known as Dawatong, was civil chief of the Detroit Wyandot. Sastaretsi was a name title held by the Deer clan of the Wyandot.

He wears the scalplock and on his neck is a purple and white wampum choker, from which is suspended a round silver gorget perhaps engraved with personal or clan symbols. He is wrapped in the customary Indian garment of the period, the matchcoat, which to European eyes somewhat resembled the classical toga. Matchcoats commonly came in long pieces of white wool edged with blue or black stripes that could be cut to different sizes like blankets for men, women and children.



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8. "Pacane Miamis Chief"

Hamilton's comment

"The name of this Miami Chief is Pacane — I made him a gift of silver mounted choteau (knife), his father of the same name having taken down from a stake when he was to have been roasted C[a]pt[ain] T[homas] Morris of the 17th Reg[iment] of Infantry, an acquaintance and friend of many years standing."

Pacane (the Pecan Nut) was head chief of the Atchatchakangouen group of the Miami at Kekionga (Fort Wayne, Indiana) during the Revolution. The Algonquin-Miami were culturally similar to the Illinois and Kickapoo, living in the general region of the Maumee and Wabash rivers drainages.

He is dressed at the height of Indian fashion. His scalplock and slashed ear represent his warrior status, the former decorated with silver ring brooches, the latter with silver ear wheels and wrapped flat wire around the distended ear rim. He is clad in a white linen trade shirt, with adjustable silver armbands above the elbows, and numerous silver ring brooches on the shoulders. Suspended from his nose is a beaded necklace of glass trade beads. He holds a pipe-tomahawk.

Notes

¹Ralph E. Friar and Natasha A. Friar, "White Man Speaks With Split Tongue, Forked Tongue, Tongue of Snake," in Gretchen M. Bataille and Charles L. P. Silet, editors, *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies* (Ames, 1980), 93.

²Raymond William Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman, 1982), 165. As Stedman pointed out, because of Hollywood, Native Americans are "all but frozen in their nineteenth century dramatic mold . . .," 159.

³Frank Weitenkampf, "How Indians Were Pictured in Earlier Days," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, v. XXXIII, n. 4 (October, 1949), 216.

⁴Frank Weitenkampf, "Early Pictures of North American Indians: A Question of Ethnology," *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, v. 53, n. 12 (December, 1949), 597-598.

⁵John C. Ewers, "An Anthropologist Looks at Early Pictures of North American Indians," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, v. XXXIII, n. 4 (October, 1949), 224.

⁶Robert C. Smith, "The Noble Savage in Paintings and Prints," *Antiques* (July, 1958), 57-58.

⁷Philip Drennon Thomas, "Artists Among the Indians 1493-1850," *Kansas Quarterly*, v. 3 (Fall, 1971), 7-8.

⁸James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton, "The 'Noble Savage' and the Artist's Canvas," *The Art of Historical Detection* (New York, 1982), 137-138.

⁹Dirk Gringhuis, "Indian Costume at Mackinac: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century," *Mackinac History*, II, Leaflet No. 1 (1972).

¹⁰Ted Brasser, *"Bo'jou, Neejee: Profiles of Canadian Indian Art* (Ottawa, 1976); J. C. H. King, *Thunderbird and Lightning: Indian Life in Northeastern North America 1600-1900* (London, 1982); and David W. Penney, editor, *Great Lakes Indian Art* (Detroit, 1989).

¹¹Paul Lawrence Stevens, "His Majesty's 'Savage' Allies: British Policy and the Northern Indians During the Revolutionary War. The Carleton Years" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1984), Notes, Chapter 1, 1,858-1,859. Stevens' work, which runs some 2,496 pages, is a magnificent achievement of scholarship and can be considered definitive in its field. In his notes he offers insights and

suggestions for additional research in many subjects, including the little-studied area of "the appearance of fashions of the northeastern Indians at the time of the American Revolution . . ."

¹²E. P. Richardson, "Gustavus Hesselius," *Art Quarterly* (Summer, 1949), 220, 223.

¹³Milton W. Hamilton, "Joseph Brant — The Most Painted Indian," *New York History*, v. XXXIX (April, 1958), 119-132.

¹⁴Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven & London, 1986), p. 207. This monumental study provides the best and most complete analysis of Benjamin West's body of work, with excellent insight into his depictions of Native Americans. See 158, 206-207, 210-215, 219-220, 420-421.

¹⁵Helen A. Cooper, *John Trumbull: The Hand and Spirit of a Painter* (New Haven, 1982). For Trumbull's Indian work see 52-54, 130-133, 144-145, 150, 226-228.

¹⁶John D. Barnhart, editor, *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution with the Unpublished Journal of Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton* (Crawfordsville, 1951), 8-10, 206.

¹⁷The drawings are referenced: pf 115 Eng 509.2 H. Hamilton, the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

¹⁸Bernard W. Sheehan, "The Famous Hair Buyer General: Henry Hamilton, George Rogers Clark and the American Indian," *Indiana Magazine of History*, v. LXXIX, N. 1, (March, 1983), 5-8.

Selected Papers from the Fifth and Sixth George Rogers Clark
Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conferences



**Issues at Fort Jefferson, 1780-1781:
The Quartermaster Books of
John Dodge and Martin Carney**

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Abstract

Fort Jefferson and its associated community of Clarksville were built near the mouth of the Ohio River in 1780, so that Virginia could physically claim her western "paper" boundary. The fort and community were short-lived, both being evacuated during June of 1781, only 14 months after being established. Foremost among the reasons cited by historians for the evacuation of Fort Jefferson and Clarksville have been the notions that (1) the fort and community were poorly supplied, and (2) the fort and community were under constant threat of Indian attack. This paper includes an examination of the three surviving Fort Jefferson quartermaster books and what those books reveal about the brief history of Fort Jefferson.

Introduction:

When the name George Rogers Clark is remembered, it generally is recalled within the context of only several specific events. Chief among them are his capture of Kaskaskia in 1778, and his successful taking of Vincennes from the British in February of 1779 — a feat made even more significant as a result of his crossing the semi-frozen and flooded Illinois country in order to surprise the British at Fort Sackville.

Sometimes, however, less positive remembrances of Clark are recounted also, such as his frustration at never having realized his ultimate military conquest: Detroit. As frustrating to Clark, possibly even maddening, was the lack of support given to him by his Virginian countrymen, as well as their

subsequent failure to acknowledge Clark's personal indebtedness in support of the war effort.

Sadly to say, these generally are considered to be the major ups and downs of Clark's early military career. And, as over generalized and glorified as the above cited examples sometimes are, they represent those aspects of history that most people frequently associate with George Rogers Clark.

For individuals, such as myself, who spend their days studying the "lesser" known aspects of Clark and his military activities, it is rewarding to know that the least emphasized aspects of his career are the same areas of study that now are providing new and excitingly more complete accounts of the American Revolution in the West.

One such example of a "lesser" known aspect of George Rogers Clark's military career, which now is contributing significantly to a better understanding of the Revolution in the West, is Fort Jefferson. That outpost, which also is referenced as Clark's "Fort at the Mouth of the Ohio" and "Fort at the Iron Banks" (James 1972, I; II), initially was proposed for construction by Governor Patrick Henry in 1777 (Henry 1969:582-588; James 1972, I:cxxii). Authorization to begin construction, however, was not issued until January of 1780.

By then, Thomas Jefferson, the new governor of Virginia, instructed Clark to build the fort as near as possible to the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. Jefferson added in his instructions that a civilian community should be built adjacent to the fortification, so that the gardens of the inhabitants might be used to produce the food that Virginia would not be able to supply on a regular basis (James 1972, I:386-391).

The purposes for Fort Jefferson's placement were military and political. Militarily, the fort was established as

a control against major inland river traffic. Likewise, the fort was to serve as a check against the quantities of arms and munitions being distributed to the British Indian allies (i.e., the Chickasaws), and it was believed that the presence of the fort near the confluence area would help guard against either Spanish or British encroachment from the west or north, respectively (by early 1780, Spain had not yet sided formally with the American cause [English 1896:666-667]). Lastly, the fort's location at the mouth of the Ohio would help Virginia justify her "political" claims to her chartered western boundary (Hening 1823, I:57-58).

By the middle of April 1780, Clark and an unspecified number of Virginia state troops, militia and civilian families left the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) for the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers (James 1972, I:386-391). According to one primary account (*ibid.*:422-423), Clark's total force upon leaving Louisville numbered about 120 persons. (No complete inventory of the population that accompanied Clark to the mouth of the Ohio ever has been located.) Clark and followers arrived at the confluence on April 19, 1780 (*ibid.*:417-419). By June 1780, the fort (named Fort Jefferson), and the civilian community (named Clarksville), had been constructed (R. George to G. R. Clark, June 4, 1780: Letter in Clark Papers, Virginia State Library, Archives Division). Before completion, however, an unspecified number of individuals accompanied Clark northward to assist the Spanish and French in their defense of Pancore (St. Louis) and Cahokia, respectively, against British-led Indians (*op.cit.*:411-412). After thwarting the British advance, Clark and most of his followers returned to Fort Jefferson. Clark, however, remained only briefly at the fort (John Dodge's Quartermaster Book, 1780-1781: George R. Clark Papers, Virginia State Library, Archives Division).

By mid-July, Clark and a portion of the garrison left Fort Jefferson for the mouth of the Licking River (across from present-day Cincinnati), to initiate his first Shawnee campaign at Piqua (near Springfield, Ohio) (*ibid.*: 451-453). Clark never returned to his fort at the mouth of the Ohio despite receiving letters from his followers who pleaded for his return (James 1972, I:425-426; 435-438).

Throughout Clark's ensuing absence, and until the subsequent abandonment of Fort Jefferson on June 8, 1781, Captain Robert George commanded the garrison and oversaw the daily activities of the civilian community (*ibid.*:461-462).

Most major histories of the American Revolution, including those written with a focus on the Midwest, give but few clues as to what happened at Fort Jefferson during its 416-day occupation. Instead, when the fort and community are mentioned, they usually are discussed in terms of failure: failure to counteract the constant threat of attacks by the Chickasaw Indians; failure to maintain garrison strength and civilian support due to desertion; and failure to survive as a result of supply shortages (Fraser 1983; James 1972, I:clix, 472, 496-497, 539; and Robertson 1973:136-137). Although several of these opinions are justified in light of the content of previously published documents, new information based on unpublished primary papers is now available (i.e., Carstens 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1987; Potter and Carstens 1986; Stein, Carstens and Wesler 1983). As a result, more accurate interpretations can be made that will both supplement and complement the history of Clark's fort at the mouth of the Ohio, and its role in the Western Department during the American Revolution.

The Missing Papers of George Rogers Clark:

The most authoritative source usually consulted when writing about George Rogers Clark is the two-volume work

gathered, edited, and indexed by James Alton James (1972, I; II). (Butterfield [1972] and English [1896] are two other works about Clark that frequently are used, but do not contain as many primary documents as does James [*op.cit.*].) James' volumes consist of primary documents assembled by the Western Commissioners near the end of the American Revolution in order to assess the economic liabilities of Virginia. But, as Mary Jane Meeker (1976:87-93) has pointed out, not all of Clark's papers, vouchers or receipts were present. Indeed, a considerable quantity of Clark's records had been misplaced. How or why those documents became lost is a matter of conjecture.

Fortunately, the vouchers were found by E. G. Swem in 1913 (1927). Swem, then working at the Virginia State Library, located the Clark documents intermixed among the state auditor records (Meeker 1976:87). The many missing vouchers and letters belonging to Clark and his associates were exactly where they should have been. But, alas, because they could not be located by the auditors following the Revolution, only those bills that Clark could substantiate were paid; unsubstantiated claims had to be paid by Clark. With the exception of a paper written by James G. Randall (1921: 250-262), no other historian has pursued the unpublished Clark collection prior to the "study" by Meeker (1976). Neither the study by Randall nor Meeker goes into the detail that is present within the Clark collection, although Randall does offer a more complete discussion of one particular aspect of Clark's papers: his economic line of supply.

In 1984, five years into our Fort Jefferson research project, I visited the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library to determine if original, unpublished records from Fort Jefferson were part of the collection described by Meeker. To my surprise, more than 5,000 Fort Jefferson documents

were found. I then secured permission to duplicate and publish the previously unpublished Clark collection that pertains to Fort Jefferson. Four years later, portions of that collection are close to publication (Carstens In prep. - a.b.). The amount of information present within the new Clark data base — which probably amounts to 20,000 or 30,000 documents — is staggering! Collectively, just the items from Fort Jefferson include vouchers, military unit inventories, issues of clothing, food, drink and munitions; also letters, statements regarding rates of inflation and devaluation of currency, issues to various military companies (including state-line Virginia troops and the Clarksville militia), a fragment of a musical score, several philosophical penningings, numerous references to subsistence practices and daily activities pursued by men, women and children of the military, civilian and slave socioeconomic classes, and several quartermaster books and oversize inventory summary sheets (George Rogers Clark Papers, Boxes 1-50, Virginia State Library, Archives Division).

Even without counting the dated entries present in the quartermaster books, an almost complete calendar of documents is present in the Clark collection. In that sample alone, documentation exists for 383 of the known 416-day history of Fort Jefferson. With the addition of the quartermaster book entries, a virtually unbroken daily record of military and civilian activities exists. The importance of the completeness of the Fort Jefferson documentation cannot be overestimated. The records from this “lesser known” locality of history (Ft. Jefferson), probably could make Clark’s Fort at the mouth of the Ohio one of the most important features in the rewriting of the American Revolution in the West due to the completeness of documentation in the Clark collection.

The Quartermaster Books of John Dodge and Martin Carney:

The following paragraphs will address only one very small aspect of the Fort Jefferson document collection: the quartermaster books of John Dodge and Martin Carney.

John Dodge and Martin Carney were private citizens. Dodge had been held captive by the British in Canada prior to making his escape in 1778 (Alford 1907:xcv, n.1; 1909:104; Dodge 1909; James 1972, I:338, n.1), while Martin Carney had worked as quartermaster in Dunmore County, Virginia, for the 8th Virginia Regiment (National Archives, Revolutionary Record Group, Item No. 16876, Voucher Receipt Signed by Martin Carney and Dated 4 November 1777). Dodge's appointment as "Agent" was recommended by Virginia's Lt. Governor John Page to Col. John Todd, Jr. (copies of Page's letter to Todd in Dodge's Quartermaster Book, Box 48, George Rogers Clark Papers, Virginia State Library, Archives Division). References to Dodge as "Captain" Dodge seem unfounded and without substance (see especially the discussion given by Alford 1907:cxii-cxiii). It is possible that because agents and quartermasters were paid at the same rate as an adjutant — six shillings per day, which is the same rate of pay as a captain, — that Dodge may have simply extended the rationale of "rate of pay" to one of "rank;" although but a theory, it is in keeping with Dodge's personality as described by Alford (*ibid.*), Butterfield (1972), and James (1972, I); (cf. Alford 1909:104-105).

According to the laws of Virginia (see Hening's *Statutes*, 1823, Vols. IX; X), quartermasters, commissaries, agents and conductors filled appointed positions (also similar to the appointment of officers). For a quartermaster, positions were given to those who, in addition to being capable of posting a bond, could read, write, do simple arithmetic and swear to

an oath that they would be honest with all accounting practices (Hening 1823, IX:14; X:256). It is difficult to determine if Dodge and Carney took their oaths of appointment to heart. There are numerous accusations questioning Dodge's character, loyalty and honesty, as made by the people of Kaskaskia (see especially Alford 1909, var.; and James 1972, I:472), Americans at Fort Jefferson, and even the British! (No questions concerning Carney's integrity have been found.) In spite of the accusations against Dodge, his bookkeeping efforts while at Fort Jefferson will have to be taken at face value, until proven otherwise.

How did the quartermaster procurement and issuance operation work in the Western Department? As exhibited in Figure One, the major American-controlled areas requiring support included Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Fort Jefferson, Vincennes, Louisville and the central Kentucky stations. Although some French and Spanish assistance was present at Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Vincennes, American credit and the devaluation of Virginian currency made it mandatory for the Virginian government to assist with the support of its western outposts. Unfortunately, by 1780, Virginia was not in a position to give assistance.

As illustrated in Figure Two, goods that could be procured were to originate from three principal sources: *Fort Pitt*, at the origin of the Ohio River; *New Orleans*, at the mouth of the Mississippi River — through the efforts of Oliver Pollock (Cummins 1988; James 1970); and from various *civilian communities* which were located in the Illinois country and western Virginia (what is now Kentucky). The French communities of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, and the Anglo settlements of Harrodsburg, Boonesboro and Louisville were among those civilian towns Clark was to depend on for support (the latter three represented portions of western

Virginia, then forming what was called Kentucky County in early 1780).

Although a seemingly sound scheme, in reality it was not. The directional flow of supplies did not always follow the prescribed pattern. Rather, goods directed to Fort Jefferson from Fort Pitt, sometimes were redirected while en route to the central Kentucky stations, or were appropriated by officers in Louisville. On several occasions, the goods intended for Fort Jefferson from Fort Pitt were taken by others who felt their situation to be more precarious (James 1972, I:461-462, 506-507). When foods were sent from Louisville to Fort Jefferson, they usually had become rancid due to poor packing procedures as stated by Captain Robert George in his February 15, 1781, letter to Colonel George Slaughter, commandant at the Falls of the Ohio:

The Small Supplies you have sent us, have been of infinite Services, & if you frequently repeat them they will be of singular advantage as we look to you for it, but the supplies I beg be of a better Quality than what is yet come to hand. The Beef is really of the poorest kind — ill-cured, and not half salted — the barrels being bad, the pickle became wasted, if ever any had been put in, and tho' the Meat does not absolutely stink, it wants little of it (James 1972, I:506).

Fort Jefferson's other major source of supply was New Orleans. Unfortunately, most of the supplies reaching Fort Jefferson from New Orleans were dry goods, and did little to compensate for the loss of foodstuffs being sent from Fort Pitt or Louisville. Even when the quartermasters at Fort Jefferson sent loads of dry goods and rum to trade for food with the Illinois settlements, only meager food supplies were found (James 1972, I:461-463, 473-475, 506-507).

The quartermaster and commissary corps in the Western

Department consisted of an echelon that mirrored the idealized flow of goods and supplies (see Figure Three). At Fort Jefferson, at least four individuals served appointed supply positions: John Dodge, Israel Dodge (John's brother), Martin Carney and John Donne. Except for Carney, the Dodge brothers and Donne appear to have been associates while at Fort Pitt between 1777 and 1779 (National Archives, Revolutionary Record Group, Item No. 0113; and Butterfield 1972:746), and probably came to know Clark when the latter stopped at Fort Pitt during several of his trips going back and forth to Virginia from the Illinois country. Such might explain their presence within the commissary corps of the Western Department. Donne may have met Clark in Virginia and then followed him westward, although such is speculation on my part.

Despite the presence of numerous vouchers, letters and other records belonging to Israel Dodge and John Donne within the Fort Jefferson papers, only John Dodge and Martin Carney have quartermaster books among the unpublished Clark collection (George Rogers Clark Papers, Virginia State Library, Archives Division). In all probability, the missing commissary and conductor books of Israel Dodge and John Donne, as well as several other "lost" quartermaster books from Forts Jefferson, Clark, Bowman and Patrick Henry, someday will be located. For now, however, the quartermaster books that are available provide a refreshing insight to eighteenth century life.

Dodge's Quartermaster Book:

The John Dodge quartermaster book (Box 48 of the George Rogers Clark Papers, Virginia State Library, Archives Division) consists of 144 pages, each page measuring six inches wide by nine inches long. Originally consisting of blank pieces of paper, the pages of the book have been hand-ruled

— where necessary — in order to isolate blocks of discrete information. The exterior of the Dodge book consists of a plain weave (over one, under one) coarse linen fabric that covers pressed pages of coarse paper. Individual pages (six by 18 inches) are folded length-wise at the nine-inch mark and are sewn together using a coarse linen thread. Eleven stitches varying in size from one-quarter of an inch to one inch in length were used in the sewing and binding process.

The majority of the pages in the Dodge book contain itemized charges, sequentially entered by individual, and specifying whether or not the entry was due that person per statute law (i.e., clothing allowance by rank and time served), or if the individual had charged the purchase against his personal account. Quantity and cost per item are given for those supplies for which cost recovery was necessary.

Dodge's quartermaster book contains 1,718 separate line entries. The number of entries varies per page. The book is organized into sections that list issues to officers (generally in order of rank), military companies, different specialized departments (such as the "Indian department," "interpreters," "individual quartermasters, commissaries and conductors"), as well as issues to the surgeon and miscellaneous issues. Dodge concludes his book with copies of letters, testimonies and statements important to his career, i.e., his letter of appointment as agent, and various inventories of goods that were lost during shipments to or from Fort Jefferson. In other words, it seems that John Dodge very carefully had recorded all pertinent data relevant to his record keeping that might conceivably clear him of any wrong-doing should his accounting practices ever come into question. (It should be stressed equally, however, that quartermasters had to justify every item they issued on behalf of the state. If their issues were not valid, or did not show just cause — such as the loss of

a cargo due to inclement weather — they alone would be liable for the expense of the items. Hence, it only would be good business to keep detailed records of everything, which is exactly what John Dodge accomplished.)

Within the 1,718 line item entries of the Dodge book, 204 individuals are named, including men, women and children. The genealogical significance of that listing alone makes the Dodge book extremely important. From an anthropological and an historical perspective, the ultimate significance rests in the completeness of the data and the insight it provides for studying late eighteenth century life in the western frontier.

Carney's Quartermaster Books:

The extant Martin Carney quartermaster books consist of only two books labeled "1E" and "1F" (Boxes 49 and 50, respectively, of the GRC Papers, Virginia State Library, Archives Division). The implications of those designations are, what happened to books "1A" through "1D," and, what information was contained on their pages.

Carney's book "1E" measures six and one-half inches long by five and one-half inches wide. The cover and the first three numbered pages of the book are missing. Fifty-two pages are present. The paper, like that of the Dodge book, is folded in half and appears to have been sewn in a similar fashion. Blank pages were hand-ruled as necessary.

There is no apparent organization to Martin Carney's book "1E" other than the identification given each page heading. The emphasis of book "1E" includes issues of ammunition (powder, lead and flints), arms and accouterments (muskets, swivels, rifles, bayonets with belts, swords, axes, kettles and tents), and commodities (sugar, tobacco and soap). In addition, Carney inventories those items he purchased explicitly for the establishment of Fort Jefferson, and provides

information in some cases as to how those items were to be used (such as the flat-bottomed boats purchased in Louisville “for sake of the plank to build a garrison and barracks”). Lastly, within the 823 line entries of Carney’s book “1E,” 74 additional individuals and families are identified who are not named by Dodge in his quartermaster book.

Carney’s book “1F” consists of 80 pages, each measuring five and one-half inches wide by seven and one-half inches long. Like the other quartermaster books, the pages of book “1F” originally were blank, but have been hand-ruled to create forms necessary for accounting. The front and back covers are missing from this book.

The subject of Carney’s book “1F” consists almost entirely of accounts of rum, sugar, tobacco and soap issued to the officers (listed in descending echelon order), hospital department, militia, members of the Illinois Regiment and the State of Virginia. Within the 190 line item entries of Carney’s book “1F,” 54 individuals are named; five of those individuals were not identified previously in Carney’s book “1E” or Dodge’s quartermaster book. Carney’s book “1F” ends with a three-page, alphabetized index.

Summary:

In total, the quartermaster books from Fort Jefferson contain 2,731 line item entries; they identify more than 283 individual men, women and children; make reference to the various comings and goings of companies of the Virginia state line forces; identify the Clarksville militia; name and specify quantities of arms, accouterments, munitions, commodities and dry goods issued to officers, members of their companies, members of the militia and the friendly Indian allies; and, offer an approximation of family size and activities pursued by men, women and children while serving in a support capacity at the fort. The quartermaster books also reflect ma-

major activities occurring within and without the fort area, be they subsistence-related or otherwise. Examples of non-subsistence activities include the receipt, inventorying and issuing of supplies, as well as the issuance of firearms and ammunition during times of attack (indeed, the dates of attack, duration of battle, burial of deceased, etc., are all specified in order to satisfy the accountants' records). Lastly, the quartermaster books provide us with very specific information about the presence and absence of certain structures inside and outside the fort, ownership of those buildings, function(s) those buildings served, who occupied the structures, and in several cases, architectural methods of construction — including the type of wood used.

In summary, it should be obvious that the quartermaster books contain a wealth of information that was not known to exist previously. Now, with the added insight that has been provided by the continuous, daily record of the Fort Jefferson documents, it is possible to re-examine, re-evaluate and re-write, not just the history of Fort Jefferson, but a more detailed history of the American Revolution in the West.

Acknowledgments

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Fort Jefferson project. The assistance of these individuals and many others not specifically mentioned, is both dutifully acknowledged and gratefully appreciated, as is the constant support of the Westvaco Corporation of Wickliffe, Kentucky, the College of Humanistic Studies and the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work at MSU.

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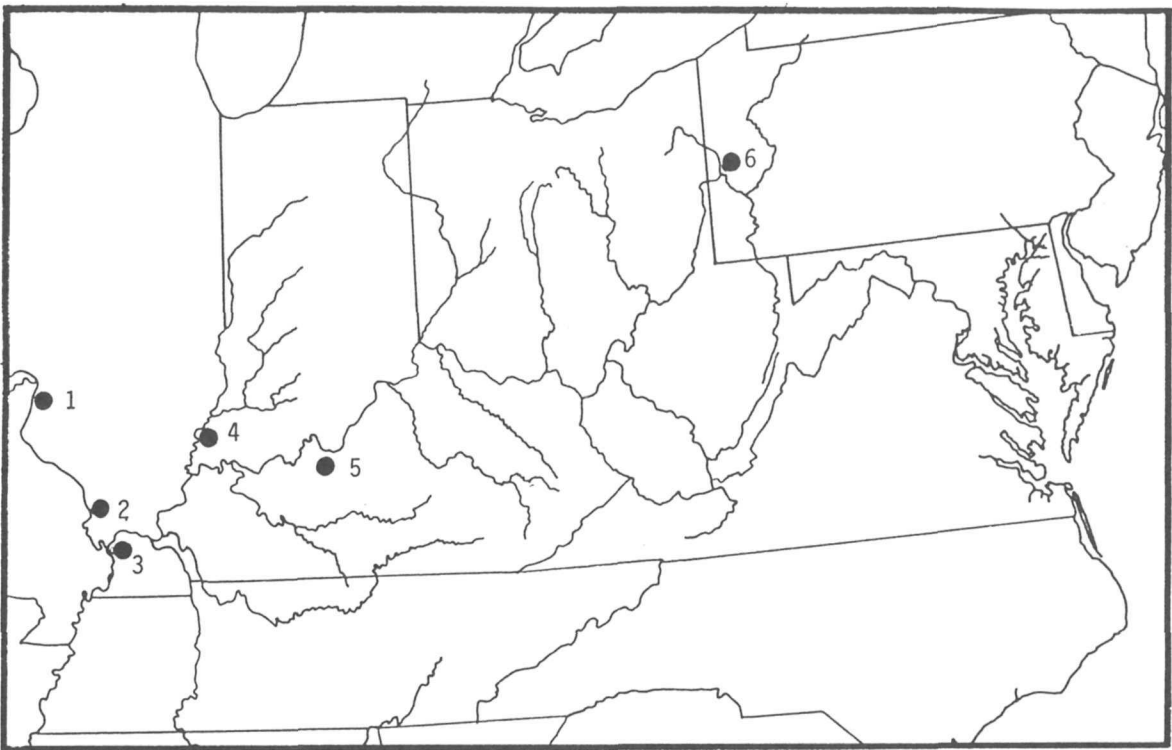


Figure One: The Western Department, 1780-1781: 1, Fort Bowman (Cahokia); 2, Fort Clark (Kaskaskia); 3, Fort Jefferson/Mouth of the Ohio; 4, Fort Patrick Henry (Vincennes); 5, Louisville (Falls of the Ohio); and 6, Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh).

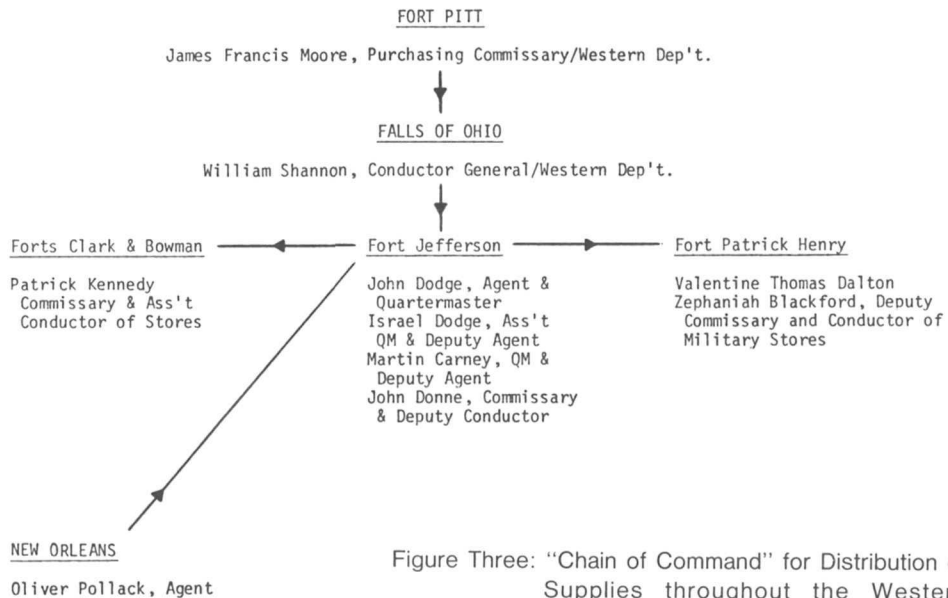


Figure Three: "Chain of Command" for Distribution of Supplies throughout the Western Department.

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In

Prep. b The Personnel at George Rogers Clark's Fort Jefferson, 1780-1781. An edited compilation of original 18th century Fort Jefferson documents with an added introduction, indexes and glossary. Manuscript in preparation, and based on materials from Boxes 1-50

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Toussaint Dubois: Political Patriarch of Old Vincennes

by

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Few settlements in New France played a more pivotal role in the history of North America than the town of Vincennes. Situated on the Wabash River, it was an important link in the network of French trading posts serving the area that now includes the modern states of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. By the middle of the eighteenth century, it also had become one of the prizes in the Anglo-French imperial competition. At the conclusion of the Great War for the Empire, Vincennes, like the rest of the French trade network, passed into British hands in the Treaty of Paris of 1763. By the time Toussaint Dubois arrived in Vincennes around 1780, the town already had become part of the United States, thanks to the heroics of George Rogers Clark, who captured it in 1779 with the assistance of the French inhabitants.

It is my purpose in this paper to show that Toussaint Dubois, though a relative newcomer in the community, quickly became a civic leader of importance and founded a modest political dynasty that would endure through three generations. For well over a 100 years, Toussaint, his son Jesse K. Dubois, and his grandson, Fred T. Dubois, were actively engaged in public service. As the patriarch of a family devoted to politics, Toussaint set the example by his long career in Indiana and his close ties with the family of William Henry Harrison. Jesse K. Dubois, in turn, served with distinction in Illinois, where he held important state offices and counted Abraham Lincoln among his personal friends. Finally, Fred T. Dubois used these early personal and political connections with the Harrison and Lincoln families to advance his own career in Idaho

and in the United States Senate.

The Dubois family probably came to the New World sometime in the 18th century, though the exact date and their point of origin in France remain obscure. Charles and Cecile Dubois settled a few miles southwest of Montreal in the town of Point Claire, where their four sons — Jean Baptiste, Francois, Toussaint and Joseph grew to manhood in a typical French-Canadian Catholic milieu. The third son, Toussaint, was born about 1750. As a young man, he developed the business skills and facility for trade with the Indians that were to be the hallmarks of his later career. His understanding of, and sympathy for, the Indian cultures were crucial to his success as a businessman. Later, they would be valuable assets in negotiating with the natives in times of great tension. In this way they formed a natural bridge between his business career and his public service. I shall examine briefly each of these facets of the life of Toussaint Dubois and show that his public service set a pattern for such endeavors and a legacy for future generations of the family.

The origins of Toussaint Dubois and the time of his arrival in Vincennes still are not entirely clear. One story passed down to the family and told to me originally by Fred Dubois' younger daughter, Margaret (she usually was called Toussaint by the way), says that he came to the United States with the French troops brought over by Lafayette at the time of the American Revolution.¹ This version also appears in George R. Wilson's *History of Dubois County* published in 1910.² The story has a natural appeal and makes a romantic beginning for the Dubois family in America. Thus far, however, I have been able neither to confirm nor to refute the story. It may well be true, but I have had no luck in trying to verify it. The story also was repeated in a letter I received from yet another descendant of Toussaint Dubois.³

Part of the confusion stems from a 1912 article by Helen L. Allen. She lists Toussaint as one of three sons of Jean Baptiste Dubois and his wife Euphrayse [sic] who had come to New France sometime before 1740. The couple, according to this account, brought their three sons, Francois, Joseph and Toussaint to Lower Canada. She speculates that Toussaint, and his brothers may have returned to France for a time and that at some later date Toussaint came back to the New World to engage in the Indian trade, a business that ultimately brought him to Vincennes. Unfortunately, this is sheer speculation for which no evidence is adduced. Moreover, Allen errs in identifying Toussaint's parents. The records from St. Francis Xavier Parish include a notation of Toussaint's marriage to his first wife in October 1788. The marriage register describes Toussaint as a "native of the town of Montreal in Canada, Diocese of Quebec, son of the late Charles Dubois and Cecile Courret."⁴ Thus far, I have been unable to find any other reference to them in parish records from Canada. Several of the accounts report that Toussaint came from Lower Canada, but only one mentions a specific place. In an obituary of his son, Jesse K. Dubois, that appeared in the Springfield, Illinois, *Daily State Journal*, Toussaint is described as having come from Point Claire, Canada, a town approximately 15 miles southwest of Montreal on Montreal Island in the St. Lawrence River.⁵ Nor is it clear just when Toussaint Dubois was born. The newspaper obituary just referred to says he was born "about 1750." Thus far, I have been able to locate only two other sources that list a birthdate for him. The *Lineage Book* of the Daughters of the American Revolution gives his birthdate as 1755, while Joseph H. V. Somes says Toussaint was born in 1764. The former is feasible, but the latter seems too late. Neither date is documented and I as yet have found no source to corroborate either.⁶

If there still is confusion concerning the time and place of his birth and the manner of his coming to the New World, there is also some difficulty in determining the date of his arrival in Vincennes and the route by which he came to the banks of the Wabash. The obituary notice already referred to says that he worked for the Hudson Bay Company and was stationed for a time in Green Bay, Wisconsin, before "being ordered to the head waters of the Mississippi River on account of his extraordinary capacity as an Indian trader. From thence he was transferred to Old Post, now Vincennes." This account goes on to say that Toussaint arrived in Vincennes about 1780.⁷ Other records show that Toussaint Dubois was probably not in Vincennes before mid-1778. The famous account of the oath of Vincennes states that on July 20, 1778, the French inhabitants of Vincennes signed an oath of allegiance to the Republic of Virginia and the United States of America and formally renounced all fidelity to George III of Great Britain. They had been led to take the oath by the well-known missionary priest, Father Pierre Gibault, and his companion, Dr. Jean Baptiste Lafont, who had brought the oath with them as well as news of George Rogers Clark's occupation of Kaskaskia two weeks earlier. One hundred and eighty-two names appear on the oath of Vincennes plus a notation that four others have been torn out. This must have constituted almost all of the adult male inhabitants. Among the French inhabitants who signed the oath in the church that hot July day were Jean Babtiste Durboy and Babtiste Duboy (the latter was No. 162 on the list). This Baptiste Duboy who signed is probably the brother of Toussaint Dubois. The name of Toussaint Dubois does not appear among the signatures. It is possible that his is one of the names torn out, but I have found no evidence to suggest that. In any event, it seems highly unlikely that Toussaint Dubois,

who was known for his hatred of the British and the Treaty of Paris of 1763 by which they had acquired control of the great American hinterland, would have passed up an opportunity to sign such an important document.⁸

Some years later a list was compiled of all the heads of families settled at Post Vincennes on or before 1783 and still resident there in 1790. These residents were entitled to donation lands promised them by the Congress of the United States under the new constitution. Thus their land titles would be validated. Among the names on the list is that of John Baptiste Dubois. Again the name of Toussaint Dubois is missing. This might be because he was not considered a head of a household and therefore not eligible. Or it may be that he had not yet arrived in the settlement.⁹ If the latter is the case, then Toussaint Dubois came to Vincennes sometime between 1783 and 1788, for it was in the latter year that his marriage is recorded in the files of St. Francis Xavier Parish.

In the years that followed independence, the area that was to become Indiana was organized as part of the Northwest Territory by the famous act of 1787. While Indiana was still a territory and the little French settlement at Vincennes was a frontier outpost of the United States, Dubois was part of a small elite. But his standing in the community also rested on several other valuable assets — his military prowess, his personal friendship with William Henry Harrison, and his close association with the Catholic leadership of Vincennes. Dubois had cultivated the latter ever since his arrival from Canada. He was a close personal friend of Father Jean Francois Rivet until the latter's death, a fact borne out by Rivet's designation of Toussaint Dubois as one of the executors of his estate. Nor was his prestige limited to the white inhabitants, for he already was establishing a reputation as an astute businessman in the Indian trade. Through this trade

Dubois had learned the natives' habits and gained their confidence and was able on many occasions to resolve disputes between them and the whites. Because both sides trusted him, Dubois could exercise considerable influence. This, coupled with his business acumen, his knowledge of men and affairs, his talent for diplomacy, and his humanitarian instincts made him a natural leader in Vincennes.

As already noted, not long after his arrival in Vincennes, Toussaint Dubois married his first wife, Janne Bonneau, on October 6, 1788.¹⁰ His bride was the vivacious 16 year-old daughter of a well-to-do French family. This happy union produced a daughter and four sons — Susanne, Toussaint, Jr., Honore [Henry], Charles and Emanuel.¹¹ In the meantime, Dubois' business ventures prospered. His extensive trade connections with both whites and Indians brought him a comfortable income which he used to purchase lands adjacent to the town of Vincennes. Perhaps the most significant, and certainly the best-loved parcel of real estate he acquired, was a piece of land on the high bluffs on the west side of the Wabash in what is now Illinois. There he built the family home on what came to be known as the Dubois Hill.

But just as he seemed to be building the foundation of a successful and productive life, tragedy struck when his young wife died on November 15, 1800, at the age of 28, leaving Toussaint a widower with five children under the age of 12. The next day the entire village of Vincennes assisted at the funeral of Janne Bonneau Dubois. She was buried in the cemetery of St. Francis Xavier Church and such was the esteem for her that the pastor, Fr. Jean Francois Rivet, wrote an extended account of the proceedings in the parish records that included this tribute: "... Jeannette Bonneau, wife of Toussaint Dubois . . . a true Christian, mourned by the young and old people, being loved and esteemed by them, on ac-

count of her charity, her beneficence, her good disposition, and other precious traits of character.

"The whole village assisted at her funeral, and few were there who did not shed tears. The burial service was interrupted two or three times, a testimony to her virtue, which we make mention of in the parish records, thinking it a proper thing to do."¹² This lengthy statement was particularly unusual, especially for a woman in the eighteenth century.

Thus the year 1800 ended in sadness for Toussaint Dubois. In many ways it was a time of transition both for him and for Vincennes, for that year marked the beginning of territorial government in Indiana. It was also at about this time that Dubois formed a partnership with Pierre Menard that was to last for 16 years. Together they established stores in Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Associated with them in this commercial venture was Francis Vigo, another enterprising merchant of the area. In the next five years Dubois traveled across much of the interior of the United States, from St. Louis on the west to Philadelphia on the east, and as his mercantile and trading operations flourished, he acquired substantial land holdings in both Indiana and Illinois.¹³

At the same time he also was rebuilding his private life. In 1805, when he was about 50 years old, he wooed and won a new wife. Jane Baird, just 25, was a native of Kentucky who had moved with her family to the area that was later to become Bloomington, Indiana.¹⁴ The union proved a happy one blessed with three sons — Thomas, James and Jesse Kilgore Dubois. The family, now including eight children, lived in a large house, the old "Family Mansion," located on Dubois Hill on the western shore of the Wabash River and just a short distance from the ferry serving travelers from Vincennes along the Cahokia and Kaskaskia traces. It was an imposing structure situated on bluffs high above the river

and reflecting the affluence of its owner. Many of the decorative materials for the home had been brought up river by bateaux from New Orleans, but the exterior was of rough native stone. The second story of the edifice included dormer windows and supported a clapboard roof. But it was the interior of the home that revealed its owner's artistic taste in the arrangement of the rooms and their furnishings. The garden, bursting with a variety of flowers, reflected Mrs. Dubois' careful attention.¹⁵ The house was the center of a 400-acre plantation. Among the servants were a small number of slaves. Though slavery had been prohibited in the area by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, it continued on a modest scale in Vincennes. Those who had come into the area with slaves usually retained them until their death or freed them by their last will and testament. Some in his history of *Old Vincennes* speaks of a convention held in the town in 1802 which called for the suspension of the article in the Ordinance of 1787 that forbade slavery. The argument as summarized by Some anticipated the logic used in the great debates over slavery in the mid-nineteenth century that "Congress could not say whether slavery shall, or shall not, be allowed, and neither could the territory decide until it had become a State."¹⁶ In the end, slavery was left undisturbed for the French settlers, who held both Indians and Blacks in bondage long after passage of the ordinance of 1787 and even after the adoption of the state constitution in 1816.¹⁷

It is not entirely clear how many slaves Toussaint Dubois owned. In 1802, he clearly had as many as four (two adults and two children) and possibly more. Parish records for that year record the baptisms of Pierre (age three) and Michel (age one), the sons of Jean and Marie, slaves of Toussaint Dubois. His will (written June 15, 1815) mentions two other slaves by name — a man servant, Gabriel, and his wife Ann — and

also makes a general reference to other “negroes.” Toussaint Dubois did not set them free in his will, perhaps because his young wife still had three sons under ten years of age. Instead, it provided that Gabriel and Ann would serve his wife until his youngest child, Jesse Kilgore Dubois, reached the age of 21. The will then provided “that if in the opinion of my wife (and the country permits) that the said people of color are able to make a comfortable living, they are to be free, if not, they are to be assisted out of my property during their lifetime . . . It is my desire that none of the negroes now in my family be sold so as to be obliged to serve out of the family unless for criminal conduct.”¹⁸

In addition to the estate on the Dubois Hill, Toussaint Dubois also had property in what came to be Dubois County. This land was purchased from the United States and granted under a patent signed by President Jefferson on February 16, 1809.¹⁹ The following year Toussaint Dubois also was serving as a member of the Board of Trustees of Vincennes University and assisting in fund raising for its first building, but these peaceful pursuits were to be rudely interrupted by threats of an Indian attack. Governor Harrison, aware of his friend’s long experience in trading with the Indians and his understanding of their ways, pressed Toussaint Dubois into service as a confidential messenger to Prophet’s Town to parley with the Prophet himself.²⁰ Their meeting took place in June 1810. Dubois sought information on Indian grievances, assured the Indians of the territorial government’s desire for their friendship, but also warned them against maintaining a hostile attitude toward white settlements. Already that summer there had been raids in the northern part of Knox County and four horses had been stolen. But the Prophet repeated to Dubois the message he had given earlier emissaries — that the Indians had been cheated out of their

lands in treaties signed by Governor Harrison and that he (the Prophet) had been ordered by the Great Spirit to take up residence near the mouth of the Tippecanoe River. Neither Dubois nor any of the other messengers could bring back any assurances of peace from their meetings with Tecumseh and the Prophet. Even a visit to Vincennes by Tecumseh did not secure the peace. Finally, Governor Harrison began to assemble an army of about 900 men to drive the Indians from Prophet's Town. Toussaint Dubois was made a captain in command of a company of spies and guides to serve from September 18 to November 12, 1811. After guiding the army safely to the vicinity of the Prophet's Town, Dubois and an interpreter made a final effort to parley, but it was no use. The Indians attacked Harrison's army on the morning of November 7, 1811. After a fierce battle in which both sides took heavy casualties, Harrison's army prevailed, the Prophet's power was diminished, and the Indian menace ended for a while.²¹

The Battle of Tippecanoe had been a prelude to the War of 1812. On September 26 of that year Toussaint Dubois was commissioned major commandant of all the spies in Indiana.²² He was able to leave his business affairs in the hands of his partner and son-in-law, William Jones, who had married Toussaint's eldest child, Susanne, around 1807. They had given Toussaint two grandchildren to brighten his later years — Marie Jeanne (baptized May 16, 1808) and Edouard (born November 13, 1809). By the war's end, they were joined by two sisters — Elizabeth (born February 9, 1813) and Susanne Ophelia (born July 17, 1814).²³

There are few surviving references to Dubois' service in the War of 1812. But one short notice from this period did appear in the *Western Sun*, the local Vincennes paper, in 1814. In it, Captain Toussaint Dubois informed the men who

had served with him in the Tippecanoe campaign that he had received money to pay them.²⁴ But there is little notice of his role in the war. It is probable that his age (he was about 60) limited his activity.

Dubois continued to travel on behalf of his firm, however, and while returning from a business trip, he met a tragic death. The accident occurred on March 11, 1816, as Dubois and a Black servant were returning along the Buffalo Trace from a visit to Pierre Menard at their Kaskaskia store. As they attempted to cross the flood-swollen Little Wabash River in Clay County, Illinois, Dubois and his horse were dragged under and drowned. The *Western Sun* noted his passing in a tribute published a few days later, concluding that "in him the poor have lost a benefactor, his country, a friend. He was a kind husband, an indulgent father and an honest man."²⁵

The political legacy of Toussaint Dubois was carried on by his son and grandson. His youngest child, Jesse K. Dubois, who was only five years old at the time of his father's death, went on to have a significant career in Illinois politics. He served as an official in the United States Land Office in Palestine, Illinois, as a member of the state legislature for 10 years, and then as a county judge. He was an early member of the Whig party and a strong opponent of the extension of slavery. At the urging of his friend Abraham Lincoln, the Republicans nominated Jesse K. Dubois as their candidate for auditor of public accounts in 1856. Following his election to that post, he moved his family to the state capital in Springfield. Re-elected in 1860 to a second four-year term, Jesse Dubois' political career ended in an unsuccessful campaign for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1864. He retired to his home in Springfield and died in 1876 at the age of 65.

Fred T. Dubois was born on May 29, 1851, in Crawford County in southeastern Illinois to Jesse and Adelia Morris Dubois. He was the fifth of seven children and was only five years old when the family moved to Springfield to a large house just down the street from that of the Lincoln residence. Educated at Shurtleff Preparatory School in Alton and at Yale College where he graduated with his brother Jesse in 1872, Fred returned briefly to Illinois before securing a job in Idaho as a cowboy. Within two years he was able to make use of the family's political connections to win an appointment as United States marshal of Idaho Territory in 1882. Four years later in 1886, he was elected territorial delegate to Congress and in 1890 become Idaho's first full-term United States Senator. For the next 16 years, he championed Idaho's wool, lead, sugar, timber and silver interests, compiled a progressive record, opposed American expansion in the Philippines, and helped found the Silver Republican party. During his second term in the Senate, Fred Dubois became a Democrat. However, he supported a bipartisan effort to conserve the natural resources of the West by helping to write the National Reclamation Act of 1902 and by defending President Theodore Roosevelt's controversial plan to set aside vast new national forests. Unfortunately, it must be noted, these positive achievements were somewhat overshadowed in the press by Dubois' efforts to oust Senator Reed Smoot of Utah from the Senate. This fruitless campaign, which Dubois saw as a matter of principle, was rooted in his long confrontation with the Mormons over the issues of polygamy and church influence in Idaho politics. Though he went down to defeat in the 1907 legislature and was replaced by his friend William E. Borah, Dubois had compiled a fundamentally progressive record while in the Senate. In retirement, he continued to take a lively interest in public affairs, serving as the conven-

tion floor manager for Champ Clark's abortive bid for the 1912 Democratic nomination and intervening in the 1918 election under the auspices of the Nonpartisan League to secure the re-election of both of Idaho's United States senators. Fred Dubois died in Washington, D.C., on February 14, 1930, at the age of 78.²⁶

Notes

1. Margaret Edna [Toussaint] Dubois, interview. Blackfoot, Idaho, August 1, 1962.

2. George R. Wilson *History of Dubois County* (Jasper, Indiana: Printed by the author, c. 1910), p. 397. Wilson adds the following information based on a legal notice that appeared at one time in a French newspaper: "It is said his father was a French nobleman and that Captain [i.e. Toussaint] Dubois was disinherited by his father for leaving France and coming to America with General Lafayette." While adding additional romantic elements to the Dubois family saga, this account seems highly unlikely. Toussaint Dubois was already under contract to the fur trading firm of Myer, Michaels & Co. early in 1780, before the arrival of the main contingent of French forces in July of that year. I am indebted to Mildred A. Winter of Watonga, Oklahoma for supplying a copy of this contract.

3. Mildred A. Winter, Watonga, Oklahoma, letter to the author, July 17, 1987. Toussaint Dubois is not listed in *Les Combattants Francais de la Guerre Americaine, 1778-83*, U. S. Congress, Senate, 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Document No. 77, Washington: Imprimerie Nationale 1905. See also: Lee Kennett, *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, c. 1977.

4. *St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1786-1795 & 1824-1830* (English translation), p. 18.

5. Springfield, Illinois, *Daily State Journal*, November 23, 1876. Records of St. Joachim Parish in Point Claire do not contain any reference to Toussaint Dubois. However, this may mean simply that he was baptized, married and buried elsewhere. It is not proof that he never lived in the parish. Moreover, the contract with the Myers, Michaels & Co. (see note 2 above) indicates that Toussaint Dubois was from Vaudreuil, a town in southern Quebec near the mouth of the Ottawa River, about twenty-four miles southwest of Montreal. This places him in the general area mentioned in the obituary notices cited above.

6. National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Lineage Book*, Vol. 91 (1912); (Washington, D.C.: Press of Judd and Detweiler, Inc., 1927), p. 266. This date may not be accurate. This source

lists Toussaint's parents as Jean Baptiste Dubois and Euphrania Dubois. This is obviously an error as the parish records cited above (n.4) give different information. See also Joseph Henry VanderBurgh Some, *Old Vincennes* (New York: Graphic Books, 1962), p. 132.

7. See note 5 above.

8. James Alton James, ed., "George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781," *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. 8 (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1912), pp. 56-59. Clarence Walworth Alvord, "The Oath of Vincennes," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1907* (Springfield, Ill.: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1908), pp. 270-276.

9. *History of Knox and Daviess Counties, Indiana* (Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1886), pp. 110-112.

10. *St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1786-1795 & 1824-1830* (English translation), p. 18. The couple were married by Father Pierre Gibault.

11. Susanne (born & baptized on July 17, 1789); Toussaint, Jr. (baptized on December 12, 1790); Honore (baptized on December 4, 1792); Charles (born on December 17, 1795); and Emanuel (born October 23, 1798). *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 31, 39, 53. *St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1796-1808* (English translation), p. 11.

12. *St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1796-1808* (English translation), p. 19.

13. Allen, "Sketch of the Dubois Family," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 5 (April 1912), p. 55.

14. The Bairs represented another stream of settlement in the area, that of the Scots who migrated from Kentucky along the route known as the "Buffalo Trace" for the millions of bison that had forged the original trail. For a history of this trail, see George R. Wilson and Gayle Thornbrough, "The Buffalo Trace," *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, 15 (1946) No. 2, p. 176-279. Jane Baird was the daughter of Thomas Baird, 2nd and Esther Kilgore Baird who had migrated into Indiana from the Louisville, Kentucky area. For a genealogy of the Baird family, see Eliza H. Brevoort, *Gleanings from the Wabash Valley* (Vincennes, Indiana: Francis Vigo Chapter, D.A.R., 1954), pp. 42-59. There had been no Catholic priest in the village since the death of Fr. Rivet on 25 February 1804. As Jane Baird was a Presbyterian, a minister of that church presided at her wedding to Toussaint Dubois and their children

were reared as Presbyterians.

15. Allen, "Sketch of the Dubois Family," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 5 (April 1912), p. 55. *Combined History of Edwards, Lawrence, and Wabash Counties, Illinois*, p. 70.

16. Somes, *Old Vincennes*, p. 130.

17. A local census taken in 1830 showed that out of a total population of 1,565 there were 768 white males, 639 white females, 63 free black males, 63 free black females, 12 male slaves and 20 female slaves. See Henry S. Cauthorn, *A History of the City of Vincennes, Indiana From 1702 to 1901* (Terre Haute, Indiana: Published by Margaret C. Cauthorn, c. 1902), p. 44. See also: Paul Finkelman, "Slavery and the Northwest Ordinance, A Study in Ambiguity," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 6 (Winter 1986), pp. 343-370.

18. The baptisms are recorded in *St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1796-1808*, p. 17. The will is in the Toussaint Dubois MSS, Byron Lewis Historical Library, Vincennes University, and is reprinted in Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, pp. 410-411. The will was signed on June 15, 1815. Dubois' children from his first marriage ranged in age from 18 to 27 at the time of his death in March 1816.

19. The patent is reproduced in Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 60. The land purchased was the Northeast quarter of section 3, township 1 south, range 5 west.

20. Harrison sent frequent messages to the Prophet's Town and to the most important villages of the Miamis, Delawares and Potawatomis. The chief messengers besides Toussaint Dubois were Francis Vigo, Joseph Barron, Pierre Laplante, John Conner, M. Brouillette and William Prince. See Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, p. 399.

21. The Indians left 38 dead on the field of battle. Harrison lost 37 killed and 151 wounded (25 of whom later died of their wounds). Two of Dubois' sons — Toussaint, Jr., and Henry — fought in the battle as privates in Captain Benjamin Parke's Light Dragoons. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, pp. 402, 404.

22. "Executive Journal of Indiana Territory, 1800-1816," *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, 3 (1900), No. 3, 186.

23. Two other children were born to William and Susanne Jones after Toussaint's death — Marie (born October 12, 1817) and William Toussaint Jones (born October 10, 1819 and died April 13, 1820). See

St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1796-1808, p. 49; *St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1774-1786 & 1809-1831*, pp. 54; 67. *St. Francis Xavier Parish Records, 1814-1838*, pp. 1, 10, 21, 25. William Jones preceded his infant son in death. William Toussaint Jones was baptized on November 31 [sic], 1819 [Oct. 31?]. His father is listed as deceased in the parish records as of the date of the baptism.

24. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, p. 403.

25. Wilson, *History of Dubois County*, p. 412. Toussaint Dubois was interred in the French cemetery in Vincennes after Masonic burial rites as recorded in the minutes of the local Masonic lodge on March 28, 1816. I am indebted to Robert Stevens and Robert Holden for supplying a copy of these minutes. Unfortunately, many accounts include the erroneous information that Toussaint Dubois' body never was found.

26. For a fuller account of the careers of Jesse K. Dubois and Fred T. Dubois, see Leo W. Graff, Jr., *The Senatorial Career of Fred T. Dubois of Idaho, 1890-1907* (New York & London: Garland Press, 1988) and "Fred Thomas Dubois, 1851-1930," *Register of the Fred T. Dubois Collection 1868-1930* (Pocatello, Idaho: Idaho State University Library, 1985), pp. 9-19.



THE PASSING OF THE WOODLAND PIONEER

by

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In his *New Guide to the West*, John Mason Peck wrote of our first American archetype, the woodland pioneer or backwoodsman: "First comes the pioneer, who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation, called the 'range,' and the proceeds of hunting . . . A log cabin . . . and field . . ., the timber girdled or 'deadened,' and fenced, are enough for his occupance."¹

Daniel Boone always has been the ideal personification of the backwoodsman. Even in his waning years he inspired praise: "He is 80 years old, very active, very poor, a hunter and recluse by choice . . . preferring to live meanly and rudely as a hardy hunter and squatter, wanting nothing but what nature gives him and his own hands get him."²

Peck defined the pioneer, but a closer examination allows us to distinguish additional features and considerable variety behind the stereotype. One admirer wrote, "They are hardy, active, industrious, and in the employment of the axe, wonderfully strong and dextrous."³ "Dextrous with the ax," wrote George Flower, one of the founders of the early Illinois settlement on English Prairie, "they built all our first log cabins, and supplied us with venison."⁴ The ax certainly stands as an enduring symbol of the woodland pioneer.

Reliance on the hunt, however, attracted much more attention and comment, both favorable and unfavorable. As Elias Fordham noted, "their rifle is their principal means of support."⁵ "They get game from the woods," and "skins bring them in whiskey," said another writer.⁶ A traveler reporting from Vincennes in 1818 comments, "Hunting seems the

everlasting delight of this town.”⁷

Such observations did not necessarily mean approval. The same traveler “stopped at a quarter-section farmer’s, who,” he tells us, “has never cleared nor inclosed any of his land, because sick or idle; being, however, well enough to hunt daily, a sport which, as he can live by it, he likes better than farming; ‘and besides,’ says he, ‘we had at first so many wild beasts about us, that we could not keep pigs, poultry, sheep, nor any thing else.’”⁸ The traveler witnessed a similar case: “Armstrong, a hunting farmer, this day shot four deer, while he is too idle to inclose his corn field, which is devoured by cattle and horses, save when a boy watches it to keep them off.”⁹

Such notes from easterners may, of course, be off-set by local residents with a different feel for the backwoods situation. W. M. Cockrum, in *Pioneer History of Indiana*, recalled,

Hunting for game through the long days was the most laborious work that could be done. Often when the snow was melting and the creeks and branches overflowing, the hunter waded through the wet all day, at night returning to his humble home all worn out, many times however, with three to six turkeys tied to his back and again with two to four pairs of venison hams and the hides of the deer. While all were fond of the chase and of necessity had to follow it, yet no labor ever performed by man was more trying on the constitution.¹⁰

George Flower praised the pioneers’ contributions of cabins and game; but also noted, “in a year or two, they moved into less-peopled regions.”¹¹ Indeed, mobility seems to have been the most frequently remarked upon trait of the pioneers. This characteristic follows naturally from the dependence on hunting. “The formation of a settlement in

his neighborhood is hurtful to his favourite pursuit," James Flint tells us, "and is the signal for his removing into more remote parts of the wilderness."¹² Such so-called restlessness helps explain the backwoodsman's apparent indifference to title to land. Peck thought that these frontiersmen relied on the various preemption laws to cash in on their "improvements" before moving on.¹³ No doubt some of them did, but in 1808 the Register of the Land Office at Kaskaskia reported to the Secretary of the Treasury that almost 200 families in the Illinois country had not secured their right to remain on their claims under the preemption legislation.¹⁴ Some years later an "Anonymous Protester" declared, "It is an undoubted fact that by far a majority of the inhabitants of the Territory are unlawful intruders on the public lands, and that all those living on the Ohio and Miss rivers below Kaskaskia, are with the Exceptions perhaps of 4 or 5 of this description, and that they amount to nearly half of the population of the Territory."¹⁵

Many of the squatters conformed to the semi-nomadic stereotype, but many others ventured into the wilderness in advance of the land surveys hoping to secure land under some form of preemption. William Faux spoke of squatters who claimed title "by long undisturbed possession."¹⁶ Others felt no need to wait: "We consider ourselves in a truly deplorable [situation] and should an indian War take place (which may God forbid) we leave your honourable Body to Judge of our situation — Sixty miles from any settlement of consequence in the midst of Indian Country and the most exposed part thereof — Disappointed in getting lands on easy and equitable terms in hopes of which we adventured *our lives* and the lives of our families."¹⁷

John Mack Faragher observes that many "poor settlers squatted . . . hoping to accumulate the purchase price through

their own labor, but, caught in the inflation of land values that accompanied development, many found themselves unable to raise the necessary cash.”^{17a} One of Faragher’s cases, John Pulliam, left Kentucky after 20 years’ residence for that reason and moved on to Illinois. But, Faragher concludes, “It is likely that John Pulliam spent his whole life farming without ever owning land.”¹⁸

It seems likely that Faragher has used the word “farming” to embrace both the subsistence farmer and one farming for cash returns. Yet there was an important difference between the two life-styles. The subsistence settler, a stage above the hunter-gatherer, pursued a varied existence, cultivating and hunting while his family gathered the fruits, berries, and seeds of the forest. In the process, they competed with their swine and perhaps their cattle that also foraged in the woods. On the other hand, the would-be commercial farmer attended to the clearing of the forest from his claim and tried to raise a cash crop as soon as possible. These latter pioneers sometimes took wage employment during the winter season. Occasionally such settlers brought with them substantial entourages of family and retainers to launch fairly large-scale estates.

The common conditions upon which the hunter-gatherer and subsistence farmer depended were mobility, isolation, a wooded environment, and free or cheap land. These were the terms under which the backwoodsman could display the traits of freedom and independence that made him “the lord of the manor” and roused such mixed feelings of envy and resentment among his fellow countrymen in the more settled areas.

After the War of 1812, a number of nearly simultaneous developments led to the disappearance of these first archetypal Americans. Under the Treaty of Ghent and its sequels, the Rush-Bagot Agreement and the Convention of

1818, the British virtually abandoned any interest in the Old Northwest. Congressional action closing the border to British traders and confining the Indian trade to American citizens reinforced the British decision. Not the least of the consequences was the end of Indian resistance to further advance of settlement. The Treaty of Ghent obliged the United States to make peace with the Indians and to restore them to their pre-war status. The ink was scarcely dry on the post-war treaties before the notion of removal of the Indians beyond the Mississippi and north of present-day Illinois began to take effect. The original proposals envisioned exchanges of land in the Old Northwest for territory west of the Mississippi River or in what is now Wisconsin. The penury of the government and the extended period required to effect the acculturation of the Indians argued in favor of such a policy. By 1825 what had been an ad hoc approach received formal expression by the president and in 1830 the Indian Removal Act became law. Completion of the removal process eliminated one of the major conditions that had defined the life of the old frontier.

In these same years the launching of the steamboat age and the canal era inaugurated the succession of Transportation Revolutions that changed, and continue to change, the face of the nation. These developments affected frontier life in two ways. In the first place, substitution of mechanical for muscle power accelerated the movement of goods and people and capital among the various parts of the country, hastening the evolution of the uncultivated, undeveloped wilderness. Secondly, new modes of transport — canals, turnpikes, plank roads, and the railroad — opened areas of the interior that previously had been inaccessible. Areas without navigable streams now could be incorporated into the economy of the larger region and the nation. Movers from neighboring states

largely had populated earlier frontiers. Kentucky served as the staging ground for much of the migration of the Old Northwest. New York and New England contributed pioneers mostly to western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio — and the New Englanders often arrived after stopovers of some duration along the way. The Erie Canal and the emerging steamship service on the Great Lakes meant greater and more direct movement from New England and New York into the newer frontier regions. Both the isolation and the relatively slow tempo of change in the interior came to an end, and with them another aspect of the old frontier life.

The manifold uncertainties of the early nineteenth century seemed removed with the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent and its sequels. There ensued a boom of western development. According to a report in the *Western Spy* of Cincinnati “. . . very many places have been purchased, by the practical farmer for agricultural purposes, at rates, which although the fact may astonish our tramontane brethren, and perhaps stagger their credulity, yet afford the most convincing evidence of the unexampled prosperity of this important section of the union.” From \$40 to \$70 per acre repeatedly were paid for choice places, estimated for their intrinsic worth, calculated only for cultivation and bought by practical farmers. Most of these purchases, of course, were on credit, so that when the bubble burst both the debtor and his creditor, usually the federal government, were in deep trouble. The response wrought further changes in pioneering.

Cost had posed a major obstacle to acquiring land from the public domain from the inception of the land system. The Ordinance of 1785 provided for the sale of minimum tracts of townships alternately with townships sold by sections. From an original price of \$1 per acre, the Land Act of 1796 doubled it to \$2, although it allowed a year's credit with a

down payment of half the purchase price.¹⁹ In 1800 and 1804 new legislation provided credit purchases, another snare albeit of a different sort. The paralysis of development induced by the Panic of 1819 evoked measures of relief and reform from Congress. An assortment of relief acts helped credit buyers retain land for which they had paid. The Land Act of 1820 abolished the credit system, cut the per-acre price to \$1.25 and reduced the minimum tract to 80 acres. The measure thus introduced the \$100 farm to the advancing frontier. In 1832 additional concessions brought on the 40-acre-\$50 farm.²⁰ Those developments brought government land within the reach of almost all aspirants to ownership and thus eliminated another of the conditions of woodland frontier life.

The effect of the foregoing changes opened the way for the disappearance of at least the would-be cash farmer from the ranks of the pioneers perpetually retreating before advancing settlement. The subsistence farmer-hunter and the hunter-gatherer likewise found their niches disappearing.

Coincidentally with the foregoing changes in the frontier economy, another occurred with sweeping effect. The frontier moved out onto the grasslands. The forest that had harbored the game of the hunter-gatherer and had sheltered the swine of the farmer-hunter now lay behind them. The groves and oak openings of the prairies deferred the end for some of the farmer-hunters, but opportunities for the hunter-gatherer disappeared. New types of frontiersmen exploited the new frontier.

A number of elements distinguished the new pioneers from the old. The changes inaugurated by the Transportation Revolutions brought foreign immigrants directly to the frontier, often as laborers on the canal and railroad projects. This, for instance, may explain the origin of rural St. Patrick's Parish, celebrating its sesquicentennial, as well as Maguire

Road and Irish Lane near my home in rural McHenry County, Illinois. At the same time, transportation facilities made it conceivable for immigrants from Germany — and Poland — to establish frontier colonies. Likewise, assorted utopian and religious groups began to resort to the back country, insulated by space and wilderness from the temptations of corrupt civilization. Settlers from New York and New England now came by boat to the ports of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan.

Unlike the early pioneers, none of these later groups had any experience in establishing a home and farm in the wilderness. This situation gave rise to a considerable outpouring of “how-to” books advising the tenderfoot on the many aspects of pioneering.²¹ Another notable difference between the new prairie pioneer and the old woodland frontiersman appears in the much greater reliance on the money economy for transportation, for the purchase of land, for labor, for yokes of oxen and breaking plows to open the prairie sod, and for subsistence until the land could be brought into production. Coming directly from the organized societies of the East and abroad, the prairie pioneers demanded a more orderly and organized life on the frontier. For example, I have not found any mention of claims associations or “squatters clubs” before the War of 1812. The sources from those earlier days often mention intimidation of bidders at land auctions or of would-be claim jumpers, but these incidents appear to have been ad hoc. The motivation behind the claims associations of the prairie pioneer period proved much more diverse, as Robert Swierenga has shown.²²

In sum, the changed technological, economic, social, and physical environment of the frontier after the War of 1812 eliminated the ecological niches that the hunter-gatherer and the farmer-hunter pioneer had occupied just long enough to have left us an enduring tradition.

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²William Faux, "Memorable Days in America, Being a Journal . . .," in *Early Western Travels*, ed. R.G. Thwaites: 11; 221. Hereafter Faux will be cited W. Faux, "Journal", *EWT* 11:p._____. See also Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (1950): 55.

³"Evans' Pedestrious Tour," in *EWT* 8: 148.

⁴George Flower, "Flower's English Settlement," 67-72 quoted in Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (1917, 1967): 104.

⁵Elias Fordham, "Personal Narrative" ed. F.A. Ogg, 125, quoted in *ibid.*, 103. See also W. M. Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana* (1907), 183: "Their business was to hunt game to feed themselves and their families."

⁶Johann David Schoef, *Travels in the Confederation 1783-1784* (1788), trans. and ed. A. J. Morrison (1911) quoted in Wayland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania* (1979), 194.

⁷William Faux, "Journal," *EWT* 11: 120.

⁸*Ibid.*, 203.

⁹*Ibid.*, 237.

¹⁰W. M. Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana*, 188.

¹¹George Flower, "Flower's English Settlement," quoted in Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 104.

¹²James Flint, "Letters . . .," in *EWT* 9: 232-3 and 235-6, in Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 104-5.

¹³See ref. no. 1.

¹⁴Michael Jones, Register of the District Land Office, Kaskaskia, 25 May 1808, to Albert Gallatin, Secretary of Treasury, in Raymond Hammes, ed., "The Report of 1807, Including Cover Letter and Index," *Illinois Libraries* 59, no. 5 (May, 1977): 328-29.

¹⁵"Anonymous Protest Against Transition to Second Grade of

Government," *Territorial Papers of the United States* 16: 209-210. Hereafter the *Territorial Papers* will be cited *TPUS*.

¹⁶William Faux, "Journal," *EWI* 11: 100-101.

¹⁷"Petition to Congress from Inhabitants of the Scioto," *TPUS* 2: 638-40, dated 1 Feb. 1798. See also Ninian Edwards, Elvirade, 14 Mar. 1812, to Richard M. Johnson, *ibid.*, 16: 201.

¹⁸John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek* (1986), 4-5. See also Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt* (1963), 27-28, where another footloose settler's wanderings are traced.

¹⁹B. H. Hibbard, *History of Public Land Policies*, 37-41, 56-69; R. M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage*, 7-17; P.W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development*, 61-71.

²⁰B. H. Hibbard, *History of Public Lands Policies*, ch. v, passim; R. M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage*, ch. ii, passim; and P. W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development*, ch. vii, passim.

²¹James W. Savage, Jr., "Do-It-Yourself Books for Illinois Immigrants," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 57 (Spring, 1964): 30-48.

²²Robert Swierenga, *Pioneers and Profits: Land Speculation on the Iowa Frontier* (1968), passim.

