# A Precise Journal of General Wayne's Last Campaign

# Foreword

THIS journal, signed Randolph, is one of a number of such personal accounts kept by officers and enlisted men in the Legion of the United States under command of Major General "Mad" Anthony Wayne during the course of his campaign of 1793-1794. Those of John Boyer, John Cook, Thomas Taylor Underwood, John Armstrong, Daniel Bradley, William Clark, Nathaniel Hart, James Elliot, and James Wilkinson are well-known to researchers in this area of frontier history. Others, such as those of Joseph G. Andrews, and two unidentified journals in the Filson Club (Louisville, Ky.) and Indiana Historical Society libraries, are not generally in circulation. To these must be added, now, the Precise Journal of General Wayne's Last Campaign in the Year 1704 Against the Western Indians Taken Down in the Course of the Campaign with an Account of an Attack Made on Fort Recovery by the Indians on the 30th June Preceding, known only by the single copy acquired this year by the American Antiquarian Society.

One's first reaction to the discovery of a new account is that it must be, on the whole, a duplication of the others which are already known. Such is not the case. Each of these journals and diaries contributes something of its own; more precisely, each portrays the author's particular interests, tastes, and attitudes. Likewise each journal or diary has its own peculiar literary flavor, which, in itself, is interesting to historians, and, particularly, to linguists. Some of the journals, such as the one printed here, exhibit a great

deal of romanticism and idealism. Some show the author's interest in the out-of-doors, in farming, hunting, and fishing. Still others are passionless accounts of day to day occurrences. Finally, there are those which display rancour, hatred, distrust, and other petty disturbances which permeated Wayne's army. To understand these journals fully, one must be steeped in the history of this frontier warfare, the men who made it, and the issues involved. To explain those here would be impossible, but a quick review of the situation concerning which our journalist wrote would not be amiss.

Wayne's campaign of 1794 was a culmination of a series of efforts to subdue the hostile Indians of the Northwest Territory. Since the Treaty of Paris of 1783, which concluded the American Revolution, the British in Canada had been remiss in fulfilling their treaty obligations of evacuating border areas. While ostensibly this was founded on the premise that the newly-formed United States had not exercised enough pressure on the individual states to repay Loyalists for losses suffered during the war as stipulated in the treaty, the real reason for continued occupation was much more clear, though never officially stated. Fur trade in these areas was becoming more and more lucrative as the years passed. When the treaty provisions regarding the cession of these border areas was known, merchants immediately put pressure on the Crown for an alteration. However, with war clouds hanging over Europe, England dared not openly demand the change. Yet, the course of action followed, achieved, for a time, the same result. On April 8, 1784, the very day before George III officially proclaimed the Treaty of Paris ratified, an order was issued to hold the posts; in short, to hold the border areas.

Unfortunately, the weak government under the Articles of Confederation was not able to thwart British incursions into the acknowledged territory of the United States. There British Indian agents operated freely, and British merchants

[Oct.,

reaped the harvest of ever more profitable fur trade. It was not until the new constitution was put into effect, and a more stable government established, that the United States exerted, effectively, its claims in the Northwest.

One of the last acts of the out-going government of the Articles of Confederation was the approval of theOrdinance of 1787 which provided for the government and settlement of the lands lying north and west of the Ohio River. However, while this document was to become a basis for much of the territorial legislation of the future, it early became apparent that peaceful settlement of the region was impossible. Treaties between the United States and the British-inspired and instigated Indians proved useless, and, as time went on, Indian depredations increased, and settlement slowed to a mere trickle. Military force alone appeared to be the answer.

Thus it was that in 1790, Brigadier General Josiah Harmar, commander of the troops of the Northwest Territory, led his poorly-equipped and badly-trained army to the seat of the Indian resistance at the Miami Indian villages, situated at the confluence of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers. Here he met defeat.

The following year, the governor of the Northwest Territory, Arthur St. Clair, took matters into his own hands, and, at the head of some 1,200 troops, prepared to achieve victory over the haughty savages. Again, the men were not sufficiently trained or adequately aware of the savage fury of the foe they were to meet. On the morning of November 4, 1791, on the banks of the Wabash, many miles short of their goal, the Miami Indian villages, the army was ambushed and encircled. Only a concentrated push into one section of the Indian line allowed a remnant of the force to escape in disorganized chaos to Fort Jefferson, the northernmost of the American posts on the frontier. Nine hundred men were either killed or wounded that day in, relatively, the worst military disaster ever to befall an

[Oct.,

American army. Only the Indians' desire for plunder saved the force of St. Clair from complete anihilation.

On March 5, 1792, Congress approved a final attempt to subdue the hostile savages and to save the northwest for American settlement. For command of the army, the newly-organized Legion of the United States, Major General Anthony Wayne was chosen. Already experienced in Indian fighting along the southern borders of Georgia and renowned as a strict disciplinarian, Wayne brought to bear upon his troops his whole theory of military tactics, training, and discipline. For over two years he trained his men, first at Legion Ville, near Pittsburgh, then at Hobson's Choice, just outside of Cincinnati. Finally, in the autumn of 1793, he moved his army northward, but supplies were scarce and he had to call a halt, far short of his goal, until the following year. Encamped at Greene Ville, he continued his rigorous training and brought morale to a fever pitch. In the summer of 1794 he renewed his march, and, on August 20, 1794, achieved an unequivocal victory over the hostile Indians at Fallen Timbers. The following year, the disappointed savages, over eleven hundred strong, negotiated the Treaty of Greene Ville which opened the "Ohio Country" to peaceful settlement and provided the entré for the settlement of the entire Northwest.

This journal covers the period of Wayne's active campaign of the year 1794. Quite probably it was not written by an officer. Several things seem to point in this direction. First, the journal itself shows a concern and interest in the enlisted personnel not found in the diaries and journals kept by officers. Secondly, the author, Randolph (if that be really his name), is not listed in any of the rosters either of the federal army or militia for the period. Finally, the journalist seems completely oblivious to the formation of policy and tactics which are principle topics found in the writings of the officer personnel.

The only indication that the writer might not have been an enlisted man is the literary quality of the work. As most of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the army were nearly illiterate, if not actually so, a journal of this type seems hardly in the pattern. However, one also gets the impression that, in spite of the fact that the title page says: "taken down in the course of the campaign," the journal was severely edited before its publication. The very first sentence hardly seems an effort of daily notation in a journal, especially one which would be written during the rush and hurry of the first day of an active campaign. Likewise other statements appear to be poetic additions supplied as after-thoughts.

In spite of the literary license, either taken on the field or later, the journal, because of its concern with the dayto-day life and activities of the military personnel, has a real historic value and is an important contribution to our knowledge of the campaign. However, the most important value is the account of the attack on Fort Recovery, apparently added as an after-thought, but actually one of the best accounts available relating to this particular event in which the largest force of Indians ever to assemble against the Americans was thwarted in its attempt to take the forwardmost of the United States' outposts. Here, rather than at Fallen Timbers, was the Indian resistance broken. Here it was that Little Turtle, the Miami War Chief and victor over St. Clair and Harmar, despaired of victory over Wayne and stepped down from his place of primary leadership. It was after the battle of Fort Recovery that many tribes gave up the fight, never to assemble again in opposition to the American arms.

Editing of the journal has been kept to a minimum, being generally limited to the identification of individuals mentioned in the course of the daily entries. Spellings, punctuation, and sentence structure have been retained as originally

printed in 1795. The other journals of the campaign are the following:

John Boyer	"Daily Journal of Wayne's Campaign," in American Pioneer, I, 315-322, 351-357.
John Cook	"Captain John Cook's Journal," in American Historical Record, II, 311-316, 339-345.
Thomas T. Underwood	Journal of Thomas Taylor Underwood, pub- lished by Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Ohio, Cincinnati: 1945.
John Armstrong	"John Armstrong's Journal," in McBride's Pioneer Biography, I, 118-122.
Daniel Bradley	Journal of Captain Daniel Bradley, edited by Frazer E. Wilson, Greenville: 1935.
William Clark	"Journal of General Wayne's Campaign Against the Shawnee Indians in Ohio, 1794–1795," edited by R. C. McGrane, in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, I, 418–444.
Nathaniel Hart	"Memorandum of Occurrences in the Expedi- tion Under General Anthony Wayne, 1794," MS in Draper Collection, Wisconsin His- torical Society.
James Elliot	Diary of James Elliot in a series of volumes entitled the Works of James Elliot, Green- field, Mass.: 1798.
James Wilkinson	"Narrative of the Fallen Timbers Campaign," edited by M. M. Quaife, in <i>Miss. Vall.</i> <i>Hist. Rev.</i> , XVI, 81–90.
Joseph G. Andrews .	Journal of Joseph Gardner Andrews, not pub- lished. Library of Congress, MS Division.
Volunteers' Journals .	"Two Journals of the Kentucky Volunteers," edited by Richard C. Knopf, in <i>Filson Club</i> <i>History Quarterly</i> , XXVII, 247–281.
Unidentified Journal .	"From Greene Ville to Fallen Timbers," edited by Dwight L. Smith, in Indiana Historical Society Publications, XVI, 239- 333.

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A PRECISE JOURNAL OF General Wayne's last Campaign IN THE YEAR 1794. against the WESTERN INDIANS. TAKEN DOWN IN THE COURSE OF THE CAMPAIGN. -WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN ATTACK MADE ON Fort Recovery, BY THE INDIANS, ON THE 30th JUNE PRECEDING. HAGERS-TOWN: PRINTED BY JOHN GRUBER, NEAR THE COURT-HOUSE, 1795. 6 agers lown

# A Precise Journal, Sec.

## HEAD QUARTERS GREENVILLE, July 28th, 1794<sup>1</sup>

This Morning's Gun started the wakeful Centinel on his Post, and roused the sleeping Soldier from his lovely Bed; no more the *Reveille* is heard to beat, but in its Place the General calls to strike the Tents. *Aurora* blushing, threw wide the Prospect of the East, and *Sols* resplendent Rays lighted up this lower World—The Assembly warns the Soldier to his wonted post. In this Situation we waited in anxious Expectation for one Hour; at length a Signal-Gun from the East Bastion of the Citadel bids the Drums, Trumpets, Fifes, &c. strike up the *forward Move*.—Greenville adieu! many anxious and tedious Hours shall pass e'er I visit you again.

For two or three Miles the Country thro' which we passed was choaked up with Bushes; but a far more trying Scene was near at Hand; for we now entered a low and swampy Place, thro' which we were compelled to pass, (a great Part of the Time to our Ankles in Mud) until we arrive a still Water,<sup>2</sup> a small muddy Creek at this Place, forty Feet wide; crossing it the Legion<sup>3</sup> was halted and encamped in a formidable hollow Square,—seven hundred mounted Volunteers from Kentucky in our Rear, under Command of Major General Charles Scott.<sup>4</sup>

Advanced 12 Miles this Day.

<sup>1</sup>Greenville was spelled "Greene Ville" by Wayne. The post was named in honor of General Nathaniel Greene. Wayne Mss., Historical Society of Pennsylvania, XXX, doc. 102. (Hereinafter designated Wayne Mss.)

<sup>2</sup> Stillwater Creek is a branch of the Great Miami River running about half-way between Greenville and Fort Recovery.

<sup>a</sup> The term "Legion" was used to designate the Army of the United States. See: John F. Callan, *Military Laws of the United States* (Baltimore, 1858), p. 63; law approved March 5, 1792. This organization called for four infantry regiments, or Sub Legions, a battalion of artillery, and a squadron of dragoons (cavalry). The total authorized strength was 4,563, though Wayne never had such a large number of men under his command.

<sup>4</sup> Major General Charles Scott, a veteran of the American Revolution and commander of the Kentucky Mounted Volunteers, militia, during Wayne's campaigns, 1793 and 1794. See: Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register* (Washington, 1903), I, 868.

JULY 29th.

Again the lively Soldier resumes his Duty, and being warned by the established Signals, the Line of March is formed and continued 12 Miles thro' a Country somewhat preferable to that thro' which we passed yesterday.

At 3 o'Clock P.M. arrived at Recovery<sup>5</sup> and are here saluted with fifteen Guns from the South and East Block-Houses of the Garrison. The Rout[e] is continued a few hundred Yards advanced of the Fort, and halting on the Northwest Side of a Branch of Wabash River,<sup>6</sup> encamp as on the preceding Night, errecting formidable Works, which rendered our Situation almost impenetrable.

We are now on the same Ground on which so many American Veterans became an unhappy Sacrifice to Savage Fury, on the ever memorable 4th Nov. 1791;<sup>7</sup> and when we reflect on this Circumstance, it animates us with additional Desires of being revenged. In short, the Aspects of the Soldiery, the Regularity of our March and Encampments, together with the perfect Tranquility that pervades the Whole, affords a pleasing Presage of what is to come, and leaves no Doubt of Victory whenever the Enemy will give us an Opportunity of trying the Issue.

#### JULY 30th.

Again the Line of March is formed—Farewell Recovery, for a Time farewell. "May an all-wise Director inspire this Legion with Strength and Power, to do Justice to themselves, their Country and their deceased Friends, a Recollection of whose dying Groans calls on and bids us be steady, brave and undaunted. The sprightly Drums direct a forward Move; the Lines already formed, the chearful Soldiery obey the Call. The March is taken up and continued eleven Miles thro' a Country, the Soil of which is indifferent.

- <sup>5</sup> Fort Recovery, built by Wayne, Dec. 23-26, 1793.
- <sup>6</sup> This was not a branch of, but the Wabash River itself.

 $^7$  Nov. 4, 1791, the date of St. Clair's defeat when 900 of his force of 1,200 were either killed or wounded.

280

[Oct.,

At five o'Clock P.M. arrived at Beaver Creek, at which Place our Progress is much retarded, being compelled to throw a Bridge across this Creek, before we could proceed.

#### JULY 31st.

Remain encamped as yesterday on Beaver Creek. A Fatigue from the Legion and the Pioneers and Artificers busied in erecting a Bridge, which proves a Difficulty almost insurmountable, as the Creek is a wide and deep Water, the Bottom of which is a perfect Mud.

## AUGUST Ist.

At eight o'Clock A.M. the Bridge is completed, the Troops assembled and the Line of March taken up; and being continued a few Miles, we enter a large and beautiful Tract of open Country, properly to describe which is not in my Power, but must observe it is beautifully situated and luxuriantly fertile, and from the Appearance of which we have every Right to suppose, it has not long since been inhabited by some People, probably by a Part of those Savages we are now in Quest of. The small Groves or Lines of Trees to be seen throughout this Tract, adds to it[s] Beauty, and induces me to believe they have been left to serve as dividing Lines between the Fields and Plantations of its former Inhabitants-In short, this Garden-Spot experiences but one Disadvantage, and that arises from the Scarcity of Water;8 but as it is now the Heat of Summer, it is probable many Streams are now small and scarcely to be seen, which at another Season would appear conspicuous.

Passing thro' this Tract a few Miles, we arrive at the St. Mary's River, in General a small muddy Stream, but at this Place it is near ninety Feet wide; crossing it the Legion is halted, and proceed to encamp and fortify; but the Commander in Chief having a View the erecting a Garrison on this River, and finding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The term "scarce" as applied to water generally means a scarcity of water fit to drink. The small, stagnant pools were filled with decaying vegetation and the water unfit to drink. Often times the men dug holes in the boggy ground (they were now crossing part of the Black Swamp area) and dipped the water from them which seeped in through a natural earth filter.

#### American Antiquarian Society [Oct.,

the opposite Shore the best calculated for that Purpose, we are again assembled, recross the River and encamp in a sustaining front and rear Line, which are parallel to the River; the Flank-Companies encamp in due Order without and around those Lines, forming the Guards necessary for the Safety of the Whole.

Advanced eleven Miles.

#### AUGUST 2d.

Remain encamped on the St. Mary's-The Pioneers and Artificers commence preparing Timber for a Garrison. The many Fishing-Parties out this Day, and the Mode they make Use of, merits Description: Eight or ten Soldiers sewing their Blankets together, enter the Water, and moving with the Stream for twenty or thirty Yards, make the Shore; at some Times catching from eight to ten Fish of an excellent Size and Quality, such as Pike, Pickeron, Pearch, Salmon, Trout, &c.9 Numbers of those Parties being out this Day, the greater Part of the Army is supplied with Fish.

#### AUGUST 3d.

The Garrison going on with Spirit-the Fishing-Parties encrease and are successful-at twelve o'Clock A.M. the Fatigue augmented-at one a Tree falls on the Commander in Chief's Marque[e], he narrowly escapes, and a Report for a few Moments prevails that he is killed; from this Source much Confusion arises and encreases, until the Soldiery are undeceived.<sup>10</sup> The Fatigue continues untill nine at Night-all is Hurry. The Garrison is completed and called Adams, after the present Vice-President

<sup>10</sup> There is more than a slight indication that this was an attempt to murder Wayne by the Wilkinson faction of the Legion. James Wilkinson, Wayne's second in command, was extremely disappointed that he did not receive the command of the army following St. Clair's resignation. There is also evidence that he was in communication with the British in Canada. See: Wayne Mss., XXXVIII, doc. 79, statement of Robert Newman, a deserter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Fishing methods varied from place to place. At some places, such as Fort Hamilton, a so-called "fish pot" was constructed which consisted of a V-shaped dam across the Miami River, in the apex of which was a wicker basket into which the fish were carried by the current of the stream. Also to be noted is the change of types of fish found in streams in that time as compared with this. According to Dr. Milton Trautman of Stone Laboratory, Put-in-Bay, Ohio, changes in stream currents and vegetation altered the number and type of fish population in these streams of the Black Swamp area.

of the United States.<sup>11</sup> The Whole under Orders to march at five o'Clock to-morrow Morning. One thousand Volunteers, under Command of Brigadier-General Barber [Barbee], join the Legion.<sup>12</sup>

## AUGUST 4th.

*Reveille* one Hour before the Appearance of *Aurora* this Morning, bids the Soldiery to prepare to march; the Call is obeyed, and at the Rising of the Sun all Things being ready, the March is resumed and continued ten Miles thro' a low flat Country, which has the Appearance of being wet and swampy at any other Season, but is at present totally destitute of Water—The Land fertile and well timbered.

At five o'Clock P.M. we arrive at a small Pond, halt and encamp as usual, after having marched all this Day, which was sultry, without a Drop of Water.

#### AUGUST 5th.

Early this Morning the March is again taken up and continued eleven Miles thro' a Country similar to that thro' which we passed yesterday, and at six o'Clock we happily arrive at a small Creek, which we cross frequently before halted; at length halt and encamp

Remarks:—Altho' the Garrison is erected on a rising Ground, at many Periods of the Year it is entirely overflowed. The St. Mary's River abounds in Fish, and the Woods stocked with Game. The Block-Houses eighteen Feet Square, and the Pickets from the Corner of the Block-Houses to the Bend or Elbow are twenty-four Feet. The largest House is the Commandants, and the smallest is a Guard-Room.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In spite of this journalist's statement, the fort was far from completed when the army marched, much to the chagrin of James Underhill, who was appointed its commandant: "The Block-houses are neither chunked or roofed, without doors cut in them—the Stockade not half finished—the timber on the opposite side of the river . . . at a considerable distance— . . . this officer [Lieutenant Underhill] is so sensible of his forlorn situation, that he expressed in despair . . . a wish that the Indians would immediately come and tomahawk himself and his detachment, to prevent him from cutting his own throat. . . . " Dwight L. Smith, ed., *From Greene Ville to Fallen Timbers* (1952). Underhill's command consisted of forty invalids; it was Wayne's practice never to leave able-bodied men for garrison duty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Brigadier General Thomas L. Barbee, appointed Nov. 1, 1793. Wayne Mss., XXX, doc. 56.

[Oct.,

as usual.—Some Rain this Day, and in Expectation of more to-morrow.

## AUGUST 6th.

In perfect Readiness for, and desirous of an Attack, with Chearfulness the March is resumed and continued ten Miles, then halt and encamp at the usual Hour. The Soil fertile and rendered beautiful by the lofty Timber it produces. One Battalion mounted Volunteers and a Party of Spies proceed to an old Indian Town a few Miles in our Front, and not meeting any Part of the Enemy, returned the same Afternoon.

#### AUGUST 7th.

Again the March is taken up and continued but a few Miles, when we arrive at the Grand Glaize [Auglaize] River, a delightful Stream, at this Place about one hundred Yards wide, passing thro' a Country the Soil of which is fertile and its Situation pleasant. The right Wing crossing and passing down the Stream, enter the old Indian Town spoken of in the Entry of yesterday, and in which are the Ruins of eight or ten Cabins. The Rout continued a few Miles father down the River, & the Wing-Battalion-Men recrossing it, we halt and encamp as usual.

#### AUGUST 8th.

The March taken up and continued four Miles, we enter an Indian Settlement, which continues a Number of Miles down the River. Those Settlements are composed of small Clusters of Towns, standing on eligible and high Situations on the Banks of the River, and abound in Vegetables of almost every Description. Extensive Corn-Fields beautifully green and flourishing, now present themselves to our View. We continue our Rout thro' those Fields 4 Miles, to where the Grand Glaize and Maumi [Maumee] Rivers form a Junction; and halting here, encamp, the Whole of the Legion on the West Side of the Grand Glaize and on the Point between that and the Maumi, except the right Flankers, who encamp on the East Side of the Grand Glaize; the Volunteers of Kentucky, under Command of Major General

Scott, encamp on the North Side of the Maumi, and nearly opposite the Legion. The Whole abound in Plenty, produced by the extensive Corn-Fields and Gardens contiguous to our present Encampment. The flourishing State of the Productions of this Country convinces me of the Fertility of its Soil, and its Pleasantness is most surpassingly beautiful.

In Consequence of having marched thro' Rain this Day, at five o'Clock the Arms are discharged and put in Order, after which formidable Works were erected by the respective Corps in their respective Situations.

Advanced eight Miles.

## AUGUST 9th.

The Pioneers and Artificers busied in preparing Timber for the Erection of a Garrison. From the Appearance of the Indian Cabins, Gardens, Fields, &c. we are now in Possession of, there remains no Doubt but the Enemy very lately left this Place; Numbers of Brass Kettles are found in the Weeds, and every Thing so situated as to wear the Appearance of a sudden Departure of the Savages; Chisels, Hammers, Augers, &c. are likewise found, which induces me to believe white Men have resided here-The many Barrels, Kegs, &c. to be seen strengthens this Belief. On an Examination of the Effects of the Industry of the Savages, I can say with Propriety, their Gardens produce Vegetables equal to any I have ever seen. The Bullocks and Horses turned into the Corn-Fields, and are making great Destruction. Foraging Parties continually out, subjecting themselves in too great a Measure to the Enemy, by going many Miles without Arms, perhaps lulled into this Circumstance by the Appearance of the sudden Flight of the Enemy.

#### AUGUST 10th.

Captain Wells, M'Laland, and some others of the Spy Department, leave this Place in Search of the Enemy.<sup>13</sup>—We begin the Garrison.

<sup>13</sup> William Wells, Wayne's chief scout, one-time captive of the Indians, and son-in-law of the Miami chief, Little Turtle; Robert McClelland, also a scout. See: John McDonald, *Biographical Sketches* (Cincinnati, 1838), pp. 183 ff.

## American Antiquarian Society [Oct.,

## AUGUST 11th.

Two Block-Houses of the Garrison completed. The Whole going on with Spirit.

#### AUGUST 12th.

The Garrison nearly completed. Captain Wells and M'Laland return and bring with them two Indian Prisoners, a Man and Woman, but are wounded themselves, Captain Wells in the Arm, Mr. M'Laland in the Shoulder. Not far from this Place they discovered a few Savages, with whom a Skirmish ensued, in which they received the Wounds just spoken of, and took the beforementioned Prisoners; who report that Newman, of the Ouarter-Master's Department, who was supposed to have been taken on the 2d. Instant, is now with the Indians; that he deserted to them and was the first who gave Information of the Approach of the Army.

#### AUGUST 13th.

Miller, of the Spy Department, <sup>14</sup> and the Man-Prisoner brought in by Captain Wells, depart for the Enemy's Encampment, (which said Prisoner reports is a Roch de Boo,15 and near the British Fort<sup>16</sup>) they carry a Flag and friendly Talk, in which we suppose Propositions for Peace are made.<sup>17</sup> We wait in Anxiety the Effects this Talk may have on a combined Force of savage People. The Garrison completed and called Defiance.\*

\*Remarks:-There is a rising Ground on the opposite Side of the Maumi, two hundred and fifty Yards above the Garrison, which commands it; in every other Case it commands itself.

<sup>17</sup> The message sent to the Indians simply asked them to come to a meeting to talk over a peace settlement. Wayne Mss., XXXVII, doc. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Christopher Miller, a former captive of the Shawnee Indians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Roche de Bout, a large stone outcrop in the middle of the Maumee River, used by the Indians as a place of council.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Fort Miamis, built by the British during the spring and summer, 1794, to cut off Wayne's expected advance toward Detroit and to bolster Indian morale. See: Richard C. Knopf, "Fort Miamis, the International Background," in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, LXI, No. 2 (April, 1952), pp. 146-166.

#### AUGUST 14th.

We put ourselves in Readiness for a forward Move, but this is prevented by the Indisposition of the Commander in Chief, which prevents his marching in bad weather,<sup>18</sup> and this we now have.

## AUGUST 15th.

In anxious Expectation we wait the Signal for a Move; at length the sprightly Drums bids the hardy Soldiery resume their Duty, the Lines are formed, the March begins, and the lovely Music of the Legion adds additional Life to the steady, firm and undaunted Steps of its Veterans. With Chearfulness and Life the March is continued nine Miles down the Miami of the Lakes [Maumee] to Sneakes-Town [Snakestown], where as usual we halt and encamp. The Soil over which we have marched this Day is of an excellent Quality, and that on which we are now encamped sufficiently proves itself by discovering to our View numerous flourishing Fields and Gardens, producing much Vegition, which is of an excellent Quality.

#### AUGUST 16th.

Being summoned by the usual Signals, we are again compelled to bid adieu to gentle Sleep one hour before *Aurora* had quit the silent Retreat, and resuming the March just as *Phoebus* had commenced the Darting of his Rays, we continue it until 3 o'Clock P.M. at which Time the Legion is halted, the Indisposition of the Commander in Chief rendering it necessary for him to be refreshed with a few Hours Rest and Concealment from the Sun, which now shone forth extremely hot. During our Halt here, Miller the Spy, who left the Army on the 13th Instant, returns and reports, that he was received and treated well by the Indians, who are encamped near the British Fort, and are (he supposes) aided with Provisions from that Garrison, the Seeing of which he was prohibited; he supposes that the Number of Warriors encamped at this Place does not exceed one thousand, and that fighting is their decided Intention. He brings a Letter

<sup>18</sup> Wayne suffered much from the gout and, at this time, was not recovered as yet from his "accident" at Fort Adams.

to the Commander in Chief, (signed George White-Eyes, Jun.) which contains Propositions for the American Army to remain ten Days at the Forts; "by which Time—to use their own Language—we shall be able to collect the Sentiments of all our Warriors, and give you our final Answer."—<sup>19</sup> Thus much says British Policy thro' the Medium of the artful Elliot, M'Kee and the just spoken of White-Eyes<sup>20</sup>: but discerning WAYNE is too well guarded against their Wiles, and like a discreet and politic General he is moving his Army on. Advanced a few Miles farther and encamped. In all advanced nine Miles this Day: and thro' a fertile Soil well timbered.

#### AUGUST 17th.

Again the March is taken up, and being continued thirteen Miles thro' a Body of rich Land, we halt and encamp as usual. We suppose ourselves now within seventeen Miles of Roch De Boo, at which Place, as has been before observed, the whole Force of the Savages lie encamped; therefore to-morrow will in all Probality produce a Victory or a Defeat—the latter we fear not, the former we flatter ourselves we are assured of; and now it is that the Hearts of American Veterans beat high with that Courage, which will no Doubt shortly gain them immortal Honor.—Be this as it may, resolved we are on *Victory* or *Death*.

#### AUGUST 18th.

Aurora appears, but no Enemy to be seen yet. Bright Phoebus shews forth, and we have yet not hostile Visitors. Thus far has the American Legion proved successful, and when we reflect that they have advanced two hundred Miles in an Enemy's Country, compelled to encounter innumerable Disadvantages, and all that arises from the Troubles that attend the Transporting Provisions in a Wilderness Country, where the Roads are bad and Water-Courses innavigable, we cannot but admire the Con-

#### 19 Wayne Mss., XXXVII, doc. 7.

<sup>20</sup> Alexander McKee and Mathew Elliot, British Indian agents in the Maumee Valley area; both deserted, together with Simon Girty, from Fort Pitt during the American Revolution. See: Consul W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1890), pp. 49-51.

288

[Oct.,

duct of the Whole, from the Commander in Chief down to the private Centinel. But enough, a few Days will crown the Praise they have already merited, and render the unequalled Honor they have recently gained immortal.

At six o'Clock the Line of March was taken up and continued nine Miles thro' a Country, the Soil of which is light and sandy. but its Situation rendered pleasant and agreeable by the Beauty of the River and its high Banks. Halt and encamp. In our Rout we pass several small Vilages, among the common Cabins of which there were large and convenient Store-Houses, in which many Books of Accounts were found of thirty Years standing. likewise Silversmith's Tools and many other Articles, which proves that extensive Connections have been kept up in this Quarter between the Whites of Detroit and the Savages. At some of those Settlements extensive and delightful Gardens discovered themselves to our View, producing almost every Species of Vegetation, which proves equal to any I have ever seen. There is likewise at one of those Villages an Orchard of Peach-Appleand Plumb-Trees, the Fruit of which was by no Means indifferent. After encamping this Evening and completing our Fortifications. Captain Schrim and his Spy-Company not exceeding fifteen in Number, were dispatched on Horses to reconnoiter the Situation of the Enemy; they had not proceeded but a few Miles, when a Detachment of the Enemy compelled them to retire; in doing which they were so closely pursued, that May, one of their Party, unfortunately fell into the Hands of the Enemy. Great Expectations of an Attack to-morrow Morning.

## AUGUST 19th.

In our Expectations we are disappointed, as the Enemy have not yet shewn themselves except in small Parties some Distance from us. Captain Gibbie's <sup>21</sup> Spies sent forward at six o'Clock this Morning, to watch the Motions of the Enemy. The Whole of the Legion except the necessary Guards on Fatigue, are employed in erecting a formidable Work, which is completed, and

<sup>21</sup> Ephraim Kibby, of Columbia, a volunteer of the Indian Wars.

iption deposited; for which

Oct.,

in it all the Baggage of every Description deposited; for which Reason it is called Camp Deposit. Captain Shrim and his Spies likewise dispatched to reconnoitre the Enemy, and return in a few Hours with one of his Party wounded.

At 6 o'Clock P.M. the light Companies were called in, and piled their Arms in the Centre of the Square—The Whole under Orders to march at five o'Clock to-morrow Morning.

## AUGUST 20th.

Prevented from marching this Morning at the appointed Hour by Rain; but a 7 o'Clock the Line of March is taken up and continued in the most perfect Order for four Miles, when a Firing commenced in Front; in a few Moments our advanced Parties were compelled to retire by a superior Number. In the Interim the Legion was formed in two Lines, but the Commander in Chief finding the Enemy were gaining our left Flank, ordered the Rear Line to advance to support the Front-This done, and the Whole formed now in one sustaining front Line, a Charge was ordered, in which the Enemy were routed and compelled to retire one Mile in one Hour. When the Pursuit was left, the Legion halted and refreshed with an Issue of some Spirits-our Killed and Wounded collected, the former enterred, the latter dressed and sent to Camp Deposit. Among the Killed was that good, brave, gallant and intrepid Captain Robert Mis Campbell, of the second Troop Light Dragoons, and then commanding Officer of the Cavalry, who fell in a Charge on the Enemy in an early Part of the Action; by which the Legion was deprived of one of its bravest Officers, before he had an Opportunity of rendering his Country those Services which were to be expected from his Bravery. It would be vain for Abilities like mine to attempt to describe the deceased Captain Campbell's Virtues; but to do Justice to his Memory I cannot avoid observing, he was possessed of every Qualification which constitutes the Gentleman, the Officer and a good Man: and as he was when living generally loved, now that he is dead I believe he is as generally lamented.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Robert Mis Campbell, native of South Carolina; lieutenant of Dragoons, May 14, 1792; appointed captain, Oct. 7, 1792. Heitman, op. cit., I, 279.

Lieutenant Henry B. Towles, a brave and gallant Officer of the 4th Sub-Legion Light-Infantry, was also killed in the Course of this Action, and several other intrepid Officers wounded.<sup>23</sup>

During the Halt of the Legion at this Place, and while the right Flankers were in Advance of the Army half a Mile, a Canadian was taken,<sup>24</sup> who was painted and dressed like an Indian Warrior. In one half Hour the Whole moved some Distance father down the River and within half a Mile of the Fort, where we were halted and encamped under the Guns of said Garrison, from which a Flag was this Afternoon received—its Purport unknown.

Advanced six Miles this Day.

#### AUGUST 21st.

Continue encamped near the British Garrison, from which a Drummer this Day deserts to us. Flags continually passing.<sup>25</sup>

## AUGUST 22d.

Still continue near the Garrison. At nine o'Clock the four Light Companies and four Troops Dragoons advanced in silent Order within one hundred Yards of said Garrison, and forming around it in a thick Wood, remain there until the Commander in Chief viewed every Part of their Works; which done we were marched back and dismissed. Immediately after which a Flag was received from Major Campbell, the Commandant of said Garrison.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Henry B. Towles, native of Virginia; lieutenant in levies of 1791; appointed lieutenant of infantry, Mar. 16, 1792. *Ibid.*, p. 967.

<sup>24</sup> Antoine Laselle, a French-Canadian trader; actually very pro-American, but forced into this battle by the Indians who insisted upon all of the white traders fighting with them. Wayne Mss., XXXVII, doc. 14.

<sup>25</sup> From Aug. 21, 1794, to Aug. 22, 1794, a series of notes passed between Wayne and the commandant of British Fort Miamis. Wayne, without any heavy artillery, could not besiege the post, but the post commandant nevertheless had fears of his own, as expressed in a letter to Richard England of Detroit written on the evening of Aug. 20: "Would to God the Governor himself were here." [John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.] See: Wayne Mss., XXXVII, docs. 16, 17, 19, and 20. Also: E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1923– 31), II, 395–396, 405–408.

28 Major William Campbell, 24th British Regiment, commandant of Fort Miamis.

[Oct.,

# AUGUST 23d.

Three Rounds from each Hoett [howitzer] were fired this Morning, in Honor of those Heroes who fell in the Action on the 20th Instant.

At ten o'Clock we bid adieu to any farther Advances in this Part of the Country, and taking up the Line of March, continue it as far as Camp Deposit, where occupying our former Works, we remain during the Night.

## AUGUST 24th.

Resume the March early, and continuing it to our next Fortifications, where we halt and encamp. We have continual Rain, and Desertion becomes prevalent.

#### AUGUST 25th.

The March taken up and continued thirteen Miles to, and three Miles past one of our former Encampments—we halt and encamp. We had scarcely left our last Nights Encampment, when eight mounted Indians were discovered reconnoitering our Works by Major Price's Battalion mounted Volunteers,<sup>27</sup> who had remained in the Rear with an Expectation of this Nature. Said Indians were fired on by a Party of said Spies, in which Fire unfortunately but one was killed and two wounded. Much Rain this Day.

#### AUGUST 26th.

Take up the March and continue it six Miles to Sneakes-Town, where we halt and occupy our former Works.

#### AUGUST 27th.

Resumed the March, and continuing it untill twelve o'Clock, when our near Approach to the Maumi was announced by the Discharge of fifteen Salute-Guns from Defiance. Continuing the March half a Mile up the Maumi River, we halt, encamp and fortify as usual.

<sup>27</sup> Major William Price of the Kentucky Mounted Volunteers. See: Wayne Mss., XXX, docs. 61, 77; XXXI, doc. 14.

#### AUGUST 29th.

General Todd's Brigade mounted Volunteers depart for Recovery, as an Escort to Provisions to be forwarded from that Place.<sup>28</sup>

293

### AUGUST 31st.

The Legion received by the Commander, who is (from Information) pleased with their Soldiery Appearance.<sup>29</sup>

#### September 1st.

The Legion commence strengthening Defiance, which Business is continued until our Move from this Place.

#### September 7th.

Shortness of Provisions occasioned our Rations to be stopped; but as foraging Parties are continually out, the Sufferings of the Army are by no Means great.

## September 10th.

General Todd and his Party returned, bringing near three hundred Beefs and as many Horses laden with Flour.

## September 11th.

Major Cushing and Chaplain Jones arrive,<sup>30</sup> with an Escort of only eight Men. General Barbee's Brigade mounted Volunteers depart for Recovery, and are to meet the Army at the Miami Villages with Provisions.

## September 12th.

I am sorry to record, that two Sergeants and four Privates of the Legion were so base and lost to every Principle of Honor and Duty, as to desert the Legion.

28 Brigadier General Robert Todd of the Kentucky Mounted Volunteers.

<sup>29</sup> See: Wayne Mss., XXXVII, doc. 10. Wayne's congratulation to his men.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas H. Cushing, veteran of the American Revolution, appointed captain, U.S. Army, Nov., 1783; appointed major, Mar. 3, 1793; appointed lieutenant colonel, Apr. 1, 1802; appointed colonel, Sept. 7, 1805; appointed brigadier general, July 2, 1812; discharged June 15, 1815; died Oct. 19, 1822. David Jones, chaplain during American Revolution, chaplain to U.S. Army, May 13, 1794 to June 15, 1800; reappointed chaplain Apr. 2, 1813; discharged, June 15, 1815; died, Feb. 5, 1820. Heitman, op. cit., I, 348, 580.

September 13th.

The Pioneers sent forward this Morning, covered by Captain Gibbie's [Kibbey's] Spies, with Directions to open a Road for the March of the Army to the Miami Villages.

The Squaw-Prisoner taken by Captain Wells and his Party on the 12th Ultimo, is this Day dispatched in Search of the Savages; she is mounted on a good Horse, and it is supposed she takes a Letter from the Commander in Chief, once more offering Peace to the Enemy;<sup>31</sup> as also Letters from the Canadian who was taken on the 20th Day of August and now in Confinement with the Legion, to his Brother, respecting the necessary Steps for obtaining his Liberty.

## September 14th.

After a Halt of twenty-one Days the Legion is again summoned to march, which they commenced this Morning at seven o'Clock, and continuing it thirteen Miles thro' a low swampy Country, halt, encamp and fortify as usual. The March rendered very fatiguing this Day by the severe Wet.

#### September 15th.

The March is resumed and continued thro' a fertile, but in some Places swampy Country, when we encamp in usual Form.

## September 16th.

We again take up the March, and continuing ten Miles thro' a Body of strong Land, halt and encamp.

#### September 17th.

Take up the March earlier than usual, and continuing twelve Miles thro' a fertile Tract of Country, arrive at the old Chilecothe Town, and from thence proceed two Miles thro' an open (and formerly settled) Country, to where the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Rivers interjecting form the Maumi; which crossing, we encamp on its North-west Side in usual Form.

<sup>31</sup> Wayne Mss., XXXVII, doc. 45, Wayne's offer of peace. Antoine Laselle's brother, a fellow trader, was Tappon Laselle. See: unpublished journal of Joseph Gardner Andrews, passim, Library of Congress.

294

Oct.,

#### September 18th.

The Troops busied this Day in erecting formidable Works in their proper Positions—Four Deserters from Fort Maumi—The formerly spoken of British Garrison [Fort Miamis] arrive here.

### September 19th.

Rations of Salt stopped, there being none to supply the Troops.<sup>32</sup>

### September 20th.

The Troops reviewed, and attended divine Service.

## September 21st.

General Barbee's Brigade with a Supply of Flour arrives—a pleasing Circumstance as the Army have been on half Allowance of that Article for some Time past.

#### September 22d.

General Todd's Brigade mounted Volunteers depart for Recovery—Three hundred Fatigue-Men, in Addition to the Pioneers and Artificers of the Legion, commence preparing Timber for the Erection of a Garrison. Several Soldiers of the Legion desert, and take with them sundry good Horses, the Property of Officers of the Army.

#### September 29th.

Stormy Weather,—very heavy Rain fell this Day, and Hail one Inch in Diameter.

## September 30th.

General Todd returns with a small Supply of Provisions for the Army. The Troops draw Salt, a Supply of that Article having come on.

## October 3d.

General Barbee's Brigade Volunteers depart for Recovery. The Garrison going on with Spirit.

<sup>32</sup> What salt could be procured sold for six dollars a pint. See: "Journal of Lt. John Boyer," in *American Pioneer*, I, entry for Sept. 24, 1794.

## American Antiquarian Society [Oct.,

## October 9th.

Captain Butlar of the Infantry,33 two Subalterns and forty Dragoons leave this Place bound to Greenville; for what Purpose I know not.

#### October 10th.

A small Boat built at this Place leaves it, laden with Flour and Whiskey, bound to Defiance. Captain Gibson's Company depart for Recovery.34

#### October 12th.

A Brother to the Canadian taken on the 20th August arrives [Tappon Laselle], and bring with him three Whites, formerly Prisoners with the Indians, but ransomed by this Canadian and said to be given in Exchange for his Brother. Be this as it may, his Brother is now at Liberty.

## October 13th.

General Barbee's Brigade returned, with a small Supply of Provisions.

#### October 14th.

The Whole of the mounted Volunteers under Command of Major General Scott, leave this Place bound home, after having rendered their Country more Services than any Volunteers have before done.

## October 15th.

The Garrison going on with Spirit and nearly completed.

#### October 16th.

Captain Gibson and his Command return, and bring with them a considerable Quantity of Provisions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Edward M. Butler, veteran of the American Revolution; captain in levies of 1791; died May 6, 1803; a brother of General Richard Butler, who was killed in St. Clair's defeat, Nov. 4, 1791. Heitman, op. cit., I, 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Alexander Gibson, native of Virginia; captain, Mar. 5, 1792; resigned Nov. 15, 1800. Ibid., I, 453.

#### October 18th.

297

Captains Springer's and Brock's Companies,<sup>35</sup> with a small Detachment of Dragoons, depart for Recovery, under Command of Captain Springer.

## October 19th.

The Legion attended Divine Service on a Plain contiguous to the Garrison.

## October 24th.

Captains Kingsbury's, Porter's, Preston's, Spark's, Greaton's & Reed's Companies, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Hamtramck, were marched in perfect Order to the new Fort, which after a Discharge of fifteen Cannon, was called WAYNE.\*<sup>36</sup>

\*Remarks:—Fort Wayne is a formidable Garrison, standing on a beautiful commanding Situation near the Miami Villages. When it was first erected, no Part of the Buildings now standing were built, except the Barrack-Rooms, which form the Walls of the Fort, and the Block-House standing on the Bank of the River. Since that all other Buildings have been erected by the Troops of the Garrison. The Bastions are so situated as to suffer Cannon to play in any Direction. Over the Gateway of the Garrison a Guard-House is erected.

<sup>35</sup> Uriah Springer, veteran of the American Revolution; appointed captain, U.S. Army, Mar. 7, 1792; discharged, Nov. 1, 1796. Joseph Brock, captain in Virginia levies of 1791; resigned July 1, 1800. *Ibid.*, I, 250, 246.

<sup>26</sup> Jacob Kingsbury, native of Connecticut; veteran of American Revolution; appointed lieutenant, U.S. Army, Oct. 15, 1787; appointed captain, Dec. 28, 1791; appointed major, May 15, 1797; appointed lieutenant colonel, Apr. 11, 1803; appointed colonel, Aug. 18, 1808; discharged, June 15, 1815; died, July 1, 1837. Moses Porter, native of Massachusetts; veteran of the American Revolution; appointed lieutenant of artillery, Oct. 20, 1786; appointed captain, Nov. 4, 1791; appointed major, May 26, 1800; appointed colonel, Mar. 12, 1812; appointed brevet brigadier general, Sept. 10, 1813; died Apr. 14, 1822. William Preston, native of Virginia; appointed captain, Mar. 5, 1792; resigned, July 31, 1798. Richard Sparks, native of Pennsylvania; captain in levies of 1791; appointed major, July 29, 1806; appointed lieutenant colonel, Dec. 9, 1807; appointed colonel, July 6, 1812; discharged, June 15, 1815; died July 1, 1815. Richard H. Greaton, native of Massachusetts; appointed ensign, Nov. 30, 1781; appointed lieutenant, May 4, 1791; wounded in St. Clair's defeat; appointed captain, Feb. 18, 1793; discharged, June 1, 1802; died, July 18, 1815. John Reed, veteran of the American Revolution; lieutenant in levies of 1791; wounded at St. Clair's defeat; appointed captain, Nov. 12, 1793; discharged, Nov. 1, 1796. John Francis Hamtramck, veteran of the American Revolution; captain, U.S. Infantry, Apr. 12, 1785; appointed major, Oct. 20, 1786; appointed lieutenant colonel, Feb. 18, 1793; appointed colonel, Apr. 1, 1802; died Apr. 11, 1803. *Ibid.*, I, 601, 800, 806, 909, 820, 472, 496, respectively.

[Oct.,

### October 25th.

Captain Springer and his Party returned, and with them large Supplies of Contractor's and Quarter-Master's Stores.

## October 26th.

An Order this Morning for the Legion to march at 110'Clock A.M. —all is Hurry. At length the Hour arrives and the Line of March is taken up and continued eight Miles on Harmer's old Trace,<sup>37</sup> thro' a fertile Country, when we halt and encamp in usual Form.

## October 27th.

Resumed the March, and continuing it sixteen Miles thro' a Country the Soil of which is fertile, halt, encamp and fortify as usual.

#### October 28th.

Marched thirteen Miles to, and encamped on the St. Mary's. The Soil fertile, but in some Places swampy.

#### October 29th.

Marched early, and at seven o'Clock halted opposite Fort Adams, to which Place a Supply of Provisions was sent. At eight marched, and continuing our Rout eighteen Miles as usual on Harmer's Trace and thro' a fertile Country. We halt and encamp. Wet Day and Night.

#### October 30th.

Remained in our Encampment waiting for Forage, which arrived in the Afternoon of the 31st.

#### November 1st.

The March taken up and continued one Mile, we arrived at a Road cut by a Detachment under Command of Captain Harts-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Brigadier General Josiah Harmar had led the first expedition against the Indians in 1790 from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) to the Miami Indian villages at the confluence of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers. Here, at the home of Little Turtle, war chief of the Miami Indians and head of the hostile Indian confederacy, he was defeated. St. Clair was on his way to this place when he was ambushed the following year.

horn last Winter,<sup>38</sup> who was sent from Greenville for that Purpose. Here is an old Village distinguished by the Name of Kettle-Town.<sup>39</sup> From thence the March was continued 17 Miles thro' a fertile Tract of Country; then halted and encamped.

## November 2d.

Moved early and continuing the March 16 Miles thro' a fertile Tract of Country, at 3 o'Clock P.M. once more with pleasure we view the American Flag displayed in Greenville Citadel. On our Appearance at No. 4 Pickett, we were saluted with 15 Guns from the Citadel, and 15 Platoon-Guns were discharged on our entering the Fortifications, accompanied with three Cheers from the Garrison Troops. Marched to our respective Parades, and being dismissed, took Possession of and occupied our former Huts.

Thus is the Campaign of 1794 closed with Honor to the American Legion.

O AMERICA! what glorious Days mayest thou soon hope for, when thy Armies shall excel the Veterans of Alexander—thy Fleets command the Ocean, and give Laws to the World.

## RANDOLPH

299

## LIST

Of the Killed and Wounded in the Action of the 20th August 1794:

## OF THE REGULARS:

Captain Robert Mis Campbell, Lieutenant-Henry B. Towles, and twenty-two non-commissioned Officers and Privates killed.

<sup>38</sup> Asa Hartshorn, native of Connecticut; appointed ensign, Sept. 29, 1789; appointed lieutenant, Mar. 4, 1791; appointed captain, Sept. 1, 1792; killed June 30, 1794, at the Battle of Fort Recovery. Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 507.

<sup>30</sup> Also called Girty's Town (present St. Marys, Ohio) after James Girty, brother of the infamous Simon, who operated a trading post there; at the head of navigation of the St. Mary's River.

[Oct.,

Captains Slough, Prior, Van Ranselear, Lieutenant Campbell Smith,<sup>40</sup> and seventy-six non-commissioned Officers and Privates wounded.

#### OF THE VOLUNTEERS:

One Captain, one Lieutenant and nine Privates killed—thirteen wounded.

Fifty Indians killed-two hundred supposed to be wounded.

## ACCOUNT

#### OF THE

Attack made on Fort Recovery, on the 30th of June, 1794.

### June 29th.

Major William M'Mahan,<sup>41</sup> of the 4th Sub-Legion, at the Head of Captains Hartshorn's and T. Lewis's Rifle-Companies,<sup>42</sup> then commanded by Captain Hartshorn; and a Detachment of Dragoons under Command of Captain Taylor,<sup>43</sup> proceeded as an Escort to Provisions to Fort Recovery, where he and his Party arrived in the Evening of the same Day, and encamped one hundred Yards in the Rear of the Garrison.

<sup>40</sup> Jacob Slough, native of Pennsylvania; captain in levies of 1791; discharged, Nov. 1, 1796. Abner Prior, native of New York; veteran of Revolutionary War; appointed ensign, Oct. 21, 1786; appointed lieutenant, Nov. 26, 1790; appointed captain, June 2, 1792; died, Dec. 5, 1800. Solomon Van Rensselaer, native of New York; appointed cornet, Mar. 14, 1792; appointed lieutenant, Sept. 18, 1792; appointed captain, July 17, 1793; appointed major, Jan. 8, 1799; discharged, June 15, 1800; colonel of New York volunteers, 1812; died, Apr. 23, 1852. Campbell Smith, native of Maryland; appointed ensign, Mar. 16, 1792; appointed lieutenant, Sept. 10, 1793; appointed captain, Nov. 20, 1799; discharged, June 1, 1802. Heitman, op. cit., I, 892, 808, 983, 895, respectively.

<sup>41</sup> William McMahon, native of Virginia; appointed major, Apr. 11, 1792. *Ibid.*, I, 677. <sup>42</sup> Thomas Lewis, native of Virginia; veteran of the American Revolution, appointed captain, Mar. 5, 1792; resigned Mar. 9, 1801. *Ibid.*, I, 631.

<sup>43</sup> James Taylor, native of Pennsylvania; appointed cornet, Mar. 14, 1792; appointed lieutenant, Oct. 7, 1792; appointed captain, Feb. 20, 1794; discharged, June I, 1802. *Ibid.*, I, 947.

#### June 30th.

At 7 o'Clock A.M. whilst the Officers of the Command were breakfasting in the Garrison, the Pack-horsemen were ordered with their Horses half a Mile in Front, for the Benefit of grazing said Horses; in the Interim the Troops of the Command were preparing for a Move, when suddenly a Firing commenced in Advance of them, which proved to be an Attack made on the Packhorsemen. The Dragoons who were in Readiness, were now ordered to mount by Major M'Mahan, who had run out of the Fort bare-headed for this Purpose; said Dragoons headed by Captain Taylor and supported by Capt. Hartshorn and 16 [?] Men in their Rear, proceeded to the Charge (with the frantic Major in their Front) on the Savages, who began to approach the Garrison. In a few Moments the Engagement became general; Capt. Hartshorn and his Party advancing and keeping up a Fire, in 15 Minutes were compelled to retreat. In the Interim Captain Gibson's Company having sallied out of the Garrison, had placed themselves on the Brow of a Hill, two hundred Yards distant from the Fort, in Order to cover the Retreat of Capt. Hartshorn an[d] Men, who were now compelled to retire rapidly; and in a few Moments the Weight of the Enemy's Fire was such, as compelled the Whole to take Refuge in the Garrison, on which a Fire was kept up by the Savages for more than four Hours, when they ceased and were perfectly quiet until dark, at which time they appeared to be scouring the Woods in Search of their Dead.

At a very late Hour of the Night, altho' the Indians were then all round the Garrison, Corporal Thompson and Hunter, a Private of Captain Gibson's Company, were with their own Consent dispatched on Express to Greenville—a Circumstance which ought to signalize their Names.

In the Morning of the 1st July, a few scattering Shot took Place, when the Indians retired, after having captured 150 Horses, with the Loss of 50 Warriors, 13 of whom were found and scalped.

LIST

Of the Killed and Wounded of the Legion, in sustaining an Attack made on Fort Recovery June 30th, 1794:

Major M'Mahan, Captain Hartshorn, Lieutenant Craigg, Cornet Torry and 17 Men killed.

Captain Taylor, Lieutenant Drake and 30 Men wounded.44

<sup>44</sup> Robert Craig, native of Virginia; appointed lieutenant, Mar. 7, 1792. Daniel Torrey, appointed cornet, Feb. 23, 1793. Samuel Drake, native of Connecticut; appointed ensign, Apr. 11, 1792; appointed lieutenant, Feb. 28, 1793; died, Feb. 9, 1796. *Ibid.*, I, 334, 965, 382 respectively.

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