Wayne's Western Campaign
The Wayne-Knox Correspondence
1793-1794

While the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 erected a political structure for that area lying north and west of the Ohio River and opened it to American settlement, it failed to insure the peaceable building of the New West. British-inspired Indians opposed the immigration from the eastern states. When efforts by the United States Government to negotiate a peace collapsed, armies were sent out in place of peace commissioners.

Until Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, the troops sent westward met a series of defeats. First Harmar and then St. Clair retreated, beaten and broken. Morale on the frontier fell to a low ebb, and it became questionable whether the Northwest could, in fact, become an integral part of the United States.

The choice of Major General "Mad Anthony" Wayne as commander in chief of the third major attempt to quell Indian resistance proved to be a wise one. Studying the faults in organization and training practiced by his predecessors, he was able to whip (almost literally at times) into shape an army capable of achieving the desired result. First at Legion Ville and later at Hobson’s Choice, Wayne trained his troops, organized an efficient staff, laid in supplies, and prepared for an assault on the Indians waiting in the Maumee Valley.

Through the letters presented here, one reads a firsthand, blow-by-blow account of the Wayne Expedition of 1793-1794, from the moment "Mad Anthony" left his Hobson's Choice camp until he jubilantly reported victory at the Maumee Rapids. Here are recorded
the plans and counterplans, the hardships and heart-warming episodes of the campaign. Here are conveyed the hopes and frustrations, the fears and approbations of the harried Secretary of War, Henry Knox. Finally, here are revealed the international implications of this frontier war which have seldom received the benefit of historical interpretation and discussion.

This Wayne-Knox correspondence is only a small portion of the extensive Wayne collection dealing with the western campaign which is deposited in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Yet it effectively synthesizes the import and impact of the manuscripts as a whole.

The letters are presented as important source material. While every effort has been made to identify names of persons mentioned in them, the letters have been allowed to stand on their own merits. Insofar as possible, the text has been kept in its original form.

*Anthony Wayne Parkway Board of Ohio*

**WAYNE TO KNOX**

**No. 64**

Hobsons Choice

Near Fort Washington 17th Sepr 1793

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the 27th July the ——— & 16th of August & 3rd Instant, with their respective enclosures—the last came to hand yesterday evening.

On the 11th an express boat arrived from Pittsburgh, with the 1st letter from the Commissioners dated Fort Erie 23rd August 1793 (of

1 Wayne Papers, XXIX, 54, hereafter cited as WP.

2 The name "Hobson's Choice" was given to the camp by Wayne because he did not want his soldiers to be influenced by the questionable "society" of Cincinnati, although he did want to be close to Fort Washington. The term "Hobson's Choice" arose from the practice of an English livery stable keeper who always rented the horse nearest the stable door.

3 An "express boat" differed from the usual boats sent down the Ohio River in that it was lightly loaded, highly armed, and designed for maximum speed. Seldom did these boats pause along the way during the entire journey, which generally took from five to eight days from Pittsburgh to Fort Washington.
which you have also enclosed me a copy)—on the same day ie on the 11th Instant, one of my confidential agents arrived at Fort Jefferson, accompanied by one Indian, who came to this place of the 14th.

I examined him very minutely upon his arrival—a second time next morning, & a third time on the 16th when his testimony was taken in writing, which I believe to be authentic—as he did not deviate from first to last—in any part of his information & of which he has signed Duplicates! he appears to be very well informed (considering the opportunity he has had) and an honest sober man, & most certainly in the confidence of the Indians, from his prowess in war, he has often accompanied them in their desultory parties, & took a conspicuous part against us on the fatal 4th of November 1791—he faithfully executed the trust reposed in Him last fall by Genl Putnam—and as faithfully that which was reposed in him by me upon the present occasion! It’s true, that I have made it his interest—to be & continue faithful to the United States, for this Campaign at least.

It’s much to be regreted, that the commissioners wou’d not take or believe the final answer—solemnly deliver’d to them then on the 31st of July, by the deputation of Chiefs, appointed for that purpose in full council—but rather chose to place Confidence in a Mr. Matthew Elliot, an artful designing—interested man—the partner of Colo McKee who was apprehensive that we shou’d receive intelli-

4 During the summer of 1793, three commissioners, Beverley Randolph, Benjamin Lincoln, and Timothy Pickering, were sent to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Indians. However, by the end of the summer, not even having had an opportunity to meet with the Indians, they went home in disgust. Wayne was particularly adamant on this point, as the delay of the peace commissioners prevented him from striking a decisive blow against the Indians. As he pointed out, had the peace commissioners returned home at the first indication that the Indians would not treat, he, Wayne, would not have been thwarted.

5 This “confidential agent” was William Wells, a former captive of the Indians and adopted son of the famous Miami chieftain, Little Turtle. Following St. Clair’s defeat, in which he had taken part on the Indian side, Wells joined Wayne’s forces and became one of his chief scouts and interpreters. Calvin Young, Little Turtle (Greenville, O., 1917), and WP, XXIX, 71.

6 This is the date of St. Clair’s defeat on the banks of the Wabash, the present Fort Recovery, Ohio.

7 Rufus Putnam, an officer of the Revolutionary War and a founder and resident of Marietta, Ohio.

8 Matthew Elliot and Col. Alexander McKee had been, along with Simon Girty, deserters to the British at the time of the American Revolution. Both Elliot and McKee had become
gence too soon, & be better prepar'd for a forward move, in due season & before the Grass shou'd fail—I hear that he has succeeded but too well, however we must do the best we can, to protect the Fronteer, nor shall anything be left unattempted to bring forward the Mounted Volunteers, in order to defeat the Machinations of our Enemies!

I have therefore called upon Major Genl Scott⁹ to join me at Fort Jefferson¹⁰ on or before the first of Octr., ie in the course of thirteen days from this period—& anxiously wait his answer.

In the interim I have order'd the Q M General & the Contractors¹¹ to Collect their whole force or means of transportation, which were unfortunately widely scatter'd & deranged just as they had got into Operation in consequence of the al[a]rming letter from the Commissioners dated the 10th July last¹² however that was not the only

powers in the British sphere, and McKee, at this time, was an Indian agent to the Indians of the Maumee Valley and the chief agitator against the Americans. It was for this reason that Wayne complained about the commissioners placing “confidence” in Elliot. Consul W. Butterfield, History of the Girtys (Cincinnati, O., 1890), 56.

⁹ Maj. Gen. Charles Scott, commander of the Kentucky Mounted Volunteers, the militia of Kentucky. Wayne had been given permission to call upon the militia establishments of the neighboring states for aid and augmentation of his regular army force. He hoped, even at this time, for an autumn campaign and had asked Gen. Scott for his help.

¹⁰ Fort Jefferson was one of St. Clair’s chain of posts reaching northward into the Indian country from Fort Washington (October, 1791), and until Wayne established Fort Greene Ville, was the northernmost of all the American outposts.

¹¹ The contractors were Robert Elliot and Eli Williams, private suppliers of the army who worked by government contract.

¹² The “alarming” letter of July 10, 1793, from the commissioners was addressed to Henry Knox and asked that “fresh orders might be sent to General Wayne, not only to abstain from hostilities, but to remain quietly at his posts. . . . The Indians have information, confirmed by repeated scouts, that General Wayne has cut and cleared a road, straight from fort Washington, into the Indian country, in a direction that would have missed fort Jefferson; but that, meeting with a large swamp, it was . . . turned to that fort, and then continued six miles beyond it; that large quantities of provisions are accumulated at the forts, far exceeding the wants of the garrisons; and numerous herds of horses and cattle, assembled beyond fort Jefferson, guarded by considerable bodies of troops. With these preparations for war in their neighborhood, (for it is but three days’ journey from thence to the Glaize) they [the hostile Indians] say their minds cannot rest easy. . . . The negotiations will of course be delayed, or interrupted, if the movements of their enemies call the warriors from the council to watch or check them. The measures pursued by General Wayne appear to have produced this unhappy effect, and probably strengthened jealousies, before almost insurmountable. We know that those measures are viewed by the British as unfair, and unwarrentable; and we cannot suppose that their opinion will be concealed from the Indians, if the latter have not previously entertained the same ideas. . . . It is obvious, that, to ensure a quiet, uninterrupted treaty,
instance in which B——h intrigue & policy has been practiced with success upon them during their mission.

I have now the honor to enclose a list of promotions & appointments in the several Corps of the Legion of the United States—together with the Organization of the Sub Legions—such as appear’d to me best adapted to the service for which they are at present intended, & as nearly agreeably to that of the President’s as existing circumstances would admit of & which I found were essentially necessary previously to taking the Field. I have also the honor to enclose copies of my General Orders preparatory thereto—and hope that the whole will meet the approbation of the President!

I have some difficulty in my mind respecting the propriety of my acting upon the sentence of the General Court Martial held upon Ensign John Morgan of the 1st Sub Legion, as it originated in Charges exhibited by Major General St. Clair previously to his resignation, as filed in your Office—before I was called into Service! I have therefore thought it my duty to transmit the proceedings of that Court to be acted or decided upon as the President—or you may think proper to direct.

I have recently acted upon three General Courts Martial held upon Lieuts. Deven, Wm. C. Smith, & Danl. St Thos. Jenifer—and hope that those example[s] & reprimand[s] will have the desired effect. No. — [no number is inserted here] contains copies of letters from Piamingo to Genl. Robertson & from that General to me, together cattle, horses, and troops, beyond what are proper for the posts themselves, should not be advanced from the Ohio; any that are now in advance, beyond fort Jefferson, should certainly be immediately withdrawn; and we doubt whether that would be satisfactory, if their numbers, in any degree, correspond with the reports among the Indians at their council. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, 351. Naturally, this letter had irked Wayne and had hindered his movements.

13 The Legion of the United States, Wayne’s army, was divided into four sublegions, corresponding to regiments, each commanded by a Lieutenant Colonel Commandant. For battle purposes, the Legion was divided into two wings, each comprising two sublegions.

14 Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair resigned his army command following his defeat by the Indians in 1791, but continued as governor of the Northwest Territory until shortly before Ohio became a state.

15 Lt. William Diven, 4th Sub Legion; Lt. William C. Smith, 3rd Sub Legion; and Lt. Daniel St. Thomas Jenifer, 4th Sub Legion. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army . . . (Washington, 1903), I. Unless otherwise noted, identification of military personnel has been made from Heitman.

16 Piamingo (pseud. William Colbert), known as the “great war-chief.” He served under Arthur St. Clair and, later, in the War of 1812. Frederick W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington, D. C., 1912), Part I, 322.

17 James Robertson, probably a militia general. Robertson’s letter is dated Sept. 16, 1793, at Nashville. WP, XXIX, 47.
with the report of Lieut Clark,\textsuperscript{18} who had charge of the Stores &c for the Chickasaw’s & for which you will find regular receipts.

This Young Gentleman has executed his orders (a copy of which I had the honor to transmit you some time since) with a promptitude & address that does him honor & which merits my highest approbation! he has brought on with him a Chickasaw Chief, named Underwood & Eight Warriors who appear determined and anxious for action.

Agreeably to your Order, I have determined the Relative Rank of the Captains, throughout the Line ie their Legionary Rank—as also the Sub Legionary rank of the Subalterns—which I have now the honor to enclose: shou’d there be any error the documents in your Office will correct them.\textsuperscript{19}

It wou’d appear that there are two or three little alterations to be made, as to the dates or times of promotion in two or three instances particularly in that of Capt. Greaton’s who was entitled to fill the vacancy occasioned by the Death of Capt. Ricd S. Howe which you will find mentioned in the Marginal Note.\textsuperscript{20}

I have the Honor to be with sincere & perfect Esteem

Your most Obt & very Huml. Sevt.

Anty Wayne

The Honble
Major Genl H Knox
Secretary of War

\textbf{WAYNE to KNOX}

No. 65\textsuperscript{21} Head Quarters Hobsons Choice
Near Fort Washington 5th Octr. 1793

Sir

I had the honor of writing to you on the 17th Ultimo, of which the enclosed is a Copy, since which Capt Pratt\textsuperscript{22} has arrived with sixty

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Lt. William Clark, 4th Sub Legion, later became noted for his part in the Lewis and Clark expedition.
\item \textsuperscript{19} “Rank” here means seniority and chain of command.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Capt. Richard H. Greaton, 2nd Sub Legion; Capt. Richard S. Howe, 4th Sub Legion, who died on Jan. 22, 1793.
\item \textsuperscript{21} WP, XXIX, 110.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Capt. John Pratt, 1st Sub Legion.
\end{itemize}
recruits, & some Clothing for the Dragoons & Artillery, part of which has been damaged in the land transportation between Philadelphia & Pittsburgh, the enclosed copy of the report of a board of Officers will shew the amount & their Opinion thereon.

Captain Haskell\(^{23}\) arrived here on the 1st Instant (in consequence of Orders recd. from you) with his Company consisting of 68 Non Commissioned Officers & privates fourteen of whom are in the smallpox. Capt Cummins\(^{24}\) is also arrived, with 43 Non Commissioned Officers & privates, twenty of whom together with himself, are sick debilitated & unfit for duty!

It wou'd appear that Colo. Clark\(^{25}\) had not wrote to, or given any orders either to Haskell or Cummins to descend the Ohio, which together with the unaccountable Act of countermanding Ensign Brady\(^{26}\) from descending the River as you will observe by the Enclosed Copy of a letter from Major Craig,\(^{27}\) with a considerable Quantity of Ammunition Clothing, intrenching tools arms & Accoutrements, articles much wanted, particularly the Arms cartridge box's & intrenching tools; I consider as highly criminal, being a Neglect of duty & disobedience of Orders, nor can I hear anything of him, or of those essential articles!

Agreeably to the Authority vested in me by your letter of the 17th of May 1793, I have used every means in my power to bring forward the mounted Volunteers from Kentucky, as you will observe by the enclosed copy of a Correspondence with his Excellency Govr Shelby & Major Genl Scott upon this interesting occasion. I have even adopted their own propositions by ordering a draft of the Militia, which I consider as the Dernier resort, & from which I much acknowledge, that I have but little hopes of success!

Add to this, that we have a considerable number of Officers & men sick & debilitated from fevers & other disorders incident to all Armies—but this is not all! we have recently been visited by a

\(^{23}\) Capt. Jonathan Haskell, 2nd Sub Legion.
\(^{24}\) Capt. John Cummings, 3rd Sub Legion. Wayne often spelled names incorrectly, but phonetically.
\(^{25}\) Lt. Col. John Clark, 4th Sub Legion.
\(^{26}\) Ens. Hugh Brady, 4th Sub Legion.
\(^{27}\) Maj. Isaac Craig, deputy quartermaster at Pittsburgh. The Craig Papers which cover the supply situation of this period are on deposit at the Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Malady called the *Influenza*\(^{28}\) which has pervaded the whole line, in a most alarming & rapid degree! fortunately this complaint has not been fatal, except in a few instances, & I have now the pleasure of informing you that we are generally recover’d in a fair way—but our effective force will be much reduced, as you will observe by the Scale at the bottom of the General Return of the Legion which I have the honor to transmit by this conveyance, so that after leaving the necessary Garrisons at the several posts (which will generally be composed of the sick & invalids\(^{29}\)) I shall not be able to advance beyond Fort Jefferson with more than *Twenty Six Hundred* regular Effectives, Officers included.

What Auxiliary force we shall have is yet to be determined, at present their Numbers are only *thirty six* Guides & spies & *three Hundred & Sixty* Mounted Volunteers! this is not a pleasant picture but something must be immediately done to save the fronteers from impending savage fury, I will therefore advance tomorrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position in position about Six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the Enemy in Check (by exciting a jealousy & apprehension for the safety of their own Women & Children) until some favorable circumstance or Opportunity may present to strike with effect!

The present apparent tranquility on the fronteers and at the head of the line, is a convincing proof to me that, the enemy are collected or Collecting in force to Oppose the Legion—either on it’s march—or in some unfavorable position for the Cavalry to act in:—disappoint them in this favorite plan or manoeuvre, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines—in this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter.

They can not continue long embodied for want of provisions, & at their breaking up they will most certainly make some desperate effort, upon some quarter or other—shou’d the Mounted Volunteers

\(^{28}\) It is perhaps surprising that Wayne called special attention to “the *Influenza*”; apparently, this was a new “malady” to the general. Daniel Drake, in his *Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country* (Cincinnati, O., 1815), 179–198, attributed this and other such fevers to the climate.

\(^{29}\) On Sept. 22, Wayne provided for the following classification of his men: “1st those who may be able to move with the Legion to Fort Jefferson by easy march[es]. 2nd those who may reach as far as Fort St. Clair. 3rd those who may reach as far as F. Hamilton. 4th all those who are too sick & infirm to march from this place.” WP, XXIX, 67.
Advance in force, we might yet compel those haughty Savages to sue for peace before the next opening of the Leaves, be that as it may—I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the minds of the President or yourself on account of this Army.

Knowing the critical situation of our Infant Nation, & feeling for the honor & reputation of Government (which I will support with my latest breath:) You may rest assured that I will not commit the Legion unnecessarily & unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position advanced of Jefferson, & by exerting every power endeavour to protect the Fronteers & to secure the Posts & Army during the Winter—or until I am honor'd with your further orders.

With those sentiments & under those impressions permit me to offer my sincerest wish for the health & happiness of the President & yourself, & believe me to be with profound Esteem & respect

Your Most Obt & very Huml Sevt.

Anty Wayne

The Honble
Major Genl H. Knox
Secretary of War

WAYNE TO KNOX

No. 66

Camp S. W. Branch of Miami
Six Miles advanced of Fort Jefferson
23rd Octr. 1793

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that the Legion took up its line of march from Hobsons Choice, on the 7th Instant, & arrived at this place in perfect order & without a single accident, at 10. OClock in the morning of the 13th when I found myself arrested for want of provision.

I have been much deceived by the Contractors upon this occasion, the deposit at Fort Jefferson not being more than one quarter part of what had been order'd at an early period, and their means of transport not half equal to the supply of the troops even at Fort Jefferson.

30 Ibid., XXX, 35.
I have therefore been reduced to the Necessity of ordering the Q. M. General to forego any further supplies of forage or stores in the line of his department for the present, & to employ his whole force to assist in the transport of flour &c. in the Contractors department, those Gentlemen after much evasion & equivocation being at last forced into a decisive declaration of their incapacity to comply with the requisition for the daily Issues & deposits, mentioned in my letters of the 14th & 23rd Instant, (for want of means of transport) to which letters, & to the antecedent copies of the correspondence between the Contractors & myself upon this interesting occasion, I must beg leave to refer you.

Notwithstanding this defect (upon the part of the Contractors) I do not despair of supporting the troops in our present position, or rather at a place called Still Water, at an intermediate distance between the field of Battle & Fort Jefferson & for which I shall make the necessary arrangements, in obedience of the instructions contained in your orders of the 25th of May 1792.

The safety of the Western frontiers, the reputation of the Legion—the dignity & interest of the Nation all forbid a retrograde Manoeuvre or giving up, one inch of ground we now possess—until the Enemy are compelled to sue for peace. The greatest difficulty which at present presents; is that of providing a sufficient escort to secure our convoys of provision & other supplies from insult & disaster, and at the same time to retain a sufficient force in camp to sustain & repel the attacks of the Enemy, who appear to be desperate & determined!

We have recently experienced a little check to one of our Convoys, which may probably be exaggerated into something serious, by the tongue of fame before this reaches you, the following is however the fact VIZ

Lieut. Lowry, of the 2nd Sub Legion & Ensign Boyd of the 1st with a Command consisting of about Ninety Non Commissioned Officers & privates (having in charge twenty waggons belonging to the Q M Generals department loaded with Indian Corn, & one of the Contractors loaded with stores) were attacked in the morning of the 17th Instant about seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair by a party

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31 This camp at Still Water, which Wayne had hoped to reach, had been used by Gen. St. Clair on the day before his defeat by the Indians on the Wabash, Nov. 4, 1791.

32 Lt. John Lowry and Ens. Samuel Boyd. It is interesting to note that Boyd had enlisted as a surgeon's mate, but had later taken rank as an officer of the line.
of Indians, those two Gallant young Gentlemen (who promised at a future day to be ornaments to their profession) together with thirteen Non Commissioned Officers & privates bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance, against superior Numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the Escort, upon the first discharge.

The savages killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the waggons & stores standing in the road, which have all been brought to this Camp without any other loss or damage except some trifling articles.

Enclosed is a return of the killed wounded and missing, as also a field return of the troops at this place; out of which One troop of Dragoons & one Company of light Infantry have been detached this morning to reinforce four other Companies of Infantry Commanded by Colo Hamtramck, as an escort to the QM Generals & Contractors Waggons & pack horses:

I have this moment received the enclosed return of the Mounted Volunteers recently arrived & encamped in the Vicinity of Fort Jefferson—I shall immediately order a strong detachment of those Volunteers as a further reinforcement to Colo Hamtramck.

I fear that the season is too far advanced to derive that essential service which might otherwise be expected from them—whether they can Act with effect or not is yet eventual.

It is reported that the Indians at Au Glaize have sent their Women & Children into some secret recess, or recesses from their towns, & that the whole of the warriors, are collected, or collecting in force.

I have spies in every direction, & some confidential emissaries among them, from whom I hourly expect certain & interesting intelligence.

The savages however can’t continue long embodied for want of provision, on the contrary, we have by great exertions secured in this Camp 70,000 rations, I expect 120,000 in addition by the return of the present convoy, unless they meet with a disaster, a thing that can

33 Lt. Col. Commandant John Francis Hamtramck, 1st Sub Legion.
34 Au Glaize, sometimes called Grand Glaize, was the meeting place of the hostile Indians at the confluence of the Maumee and Au Glaize rivers.
35 A ration consisted, generally, of the following: 1 lb. of bread or flour; 1 lb. of beef or \( \frac{3}{4} \) lb. of pork or bacon. For every hundred rations, there was added: 1 qt. of salt; 2 qts. of vinegar; 2 lbs. of soap; and 1 lb. of candles. WP, XXXIII, 103.
scarcely happen shou’d my orders be faithfully executed—which I have no cause to doubt from the Character—Vigilance & experience of the Commanding Officer.

A great number of our men, as well as Officers, have been left sick & debilitated, at the respective Garrisons from a malady called the influenza, among others General Wilkinson, has been dangerously ill—he is now at Fort Jefferson, & on the recovery, I hope he will soon be sufficiently restored to take his Command in the Legion.

Our want of a sufficient Number of Officers is a serious misfortune; I have however accepted of the resignation of Lieut. Colo. Smith of the 3rd Sub Legion Major Ballard Smith, & Captains, Melcher and Tillinghast, are in arrest, & will probably be dismissed the service, when time & circumstances will admit of holding a General Court Martial—which is out of the question at present.

I anxiously wait the safe return of the escort & convoy, when we shall endeavour to take new ground—which will probably be disputed!—be that as it may, the Legion will not be too far committed.

With every sentiment of Esteem & respect I have the honor to be

Your most Obt Huml. Sert.

Anty Wayne

The Honble
Major Genl H Knox
Secretary of War

WAYNE TO KNOX

No. 67

Head Quarters
S W Branch of Miami Six Miles Advanced
of Fort Jefferson 15th Novr. 1793

Sir

I have the Honor to enclose you Copies of my letters of the 7th & 23rd Ultimo, together with the Opinion of the General Officers respecting the further advance of the Legion towards the Miami Vil-

36 Brig. Gen. James Wilkinson, Wayne’s chief adversary and a man of checkered career, finally became ranking officer of the army on Wayne’s death in 1796, holding this position through the War of 1812. He was also implicated in the Burr conspiracy.

37 Lt. Col. Commandant John Smith; Maj. Ballard Smith, 4th Sub Legion; Capt. Jacob Melcher, 1st Sub Legion; and Capt. John Tillinghast, 1st Sub Legion.

38 WP, XXX, 102.
lages under the then existing circumstances, which were such, as render'd it expedient & necessary, to halt & Hut at this place for the present; nor shall we be much retarded by the measure, we are within striking distance of Au Glaize the principal settlement of the Enemy & in a position which will at the same time cover the frontiers & our heavy Convoys from the depredations, & insults of the Savages as they dare not not venture any very considerable detachments at a great distance from that place least their towns Women & Children shou'd be destroyed or Captured by a detachment from this Camp, during their Absence, on the Contrary!—had the Legion remained in the vicinity of Forts Washington or Hamilton! desultory parties of Savages wou'd have spread themselves previous to this period along the fronteers & struck the Inhabitants with impunity:—Add to this that our Convoys & Escorts wou'd have been exposed to the whole operating force of the Enemy, both in their advance & return to & from the head of the line without any check or apprehension of danger in their rear & which must eventually have distroyed our transport which under present circumstances is an arduous & dangerous business.—The Enclosed Copy of orders to Brigr General Wilkinson will tend to shew you the precaution with which we are Obliged to conduct our Convoys—& will also shew the expediency & necessity of maintaining our present position a position that will soon compel the Enemy to give us Battle—or to disperse & abandon Au Glaize in either of those events a post will be established at that place at an early period.

The enclosed Copies of Orders & Correspondence with Major Genl Scott will inform you of the return of the Mounted Volunteers of Kentucky who I found myself under the necessity of calling out agreeable to standing orders as well as from the strong prejudices in favor of those kind of Auxileries which I discovered on the floor of Congress: The enclosed returns & Genl Scotts letter of the 5th instant by which you will see a dereliction of Five Hundred of his people in the course of One night—(the greater part of whom only crossed the Ohio from the 13th to the 15th Ultimo & arrived at this place on the 23rd) (ie ten days after the arrival of the Legion) will best shew whether that prejudice was well founded or not.

39 Congress, rather than appropriating money for a large regular army, felt that militia support would be sufficient.
This dereliction is by no means chargeable to Genl Scott or any of his General or Field Officers—on the Contrary, I am well convinced that every exertion in their power was used to prevent it—and I feel myself bound to express my highest Approbation of the Conduct of those Gentlemen & the Officers in General from the time of their Arrival which was on the 23rd of Oct until their departure from this place.

Not being honor'd with any Instructions or a single line from you since the 3rd of September & the season arrived in which the meat kind & other magazines of provision ought to be laid in I took upon myself to direct the deposits of provision mentioned in my letter of the 23rd Ultimo—since which a further Correspondence has taken place between the Contractors & myself, copies of which are here-with transmitted.

I cannot account for the Conduct & defect of those Gentlemen, there must be some latent cause, perhaps they have lost the Contract for the year 1794 & therefore wou'd not increase their means of transport—least it shou'd be left upon their hands. I however hope & trust that these measures I have adopted will supply every defect until the Contractors (whoever they may be) for the ensuing year, get into Operation.

In the interim I shall render this camp unassailable against the combined force of the Savages & call it Greeneville.

The exterior chain of Redoubts will be completed tomorrow, the Huts of the soldiery are nearly cover'd in, so as to render the Camp secure & the troops comfortable, except in the Article of Clothing—which had not arrived at Fort Washington on the 12th Instant.

I hope that no accident has happened to Colo Clark, as the loss of the Clothing wou'd be a serious & Melancholly event at this Crisis; when the greater part of the troops are nearly naked. I am at a loss to determine what the Savages are about & where they are. I have searched in almost every direction for them & without effect—some few [?] parties keep hovering at a distance: & Capt Flinn (the Commandant of the Guides & Spies) arrived last evening from reconnoitring taking a very Circuitous route between Au Glaize & the field of battle on the 4th of Nov 1791 returning thro it without making any material discovery of an Enemy—their late silence & disap-

40 Capt. James Flinn was an officer by private contract only and did not belong to the regular army. He, like William Wells, was given a special commission and used as a chief scout.
pearance portends some premeditated stroke. Capt Flinn set out again this morning with orders to intersect the trail of the savages shou’d they be bending their course towards the convoy under Genl Wilkinson & to give immediate information agreeable to the enclosed instructions.

I have now the Honor to enclose a copy of my Orders to the Q M General for the Cantoonment of the Cavalry & Dragoons in the State of Kentucky, which I hope will meet your Approbation, it is the most effectual & Economical mode that I cou’d devise under present circumstances—he has also orders, to make out an estimate of stores & articles wanted in his department, & to make the necessary arrangements for an early Campaign—for which & for the settlement of his public accounts it may eventually be necessary & expedient for him to repair to Philadelphia.

The enclosed General Return of the Legion & abstract of men whose times of service will expire, between this day & the last of August, will shew the indispensible necessity, of great & immediate exertions to recruit & complete the Legion.

I must acknowledge that the expiration of the time of service of so great a number of men in the course of this fall & winter, was among the considerations & inducements for my wishing a meeting with the Savages whilst in force, so as to make the best possible use of those men previously to the termination of their enlistments had circumstances permitted.

Let the Legion be completed, & I wish no further or other force, than the protection & countenance of Government to compel those haughty savages to sue for peace, & to establish every post that has been contemplated, in the course of the Ensuing spring & summer.

With the most profound Esteem & respect I have the Honor to be Your most Obt & very Huml Sert

Anty Wayne

The Honble
Major Genl H. Knox
Secretary of War

41 Because of the small supply of forage, Wayne sent his cavalry units to Kentucky for the winter.

42 James O’Hara became quartermaster general of the army when Wayne took over command. He succeeded Samuel Hodgdon, who, at this time, was commissary of military stores in Philadelphia.
No. 61

Knox to Wayne

War department

November 25, 1793

Sir

Your several favors of the 8 of August, the 17. September and the 5 October have been received, the first on the 23d of September and the others on the 12 of the present Month.

The Presidents Mind is now in a state of anxiety to hear further from you—an ugly report exists having been brought from Kentucky of an escort and twenty two Waggons being captured between Forts St. Clair and Jefferson on the 17. of October, but it is hoped to be untrue.

The procrastinated and fruitless, but absolutely necessary negociation with the hostile Indians consumed the Summer Months, and scarcely left you any remaining season for active operations. The difficulties to which these circumstances will subject your Troops have been anticipated and regretted, But God grant that you may surmount them all and accomplish some object reflecting honor on yourself and the Army and producing real advantage to your Country.

Your assurance of caution; The discipline of your Army; and your sense of its importance to the Country, afford solid Ground to hope, that although the advanced season may not permit you to injure materially the Enemy, yet you will prevent them from injuring you.

The situation you will eventually assume for Winter Quarters must depend upon your own judgment. The security of your posts, and the Country will be duly compared with the economy of the supplies and the principle which predominates will of course govern unless you can form a happy combination which will embrace all considerations.

The circumstance of the arrangements of the legion and the promotions and appointments have been submitted to the President. It will be proper that no promotions or appointments be announced until the President and Senate shall have actually made them. The constitution will not warrant any other mode. The President however will always be glad to receive your recommendations to which due attention will be paid.

WP, XXXI, 17.

See pages 307–308.
I have enclosed all the orders which have been given to Lt. Colonel Clarke and his letters to me in order that you may judge of the steps necessary to be taken in his case. I also enclose the orders given to Major Winston and his answers. His movement appears to have been exceedingly tardy.

I have ordered a Body of recruits of about One hundred to be assembled at Carlisle under Captain Cooke and they will commence their march to Pittsburgh about the 26 instant. But I am apprehensive the ice may obstruct their passage down the river. But they will be ordered to descend if practicable.

A list of recruiting officers and rendezvous which shall be kept up during the War shall be soon transmitted. But the objects of pursuit in the Country generally are so profitable that I apprehend that not more than three or four hundred recruits at most could be obtained from this time until the first of May next upon the present pay. Whether Congress will hold out additional encouragement for entering into the Legion and filling it up or whether they will determine to combine Militia with the present number of Troops or adopt both measures will depend upon their own view of the subject—probably influenced by circumstances attending your army.

The Treasury have advanced One hundred thousand dollars for the force under your Command for the objects herein specified—to wit—

For the Troops at Fort Franklin, Wheeling and Big Beaver
Blockhouse .......................................................... 1686
Main Army, pay for May June and July .................... 49,812.80
Deficiency of Subsist. as a letter of C Swan 4 Aug. 1793 .. 1925.59
Arrears due to the Troops stationed at Fort Washington and its dependencies agreeably to the account rendered by the Pay Master .......................................... 5375.61
Mounted Volunteers ............................................. 41200 —

Dr.— 100,000.

46 Probably Capt. John Cooke, 4th Sub Legion.
47 At the period of this writing, the following was the enlisted pay scale per month (approved Mar. 5, 1792): sergeant major and quartermaster sergeants, $7; senior musicians, $6; corporals, $5; privates $3; musicians, $4. Annals of Congress, Second Congress, 1791-1793, 1343-1346.
48 There had been considerable debate in Congress whether or not it would be cheaper, in the long run, to hire militia to augment the regular troops. This was opposed by Wayne and Knox.
49 Caleb Swan, paymaster of the Legion.
The number of mounted Volunteers being unknown it has been thought that the Sum forwarded for them will be sufficient for the present. If their pay will amount to a greater sum it will be transmitted on the Muster rolls being received.

The Quarter Master General has made a further requisition for Fifty seven thousand one hundred and forty dollars for the purposes of his department to the end of the year and to carry the troops through the Winter. This will be furnished, although the sum appropriated by Congress to the department had before been exhausted. It is however of the greatest importance that this department should be conducted with all possible economy consistent with the service. It will therefore be expected that in future you should approve the estimates which shall be transmitted by the Quarter Master General. Whether the persons employed are more numerous than necessary cannot with propriety be decided here, but it is very certain that the expence far exceeds all the estimates presented to or appropriations made by Congress, and some difficulties may occur on this head.

Major Craig writes word on the 15 that all the Clothing for the present year had been forwarded, excepting a waggonload at Shippensburg; which I have requested Colonel Mentges to have forwarded immediately.\(^50\)

I have employed Colonel Mentges to bear the Money and the letters to Pittsburg. I imagine Major Winston or Major Cass\(^51\) is at that place who will be the Bearer to Fort Washington. But if neither of them be there or under circumstances to descend the river then I have directed Captain Crawford to take charge of the money and papers to Fort Washington.

I have the honor to be with great esteem

Your obedient Servant

H Knox
Secy. of War

Major General Wayne

\(^{50}\) There is no Col. Mentges mentioned in Heitman; he was presumably a militia officer.

\(^{51}\) Maj. Jonathan Cass, 3rd Sub Legion.
No. 63\textsuperscript{52}  
War department  
November 29, 1793  

Sir,  

I have the honor to enclose the duplicate of my letter to you of the 25 instant which was forwarded by Colonel Mentges to Pittsburg.  

It is to be regretted as productive of delay and inconvenience that you had not acted definitively upon the proceedings of the Court Martial in the case of Ensign Morgan.\textsuperscript{53}  

The President has had the subject under his consideration, and for the reasons contained in the opinion of the Attorney General herein enclosed, he has directed me to return you the said proceedings in order that you may pass your judgment thereon.  

As soon as this shall be done I request that you will be so good as to cause the proceedings to be transmitted to this office to remain upon file and that Mr. Morgan may have a copy thereof agreeably to the articles of War.  

The enclosed is an extract of a letter from him of the 20th instant objecting to the proceedings being the original proceedings of the Court and giving his opinion of Mr. Hyde\textsuperscript{54} as a Judge Advocate.  

I have the honor of transmitting you a Copy of a letter from the Comptroller of the Treasury\textsuperscript{55} to the Secretary of the Treasury, and also one from the Secretary of the Treasury to me upon the subject of the irregular payments made by Mr. Swan the Paymaster.  

I pray you to enjoin on Mr. Swan the most perfect observance of the regulations heretofore established by the Treasury for the payment of the Troops, and to direct that the cases which will not admit of such observance be transmitted to the Treasury agreeably to the request of the Secretary.

\textsuperscript{52} WP, XXXI, 33. There seems to be some discrepancy in the numbering of the letters at the War Department. Although the last one had been numbered "No. 61," this is "No. 63." One possible explanation is that the duplicate was No. 62.  

\textsuperscript{53} Ens. John Morgan, 1st Sub Legion, had been court-martialed by Arthur St. Clair, and Wayne had deferred passing judgment in this case for that reason. However, Morgan was finally cashiered from the service on Dec. 31, 1793.  

\textsuperscript{54} Lt. Charles Hyde, 1st Sub Legion.  

\textsuperscript{55} Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Comptroller of the Treasury. Craig Papers, II—B, mentioned in a letter dated Sept. 5, 1794, to Isaac Craig (transcript No. 207, on file at the Ohio State Museum).
The disorder which prevailed in this City seems to be at an end and Congress are expected to commence their session in the course of next week.\textsuperscript{56}

I have the honor to be with great esteem

Your obedient Servant

H Knox
Secy of War

Major General Wayne

\textbf{KNOX TO WAYNE}

No. 64\textsuperscript{57}  
War department  
December 7th. 1793

Sir

Your favor dated the 23d of October six Miles advanced of Fort Jefferson has been received and submitted to the President of the United States.

I am instructed to say that the President approves of your intended Winters position as far advanced of Fort Jefferson, toward the Miami Villages\textsuperscript{58} as you shall judge proper. Such a position it is expected will in a certain degree have the same effects to alarm the Indians for their own safety as one at the Miami Village and to push them to a greater distance and perhaps enable you to strike some severe blow in their unguarded moments during the Winter.

The measures which you have taken to obtain a full supply of provisions appear proper and energetic, and on a full supply will depend your security and the maintenance of your posts. Certainly you ought never to have a less quantity on hand for all your posts than three or four Months full supply. This quantity being once established the daily consumption may be kept up with greater facility, although your convoys will be liable, unless the greatest

\textsuperscript{56} Yellow fever struck other cities in the East in 1793, but the "major storm" hit the city of Philadelphia. Franklin H. Top, ed., \textit{History of American Epidemiology} (St. Louis, Mo., 1952), 29.

\textsuperscript{57} WP, XXXI, 66.

\textsuperscript{58} The Miami Villages were located on the present site of Fort Wayne, Ind., at the confluence of the St. Marys and St. Joseph rivers. Wayne had hoped to get that far in 1793. Harmar had met defeat there in 1790.
possible precautions are taken, to the fate of the one escorted by Lieutenant Lowrey.

Congress are in session, and you will observe by the President's Speech, and the answer of the House of Representatives thereto that a greater degree of unanimity will hereafter prevail with respect to supporting the Indian War, than has hitherto existed.  

Doubting whether this letter will reach you I shall not minutely enter into any details reserving that until some further and more certain occasion.  

I am Sir with great esteem

Your obedt. Servant

H Knox  
Secy of War

Major General Wayne

Knox to Wayne

No. 65 War Office
Decemb 7th. 1793

Sir

As difficulties have arisen and will continue in settling at this place the accots. of officers who have been made up for pay in the Rolls by the Paymaster and which is owing principally to the subordinate paymasters not having settled their accots.—I have to request that

59 Washington's speech was given on Tuesday, Dec. 3, 1793. Several passages are worth quotation: "If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war. . . . When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the Commissioners evince a moderation and equity proceeding from a sincere love of peace and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt . . . of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them, during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence which relate to this important subject, you will determine whether the deficiency in the number of troops granted by law shall be compensated by succors of Militia, or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits." Annals of Congress, Third Congress, 1793–1795, 11–12.

60 WP, XXXI, 68.
you wou'd be pleased to issue a General order commanding all the Subordinate Paymasters immediately to make up their accots. and vouchers to be transmitted to the accountant of the War depart. for settlement and that for subsequent advances in future they settle their accots. as soon as possible as well as all other persons haveing public money to account for. In order to facilitate the Business I wou'd propose that by a Certain day allowing more time to distant Posts each Paymaster shou'd deposite his accots. & vouchers with the paymaster of the Troops who shall be charged to give descriptive receipts for the same and transmit them to the accountant.

I have the honor to be Sir

Your very Hble. servt.

H Knox

Major General Anthony Wayne

Wayne to Knox

No. 69 Head Quarters

Greeneville 8th January 1794

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the 25th & 29th of November & 7th of December 1793 with their respective enclosures to which particular & due attention has & shall be paid.

Permit me now Sir, to Inform you, that on the 23rd ultimo Major Henry Burbeck, Marched from this place with Eight Companies of foot & a detachment of Artillery, with orders to possess the Field of Action of the 4th of November 1791, & there to fortify (which proves to be on the main branch of the Wabash, & not on the St. Mary's as heretofore understood).

This being an object of consequence to our future operations as well as to afford an additional security to the Western Frontiers, at a crisis, when from the most certain & recent intelligence, the savages were a second time Collected or Collecting in force at Au Glaize, &

61 WP, XXXII, 15.

62 Maj. Burbeck was commandant of the artillerists and engineers.
would more than probably dispute the Occupancy of a favorite Ground, wishing therefore to give countenance to the Operation, I thought proper to advance with a small reenforcement of Mounted Infantry accompanied by the Officers mentioned in the enclosed Extract from the General Orders of the 28th of Decr to which I must beg leave to refer you for a detail of this Manoeuvre!

Fort Recovery is now furnished with a sufficient Garrison well provided with Ammunition Artillery & Provision, Commanded by an Officer (Capt Gibson,) who will not betray the trust reposed in him!

On the 2nd Instant Mr Collings, a D Q Master with a serjeant corporal & twelve privates of Capt Eatons Company who were sent to reconnoitre a position between this place & Au Glaize preparatory to further operations, came in sudden contact with a considerable Indian encampment, which they deemed less dangerous to attack, than to attempt a retreat, after being discover'd, the result was, the loss of three brave privates killed on the spot, upon our part, & five warriors upon theirs, when this gallant little party seeing themselves out number'd thought proper to fall back—the Enemy probably sore from the rencontre did not find it expedient to pursue!

The remainder of this small party arrived in Camp in the course of the next day one of them slightly wounded in the shoulder & the clothing of most of the others perforated by rifle balls.

I have since order'd out an other detachment Under Capt. Eaton to complete the business upon which Mr. Collings was first sent & expect his return in the course of two or three days with some interesting information.

I have the honor to be with sincere Esteem

Your most obt & very Humb Sert

Anty Wayne

The Honble
Major Genl
H Knox
Secy of War

63 Wayne at first had thought of calling this post either "Restitution" or "Defiance."
64 Capt. Alexander Gibson, 4th Sub Legion.
65 Capt. Collings, of whom there is no official record, is probably Capt. Collins, a deputy quartermaster. See WP, XXX, 3; XXXI, 74, 84.
66 Capt. William Eaton, 4th Sub Legion.
No. 70

Head Quarters
Greeneville 18th Jany 1794

Sir

I have the honor to Inform you that the Hostile Indians have sent in a flag with overtures of peace, as mentioned & explained in the Enclosed copies of their speech to me, & my answer to the Chiefs of the Delaware Shawanese & Miami Nations.

It is very evident, that this extraordinary Embassy (at this crisis) is in consequence of our sudden & unexpected possession of General St Clairs field of battle towards the right & some recent movements on the left of Grand Glaize, in order to discover the true situation of that place & the route by which it was most accessible those last objects have been effected by a chosen Detachment under the Command of Captain Eaton just returned from the vicinity of that place & closely followed in by the bearers of the Flag.

Hence it is very problematical whether the Enemy are influenced by a sincere desire for peace—or insidiously to gain time, in order to secure their winter provision, & to withdraw, their women & children from pending destruction, as well as to gain an opportunity to reconnoitre our position & to discover our Numbers—which they have never heretofore been able to ascertain.

We may therefore eventually, have cause to regret the loss of the present Golden favorable Opportunity (whilst the wide deep swamps & rivers are strongly frozen over) for advancing and striking with effect, so as to produce a conviction to those Haughty savages—that neither the inclemency of the weather, or distance of place were any security against the effect of the Bayonet Espontooon & fire of the American Legion;

However time will soon determine the sincerity or perfidy of their Hearts upon this Occasion.

Under those circumstances & with those impressions I have demanded of the Enemy some convincing & unequivocal proofs, of

67 WP, XXXII, 41.
68 The word "flag" herein used means a delegation.
69 The Delawares had taken this mission upon themselves unknown to the other hostile tribes and not because of the reasons outlined by Wayne.
their sincerity previously to the Appointment of the time & place for holding a General treaty.\textsuperscript{70}

In the interim I have strongly impressed upon the minds of their Messengers, Viva Voce, the indispensible necessity of punctually surrendering of all their prisoners at the time & place directed;

I have the Honor to be with profound Esteem & respect

Your most Obt & very Huml Sert

Anty Wayne

N B as I was in the Act of sealing this letter I recd the Enclosed by Express

The Honble

Major Genl H Knox

Secretary of War

WAYNE TO KNOX

No. 71\textsuperscript{71}

Head Quarters
Greeneville 18th Jany 1794

Sir

I pray you to consider this as supplementary to my letter No. 70 of the same date, & to assure you that I consider the arrival of the Flag therein mentioned, rathar unfortunate than otherwise (at this crisis) as my arrangements were matured for seizing & fortifying the place marked Girty's town\textsuperscript{72} on General Harmer's\textsuperscript{73} route, which bears N. N. E. distant Thirty One miles, with an old Indian path leading all the way over very passible ground (Girty's Town is on the St Mary's & not on Au Glaize) exactly half way between this place & Grand Glaize situate at the confluence of Au Glaize, with the Miami of the Lake,\textsuperscript{74} where the most inveterate of the Hostile tribes of Indians are now settled.

\textsuperscript{70} The word "treaty" as used in this period meant a meeting rather than an agreement.

\textsuperscript{71} WP, XXXII, 42.

\textsuperscript{72} Girty's Town (St. Marys, Ohio) was named for James Girty, who operated a trading post there. James was the brother of the infamous Simon.

\textsuperscript{73} Gen. Josiah Harmar, who led the first expedition against the hostile Indians in 1790 and was defeated at the Miami Villages on Oct. 19. A.L.S., Harmar to Knox, Nov. 23, 1790, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.

\textsuperscript{74} The "Miami of the Lake" is now called the Maumee, although at that time it was occasionally called the "Omee."
However as the Overture came from the Savages I cou’d not well refuse to hear it. nor can I now consistantly take New Ground until after the expiration of the 30 days which will happen before this reaches you.

Shou’d they comply with the preliminary Conditions contained in my answer to the Chiefs, I have then made proviso for advancing unmolested, to the place where the treaty shall be held.

There are two places VIZ Pique Town,75 & Grand Glaize, that claim attention—but to which to give the preference requires some Consideration. Pique Town—wou’d have the preference from the price of the ration—were monetary pecuniary considerations alone to Determine: but in a political point of view Grand Glaize, presents more Honorable and Prominent features! & wou’d at once secure a Post, & an accumulation of stores & provision at the head of the line, & from whence we cou’d turn our attention towards the Lake on our right, & to the Wabash on our left but this will in some degree depend upon a cordial acquiescence, of the Hostile Indians upon their arrival here, after the delivery of the Prisoners, as before mentioned, shou’d they comply with that preliminary—they will very probably agree to the Other propositions.

At all events it will be necessary that I shou’d be furnished with particular & timely instructions, & with Copies of the several treaties held with the Hostile Indians.

I have in contemplation to appoint the first of May for Opening the treaty—so as to be in perfect readiness at an early period to operate with effect, shou’d it prove abortive, as well as to take advantage of the high waters to aid our transport up the Great Miami as far as it may be found Navigable—say to Chilakothe or Pique Town [these are on approximately the same site], or rather to Lorimey’s stores76 at the Carrying place between the Miami & Au Glaize which is computed to be about Eighteen or twenty Miles; shou’d a treaty be agreed upon, I will have those rivers & the portages well reconnoitred in due season.

Permit me—now to call your attention to the Enclosed copies of two Speeches made by Captain Big Tree, a Seneka War Chief, now

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75 Piqua Town was a Shawnee town located just north of the present city of Piqua, Ohio.
76 The site of the trading post of the French trader Peter Loramie, who had been driven out by George Rogers Clark in 1782. Later Wayne built a post here (September, 1795) which he called “Fort Loramie.” The town of the same name grew up near that post.
with me & anxiously waiting to know the event of this proposition for the Delivery of the prisoners on or before the 14th day of February. You will please to observe that he has given the Hostile Indians—a gentle hint to be punctual to the day "If they wish to live to see their Children grow up to be men & Women" shou'd you wish for any further or particular information of the water from this place to River Au Glaize Capt Eaton will be able to satisfy you.

I have the Honor to be with true Esteem

Your most Obt & very Huml Sert

Anty Wayne

[To Knox]

WAYNE TO KNOX

Head Quarters
Greeneville 25th January 1794

Sir

We have to lament the unfortunate death of Capt Big Tree a Seneka War Chief, who put a period to his own existance on the 23rd Instant about 3. OClock P M Nor can any possible cause be assigned for this act of suicide, than from a disturbed immagination which has been very conspicuous at certain intervals for a considerable length of time!

In the latter end of March last he was at Legionville in Company with the Corn Planter & New Arrow, two famous Chief[s] of the same tribe with a Message from the Chiefs of the Six Nations, preparatory to their meeting the Grand Council of Hostile [Indians] at the rapids of the Miami of the Lake! After the Corn Planter & New Arrow, had deliverd their Message Captain Big Tree Requested liberty to spake a few Words Concerning a matter that Dwelt very heavy upon his mind, & disturbed his rest.

"I have lost a very dear friend—the friend of my Heart—General Richard Butler,"—I loved him so much that when I heard of his

77 While there is no number given to this letter, it is undoubtedly No. 72 in the series. WP, XXXII, 62.
78 Legion Ville was Wayne's camp just down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh. Here he trained his army until May, 1793, when he moved to Hobson's Choice.
79 Gen. Butler, St. Clair's second in command, was killed at St. Clair's defeat, Nov. 4, 1791.
Death I determined to eat a root that wou’d soon have made me follow & join him:

“But as I was in the Act of doing it—the Great Spirit told me I was wrong—it was not the part of a Warrior to kill himself—but to avenge the blood of his friend, by killing his Enemies! I then made a solemn Vow to the Great Spirit—that I wou’d sacrifice three of the Hostile Indians, to the manes of my Friend;—I have but in part proformed that Vow, I have killed but One Delaware Indian—Nor can I have any peace or rest until I have killed two more—the Great Spirit will not be pleased until I have completed the promise & Vow I have made to him.

“I therefore request you to let me join your army that I may have an opportunity of fulfilling that vow—shou’d the Hostile Indians refuse to treat.”

It wou’d appear that—that vow still dwelt upon his mind, he arrived at Head Quarters about three weeks since, accompanied by Mr. Rosecrantz an interpreter in the service of the US—and after giving a particular narative of what had passed at the late Council of Hostile Indians, he again addressed me

“I shall now spake to you the sentiments of myself & the warriors of the Nation—& Request you to look full in my face & see my mind & Heart!

“Our warriors are desirous of doing something & wish your opinion & advice upon the occasion, The Corn planters Nephew sends his best wishes to you & lets you know that he is ready to rise the moment you desire it;

“Many of the Warriors wish to join your army & others wou’d chuse to take the small path and strike directly at some of their towns or parties in the vicinity of ———— [This was left blank].

“I can command & bring with me Forty strong Warriors—we have heard that the Chickasaws are to join you—we want to try which of us can do most;—I have now done & wait your answer.”

In the course of a day or two after this Three warriors of the Delaware Nation arrived at this place with a flag from the Hostile Indians—requesting me to appoint the time & place for Settling the terms upon which peace should be made.

80 Nicholas Rosecrantz.
This Message gave him visible uneasiness & in the course of that Evening he sallied from his hut & approached that occupied by the three Messengers with a drawn Sword & said "he wou'd now have revenge, that they were bad men, & only came as Spies," it was with much difficulty that he wou'd be prevailed upon to—desist & return to his Hut: however he was at length apparently reconciled—& was invited the next morning to my Marquee—to hear the purport of their Message & my reply,—After which he requested to spake a few words to those warriors & addred them thus:

"Nephews"

"I call you Nephews because you have always acknowledged us the Six Nations as your Uncles:

"I am pleased to find that your pride is lower'd & that you begin to come to your reason, You were too proud & mad, last summer to listen to the Commissioners of the Fifteen fires, or to your Uncles.

"I will only just inform you—that the voice of the Fifteen fires is the Voice of the Six Nations—therefore tell all your Chiefs & Warriors—to listen to the Voice of this Great Chief, tell them to comply with his demand, & to deliver up all their prisoners—within the course of thirty days If they wish to live to see their Children grow up to be men & women."

After this interview he was frequently observed to be Melancholly—altho every attention was paid to him—by most of the officers his situation was rendered Comfortable,—arms & clothing were either made or on the point of being made, so as to appear in the Complete Uniform of the American Officer previously to the arrival of the Hostile Chiefs—(should they comply with the proposition)—but his Melancholly increased—until the moment of the fatal Catastrophe: as reported by the Court of Inquiry herewith transmitted.

In Capt Big Tree the United States have lost a true & faithful friend—he was to have waited the period fix'd for the surrender of the Prisoners previously to his return to the six Nations—but he dreaded peace—& therefore embraced [sic] death.

This disagreeable business will occasion a sacrifice of some public property to the Manes of this Chief ie presents &c to his family & some provision for his Wife & Daughter—who I am informed are now at Fort Franklin81 I shall therefore send Mr Rosecra[n]tz to the

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81 Fort Franklin was located in Pennsylvania near the mouth of French Creek. Heitman, II, 500.
Senaka Nation with the necessary presents and a speech of Condolence, as soon as the Ohio will admit of the Ascent of boats.

I have the honor to be with Respect & Esteem
Your most Obt & very Huml Sert
Anty Wayne

[To Knox]

WAYNE TO KNOX

No. 73

Head Quarters
Greeneville 3rd March 1794

Sir

I have the honor to enclose the General return of the Legion for the Month of February as also duplicates of my letters of the 18th of January.

We have neither heard from, or seen an Enemy since the date of those letters—hence it is pretty evident, that the true object of the flag was to gain time, & to reconnoitre as predicted in my letter No. 70:—there is however something rather Misterious, in the present Conduct of the savages—for notwithstanding their non-compliance with the preliminary article ie the surrender of the Prisoners—on or before the 14th ultimo, They have not committed any murder or depredations since that period, that I have as yet heard of!

There is therefore a possibility that they are inclined for peace—be that as it may I shall soon bring them to an eclaircissement—as I am determined to establish a strong post on the banks of Au Glaize, at the north end of the portage ie within the limits of the reservation made by the treaties of the 21st January 1785 & the 9th of January 1789—which may be done consistantly with good faith: & will most certainly bring the business to a speedy Issue—83—the distance from thence to Grand Glaize—at its confluence with the Miami of the Lake, is not more than from twenty five to thirty Miles—they will

82 WP, XXXIII, 32.
83 Wayne refers to the Treaty of Fort McIntosh and the Treaty of Fort Harmar, both of which established reserves within the territory acknowledged to be Indian. Both treaties, one will also note, were precursors of the Treaty of Greene Ville and contained much the same provisions as that treaty. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 6–7 (note particularly Art. 10).
therefore be compelled to treat—fight or to abandon their towns hunting grounds & possessions.

I have a further powerful inducement for establishing not only this post—but an other at the south end of the portage—on the Miami of the Ohio—i.e. the benifit of water transport during the spring season, from a conviction that it is next to an impossibility—to supply a large body of troops so far advanced in an uncultivated & savage wilderness for any length of time by means of pack Horses or land carriage only:

Under those impressions, I had prepared two small boats at this place for the purpose of reconnoitring these waters in one of which Mr. Robert Elliot (the contractor) with a select crew, descended this branch of the Miami on the 22nd Ultimo, & arrived at Fort Hamilton on the 24th. Enclosed is a copy of his Letter & report upon the occasion:

In addition to this I have sent Major McMahan with a small, select detachment to reconnoitre the Portage before mentioned & to determine with accuracy & precision—the relative situation & the true course & distance with the nature of the ground between the North & south ends of the said Portage.

We have no time to loose upon this occasion as the waters begin to fail early in May—add to this that the term for which a considerable number of the Non Commissioned Officers and privates, were inlisted belonging to the 1st & 2nd Sub Legions, will expire in the course of Six or Eight weeks—so that in all probability we shall rather decrease than increase in numbers—therefore I wish to make the best possible use of them whilst in our power.

The idea of Lawful plunder, held out in the enclosed paper under the signature of George R. Clark—has had a tendency to put an almost total check to the recruiting business at this place.

But shou'd the Act or Bill, "for the Completion & better support of the Military Establishment" pass in the form reported—& be forwarded in time, so as to be officially announced, I doubt not but

84 The Great Miami River.
85 Maj. William McMahon, 4th Sub Legion, was killed during the battle at Fort Recovery, June 30, 1794.
86 George Rogers Clark, the military hero of the West during the American Revolution who was living in retirement in Kentucky, had planned an expedition against the Spanish possessions along the Mississippi.
that we shall be able to retain a great proportion of the best men; Mr. Clarks proclamation notwithstanding,—& which does not as yet appear, to have been *discountenanced* by the Executive of Kentucky! on the Contrary—the silence observed upon this Occasion—has the appearance of approbation, both of that measure as well as of the inflammatory publications with which the Kentucky Gazette constantly teems against the General Government of which you will see a sample under the title of *The Crisis*.

There are other causes to apprehend that all is not right I have therefore a tacit—but watchful eye upon that quarter, but more of this, in due season.

I have the honor to be with Esteem & respect

Your most Obt & very Huml Sert

Anty Wayne

The Honble
Major Genl. H. Knox
Secretary of War

**WAYNE to KNOX**

No. 74\(^{87}\)  
Head Quarters  
Greeneville 10th March 1794

Sir

I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of my letter of the 3rd Instant since whi[ch] Major McMahan has returned from reconnoitring in the vicinity of Grand Glaize, where he captured two Delaware Indians ie a Warrior & his Squaw—who effected their escape the second night after their capture thro’ the remissness of the sentries;

Whilst they were in his possession the man informed him, (thro’ the Interpreter Mr. Wells) that the Indians had held a Council which broke up about ten days since to consider my answer to their messages, that the Chiefs proposed a compliance with the requisition for a surrender of the prisoners—who were not yet collected being generally out a hunting with their *masters*—that it was determined in Council to send an other *flag* accompanied by some of the principal

\(^{87}\) WP, XXXIII, 51.
Chiefs previously to bringing in the prisoners.—that he expected they were now on their way & affected to be surprised that the Major had not seen or heard anything of them;

But as those people were treated from the moment of their capture with kindness and attention and not a single article taken from them, altho' they had skins & furs then in their Hut to the Value of at least two hundred dollars exclusive of other property which were all left safe & untouched—& making their escape under those Circumstances, gives ground to suspect that the story of a flag &c was altogether a fiction, Especially as we have not yet heard anything further from them altho upwards of three weeks have elapsed since the prisoners were to have been surrendered.

Major McMahan found a Great part of the Ground inundated & the Creeks unfordable from a heavy fall of rain that continued for some days—& which prevented him from reconnoitring the portage with effect—this business remains yet to be done.

Permit me now to mention a very inferior quality of the Hats & shoes of the soldiery—a very large proportion of the Hats are very little better than so many pieces of [illegible] Blankets which with the least wet, dropt over the ears & eyes of the men & entirely looses their form, this I have caused to be in some degree remedied by a Strong binding & adding a bear skin cover in the form of [a] crest over the Crown which not only keeps the heads of the men dry & warm but has a Military & Martial appearance.

Two pair of the Mogison shoes with which the troops have last been provided are not equal to one pair of the common shoes that we had last year, in fact they go to pieces in the course of one escort from this place to Fort Washington & back again, I must therefore request an immediately supply of this essential article (and for which stoppages must be made from the pay of the soldiery) the Legion otherwise will most certainly be barefoot before the Middle of June.

Whilst I am upon this subject I will take the liberty to recommend a full coat in place of Coatee & brown Wollen & blue overalls in place of white also a strong Military Cocked Hat in place of flimsy round ones—as a great improvement upon the Uniforms of the soldiery for the Year 1794. The long Coats will keep them warm & comfortable during the Winter—& by curtailing them in the spring, they will afford patches or materials for repairing or mending them when re-
duced to Coatees. They will also work as well, & last nearly as long after this Metamorphsis as the present new uniforms, hence will result an Essential benifit to the public, & comfort to the troops.

This will be presented to you by Capt Bissell\(^{88}\) who from pressing & reiterated solicitation has obtained permission to return to settle some private pecuniary concerns, but at the same time he is to recruit a full Company of men for which purpose he is directed to wait upon you & receive your orders & Instructions.

The weather has cleared up & the waters are falling—shou'd those favorable circumstances continue a few days I will take ground in front at the place mentioned in my letter of the 3d Instant which will probably be disputed by the Aborigines of America, but as they have ceded that Ground by two solemn treaties to the United States I shall take and maintain possession in order to facilitate the transport and bring those Haughty savages to a speedy explanation.

Interim I have the Honor to be with Every sentiment of Esteem & respect

Your Most Obt & very Huml Sert

Anty Wayne

[To General Knox]

**WAYNE to KNOX**

No. 75\(^{89}\) Head Quarters
Greeneville 20th March 1794

Sir

I have the honor to enclose the examination of a Certain Chrisr Miller,\(^{90}\) who was captured by my spies on the 13th Instant near the place called "French stores" about half way between Chillikothe & Girty's town, as marked upon General Harmers trace.

I also enclose a Copy of the recent correspondence between the Contractors & myself & instructions to the D Q M General, in consequence of the Information given by the said prisoner and a variety of

\(^{88}\) Capt. Daniel Bissell, 1st Sub Legion.

\(^{89}\) WP, XXXIII, 70.

\(^{90}\) Christopher Miller, like William Wells, had been a captive of the Indians. However, unlike Wells, he did not return to the white men of his own free will. Later, he became one of Wayne's most trusted scouts.
corroborating facts & circumstances, such as to produce the strongest conviction to my mind, that peace with the Hostile Indians is at present totally out of the Question, & that the real object of the flag was to reconnoitre our position, & to gain time, as predicted in my letter of the 18th of January; but as the overture came from them, with solemn assurance of sincerity, I cou'd not consistantly reject it.

The Enemy are now assembling in force & will constantly increase in Numbers, from the positive promise, of a plentiful supply of Provision, Arms ammunition & Clothing (at the foot of the Rapids [of the Maumee]) on the part of the British Indian agent Colo. McKee,— whilst the Army will melt away to an alarming degree in the course of a few weeks, from the daily expiration of the term of enlistments as you will see by the Enclosed return of the 1st & 2nd Sub Legions.

We had at one period, a most flattering prospect of reengaging the greater proportion of those veterans by the encouragement held out "in the Bill for the Completion, & better support of the Military Establishment of the United States."

But the unqualified Negative to that Bill by the Senate, has put a total check to the recruiting service at this place, & leaves but little ground to hope for a speedy & Effectual enforcement from any other quarter.

In the interim the Savages are most certainly preparing for active & desultory operation, and the season is fast approaching when the leaves will afford them coverts for ambush & surprise.

I shall therefore make every preparation for taking ground in front, by establishing a post on Au Glaize at the North end of the portage as mentioned in my letter of the 3rd Instant, as soon as the waters & circumstances will permit.

This is a business that will require caution & address, & perhaps occasion a warm dispute for the occupancy, but something must be Hazarded, in order to draw the Attention of the Enemy from our Escorts, & to prevent Massacre & desolation upon the frontiers, until the season will be so far advanced, as to afford a sufficiency of Grass in the prairies & woods to support our Cavalry Pack Horses & Cattle, & to gain time to increase our Magazine of Provision & to collect & bring forward the Squadron of Dragoons cantoned in Kentucky, also all the soldiery fit for actual service, from the respective Garrisons preparatory to offensive Operations.
The aggregate of our effective Regular force by the most exact calculation, when drawn to a focus, will not exceed Two thousand men Officers included, & even that Number will be daily diminishing from the cause already mentioned ie the expiration of the term of service for which more than the one half of the soldiery belonging to the 1st & 2nd Sub Legions were inlisted.

From this statement of facts—you will readily conceive, & clearly see the absolute necessity of some immediate & effective measures to increase our Numbers.

I have had in contemplation to call out Five Hundred Mounted Volunteers from Kentucky & to employ a number of Chickasaw Indians, but as the National Legislature are now in session, & not having been honored with any letter or orders from you since the 7th of December 1793, I have some doubts upon my mind respecting the propriety of the Measure, & have therefore determined to wait for further orders upon the Occasion, & in the interim to employ the Legion to the best possible advantage for the honor & interest of the United States, & the security of the Frontier Inhabitants.

Shou’d a General Action be eventually Necessary to embrace those Objects—it will not be evaded, when a favorable opportunity presents.

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of Esteem & respect

Your most obt & very Huml Sert

Anty Wayne

The Honble
Major Genl Knox
Secretary of War

Knox to Wayne

No. 66\textsuperscript{91}

War department
March 31st 1794

Sir,

The last letter which I had the honor to address to you was dated the 7th of December, a duplicate whereof is herein enclosed. The interruption of the communication by the Ohio during the winter,

\textsuperscript{91} WP, XXXIII, 98.
and having no special matter requiring an express by land, have prevented my writing you since that time.

I shall now reply to your several favors, which have, with their respective enclosures, been received and submitted to the President of the United States. These were dated on the 15. of November, 4th December, 10th & 18 January last.

Under the circumstances which existed at the time relatively to provisions, the further advance of the legion might have been improper and therefore your determination to abide by the advice of the other General Officers and hut at Greenville appears to have been judicious.

It has been observed with pain how little service the Kentucky volunteers were able to render you, compared with the great expence incurred on the occasion. The only consolation is, that their aspect may have tended to intimidate the indians by showing how powerful an auxiliary you might obtain at pleasure.

It is taken for granted that all the militia of Major General Scott was on their return to have been finally mustered at Fort Washington. If this was so are the Men, who abandoned him—when going upon his expedition to White River, not to be considered as deserters? or were they afterwards mustered at Fort Washington? It is conceived to be of no little importance that when militia are called into service, that they should by some means or other be compelled to continue for the time they may have been engaged. Desertion has ever been considered as a great military Crime, but when blended with mutiny it is a crime of the highest nature and deserving the severest punishment. The forfeiture of pay is always the certain and among the least consequences of such criminality. Whether you conceive any circumstances in the case of the Militia being about to return home, or that certain political considerations may render it expedient not to exercise this forfeiture at present, I am at a loss to determine. But it is necessary to be known.

I have not received the musters of Major General Scotts corps, and therefore the precise Sum to be paid them has not been ascertained. The Sum of Forty one thousand dollars was forwarded for their use, but it seems essential that further information should be received upon this subject before any more money be forwarded.

A report has been received by some of the representatives of Kentucky that a Mr. Love of Kentuckey who had received of Mr.
Swan Forty one thousand two hundred dollars for the pay of the mounted volunteers refuses to pay any to the said Volunteers, until he shall have received all that is due to them.\textsuperscript{92}

Information has also been received that certain monies which have been paid to William Morton have upon some grounds been refused to the men to whom it was due.\textsuperscript{93} In order to prevent improper impressions on this head and to let the people see that Government furnishes the money promptly, I have directed the Accountant to publish in the Kentuckey paper a state of facts relatively to this subject a copy whereof is enclosed.

I have attentively perused the copies of the papers respecting your correspondence with the Contractors. It is conceived to be their duty to be constantly in a condition to furnish the Army in any direction with ample supplies of provisions. You will of course always give them due notice; this is essential in order that they make their arrangements accordingly. I am happy to learn however from a return of which the enclosed is a copy, and which was handed by Col. Samuel Smith\textsuperscript{94} that you appear to have had on the 25. January last a pretty abundant supply on hand and no prospect of want.

The placing the Cavalry in Kentuckey appears to have been a very Oeconomical and just measure.

I must candidly confess that my letter to you of the 13 of April and of the 25 of November respecting the promotion of Officers most essentially contradict each other. In the first it ought to have been "that when officers shall be promoted they are to take rank and receive pay of the grades to which they succeed from the time the vacancies occur." But the latter must really be adhered to, to wit—"that no promotions or appointments be announced until the President of the United States and Senate shall actually have made them." The first may be equitable but the latter is the only legal and constitutional mode of proceeding.

Some circumstances have hitherto operated to prevent the President of the United States from nominating to the Senate the promotions and appointments, and perhaps this may still be deferred until

\textsuperscript{92} Thomas Love, paymaster of the Kentucky Mounted Volunteers.

\textsuperscript{93} William Morton of Kentucky had been given the money for the payment of the Kentucky militia, but had not conformed to the instructions given him concerning it. WP, XXXIII, 100.

\textsuperscript{94} Lt. Col. Smith was a hero of the American Revolution.
further communications shall be received from you so that an entire nomination may be made at the same time.

It is hoped that Major Mills’s nomination to the office of Adjutant and Inspector will be productive of all the advantages incident to so important an office.

Your taking post at the Field of Battle of the 4. of November 1791 was highly satisfactory to the President of the United States and the public at large.

The manner in which you treated the overtures of the hostile Indians as stated in your letter of the 18th of January appears to have been exceeding proper. The tests you required will have fully unfolded their designs. But the papers which are herein enclosed containing the proceedings of a council of the Six Nations at Buffaloe Creek in October 1793 and the answer thereto by order of the President—December 24. 1793. The reply of the said Indians of February 7. 1794. and Lord Dorchesters speech to the Canada Indians of the 10th of the same Month seem on mature consideration to be of a nature not to encourage the hopes of a peace, excepting on principles of relinquishments, which are utterly inadmissible.

If however contrary to these expectations it should be that the Shawanese, Miamies, Delawares and Wyandots are desirous of permanent peace it would be a most acceptable event to the President of the United States and to every class of Citizens. And as it is possible that from some motives or other such a desire on their part may exist, the instructions marked A. have been matured in order to govern your conduct, if you should hold a treaty with them. At present it is a questionable point whether Colonel Pickering or some other person as a Commissioner may not be sent to assist you provided the proposals should have a serious aspect. This however may in some measure depend on further information from you.

In case of meeting the Indians in council it is conceived almost unnecessary to put you upon your guard against treachery. But the maxims of the Indians to obtain by fraud what they cannot by force will require and justify every possible precaution on your part.

95 Maj. John Mills, 2nd Sub Legion, was made adjutant and inspector of the Legion on May 13, 1794.
96 Guy Carleton, Baron Dorchester, governor-general of Canada.
97 These instructions are not included in the Wayne Papers.
In the events of either peace or War the President of the United States considers it of great importance that you should proceed as far into the Country as shall in your own judgment be consistent with the security of your force and the certainty of supplies.

The establishment of posts at the Miami villages and perhaps at the Au Glaize and combining a communication down the Wabash is considered of such importance as to justify your calling for an adequate number of mounted Militia from Kentucky if by their assistance you could accomplish immediately and with certainty the object.

If your present force is inadequate it will be in vain to wait until the legion shall be full to enable you to go forward. Circumstances may then exist to prevent your accomplishing even with a full legion which may now be accomplished with your present force aided by Militia.

But it is always to be understood that your forward movements are to be perfectly compatible both with good faith towards the Indians and with a well calculated assurance of being able to maintain the advanced posts you may assume. A retrograde movement would be attended with very ill effects and is therefore to be avoided if possible.

The idea of a post to be established at Fort Massac was held forth on the Seventeenth of May last, and left optional with you. But certain circumstances at that time prevented your adopting the idea. The late intention of some restless people of the frontier settlements to make hostile inroads into the dominions of Spain, renders it indispensable that you should immediately order as respectable a detachment as you can to take post at Fort Massac and to erect a strong redoubt and block house with—some suitable cannon from Fort Washington.

The Officer who should command ought to be a man of approved integrity, firmness and prudence.

Besides the directions for erecting the works, the supplies, discipline and police of his Garrison, he ought to be instructed somewhat in the following manner “Secret and confidential” “It has not been unknown to you that a number of lawless people residing on the Waters of the Ohio in defiance of the national authority have enter-

98 Fort Massac was located on the Ohio River, eleven miles below Paducah, Ky. Heitman, II, 523.
tained the daring design of invading the territories of Spain. The atrocity of this measure and its probable effects are pointed out in the Proclamation of the President of the United States herewith delivered to you.

If this design should be persisted in or hereafter revived and any such parties should make their appearance in the neighbourhood of your garrison and you should be well informed that they are armed and equipped for war and entertain the criminal intention described in the Presidents proclamation you are to send to them some persons in whose veracity you could confide, and if such person should be a peace officer he would be the most proper messenger, and warn them of their evil proceedings and forbid their attempting to pass the fort at their peril. But if notwithstanding every peaceable effort to persuade them to abandon their criminal design they should still persist in their attempts to pass down the Ohio, you are to use every military means in your power for preventing them—and for which this shall be your sufficient justification provided you have taken all the pacific steps before directed."

After the works should be completed perhaps the commanding Officer and another commissioned Officer and fifty non commissioned and privates would be sufficient for the Garrison. Perhaps the greater part of the Garrisons of Fort Steuben and Fort Knox might be appropriated temporarily to this service—this idea is suggested only and not directed, the manner of the establishment is vested solely in you but the measure itself is indispensible.

The vexations and spoliations of our commerce by Great Britain in consequence of instructions to their ships of War relatively to all neutral vessels carrying supplies to France, and the order of the 6th November last relatively to the West Indies previously to any information being given thereupon has caused a general alarm throughout the United States and in consequence thereof War with Great Britain has been considered as inevitable. Our Sea Coast is ordered to be fortified according to the law for that purpose and certain other measures are under the contemplation of Congress for placing the United States in a respectabe state of defence. An embargo has also been laid on the 26 instant on all vessels bound to any foreign port or place. The laws and reports upon this subject are enclosed to you for your information.
Another order however of the British Ministry dated the 8 of January last although not free from exceptions seems to be of a more specific nature and affording some hope that compensation and satisfaction will be made for the damages and injuries we have sustained.

It seems to be the just policy of this government that if a War must come that it shall be brought on by those, who intend to make themselves our enemies, and not by any improper conduct on our part.

This idea is held out to you, in order that you may see the perfect propriety of abstaining from every step or measure which could by possibility be construed into any aggression on your part against either Spain or England. If a War should ensue, timely notice will be given you for your government, but until then you are to consider that we are at peace with Great Britain and Spain and to conduct accordingly.

All the supplies requested for the present year either by the Quarter Master General, Hospital or Ordnance departments will be forwarded to Pittsburgh with all possible expedition. The Quarter Master General will also set out in a few days. He will be the bearer of the pay of the Army complete for the year 1793 and also of the subsistence and forage and also for the subsistence of the Officers for the Month of June 1794 inclusive.

It is with great pleasure, Sir, that I transmit you the approbation of the President of the United States of your conduct generally since you have had the command and more particularly for the judicious and military formation and discipline of the Troops, the precautions you appear to have taken in your advance, in your fortified camps, and in your arrangements to have full and abundant supplies of provisions on hand Continue Sir to proceed in this manner and your success will be certain. Leave as little to hazard as possible. Secure every thing as you advance and all the consequences will be reaped of the most bloody conflict and victory without any of those uncertainties and hazards which attend a battle with Indians, notwithstanding the most perfect plans and dispositions of the Troops.

It is presumed that you are too well aware that a full intelligence of the number, supplies, and movements of your enemy is essential to every design and movement of yours to omit the highest efforts for that purpose. Although you have not requested the measure, it is
thought so necessary that one thousand dollars will be forwarded to you for this purpose.

B. Genl Posey\textsuperscript{99} has resigned. You will find enclosed a schedule of the papers which accompany this letter. Lieut. Campbell Smith\textsuperscript{100} will in the course of six days set out with the money alluded to in this letter instead of the Q Mastr Genl. including the subsistence for the Officers.

I am Sir with great respect

Your most obedient Humble Servt.

H Knox
Secy of War

[To Wayne]

KNOX TO WAYNE

Private and Confidential\textsuperscript{101} Philadelphia 3d. April 1794

My dear Sir,

As it is possible that some indistinct reports which had reached this place and which had been circulated in whispers by a few members of Congress may be exaggerated by reverberation to you, I deem it consistent with my friendship to write you a private line upon the occasion.

You will see in my public letter the express and full approbation of the President of the United States for your Conduct. This I think is a counterbalance for any opinion of the disorganizers be they who they may.

I have had no distinct view of the subject of the reports. In fact they died of their own imbecillity. I believe the main part consisted in your bearing authority with a rigid hand. You may rest assured that while I have any agency in the public affairs that I shall sincerely endeavor to guard you from all misrepresentations.

For the last month every thing has had a war aspect but I believe we shall have no war to the infinite disappointment of the disorganizers.

\textsuperscript{99} Brig. Gen. Thomas Posey had been Wayne's second in command.
\textsuperscript{100} Lt. Smith was in the 4th Sub Legion.
\textsuperscript{101} WP, XXXIII, 112.
The report of the Committee however which you have among the papers of your public letter exhibits a pretty formidable aspect and there is no doubt the purport of it will be enacted into a law. The bill for completing the legion of the United States having received a new impulse of the times will probably be completed according to the draft of the Bill. However this is not so certain as to be entirely relied upon.

I am Yours sincerely and affectionately

H Knox

Major Genl. Wayne

*Part II of the Wayne-Knox correspondence will appear in the October issue.*