

HISTORY

OF THE

COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND,

PENNSYLVANIA,

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF MANY OF ITS

PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

EDITED BY

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Nativity and Birth—History of his Family in Scotland—Is sent to College, and thence to London to study Medicine—Enters the British Army as an Ensign—Comes to America in the French and Indian War—Serves under Wolfe in Canada—Marries in Boston—Appears in Western Pennsylvania—Commands at Fort Ligonier—Appointed to Office in Bedford County under the Proprietary Government and in Westmoreland County—Takes an active part in the Border Troubles with Virginia, and in Dunmore's War—Agent of the Penns—Accompanies the Congressional Committee to Fort Pitt, 1775—Resolutions of May 16, 1775, at Hannastown—The Associates—Plan to go against Detroit—Takes part with the Colonies in the Revolutionary War—Appointed and Commissioned Colonel in Pennsylvania Service—Sent to Canada—At Three Rivers—Services in Canada—Joins Washington—His Services in the Jersey Campaign of 1776—Is sent to Command at Ticonderoga—Campaign of 1777—Burgoyne's Advance—Surrender of Ticonderoga—Court of Inquiry—St. Clair at Yorktown—And with Greene—Enters Civil Life—Member of the Council of Censors—Member of Continental Congress—Elected its President—Erection and Organization of the Northwestern Territory—Appointed its Governor—Enters upon his Duties as Governor—Indian War—Made Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Army—Expedition against the Miami Indians—Account of the Battle and Defeat—His Politics—His Duties as Governor—Is Removed from Office—Returns to Ligonier Valley—His Residence—His Financial Embarrassment—Its Causes—Treatment of the Government in regard to these Claims—Is sold out by the Sheriff—Removes from his Home—His Last Days—His Death, Funeral, and Monument—Chattering over his Grave—Observations on his Character and Misfortunes.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR is a historic character, and as such a great part of his public career belongs to the history of the republic. But as he was so intimately connected with the formation of our county, it is natural that any one who inquires into our early history should be interested in the particulars of the life of this man, whose name is met with so often, and who is so inseparably connected with it.

St. Clair was by birth a Scot, and was of a family of early note in their native country, they taking their name itself back in the middle centuries. Arthur was born in 1734,¹ at Thurso Castle, in the county of Caithness, and was the son of William St. Clair, of the same stock as the then Earl of Caithness, from a common ancestry.² The deeds of the ancient family

¹ The day or month is not known.

² A gentleman with a taste for research has thus traced the family of St. Clair down from very early times:

"The St. Clairs of Scotland are descended from a Norman family. Walderne de St. Clair, a Norman knight, married Margaret, daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy. William de St. Clair, their second son, a brave and adventurous knight, settled in Scotland in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and obtained from that monarch large grants of land. In the wars about the crown of Scotland between Baliol and Bruce the St. Clairs adhered to the side of Bruce, and on his final success participated in his good fortune by an increase of their domains. John de St. Clair was a member of the first Parliament summoned by Bruce. The chief of the St. Clairs married a Douglass, whose mother was daughter of Robert Bruce. William St. Clair married Elizabeth, daughter of Malice Spar, Earl of Orkney and Strathorne, in whose right their son was created Earl of Orkney by Haco, King of Norway, to which country the Orkney Islands then belonged. The title remained with the family of St. Clair until 1471, when it was annexed to the crown of Scotland by act of Parliament. In exchange for the Orkney Islands and title of their earl, the domains of Ravenscraig were bestowed upon William St. Clair, who was entitled Earl of Caithness. The St. Clairs built the castle of Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, and also the castles of Ravenscraig and Roslin, on the mainland.

were sung to the harp by many of the border minstrels, and the last and sweetest of them all, the "Wizard of the North," in "The Song of Harold," tells of the "storm-swept Orcades, where once St. Clairs held princely sway."³

But through the vicissitudes of fortune the family had lost their once high position, and their ancestral estates, situate mostly in the cold and barren Orkneys, no longer yielded a revenue after the abolition of the feudal tenures, and, like other of the most ancient families of that part of the island, they were of no influence in their native land. The St. Clairs, with

"About 1450 the St. Clairs were at the height of their power and opulence. At that time William St. Clair, the head of the family, was Prince of the Orkneys, Earl of Caithness and Strathorne, Baron of Roslin and Pentland, Lord Chief Justice, Lord Warden of the Marches, and High Chancellor of Scotland. When the chief St. Clair visited the royal court he traveled in great state, with more than a thousand gentlemen in his train, all of whom were his vassals and retainers.

"At length things changed, and Oliver St. Clair, the unworthy favorite of James V., lost by bad conduct the battle of Solway Moss, and so broke the heart of that monarch. From the civil war of 1642, between king and Parliament, in the Scottish rebellion in 1715, the St. Clairs adhered loyally to the house of Stuart, and hence suffered by defeat banishment and confiscation."

Mr. William H. Smith (see "Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair") says that the generally accepted opinion that St. Clair was a grandson of the then Earl of Roslin is erroneous, but they were descendants of a common ancestor.

The brief memoir which we contribute was written before the publication of "The St. Clair Papers," published 1882 (Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co.). We are of opinion that it would not have detracted from the intrinsic worth of that excellent memoir—the most complete yet published, and which we anxiously looked for—if the compiler had expressed his indebtedness to some gentlemen of our own county whose work and labor he has appropriated to such good advantage; who dug out, so to speak, the ore which he cast into the crucible of history.

The title of Earl of Caithness, we may further remark, in the Scottish peerage extends back to 1455, when the family were raised to the nobility by James II. of Scotland, Henry VI. being the king of England. This did not entitle those bearing the name to sit in Parliament, but in June, 1866, the late earl was created Baron Barrowgill, and thus became a member of the House of Lords. This late earl, who died on the 10th of March, 1881, in the city of New York, where he had but just landed intending to make a tour of the United States for pleasure and health, was James Sinclair (the family having long since Anglicized their name), F.R.S., Earl of Caithness and Lord Berriedale in the peerage of Scotland, Baron Barrowgill, of Barrowgill Castle, in that of the United Kingdom, and Baronet of Nova Scotia. He was born Dec. 16, 1821; succeeded his father as fourteenth earl Dec. 24, 1855, and was created Baron Barrowgill June 12, 1866. Like his father, he became Lord Lieutenant of Caithness-shire. Caithness is a maritime county in the extreme north of Scotland, on the west side is a spot of green turf known to all school-boys as John O'Groat's House, one of the extreme ends of Great Britain. Barrowgill Castle, the present home of the family, is in Caithness, and is over six hundred years old, and the possessions include six continuous miles of sea-coast. The other country seats are Tister House, Caithness-shire, and Stagenhoe Park, in Welwyn, and there is a London residence besides. *Jam Satis.*

³ "Then from his seat, with lofty air,
Rose Harold, bard of brave St. Clair;
St. Clair, who, feasting with Lord Home,
Had with that lord to battle come.
Harold was born where restless seas
Howl round the storm-swept Orcades;
Where once St. Clair held princely sway
O'er isle and islet, strait and bay:
Still nods their palace to its fall,
Thy pride and sorrow, fair Kirkwall."

See also note in "Lay of the Last Minstrel," Canto VI.; and also Capt. Wedderburn's courtship, "English and Scottish Ballads," vol. viii.

their numerous retainers, remained loyal to the Sturarts during the rebellion, and they were recompensed with banishment and the confiscation of their estates. At length an effort was made to restore in the learned professions some of that honor which had passed to other hands, which distinction was partly theirs when the sword was mightier than the pen, and the dignity of the gown was confined to the yew-tree shade of the cloister.

As Arthur could not inherit any of the landed property entailed in the direct line of primogeniture, being the son of a younger son, he made choice of the medical profession, and to secure his education entered the University of Edinburgh, famous at that day for its prominent schools in that department. After the death of his father he removed to London for the benefits afforded by the clinical practice at the great hospitals of the metropolis, and was there indentured to the celebrated Dr. William Hunter. But the noise of arms then shaking the world, he chose to relinquish his scientific calling and to follow the vocation of the soldier. When he came into the great heart of the world it was throbbing with the anticipation of future glorious actions. The rattling of drums, the blare of bugles, and the measured tramp of the files of soldiers echoed round the street corners of the capital day and night. War had been declared between Great Britain and France,¹ and under the new life infused into the nation by Pitt the young men were everywhere forsaking the pursuits of peace and enlisting. Arthur, with the help of his family, purchased an ensign's commission in the army,² and soon after, in 1758, came to America with the corps of Gen. Amherst, in the fleet under Admiral Boscawen. This was at the commencement of the French and Indian war, which, after enduring for seven years, resulted in the acquisition of the Canadian Provinces, then under the French, by the British to the American appendages of the crown. While in this army he learned the military science under such leaders as Murray, Monckton, and Wolfe, the commander of this expedition. Under Wolfe he served in the campaign against Quebec, and was with that hero when he fell in the moment of victory, after the escalating of Mount Abraham.

After remaining some time at the garrisoned fortress of Quebec, St. Clair went with a part of his regiment to Boston, then the capital town of the North-east.

In May, 1760, he was married to Miss Phœbe Bayard, in Trinity Church, Boston, by the rector, the

¹ 1756.

² His mother, upon whom had rested the care of his training, died in the winter of 1756-57. His regiment was the Sixtieth, or Royal American Regiment of Foot. Date of his ensignry, 3d May, 1757. His regiment was projected by the Duke of Cumberland. It consisted of four battalions of one thousand men each. The first battalion was commanded by Monckton, the second by Lawrence. St. Clair belonged to the second battalion. It was organized under act of Parliament, 29 George II., c. v. Col. Bouquet belonged to this regiment.—*Penn. Magazine, etc.*, No. 2, vol. iii.

Rev. William Hooper. Mrs. St. Clair was born in 1743, and survived her husband some six or seven years. She was the daughter of Balthazar Bayard and Mary Bowdoin, a half-sister of Governor James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts Bay.³ With his wife he got much money.

In 1759 he had been commissioned a lieutenant; this he resigned in April, 1762.⁴ It is very likely that for a few years after his marriage he remained at Boston or Philadelphia, and that he took no further part in the French and Indian war, which terminated in 1764. But shortly after this time he manifestly was in Western Pennsylvania, as he had a parcel of the ground about Fort Pitt, which was granted him by Gen. Gage,⁵ and we believe that from 1765 until 1771 all his attention and time were centred in this region, either in watching his own pecuniary interests or in a supervisory capacity, under the commander-in-chief of the British army in America, with whom he was related, or latterly, and especially after the treaty of 1768, as an agent of the proprietors of the Province. The documentary evidence which we refer to shows that he had charge of Fort Ligonier, then one of His Majesty's forts, and that he was authorized to and did grant permits the same as a regular officer, before the Penns passed titles.⁶ Immediately after the opening of the land office, in 1769, he is identi-

³ She married Balthazar Bayard (or Byard, as they wrote it) in 1727. Died 1780.

⁴ For dates see chronological table at end of this chapter.

From the date of his resignation in the British army, that is 1762, to 1767 there is a hiatus which has not been satisfactorily filled. The copy of the permit to Frederick Rhorer, which we give in the note to Chapter VII., and which has not before this time been made public, but which fixes a part of the disputed facts, shows that in April, 1767, Arthur St. Clair, "late lieutenant in his Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment of Foot, having the care of his Majesty's fort of Legonier," was employed in these parts. But the dates of his commissions and his resignation correspond with the official records of the British army, from which they were taken. A copy of the "British Army Lists" is in the library of the New York Historical Society, and these exactly agree with those furnished from the British War Office. Many writers say that after the close of the French and Indian war (1764) Gen. Gage (who was a relative, and who afterwards commanded the British at Boston) appointed him to take command of the forts in Western Pennsylvania, and have the military stores contained in those forts removed to the headquarters of the army at New York. (See sketch in *National Intelligencer*, quoted in *Life and Public Services, etc.*; also report of Committee of Claims, etc., Senate of the United States, Mr. Brodhead, Chairman, Thirty-fourth Congress, first session; also Day's "Historical Collections," pp. 686 and 687, and Rupp's "History of Western Pennsylvania," p. 281.) We cannot be led to believe, from the evidence within reach, that he served with Bouquet in 1763-64. There was a Capt. St. Clair with Bouquet, but not Arthur.

⁵ Pennsylvania Archives, vol. x. p. 483. St. Clair to president of Pennsylvania, 1785.

⁶ Fort Ligonier was garrisoned part of the time after Pontiac's war, 1764, by provincial troops, commissioned by the Province. (See Col. Miles' Journal, elsewhere referred to, and in Penn. Arch., Second Series, vol. ii. p. 560.) "In the year 1759 I was stationed at Ligonier, and had twenty-five men, picked out of the two battalions, under my command." At present we are not prepared to say that the Province garrisoned these forts in Western Pennsylvania prior to the purchase of 1768, but think it did not; but that they were garrisoned or at least under command of regular officers.

"His Majesty, the king of Great Britain, having conquered the French in this country, all the forts and settlements the French had is now become the property of the king of England."—*Crogan's Journal*, 1765.

fied with some transactions as their agent. He then, with his brother-in-law, Capt. Bayard, took up large bodies of land in Ligonier Valley. In the description of boundary lands in old title papers he is sometimes designated as captain and sometimes as lieutenant, but always by a military title.

In May, 1770, he, with Crawford, Thomas Gist, and Pentecost, was among the justices of the peace appointed by the proprietary government for Cumberland County. In March, 1771, he was reappointed for Bedford County, and made prothonotary and chief clerk of the courts when that county was erected at that time. He earnestly advocated the erection of a new county to the west of Laurel Hill, and when Westmoreland was formed in 1773 he was appointed by Richard Penn to the same offices he had held in Bedford. From this time till the beginning of the Revolutionary war he was the outspoken agent of the proprietaries. During 1774 his efficiency is made apparent by the records of the Province. He was in constant communication with those in authority, he advised with them, and the entire management of local affairs was left to him. In the exercise of his trust he became especially obnoxious to Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, who demanded of the Governor of Pennsylvania that St. Clair be delivered over to him, but the demand was refused, and met with the intimation that the proprietaries were responsible for the official acts of their magistrates. During the excitement of 1774 he was the foremost one in the sight of the people; he rode day and night, and prevailed on the inhabitants not to leave, as they were about to do. But he made them take up arms in their defense; the government could not assist them, so they must assist themselves. He organized a permanent militia, and promised the rangers pay, which was guaranteed by his own obligation. Under his direction and supervision the chain of block-houses along the rivers and the old military road was established. He advised the Penns to open a road for military purposes from Kittanning to Ligonier, and to erect a fort at that point, to be garrisoned by the soldiers of the Province. This point had been pointed out by Forbes as early as 1758 as important in a military view, and was the site of Fort Armstrong.¹

The preservation of the Westmoreland settlements in 1774 is as much to be attributed to St. Clair's influence over the Indian tribes as to any other cause. He spoke to them in manly and plain words, and they had the utmost confidence in him. In one of their conferences when he was not present they called him their friend and the Pennsylvanians their brothers. Afterwards when the agents appointed by Congress came out to visit the tribes about Fort Pitt and to secure their alliance they stopped with St. Clair on their way, and prevailed with him to accompany them.

There is no doubt that St. Clair watched attentively the struggle between the colonies and the crown, and there is likewise no doubt that from the first his mind was made up. With all the traditions of the Scotch uppermost it was not in his strong nature to give in to the latest of the tyrannical rulers of his native country, which the Scotch allowed was at that day held by the tenure of usurpation. And although the war of the Revolution found him busied in domestic relations, yet he was recognized from the first as the friend of the colonies, and was in correspondence with the patriots in the East. That he was instrumental in calling the meeting at Hannastown of May 16, 1775, and that he secured the passage of the remarkable resolutions that day adopted there can be no reasonable doubt.²

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

In that pathetic and heart-moving letter which he wrote in his old age to the Congressional Committee he says that his first connection with the United States began in the year 1775. Congress had appointed commissioners to repair to Fort Pitt to treat with the Indians. On their way they called upon St. Clair, and requested him to accompany them and act as their secretary. He did so, and in the course of the negotiations formed the project of a volunteer expedition to surprise Detroit, which he thought practicable. The commissioners entered into the project warmly, and in a very short time he engaged between four and five hundred young men, who were to furnish their own horses, forage, and provisions. The measure being referred to Congress by the commissioners, was disapproved, for the reason that Gen. Arnold was at that time before Quebec, and its fall was considered certain. But Arnold failed. St. Clair was called to Philadelphia, and, resigning his office, he went to that city for instructions.

We can, in the absence of any memoir, partially trace his career through the war. He first assisted to perfect the Associators in 1775, and on Jan. 1, 1776, in the "Account of the Rules and Regulations" for the Associators sent to the committees of the different counties, there is a memorandum that those for Westmoreland were sent by Col. St. Clair. In the early

² With the extreme modesty and unobtrusiveness which always were characteristic in him, he says in his letter to Governor Penn, May 26, 1775, "I got a clause added, by which they bind themselves to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by." This clause was the fourth, and began, "That we do not wish or advise any innovations," etc. But that he drafted this paper I have little doubt. In his letter to Lieut.-Col. Allen, nearly a year and a half after this (Ticonderoga, Sept. 1, 1776), he says, "If I remember rightly, there were two points on which we were perfectly agreed: First, that independence was not the interest of America if the liberties of America could be otherwise secured; Secondly, if foreign troops were employed to reduce America to absolute submission, that independence or any other mode was justifiable." This letter is a most noble one. Here is the substance of the third and fifth clauses, and part of the conditions for which the colonies went to war. Who else here was likely to talk of a "licentious soldiery" in the same sense as he, from a personal knowledge?

¹ For a full account of these affairs see Penn. Archives, vol. iv.

part of 1776 he was commissioned colonel by Congress in the Continental service, and was stationed in the eastern part of the State, where he was engaged in different capacities in organizing, recruiting, supplying, and provisioning the volunteers.¹ He advanced money to his own detriment in this service, some of which he did not get reimbursed for till many years after the war was over. As fast as the troops could be furnished for campaigning he forwarded them, and being himself ordered with other contingents to cover the retreat of the American army from Canada under Arnold, he recruited and equipped for his own command six full companies without expense to the State, and marched them by the 1st of May to the vicinity of Quebec.²

This campaign had been planned by Gen. Montgomery, but it came to an unfortunate termination. Montgomery was killed before Quebec, and Arnold, the next in command, who himself was wounded, conducted the retreat. St. Clair served with Wayne under Gen. Thompson, the successor of Arnold, but who dying soon after he came to the command was succeeded by Gen. Sullivan. Here his former military knowledge was of much advantage, for he it was who suggested to Gen. Thompson, who was then in command, the practicability of taking post at the village of Three Rivers to prevent the British transports from passing up the river. The plan was approved, and St. Clair was sent to take up a position. Sullivan now having arrived and taken command of the army, detached Thompson with reinforcements to support St. Clair and to take the command. But being overpowered and pushed back, and Thompson having been killed, the command fell to St. Clair, who carried the broken detachment back through the midst of a constantly increasing enemy to the headquarters at Sorel.

The American army now withdrew from Canada in as masterful a manner as it had marched thither. The army went into quarters at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and there St. Clair remained during the summer in camp duty. On Sunday, the 28th of July, to the soldiers drawn up in long lines, he read the Declaration of Independence which had been adopted by the Congress, when they threw their caps in air and cheered for the cause of the United Colonies.

In August of this year, 1776, he was made a brigadier, and joined Washington, who was then retreating across the Jerseys before the elated British army under Howe. He fought under the eyes of the com-

mander-in-chief in the closing battles of this campaign, at White Plains, at Trenton, and at Princeton,³ and all informed writers agree that he suggested to Washington that ruse of war by which the Hessians were surprised at Princeton.

The campaign of 1777 opened with favor to the British. The fearful retreat from Long Island, and the miserable condition of the Continental army, encouraged the British to push this campaign with energy, and thus speedily crush out this rising sedition.

The plan of the British generals was to divide the colonies by the line of Hudson River, Lake George, and Lake Champlain. Clinton was to go up the river, and above Albany to unite with Burgoyne, who was to come down from Canada. The success of this plan would have been well-nigh fatal to the prospect of American independence. Between Lake Champlain and Lake George was situated the strong fortress of Ticonderoga, the same which Col. Ethan Allen had taken by the authority of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress. This fortress commanded the lakes and the passage of the isthmus. While it was held it debarred Burgoyne from effecting the junction. To hold this point was, therefore, of the utmost importance. St. Clair, who enjoyed the confidence of the commander-in-chief, was raised to the rank of major-general, and superseding Gen. Schuyler, was sent with three thousand men to take command of the post, and at all hazards to hold it.

Burgoyne, passing Lake Champlain, took Crown Point and advanced against Ticonderoga. Gen. Schuyler, before he was transferred, had put the fortress in good order. On the 19th of June, 1777, operations were commenced against the post. On the 20th of July the soldiers of Burgoyne took possession of Mount Defiance, a point on the right of the Americans. This position adjoined and overlooked the fortress, but being deemed inaccessible, it had remained unoccupied by the Continentals. By the use of tackle, cannon were hoisted up its side by the enemy until the arms and the force there were sufficient to dislodge the garrison.

St. Clair called a council of officers, and among them it was unanimously agreed that the hills which

² Respectively, Oct. 28, 1776, Dec. 25, 1776, and January, 1777. Bancroft goes to extra pains to prove that St. Clair did not advise Washington in this successful engagement, and he labors hard to support a contrary position, but in this he is at issue with numerous authorities. See Wilkinson's "Memoirs," G. W. Greene's "Life of Gen. Nathaniel Greene," and St. Clair's "Narrative." It is not, however, questioned that he directed the details of the march and the incidental preparation (Bryant's "Popular History of the United States," chap. xxi., 532). "Soon after midnight the troops quietly withdrew by detachments, and marching by the right moved upon Princeton. St. Clair's brigade of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts troops, with two six-pounders, marched at the head of the column, with which Gen. Washington rode."—"Life and Public Services," etc., vol. i. p. 37, as quoting Wilkinson.

This campaign made him a major-general. In March, 1777, on the resignation of Col. Reed, St. Clair was detailed by Washington as adjutant-general.

¹ The Council of Safety on the 18th of July, 1775, recommended the enrollment of all able-bodied men into regiments or battalions. The militia of Westmoreland were enrolled, and St. Clair was elected colonel. See Memorandum Book of the Committee and Council of Safety for 1776 and 1777, Pa. Arch., Second Series, vol. i., for services in the colony and State. He was commissioned colonel of the Second Battalion Jan. 3, 1776. He with Cols. Shee, Wayne, and Magaw were in command of the four battalions of Pennsylvania troops to be raised for the Continental Service. For history of the Second Battalion, see Chap. XVIII.

² For his services and the campaign in Canada, see Chapter XVIII.

commanded the fort ought to have been previously fortified; that it was too late for them now to be fortified; that if fortified it would require fully ten thousand men to man and hold them; and that the force at the disposal of the general was not in any way adequate to meet the enemy. It was determined, therefore, to abandon the post.

But the withdrawing the army now was a retreat. The American force retired under cover to Hubbards-town and thence to Castleton, about thirty miles from Ticonderoga, where a stand was made. The British and German light troops had been sent in pursuit, and on the 7th of August overtook the rear-guard under Col. Warner at Castleton. The attack was sharp and bloody, and the British at first were routed, but the Americans not being supported by their comrades, the British and mercenaries renewed their attack, and with the bayonet dispersed the whole force of the rear-guard, with the loss to us of three hundred men. Col. Warner came in with the rest of his troops at Fort Ann. Altogether the loss of the Americans in this, one of the most disastrous retreats of the war, was about one thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Of course a clamor was raised. Reasons plenty as blackberries were given why St. Clair should not be shot, hung and quartered, banished. Some said he was incompetent, some cowardly, some treacherous. He said little, but demanded of right an inquiry in due form into his conduct and the circumstances of the surrender. After waiting for a long time a court of inquiry at last was formed, which was composed of some of the best officers in the army, which after sitting and considering the whole affair critically and with deliberation exculpated him from guilt; and some then said that although he lost a fortress he saved a State. Burgoyne was forced to give his sword to Gates at Saratoga, and the two British armies were not, after all, joined together, notwithstanding their sanguine anticipations.¹

¹ From the surrender of Ticonderoga and the retreat a prejudice was raised against St. Clair which he never could get rid of, and which his enemies never ceased to make capital of. Good military men say that no better generalship was displayed throughout the war than that displayed by him in withdrawing his army and saving it from capture. The *United States Gazette*, a high authority in the army, has said on this subject in a sketch of St. Clair, in speaking of his defense before the court of inquiry, "His defense on that occasion is still extant, and exhibits a sample of profound generalship. Whilst the English language shall be admired, it will continue to be an example of martial eloquence."

Facts dispel illusions. Gen. Burgoyne's army numbered 7863 men, including 200 Canadians and 400 Indians; St. Clair had 2200 men. Burgoyne's artillery numbered 142 guns, and his was the best equipped army for an offensive campaign in the field. The American works were equipped with 100 cannon of indifferent calibre and a small force of inexperienced artillerymen to serve them.—*Life and Public Services*, etc., p. 60.

St. Clair left the Northern Department on the 20th of August (1777), in obedience to the orders of Congress, to report at headquarters and await an inquiry into his management at the North. Washington still remained faithful to him and never lost confidence in him. He, after St. Clair demanded it, urged the court of inquiry to be held. In September, 1778, a court-martial, of which Maj.-Gen. Lincoln was presi-

During the time which intervened from the surrender till the board of inquiry had finished their sittings he was suspended from any command. He was, however, with the army, and at Brandywine fought as a volunteer, and had a horse shot from under him during the engagement. He was with the army at headquarters at Valley Forge. The court of inquiry not censuring him he was reinstated in public confidence, and was intrusted with the very arduous duties of organizing the levies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and sending them out to the armies in the field when needed. After the treason of Arnold, St. Clair was detailed by Washington to hold West Point, and he succeeded Gates in command at Philadelphia. On September the 29th, 1780, he sat with Lafayette, Parsons, Clinton, Knox, Huntingdon, and others, all well known for their uprightness, on the trial of Maj. André, adjutant-general of the British army, who made their unanimous report that André ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy and suffer death.

When the last campaign was closing in the South, St. Clair with Wayne, who together were using all their ingenuity in converting three old long-tailed coats into two short ones, and two old hats into one infantry cap, so that the men would bear some similarity with each other, was assigned with reinforcements to the Southern department, where the war was then raging. When the combined American and French armies circled around the British at Yorktown, St. Clair was there. Having arrived some time before the surrender, he was with that galaxy of illustrious men who stood in the trenches when the cause of the colonies was decided. He was then sent to reinforce Greene with the Pennsylvania troops, and they formed a junction in the beginning of 1782.²

IN CIVIL LIFE.

St. Clair came out of the Revolutionary conflict, not with the glory of some, but with the confidence of his great commander, and with the undiminished respect and esteem of his fellow-officers. He immediately entered into civil affairs. In 1783 he was elected a member of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, this department of the State government

dent, was organized, and after a thorough hearing concluded their finding in the following words:

"The Court having duly considered the charges against Major-General St. Clair and the evidence, are unanimously of opinion that he is not guilty of either the charges preferred against him, and do unanimously acquit him of all and every of them with the highest honor."

² In 1783, at the solicitation of Congress, then in Philadelphia, he went to the new levies (who had marched from Lancaster to the Congress to demand their pay, having refused to accept their discharge until they were paid), and succeeded by his personal influence, together with Lafayette as his colleague, in quelling their mutinous spirit and sending them back to Lancaster.

Feb. 24, 1784, he was made auctioneer of the city of Philadelphia by a resolution of the General Assembly. He got into much trouble from this, as will be seen further on, he having appropriated some of the money he collected to pay individual debts,—bail money. The office was lucrative. On the 13th of April, 1787, he was relieved of the office.

reposing in a Council of Censors. He was returned for the county of Philadelphia, with Frederick A. Muhlenberg as his colleague. He made Philadelphia his home, and his family had resided there while he was in the army. He attended all the sittings of the Council. In its proceedings, and in the proceedings incident to the calling of the Constitutional Convention of 1791, we have the first visible line between the old political parties whose hostility to each other became so great. St. Clair invariably took sides with that party which afterwards was known as the Federal party, and which, under the leadership of Hamilton, antagonized the administration of Jefferson.

In 1785, St. Clair was elected to Congress, the members of that body being returned by the vote of the Assembly. In 1787 he was chosen president of that body. In 1790 he was the Federalist candidate for Governor of the State, but was defeated by Gen. Mifflin. This was at the first election for a chief magistrate under the constitutional form. Mifflin was not only a popular man, but he belonged to the party which was the popular party of the State. But although St. Clair was unfortunate for his own advantage in falling in with the destinies of that party, no one that knows his character would be bold enough to say that he belonged to it without principle. No man could separate principle from consequences better than he.

Under the act of Congress of July 13, 1787, St. Clair was appointed by President Washington and confirmed by Congress Governor of the Northwestern Territory, the Territory embracing all the region of country lying north and west of the Ohio River.¹ On July the 9th, 1788, he arrived at Fort Harmar, now Marietta. At this place, as the seat of the territorial government, he resided with his family.² On the 15th of July he published the order of Congress for the government, and soon after appointed judges and other officers. On January the 2d, 1791, when he arrived at Fort Washington, the site of Cincinnati, previous to his military expedition, he organized Hamilton County, which name he gave it after Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the United States Treasury, and the *beau ideal* of the Federalists. Cincinnati was called in compliment to the Society of the Cincinnati, organized by officers who had seen actual service in the armies of the continent, and of which society St. Clair was an active member.

The Indians being still hostile to the settlers in the western country where these were unable to resist

them under their strange confederation and the new leaders who had risen among them, Gen. Harmar was sent out with a body of regulars and militia to subdue them and to destroy their towns. But Harmar was defeated with terrible slaughter among his ranks, and his army was so crippled that a new one had to be organized for further operations. In the following year, 1791, St. Clair, on the recommendation of President Washington, was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, and vested with powers almost dictatorial within his territory. He had a force of two thousand regulars placed at his disposal, and was empowered to call out such reinforcements of militia as might be necessary. In September, 1791, an army the largest and most efficient in officers, in numbers, and in equipage of any yet seen in the West was assembled at Fort Washington, the site of Cincinnati. This was under command of St. Clair. There were three complete regiments of United States infantry, two companies of artillery, and one company of cavalry. There were six hundred militia to join him there, but most of these came up after he had left. They commenced their march on the 17th of September. They cut a road through the wilderness and erected Fort Hamilton, on the Great Miami, some distance above Fort Washington. On the 4th of October they marched twenty miles farther, and built Fort Jefferson. A garrison was left at both posts. On the 24th of October they marched from the latter post. Shortly after they had left one of the militia regiments deserted, as these not infrequently did when about to meet the enemy, not being under regular discipline, called out only for a short time in an emergency, and commanded by officers who disliked superior authority. The First Regiment of regulars was detached in pursuit of these, so that the army was now weakened and did not number above fourteen hundred men. The main body, however, moved forward to where Fort Recovery was afterwards erected by Gen. Wayne, now within the limits of Mercer County, Ohio.

The villages of the Miami Indians were supposed to be only about twelve miles in distance from here. At this place, it being the head-waters of the Wabash River, where a number of small creeks flowed in from various directions, the army encamped. The general had it in view to throw up some earthworks in order to hold a secure position, and to protect his baggage and artillery till the other regiment should come up, before advancing farther in the hostile country. This was on the 3d of November. Late that afternoon, and in the evening, the general was engaged with the engineers in planning the proposed works. At night the sentries were posted, and everything appeared quiet. The army was encamped in two lines. The front of the first line was covered by a creek, the one side by the river, while a creek protected the flank of the second line. During the night there was no alarm whatever, and consequently no suspicion of danger.

¹ The Congress of which he was president passed the ordinance.

² The citizens of Marietta gave special attention to the preparation of a residence for Governor St. Clair, and in the winter of 1790 his son Arthur, twenty-one years of age, and three daughters, Louisa, Jane, and Margaret, with a middle-aged, sensible colored woman, who acted as cook and housekeeper, took possession. Mrs. St. Clair still remained in the East.—(Life and Public Services, etc., p. 160.)

For a description of Louisa St. Clair, the eldest of these daughters, and of the brilliance of her intellectual accomplishments, etc., see Hildreth's "Pioneer History," quoted in "Life and Public Services," etc., p. 160.

Some few hours before daybreak, under the expectation of an attack, or at least to have the men in a state of readiness, the general had the reveille beaten and the troops paraded under arms. They thus stood watchful till daybreak, when they were dismissed to their tents to get some further rest. But the men had scarcely lain down when a rifle fired from some of the militiamen in front was followed by a sharp irregular volley in the same direction. The drums beat, the officers formed the men, the militia came pouring in from the front, and in a few minutes all was stir and confusion. The militia coming in, pursued by swarms of Indians, broke over the ranks of the regulars, and bore down all before them. The Indians themselves penetrated beyond the first ranks, and tomahawked some of the wounded officers who had been carried back to have their wounds dressed. In no long time the whole body of the army was encompassed by a livid stream of fire on all sides round. St. Clair was suffering from a fever, and was unable to mount a horse, but part of the time during the battle was carried from place to place on a litter. False allegations of cowardice were imputed to him; but there is nothing to warrant this. He was not in respect to his person a coward, but the reverse is the truth. During this engagement he had eight bullet-shots through his clothes, and he was among the last to leave the field of battle. He directed the men to carry him to the place where the firing was the heaviest, and where the men were falling on all sides. Here the brave Col. Darke, an officer of Revolutionary distinction, was trying his utmost to allay the consternation of the men and to hold the lines steady. When St. Clair came up he directed the colonel and his men to make a sudden and rapid charge with the bayonet. The charge was made and with some effect, for swarms of the red-backed creatures rose up before the lines of infantry out of the high grass and fled before them. But as the soldiers could not overtake them, they recovered their courage, and soon after from behind every kind of shelter poured such a fire upon the soldiers that they in turn were driven back. A second time was the charge with the bayonet made and followed with the same result. When the artillery was brought up the horses and the men were destroyed before they could do any service.

But we cannot recount the battle at length. It is enough to say that the whites resisted bravely, but were borne back through the wild lands. Discipline availed little. The panic spread to all the troops. Behind every tree was an Indian, and with the bullets came flights of arrows, whose murderous wounds made the men shriek out. It is said the savages never showed more bravery. They ran in screaming, and tomahawked the men in the ranks or among their comrades. The men were sometimes huddled together like sheep, whence the slaughter, in respect of the number engaged, was prodigious. The ranks could not be formed in military order, and the field-

pieces of the regulars were of no use. These were finally captured by the Indians, with the exception of two which were thrown into one of the streams. Many died heroically. Acts of daring and of heroism which have delighted two generations of readers are recorded in the various tales of the border. It was long reported, and it is yet historically asserted, that the water of the creek to the front was reddened with blood. The men at last gave way, and the retreat became a panic. A part of the army reached Fort Washington. Few of the munitions were saved, for the men threw away even their arms. When the second army of Kentucky volunteers which afterwards came out took possession of the battle-field, the found within a little space three hundred skull-bones, and for miles the road was strewn with the remains of the army. From the official lists of the adjutant-general, five hundred and ninety-three were reported¹ dead and two hundred and fourteen wounded.

The chief of the hostiles in this battle was Mishikinakwa, or Little Turtle, a son of a Miami chief by a Mohican woman. He was the chief leader of the warriors of all the tribes in that country. He died in 1812, and his grave is shown to the whites near Fort Wayne. His portrait may be seen in the War Office at Washington.

He has been described by one who saw him at Montreal soon after the defeat. He was at that time a little over forty-five years of age, was six feet high, of a very sour and morose countenance, and appar-

¹ *Echoes of the Battle.*—"On the day of battle Gen. St. Clair was not in his uniform, but wore a coarse caffo coat and a three-cornered hat. He had a long cue and large locks flowing beneath his beaver. Early in the action, when near the artillery, a ball grazed the side of his face and cut off a portion of one of his locks. During the action eight balls passed through his clothes and hat. After his horses were killed he exerted himself on foot for a considerable time during the action with a degree of alertness that surprised everybody who saw him. After being on foot for some time, and when nearly exhausted, a pack-horse was brought to him. This he rode during the remainder of the day, although he could scarcely prick him out of a walk." He had two horses killed, one after the other, in the act of mounting them.

Narrative of the Campaign.

The great Mohawk chief, Tha-yen-da-ne-ge-a (Joseph Brant, alias Capt. Brant), was, so well-informed historians say, in this battle, although not suspected on account of the professions of friendship for the Americans. This calls to mind the "legend of Louisa St. Clair," in which the story is that young Brant, the son of the great chief, and who was in love with Louisa St. Clair, was there, and that he ordered his warriors to shoot St. Clair's horses but not him. To this was accounted the noteworthy reason of his having so many horses killed about him and himself escaping unhurt. This "legend," being nothing but a romantic love story, was once very popular in the Northwest, and is yet to be met with in republications.—See "Life and Public Services," etc., quoted above.

From the Congressional Committee's Report Appointed to Inquire into the Defeat.

"The committee conceive it but justice to the commander-in-chief to say that in their opinion the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or during the action, but that as his conduct in all the preparatory arrangements was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action furnishes strong testimonies of his coolness and intrepidity."

ently very crafty and subtle. His dress was Indian moccasins, a blue petticoat that came half-way down his thighs, a European surtout and waistcoat. His head was bound by an Indian cap, which hung half-way down his back, and almost entirely covered with plain silver brooches, to the number of more than two hundred. He had two ear-rings to each ear. The upper part of each of these was formed by three medals about the size of a dollar; the lower part was formed of quarter-dollars, and fell more than twelve inches from his ears, one from each ear over his breast, the other over his back. He had three very large nose jewels of silver, which were curiously plaited.

St. Clair held the commission of Governor of the Northwestern Territory from 1787 to 1802, a period of fifteen years, when he was removed by President Jefferson. Fault has been found with Jefferson for this act, and those who take exception assert that it was done with a spiteful political spirit. St. Clair was a strong Federalist, an adorer of the political doctrines of Hamilton. He had been indiscreet in his expressions of favor for the unpopular administration of John Adams, who brought contempt and opprobrium upon his party by the countenance he gave the notorious and justly obnoxious alien and sedition laws. But, taken on the whole, we are of opinion it would necessitate a misconstruction of motives and facts and require yet undiscovered testimony to establish authoritatively the assertion that St. Clair's removal was instigated by the malevolence of Jefferson.¹

As Governor of that Territory which now exists as five independent States and includes millions of the foremost citizens of the Republic, his duties were arduous, his toil unceasing, and the results marvelous.

¹ The truth is great opposition had grown up against St. Clair as Governor on account of antagonism to the formation of a State out of a portion of the Territory, which was the nearly unanimous wish and desire of the inhabitants of Ohio, and also on account of his avowed opposition to the new State's constitution, and of his disagreement with a majority of the Legislature of the Territory. His biographer, the Hon. W. H. Smith, who certainly has not countenanced the action of Jefferson in removing St. Clair, says, "It is known that Mr. Jefferson's friendship for St. Clair influenced him, and that it was only after it was reported to him some months later, upon what seemed to be reliable authority, that Governor St. Clair had spoken against Democratic government that he issued the order of removal."—*Life and Public Services*, etc., vol. i., 240.

"He even entered the lists in a public discussion, and printed a pamphlet in defense of the administration after the blunder of the alien and sedition law, and sent it to Mr. Adams with his compliments."—*Ibid.*, 234.

Announcement of Removal.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Nov. 22, 1802.

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, ESQ.:

"SIR,—The President observing in an address lately delivered by you to the Convention held at Chillicothe an intemperance and indecorum of language towards the Legislature of the United States, and a disorganizing spirit and tendency of very evil example, and grossly violating the rules of conduct enjoined by your public station, determines that your commission as Governor of the Northwestern Territory shall cease on receipt of this notification.

"I am, etc.,

"JAMES MADISON."

For an idea of the duties incumbent on him and the large discretionary power vested in him, one should examine the ordinances and the laws of Congress relative to the subject. By these he was made not only the executive but the law-giver of that vast extent of country, as he and his judges in council had the power not only to enforce but to make the laws for its government. But he devoted himself here, as he did elsewhere, wholly to the duties of his trust. The early records of the State of Ohio attest his labors. Although his salary was not adequate to cover even his traveling expenses, he never once relaxed his exertions. He seems to have been well aware of the importance and the magnitude of the trust reposed in him. He established laws, erected counties, selected officers, fixed titles, held treaties with the Indians, and saw that justice was administered in due form of law. He refers to this subject in the answer to the ladies of New York, who in his latter days had presented him with a small sum of money:

"I had fondly hoped," says he, "that my military services had been of benefit to my country; but let that pass. Besides these services, which you have so kindly eulogized, I, at my own expense in a great measure, raised up a colony to the United States from thirty men to sixty thousand; amalgamated the most heterogeneous mass of population; carried law, religion, and manners to the extreme bounds of the Territory; made the people happy, and laid the foundation for the continuance of that happiness to millions yet unborn, in the accomplishment of which every faculty of mind and body were unceasingly employed."

And in this he evidences the prescient wisdom of prophecy.

HIS LAST DAYS.

Upon his removal from the governorship St. Clair came back to Ligonier Valley. Here, in the midst of a large tract of land, he had in the latter part of his official career erected a house in anticipation of the time when he should be relieved of public duties; here part of his family resided before he came back, and here he fondly hoped to pass the remainder of his life in the agreeable ease and rest which the soldier in the camp and the statesman in the council-room always anticipates. The building was regarded as a sumptuous and well-apportioned mansion-house for the time. It was handsomely painted and papered, and besides ordinary apartments had a suite of bedrooms. It was situated about two miles northwest of Ligonier, near Mill Creek. Nothing now remains of the original structure intact except the room which he left with its quaintly-carved mantel-piece and wainscoting. The painting over the fireplace has been destroyed. Here he settled down with his family, and began to build up in his old days his broken fortune. He erected a furnace, and for a time carried on the manufacture of castings, but after a few years leased the works to James Hamilton & Co. at a rental of three thousand dollars per annum. He also got his mill in running order, and continued actively engaged in business until he was crippled by the executions of his creditors.

The history of his financial embarrassment is not

devoid of interest. The blind goddess in this as in all things treated him rudely. He got with his wife fourteen thousand pounds (equivalent to seventy thousand dollars). Besides this he had large donations of land from the king, from the Penns, from the State, and from Congress. His investments in real estate, so far as the investments went, were judicious, but these all in his sinister fortune melted away like snow in the sunshine. He drew salaries and was in the possession of emoluments and perquisites during all his public life, but these scarcely reached from one accounting day to the next. He was always in a position to invest and speculate in remunerative and safe enterprises, but he never tainted his hands with bribes or touched what bore the semblance of speculation. In a letter to his friend, the Hon. William B. Giles, he says that the office of Governor of the Northwestern Territory was forced on him by his friends, who thought it would be an opportunity of replenishing his finances; but it proved otherwise, for he "had neither the taste nor the genius for speculation in land, nor did he consider it consistent with his office." So when he retired here, after his removal from office, he was hopelessly in debt, and some years later was sold out by the sheriff.

It is perhaps true that some of his losses were caused by negligence, and might not have happened had he been more provident, but nearly all his financial embarrassment is chargeable to the zeal with which he served his country, and were debts due and owing by the people of the republic, in whose service he was employed all his life. When he went to the Revolutionary army he left his mill—the first one erected in the West—to his neighbors for their use while he was gone. When he took possession of it on his return he found it a pile of rubbish. In one of his memorials he states that when he went to the army he could not leave his young wife, born and bred in the city of Boston, of the first connections there, and accustomed to the most fashionable circles, on a frontier so hostile, and was thus compelled to dispose of his principal farm, on which he had expended a large amount of money, at great sacrifice. He sold it for £2000, payable in installments, but so rapid was the depreciation of the Continental currency that of this amount he lost £1900. He then had to purchase a house in the East for his family while he was in the service. This he sold at the end of the war; one-half of the price he lost by the bankruptcy and suicide of the purchaser. He indorsed for his friends and fellow-officers, and by this lost large sums, which he paid upon demand so far as he was able.

From 1803 to 1813, at various times, St. Clair presented memorials to Congress and to the Assembly of Pennsylvania for relief. In these memorials he himself gives the cause or occasion which induced him to present them. To the Assembly he says that as early as 1774 he supplied nearly all the forts and block-

houses in Westmoreland County with arms and the means of defense at his own expense. When, in the darkest days of the Revolution, Washington, seeing his army melting away like snow, appealed to him to save to him the Pennsylvania line, the flower of the army, St. Clair immediately responded by advancing the money for recruiting and for bounty, and by St. Clair's and Col. William Butler's individual exertions and influence their object was accomplished. To part of this claim the government afterwards pleaded the statute of limitations. He was shut out on this statute by substantially the following argument: "True it is, we, the government of the United States, do justly owe you so and so much, but because you have never asked to be repaid until now the presumption of the law is that you have been repaid." But the indebtedness which was the direct cause of his losing his real property had been contracted during his governorship. During his incumbency of this office he acted as superintendent of Indian affairs in the Territory, and in that capacity negotiated several treaties of importance, in the transaction of which to a successful termination it was apparent that the appropriation by Congress was inadequate, whence he was compelled to advance funds out of his own pocket to consummate his ends. In negotiating one of these treaties he expended about \$16,000, and for which only \$8000 had been appropriated. When the army for the campaign of 1791 had collected together, and it was found that the sum authorized by Congress for the purpose was too small for the exigencies of the project, he personally guaranteed to the quartermaster-general, James O'Harra, the repayment of a large sum in order that the army might be victualled and supplied. When he presented his account in 1799 for payment, he was informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that there "were no moneys appropriated by the Legislature to pay such further disbursements." On this subject St. Clair says that he became personally liable to the contractor, O'Harra, to whom he gave his bond for \$7042, on the express promise of the Secretary of the Treasury that it should be repaid with interest. This bond remaining unpaid, suit was brought, and judgment obtained against St. Clair by his own confession for \$10,632.17, debt and interest. Upon this judgment execution was from time to time issued, and upon it the entire remaining part unsold, which included all his real estate, was sold. The time of sale could not have happened at a more inopportune time. The embargo had driven money out of the country. The valuation of that part of his real estate levied upon under these executions has been fixed at \$50,000; but it did not fetch more than paid the debt and accrued interest upon this one judgment. James O'Harra, by his lawyer, bought all the property.

Judgment was confessed upon the O'Harra bond in August, 1803, and the sheriff, Alexander Johnston, Esq., soon after, by the orders of O'Harra through

Mr. Ross, his attorney, levied upon all the property, but no sales were made until June, 1808. The tract of land, upon which were the mansion-house, grist-mill, and furnace, was sold for four thousand dollars, although at the time it was rented out at three thousand dollars per annum. The last tract was sold Oct. 15, 1810.

Previous to this a nameless, heartless wretch—a Shylock of a neighbor—had bought up all his due-bills, brought suit upon each one separately, and on them sold all his goods and chattels. They took everything from him they could get, and left him only one bed and bedding, a few books of his English and classical library (among which was his favorite Horace), and a bust of John Paul Jones, which had been sent to him by Jones himself from Paris, and which he prized highly.

In his days of adversity the Assembly of Pennsylvania pensioned him with a small amount, which in 1817, the year before his death, was increased to fifty dollars a month. Congress, the year of his death, passed an act allowing him sixty dollars a month, and dated it back one year. Of this he got not one cent, for greedy creditors were watching, and it was attached before it left the fingers of the treasurer. Had it not been for the little he got from the State of Pennsylvania, and what he received through charity, he would not have had enough to relieve the pangs of hunger.



INTERIOR OF ST. CLAIR'S HOUSE.

The last period of his life is a period not pleasing to contemplate. After he was turned out of house and home he removed to the summit of Chestnut Ridge, and there lived in a log house alongside the old State road. The cabin stood on a barren and rocky piece of land which his son Daniel, who had saved some little money, bought as an asylum for his old father and family. Here, to nurse life a little longer, to keep his family together, to care for his wife, now hurt in intellect, and to get coarse bread for his dependent flock of children and grandchildren,

he kept tavern for the entertainment of the traveling public.¹ His hereditary disease (the gout) afflicted him greatly, so that his declining days were as full of misery as of grief.

But the lack of bread was of all his ills the least.² Poverty of itself is no disgrace, and to men like him who had given all for others, and who found no one to give him anything, it is a crown of glory though of thorns, around which rests an aureola of never-ending radiance. There is a text in the Holy Scriptures which reads, "At two things my heart is grieved: a man of war fainting through poverty; and a man of sense despised."³ There were those who mocked and jeered at the Samson now shorn of his locks,—these were the asses who came and kicked their heels into the face of the dying lion,—mean, brainless, insulting men, who in their cups sang ditties within his hearing which charged him with the death of those who had fallen in battle, and still more worthless curs who charged him to his face with cowardice.⁴ But no one who was capable of appreciating nobleness, and who could instinctively recognize true manhood, ever stepped beneath his lowly roof without recognizing himself to be in the presence of a gentleman, a scholar, a soldier, a statesman, a patriot.⁵ Nowhere

¹ Arthur St. Clair was recommended for tavern licenses, Jan. 24, 1814.

We may say here, in passing, the Westmoreland court records show among other things that in 1793 (June 11th), St. Clair gave his recognition for the appearance of some defendants in court. Aug. 30, 1793, his name is at the head of a petition for a road, which being granted the order was lifted in September, 1794, by "Gen. St. Clair." These show that he was in Westmoreland at those dates.

² In his justly admired letter of thanks to the ladies of New York, who had sent him four hundred dollars, which letter is dated "Chestnut Ridge, 4th March, 1813," is this paragraph: "To soothe affliction is certainly a happy privilege, and it is the appropriate privilege of the fair sex, and nobly have the ladies of New York exercised it; and though I feel all I can feel for the relief brought to myself, their attention to my daughters touches me the most. Had I not met with distress I should not have, perhaps, known their worth. Though all their prospects in life (and they were once very flattering) have been blasted, not a sigh, not a murmur has been allowed to escape them in my presence, and all their pains have been directed to rendering my reverses less affecting to me, and yet I can truly testify that it is entirely on their account that my situation ever gave me one moment's pain."

³ *Ecclesiasticus*, xxvi., 25, 26.—*Dowry Edition*.

⁴ The ballad of St. Clair's defeat was in the early part of this century very popular in Western Pennsylvania. I have heard from old persons that there were some drunken, abandoned creatures who took especial delight in singing at it when St. Clair was in Youngstown or in Ligonier. One verse was this:

"'Twas on the fourth day of November in the year of ninety-one,
We had a sore engagement near to Fort Jefferson;
St. Clair was our commander, which may well remembered be,
For we lost nine hundred men in the Western Ter-ri-to-ree."

Several versions of this ballad still exist, and there are two preserved in Dr. Frank Cowan's "Poems and Ballads," etc.

⁵ The biographer of Gen. Lewis Cass, quoted in "Life and Public Services," etc., p. 252, refers to Cass' acquaintance with St. Clair, and thus describes him: "Gen. St. Clair was a most interesting relic of the Revolutionary period; tall, erect, though advanced in years, well educated, gentlemanly, thoroughly acquainted with the world, and abounding in anecdotes descriptive of the men and scenes he had encountered in his eventful career. Lewis Cass saw him for the last time some years before his death in a rude cabin, supporting himself by selling supplies to the

and at no time and under no circumstance did the superior manhood of the man appear to better advantage. Here he forgot that the country had taken from him the best years of his life, and after having taken and appropriated his services and his money when it was needy and helpless, refused to recompense him now that it was able and strong. He even forgot himself, and of all those whose names were subscribed to the institution of the Order of the Cincinnati, of which he was president for the State of Pennsylvania, none could so appropriate the motto which encircled the medallion on the breast of the eagle of their decoration, "*Omnia relinquit servare rempublicam.*"

At length this life, of which want, neglect, contumely, ingratitude and injustice, domestic inquietude and disease so largely made a part, drew to a close. On the 30th of August, 1818, as he was coming down the road from his home to Youngstown, at the foot of the ridge, driving his pony in a rough, jolting wagon, by some means he fell or was thrown out on the ground. The road was rough and very abrupt, and as the turnpike had lately been opened this road was suffered to fall into neglect. When he was found he was insensible. His pony had moved no great distance. He was taken home and cared for; but he never gained consciousness, and on the next day the great soul, overladen with unutterable woe and misery, was at rest for evermore.¹

From a copy of the *Register* which contains the

wagons who traveled the road, one of the most striking instances of the mutations which chequer life."

The following reminiscence is taken from the celebrated letter of Hon. Elisha Whittlesey to Hon. Richard Brodhead, chairman of the Committee of Claims United States Senate. Mr. Whittlesey, by the way, was the first representative of the Ashtabula District in Ohio in Congress, the Garfield district. Until Mr. Garfield ceased to represent that district it had but three representatives, Mr. Whittlesey, Mr. Joshua Giddings, and Mr. Garfield.

He says, "In 1815 three persons and myself performed a journey from Ohio to Connecticut on horseback in the month of May. Having understood that Gen. St. Clair kept a small tavern on Chestnut Ridge, eight miles east of Greensburg, or the distance may have been greater, I proposed that we stop at his house and spend the night. He had no grain for our horses, and after spending an hour with him in the most agreeable and interesting conversation respecting his early knowledge of the Northwestern Territory, we took our leave of him with deep regret.

"I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of veneration and esteem. He wore a citizen's dress of black of the Revolution; his hair clubbed and powdered. When we entered he arose with dignity and received us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double log house of the western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon. Chestnut Ridge was bleak and barren. There lived the friend and confidant of Washington, the ex-Governor of the fairest portion of creation. It was in the neighborhood, if not in the view, of a large estate at Ligonier that he owned at the commencement of the Revolution, and which, as I have at times understood, was sacrificed to promote the success of the Revolution. Poverty did not cause him to lose self-respect; and were he now living his personal appearance would command universal admiration."

This reminiscence was written May 16, 1856.

¹ When I was quite a boy I often spoke with the old lady who found him on the roadside. She, with another woman, were going out for berries when they came upon him. Her name was Susan Steinbarger.

proceedings of the meetings at Greensburg we obtain the following:²

"When, therefore, the news of the death of the general reached Greensburg, the inhabitants of the town, who held his services and his character in high regard, met in a public meeting at the court-house; James Brady, Esq., was called to preside, and Richard Coulter, Esq., was selected as secretary. At the meeting the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the wishes of the corporation and citizens of Greensburg that the remains of the late Maj.-Gen. Arthur Saint Clair may be interred in the burying-ground in said place be respectfully communicated to the family of the deceased.

"Resolved, That the following gentlemen be a committee of arrangement to superintend the funeral, if the family of the deceased consent to the removal of the remains, Dr. James Postlewaithe, A. W. Foster, John Reed, Simon Drum, Jr., John H. Wise, George Armstrong, Daniel Maclean, and Richard Coulter.

"JAMES BRADY, *Chairman.*

"RICHARD COULTER, *Sec.*"

The following letter was sent to Mrs. Louisa Robb, the eldest daughter of the general:

"GREENSBURG, August 31st, 1818.

"MADAM:

"In obedience to the resolution of the corporation and citizens of Greensburg, we beg leave respectfully to present to the family of Gen. St. Clair their condolence at the melancholy event of his death. Desirous to express some small token of respect for the memory of a man whose name is conspicuous on the page of our history as one of the heroes who achieved our independence, we are directed to obtain permission from the family that the body of our lamented friend may be deposited near us.

"Mr. Drum will have all necessary arrangements made at Youngstown, in unison with those which are preparing here, to do honor for the occasion.

"We are, Madam, respectfully
(signed by the Committee of Arrangement).

"MRS. LOUISA ROBB."

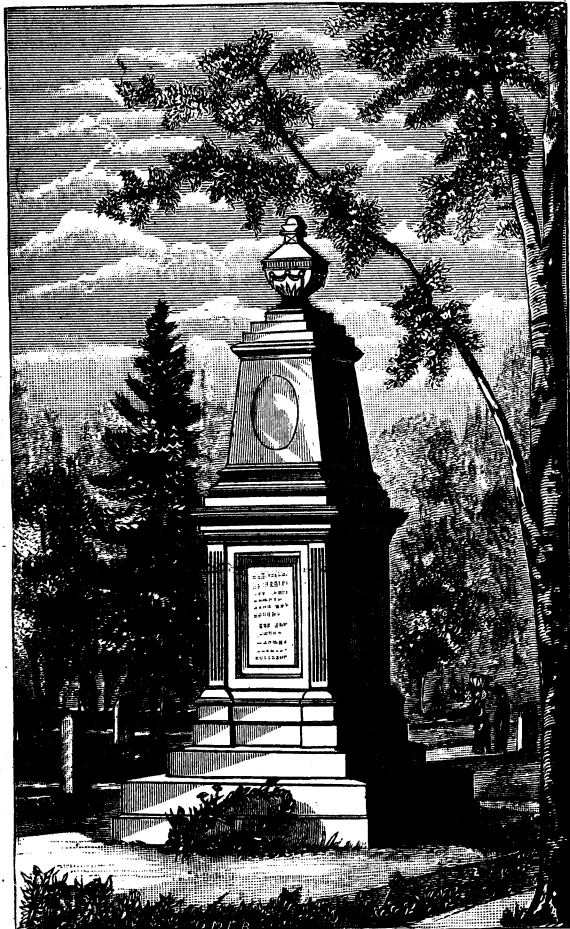
In addition to the prompt action taken by the citizens of the borough, arrangements had also been made both at Ligonier and at Unity burying-ground, with the expectation that the remains would be laid at one or the other of these places,³ but the consent of the family was finally obtained to have them rest in the graveyard of the Presbyterian congregation at Greensburg.

The committee went to the home of the deceased and accompanied the remains. The funeral was received about a mile from town by the Greensburg Volunteers, commanded by Col. Ely Coulter, and the Masonic lodge joined the procession on the road about half a mile out. The procession halted in the

² The article, in addition to this, gives a biographical sketch of St. Clair, which, we may remark, has furnished the substantial material for every sketch which we have yet met with. That part of it was copied entire and submitted as an original contribution to Morris & Willis' *New York Mirror*, under the heading of "American Biography," and from thence copied extensively into other periodicals. Although the article is scholarly and elegant, yet in some essentials it is defective, and in some statements, as later research has shown, not exact.

³ *Hamlet*. "It is not very strange, for my uncle is King of Denmark, and those that would make mouths at him while my father lived give twenty, forty, fifty, a hundred ducats apiece for his picture in little. 'Sblood, there is something in this more than natural, if philosophy could find it out."—*Hamlet*, Act III. S. 2.

square in the middle of the town, where the family were assisted out of their conveyances, and from here all on foot walked to the grave in the following order: military, by the left, with arms and its colors reversed and drums muffled; citizens generally; committee of arrangement; judges; clergy; coffin containing the remains, with six pall-bearers on each side; relations; officers of the Revolutionary army; corporation of the borough. The body was interred with the rites of the Masonic brotherhood. The monument over



MONUMENT OF ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

his grave was erected some years later by the same fraternity, and the inscription upon it is perhaps the most appropriate one ever yet carved upon granite over any servant of the republic.¹

¹ The inscription on the north side:

"THIS STONE
is erected
over the bones of their
DEPARTED BROTHER,
by members of the
MASONIC SOCIETY,
resident in this vicinity."

Thus much of the public life and services of this distinguished citizen. It has been truly said that the afflicting spectacle of his last days melts the heart with sorrow. Perhaps there was not a prominent character of the Revolutionary period, with the exception of Morris, that gave so much of his life and service and means to the cause of America as did St. Clair, and there was none, with that exception, who was so poorly and so meanly recompensed. It is true that he died poor, but in such poverty there was no shame. "It is true, it is a pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true." A man with a superior education and the instincts of a gentleman, a companion and associate of Lafayette, of Steuben, of Hamilton, and of Washington, and a sharer of their glory, a general-in-chief of the army and a president of Congress, closing his life in neglected solitude! The commencement of the Revolution found him in affluent circumstances, in the vigor of manhood, rising with the destiny of the young Commonwealth, and when his race was run, his course finished, he found himself old and poor, an outcast, at the mercy of men more heartless than wolves, on the summit of the ridge as cold and as desolating as the gratitude of his country, within sight of his former home,—his home?—his home no more, for it too was sold over his head to pay the debt incurred for the liberty of the States. He spoke knowingly who, seeing him as he passed by, was reminded of the Roman exile's reply, "Tell the citizens of Rome that you saw Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage."

In his social life, before it was saddened, he is said to have felt the tender sympathies of our nature to the fullest extent. His conversation was instructive and interesting, enlivened by wit and embellished with science. His manners never underwent a change, and although age had its power over his body, it could not disturb the high breeding or change the habit of his manners. On meeting a person, as old ones remember, he would bow low in his saddle, and always raise his hat on passing a woman. In his latter days he was given to reflection, to which his exile and loneliness were in a measure conducive. He was often seen walking with his hands behind his back, a posture natural to the great Napoleon when at St. Helena, and to Themistocles when at Argos. He

The inscription on the south side:

"THE
Earthly Remains
of
Major-General
ARTHUR ST. CLAIR
are deposited
beneath this humble monument,
which is
Erected to supply the place
of a nobler one
due from his country.
He died August 31st,
1818,
in the 84th year of his age."

would sit for hours together at the table of the back room of the village tavern, absent in thought, apparently lost to the present, and seeing only the past or into the future. He came down almost daily to the village, which was but a few miles from his house. Here he frequently met Findley, the member of Congress from our district, and the most popular politician of his day, and these would talk together, having a time over their glass of punch in the low bar-room of Skyle's tavern. He usually rode upon a small gray horse, but sometimes in a heavy, low-wheeled, wooden-axled carriage. He is described by persons who recollect him as being a tall man, square shouldered, cleanly shaved, his cheek-bones very prominent, and with a certain dignity of carriage and address. He was no longer erect, but there was no mistaking the military bearing of the man.

As an officer he must have been fine-looking and commanding. As ensign he is described as tall, graceful, dignified, with chesnut hair, handsome blue eyes, and blond complexion, master of all the accomplishments of the drawing-room, including the art of entertaining conversation. His portrait in oil, taken at a late date, in the Continental uniform, may now be seen in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

In considering the character of St. Clair there are two incidents which recur to us and illustrate a phase of his character better perhaps than an array of words. When Robert Hanna was using his influence to have his settlement made the abiding-place of justice for the new county, he stopped on his way to the East at St. Clair's house. St. Clair, then the agent of the Penns, taking the opportunity offered to send a communication to the Council, wrote a letter to President Shippen, wherein he stated that it was owing to Hanna's influence and personal interests that he controlled the other trustees to fix on his settlement as the county-seat. "I beg you will excuse inaccuracies," so he writes, "as I write in the greatest hurry, Mr. Hanna holding his horse while I write."

The next incident occurred long after. St. Clair and Findley met together once when the former was well-nigh shelterless and the latter one of the most prominent men of his day. Findley inadvertently, and perhaps through sympathy, said, "I pity your case, general, and heartily sympathize with you;" whereupon the old warrior straightening himself up, with his eyes flashing the fire they were wont to when the bugles blared and the men fell into line, replied, "I am sorry, sir, that I cannot appreciate your sympathy."

The death of St. Clair, surrounded as it was by so many circumstances of neglect, was a fit occasion for writers of the old school to dwell on the romanticism of solitude and exile, and to write essays on the proverbial aphorism respecting the ingratitude of republics. He has been described as the recluse of the Alleghenies, as a hermit, as a philosopher in exile, as a sage in rags. One romancist, who wrote to satisfy

the taste of the metropolis, describes his death as occurring in a miserable hut on the mountain top, in the midnight of winter, during such a storm as howls through the Alps, or as that which swept over England and carried off the soul of the great Oliver Cromwell. But there was no romance in his latter end. It is true that the tourist can at this day, standing near his old home, look out upon as fair and romantic a scene as he will see anywhere in America. Perhaps nowhere else could the shade of the dead see a landscape so nearly resembling those which he himself saw when a boy in his own Scotland. On the one side you may take in view the broad Ligonier Valley, with the long-lapping hills losing themselves in the horizon in the far distance. On the other side you shall see the valley which lies between the western slope of the Ridge and the Whortleberry Hills. To the right, within a half-amphitheatre, "green-walled by the hills," is the brisk town of Latrobe, the Ligonier Valley Railroad winding along the basin of the Loyahanna, which, breaking through the Ridge after devious windings through marshes and around shelving banks, loses itself behind the knolls to the north. You can trace the Pennsylvania Railroad by its burnished rails where it crosses the valley. Down beneath you, you will see the roofs and the long, single street of the old-time village of Youngstown, and trace the gray turnpike as it crawls over the hills eight miles beyond. On an upland, against a background of woods, are the college and cloisters of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Vincent's; to the left the slated roofs, the bay-windows, and red chapel of the Convent of St. Xavier's; innumerable tasty farm-houses and orchards, white barns, square school-houses, and broad expanses of meadow all along alternate as far as you can see, while the abruptness of the broken hills ceases, and their blue tops vanish in an undefinable line into the south, as do the sloping lands which extend far on into the rich heart of the west. It was all different when he stood there. He might have seen when he came there a few poorly-built houses, forming a hamlet on one side, and the same on the other. Here and there the smoke rising above the trees from the cabins of the first settlers, and an almost unbroken forest on all sides, and known a people struggling for a living,—a people who to him were neither kind, nor with sympathy such as he needed, and even without respect. A little cleared patch with its stony soil and deadened trees that stood like giants to sentinel enchanted land, was about his door. The wild animals might yet be heard at night, and the lonesome birds of evil croaked in broad day around the edge of the clearing. Even the mossy rocks covered with ferns and rhododendrons as they sheltered venomous snakes, could not appear to him as they appear to those drawn thither through pleasure or by curiosity. To a place of such surroundings as these it was that the old man, broken with the storms of state, had come to lay his weary

bones among us. With him it is all over: he sleeps his last sleep, he has fought his last battle; no sound can awake him to glory again,—

“He now is in his grave;

After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
 Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
 Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
 Can touch him further.”¹

¹ Memorandum of lands taken by St. Clair in Western Pennsylvania:

The within is taken from the records of the land-office, and can be relied on as correct.

The lands are divided into three kinds, application, warrant, and donation lands, according to the designation of the original title.

By application dated 23d Nov., 1767, St. Clair got 317 acres, situate one-half mile below the Frankstown road, Bedford County. They were patented Sept. 6, 1785, to Bartholomew Boucher, on the Frankstown road, inclusive of Yellow Springs.

By application dated 3d April, 1769, he got 412 acres, 57 perches, situate four miles above Ligonier, at the great bend of the Loyalhanna. This is now Donegal township, Westmoreland.

By application in right of John Grant, dated 7th April, 1769, he got 270 acres, 80 perches, also in Donegal township. They were patented Oct. 17, 1788. Three hundred and seventy-two perches along Loyalhanna were patented to Daniel St. Clair.

By application dated 23d June, 1769, he got 339 acres. They were patented Oct. 17, 1788. Ninety-two perches along the Loyalhanna Creek were patented to Daniel St. Clair.

By warrant dated 23d Nov., 1773, he obtained 592 acres, situate in Ligonier township, Westmoreland County, being an octagon survey of different dates. It says that he was commandant at the post of Fort Ligonier in April, 1769.

By warrant dated 24th Sept., 1783, he obtained 6219 acres and 35 perches, situated on Chestnut Ridge and Loyalhanna Creek. The tract was patented 22d July, 1794, and got by resolution of the General Assembly.

By warrant dated 16th Nov., 1787, he got 81 acres, situated in the forks of Mill and Loyalhanna Creeks and adjoining the octagon tract.

By warrant dated 19th July, 1793, he got 394 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres, situated in Southampton township, Somerset County. They were patented June 22, 1870, to John, Henry, and Matthias Bausman.

By warrant dated April 30, 1791, he got 256 acres, situated in Fairfield township, Westmoreland County, adjoining his other lands. They were patented 7th May, 1870, to Eliza Denny.

By donation dated February, 1786, Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair obtained from the State of Pennsylvania 2000 acres. There were 1000 acres of this in Crawford County, divided into two tracts; there were 500 in Erie and 500 acres in Lawrence. St. Clair owned 10,881 acres in all, and of these 8270 acres were situated in Westmoreland County.

Chronological Table of Events, etc., in the Career of Gen. St. Clair.

Born, 1734.

Ensign 60th Regt. (Royal Americans) of Foot, May 13, 1757.

With Amherst at Louisburg, Canada, May 28, 1758.

Lieutenant, April 17, 1759.

Capture of Quebec, Sept. 13, 1759.

Married at Boston, May 14, 1760.

Resigned his commission, April 16, 1762.

On special service in a civil capacity in Western Pennsylvania, having charge of Fort Ligonier, 1767-69.

Appointed surveyor for the District of Cumberland by Penn, April 5, 1770.

Appointed county justice and member of the Proprietary Council for Cumberland County, 23d May, 1770.

Appointed justice of the Court (Ded. Pot.), prothonotary, register, and recorder for Bedford County, 11th-12th March, 1771.

Appointed to same offices for Westmoreland County, Feb. 27, 1773.

Resolutions at Hannastown, 16th May, 1775.

Colonel under Council of Safety, 1775.

Colonel in the Continental service, 3d Jan., 1776.

Before Quebec, 11th May, 1776.

Brigadier-general, 9th August, 1776.

Major-general, 19th Feb., 1777.

Detailed as adjutant-general, March, 1777.

Member of Council of Censors, 1783.