Arthur St. Clair

By Ellis Beals

(Continued from April Issue)

CHAPTER III

Promotes Peace and Order, 1773-75.

The history of the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary controversy is closely interwoven with Indian troubles which culminated in what is known as "Dunmore's War". In this narrative, however, an attempt is made to treat the two separately showing the part played by St. Clair in each. The high handed rule of Dunmore and Connolly in the West exasperated the Indians so that it was only through the efforts and skill of the Penns, St. Clair, and others that the western part of the Province escaped an Indian raid. 1 This was accomplished in spite of the fact that the frontiers were not well fortified. The English garrison was withdrawn from Fort Pitt in 1772 by order of General Gage and the fort and buildings were sold. 2 St. Clair appeared in Philadelphia in October of that year presumably to protest this action of leaving the frontier without protection. He personally carried the message to General Gage at Boston, but Gage thought it useless to maintain troops at Fort Pitt for a group of forty or fifty people, since every little settlement would demand a fort and a garrison. He further said that the people had settled from the sea inland without the aid of forts and they didn't need them any more now. 3 It was not long after this that Connolly appeared and took possession of the fort.

St. Clair always seemed anxious to give the Indians a fair deal and to follow the policy of the Penns in treating them as human beings. In 1771, while he was an officer at Bedford, he had a man imprisoned who was suspected of murdering two Indians, and removed him to Fort Pitt so that the Indians might see that justice was being done, and St. Clair made the trip there to be present at the examination. He reported that the Indians seemed pleased but added that it was hard to know what they really thought. 4 He was not an Indian agent of the
type of William Johnson and George Croghan and he was little acquainted with Indian affairs, but he knew when they were given a square deal and he used his office to promote the welfare of both the Indians and the white settlers. Too often troubles developed, not because of the Indians' love of killing and plunder, but because of the lack of consideration for them on the part of the whites. St. Clair portrays the attitude of many of the settlers of the lower element, when, after reporting the murder of an Indian, he writes:

"It is the most astonishing thing in the world the disposition of the common people of this country; actuated by the most savage cruelty, they wantonly perpetrate crimes that are a disgrace to humanity, and seem at the same time to be under a kind of religious enthusiasm whilst they want the daring spirit that usually inspires".

Dunmore and Connolly seemed bent on an Indian war, especially with the Shawanese, and they hoped to get Pennsylvania to join with them in the enterprise. The temper of the Virginians is shown in the following excerpt from a letter written by Connolly to St. Clair:

"Some immediate steps most undoubtedly ought to be pursued to check their [the Indians] insolent impetuosity, or the country in general will be sacrificed to their revenge. The people of the frontiers want nothing but the countenance of the Government to execute every desirable purpose, and your Province appearing backward at this critical juncture will most indubitably be highly displeasing to all the western settlers. I am determined no longer to be a dupe to their amicable professions, but on the contrary, shall pursue every measure to offend them; whether I may have the friendly assistance or not of the neighboring country, will, I expect, depend much on your just representation of matters".

St. Clair's rather pointed reply concluded as follows:

"I shall, however, represent matters as they occur to those in government in the light they appear to me, as I have done hitherto, and have uniformly declared that I saw not the least probability of war, unless the Virginians forced it on. The different maneuvers up and down and across the river have now probably brought that event about; who may see the end of it God only knows".
The reports of Indian murders and counter murders aroused the greatest terror among the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania who lived in constant fear of an Indian attack. The burden of quieting the populace and preventing an evacuation of that region about Pittsburgh fell largely to St. Clair. The condition of the people was truly distressing. John Montgomery, who visited Westmoreland in June 1774, reported that the people were in the greatest confusion, many families were crossing back over the mountains and others were building forts in order to make a stand, but they were handicapped by a scarcity of arms and ammunition. St. Clair does not credit the people with any too much courage, writing that it was "truly shameful that so great a body of people should have been driven from their possessions without even the appearance of an enemy". In one instance, a fresh report of Indians having been seen near Hannastown and another party on Braddock's Road started the people to going. St. Clair mounted his horse and went to investigate the rumors and found them, if not totally groundless, at least very improbable, but he was unable to persuade the people so. During twenty miles of riding that day he estimated that he met at least a hundred families and two thousand head of cattle. It was just before the harvest season and there was danger of a famine if the exodus became too general.

With no militia in the Province, it devolved upon St. Clair and his associates the task of stopping the panic and giving the inhabitants a sense of security. To this end, he, with Aeneas Mackay, Devereaux Smith, Colonel Croghan, and one of the Butler brothers, entered into an association to supply and pay a ranging company of one hundred men for a month at a shilling and six pence a man per day, and they sought the Governor to recommend that they be relieved of the expense, which the Assembly agreed to do until not later than the 10th of September. The Governor immediately sent two hundred muskets with powder and lead which St. Clair was to dispose of as he saw fit. He was also given a free hand in meeting the crisis, being informed that "In this unhappy situation I am satisfied you and the other magistrates will act a prudent part. It is impossible in such a case to give particular directions".

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Soon after the rangers had been mobilized in May, 1774, a new report of Indians in the vicinity started the people to going again and in an attempt to stem this tide, St. Clair stationed twenty of his rangers at the Bullock Penns, twenty at Turtle Creek, thirty at Hannastown, twenty at Proctor's and twenty at Ligonier as these places were now the "frontier towards the Allegheny". To further give the people a semblance of security, forts at different places were constructed and the rangers were drawn in to preserve the communication. By June 16, St. Clair was able to report that the panic had been checked, though there was still a shortage of ammunition. On the 12th of July he wrote that the panic seemed entirely over and that large numbers of the people were returning daily.

In the meantime, efforts were continued to maintain peace with the Indians, especially with the Delawares and the Six Nations and to prevent them from uniting with the Shawanese who were more hostile to the whites, though St. Clair said that they discriminated between the Virginians and the Pennsylvanians. At the same time it was necessary to avoid trouble with Connolly and his men. This danger was increased by the presence of the rangers, for soon after they had been organized Croghan warned St. Clair that the people would likely condemn Connolly for not taking similar measures for their protection and would, therefore, try to make it appear that the rangers were to be used to invade the rights of Virginia, and it is probably true that St. Clair hoped thereby to strengthen the hold of Pennsylvania on the region.

It seems possible that some of the people feared a union of Connolly's men with the Indians, but that danger must have been remote.

The Delawares and the Six Nations desiring to receive some message from the Province of Pennsylvania, led St. Clair, on behalf of the Government, to make to them the following address:

"Brethren: We have heard of your good speeches and I come from your brother of Pennsylvania to thank you for the care and pains you have taken to preserve the general peace. We are determined to do all in our power to maintain the friendship that subsists between us and our brethren the Six Nations and Delawares entire; but as our peo-
ple are alarmed at what has happened with the Shawanese, we recommend it to you to prevent your people from hunting amongst us for sometime, as our people will not be able to distinguish betwixt them and others. We wish and will endeavor to keep the path open to our brethren and keep bright that chain of friendship betwixt us which was so long held fast by their and our forefathers".

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George Croghan, who had, as we have seen, been an adherent of the Virginia cause, seemed to have changed his attitude, for he became indefatigable in his efforts to preserve the peace and order of the country and began to work in the interests of Pennsylvania. 22 His services in dealing with the Indians were invaluable and St. Clair made use of his ability along that line. On his recommendation, gifts were presented to the Indians 23 and when it was discovered that the Virginians were attempting to put a stop to the Indian trade with Pennsylvania and that Connolly and two of his associates had secured the exclusive privilege of carrying on the trade on the frontiers of Virginia, he recommended to St. Clair, who in turn passed it on to Governor Penn, that a new town be laid out up the Allegheny river at the Kittanning. 24 Governor Penn forwarded the order for that purpose in August, 1774, but he could give no direction for building a stockade or any other work for the security of the place that would incur any expense to the Province. 25

On July 22, 1774, St. Clair reported to Penn that he was still "sanguine enough to hope" that the Province would escape the horrors of a war and that all of the operations of the Indians were evidently aimed at the Virginians. 26 A few days later Aeneas Mackay appealed to St. Clair to request the Government to take steps to reward the fidelity of the Delawares and especially those who would be willing to help guard the frontiers against the Shawanese. 27 St. Clair communicated this matter to Governor Penn and requested that if the plan was agreeable that he would set a limit to the extent of the gifts, as he was a little afraid to trust Croghan if the latter realized he had the government treasury to draw upon. 28 Penn replied that he did not think the Indians should be rewarded at that time under the circumstances and that the matter of having the
Delawares guard the frontier was "too delicate" for him to "intermeddle in". His alternative was to send some messages to the Delawares and Shawanese asking them to remain at peace with Pennsylvania. These messages were delivered by St. Clair to some of the principal chiefs of the tribes who gathered at Croghan's place on the Sunday previous to August 25th. Croghan and Alexander McKee, who was also there, were of the opinion that the Six Nations might feel slighted that they were not included, so St. Clair took the liberty to include them in the address to the message and had a copy made out which was given to them with a belt. They were well received, and the Indians declared their intention of remaining at peace with Pennsylvania and to do all they could to bring about peace between the Shawanese and Virginia.

The Indian trouble continued so long that the time for the disbanding of the rangers had to be extended, but the Assembly notified them that they would positively not make appropriations for them after November 1st and ordered that they be disbanded at that time. Fortunately, the next month saw an end to the war between the Indians and Virginia, and St. Clair wrote that the latter apparently were victorious.

We find no further record of St. Clair concerned in Indian affairs until nearly a year later, September, 1775, when he was concerned largely as an observer. At that time delegates from Congress came to Fort Pitt to treat with the Indians and he attended, as he said out of "curiosity" and to be able to give Governor Penn a first hand account of the proceedings. On that occasion the Indians were slow in coming in and considerable commotion was caused among the delegates when about a hundred men under Captain Neville marched to Fort Pitt from Winchester, Virginia. This act did accentuate the dispute between the inhabitants of the country but Neville took no part in the boundary controversy.

CHAPTER IV
In the Service of His Country, 1776-1802

The move to resist the measures of England soon spread to the West. On February 8, 1775, in accordance
was held for Westmoreland County at which it was ordered that "every itinerant or casual Vender of Goods, who shall be found selling Goods in this County, be obliged to produce proof to the Committee that the said Goods were imported into North America before the first day of February, 1775." ¹

On May 16th, there was held at Hannastown a general meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland and at that time there was drawn up a set of resolutions relating to the "alarming situation" between the Colonies and Great Britain. It is not known who the author of these resolutions was, but we do know that St. Clair was responsible for at least one clause of that document. This interesting and notable expression on the part of the people of the West includes a protest against the ill treatment accorded Massachusetts by Great Britain, a proposal for the formation of a militia to prevent the like treatment from being extended to other colonies, a declaration that no thought of independence is entertained but only justice and liberty is desired and in order to attain that end an association was formed with the following purposes: 1st, to arm, form into regiments, and choose officers; 2nd, to drill and train until they were capable of concerted action; 3rd, that should the country be invaded by a foreign enemy or should Great Britain send troops to enforce its acts, they would submit to military discipline and do their utmost to resist such actions; 5th, the Association would remain in force until the British Parliament should repeal the obnoxious acts, and give up their claim to the right to tax, and a reconciliation be made satisfactory to America. ² The 4th part which was instigated, if not written by St. Clair, is given in full below:

"That we do not wish or desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored to, and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when Boston grew great, and America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrates in carrying the same into execution." ³
It appears from the above that St. Clair was somewhat of a conservative and his comment upon the whole proceeding strengthens such a conclusion. He wrote to Shippen:

"Yesterday we had a county meeting, and have come to resolutions to awe and discipline, and have formed an Association, which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity for such proceedings. I doubt their utility, and am almost as much afraid of success in this contest as of being vanquished." 4

It is also evident that he was aiming at the local dispute in a part of the resolution and hoped to secure a greater degree of obedience to the Pennsylvania laws and magistrates.

But St. Clair was only one of many American patriots who dreaded resistance to Great Britain and who abhorred the thoughts of independence, but when he came to the parting of the ways, he chose to cast his lot with the less conservative group. He responded to the call of his country when he was chosen a colonel of the 2nd battalion in Pennsylvania, on January 3, 1776. The others who were made colonels from Pennsylvania at the same time were John Shea, Anthony Wayne, and Robert Magaw. 5 Eight men had been recommended by the Committee of Public Safety at Philadelphia to the Continental Congress. There were twenty-three on the Committee and the first three of the above named candidates received the unanimous approval of that body. 6

At the solicitation of St. Clair and Richard Butler, the Committee of Public Safety consented to allow the powder in Westmoreland County to remain there to be used in defense of the County. 7

After his election to the army, St. Clair was first assigned to duty around Philadelphia where he recruited, drilled and provisioned soldiers. He was later sent with six companies to relieve Arnold at Quebec, then given a command at Three Rivers, from which place he was driven back by a union of English and Canadian soldiers. 8 He was made a brigadier general on August 9, 1776 9 and soon thereafter was called to Washington's army. He fought with that great General at White Plains, was at the crossing of the Delaware and, with Sullivan, had charge of the
division which took the river road while Washington and Greene led the other division. He gave invaluable aid at Trenton and it is believed by some that he suggested to Washington the brilliant move on Princeton a few days later. ¹⁰

For his services in these campaigns, St. Clair with Lord Stirling, Thomas Mifflin, Adam Stephen, and Benjamin Lincoln, was made a major general on February 19, 1777. ¹¹ He was the only Pennsylvanian to be made such an officer during the course of the war. ¹²

Following this promotion he was sent to take charge of Ticonderoga, which post he evacuated when he considered his position untenable and for which he was court martialed and exonerated. Concerning this he said:

"I know I could have saved my reputation by sacrificing the army; but were I to do so, I should forfeit that which the world could not restore, and which it cannot take away, the approbation of my own conscience". ¹³

Lafayette wrote him:

"I cannot tell you how much my heart was interested in anything that happened to you, and how I rejoiced, not that you were acquitted, but that your conduct was examined". ¹⁴

Washington did not lose confidence in St. Clair and he continued to serve with that General at Brandywine, and at Valley Forge. Later he was detailed to organize Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops and send them to the front as rapidly as possible. After Arnold’s treason, he was put in command of West Point and he sat on the jury that tried and condemned Major Andre. He was present at the capitulation at Yorktown. ¹⁵

At the close of the war, St. Clair ventured into politics. He had moved his family to Philadelphia and had bought the estate of John Potts, an attainted traitor who had forfeited his property. It was a lot 60 x 300 feet located in Pottstown in Philadelphia County, for which he paid 6,700 pounds Continental money. This transaction was made December 21, 1782. ¹⁶

He was elected a member of the Council of Pennsylvania in 1783, elected to the National Congress in 1785, and two years later he was made president of that body. ¹⁷ In 1784 he had been appointed as Vendue Master of Phila-
delphia, but was removed from that office because of his advancement in Congress, presumably his election as president. In 1790 he was a candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, being endorsed by such men as Frederick A. Muhlenberg, James Wilson, Robert Morris, Colonel Miles, and James Rush. He was badly defeated, however, receiving only 2,819 votes to 27,118 for his opponent, Thomas Mifflin.

Soon after St. Clair had been elected president of the Congress, he was chosen for the position of governor of the newly organized Northwest Territory, the government being established July 15, 1788. This position he filled with distinction for nearly fifteen years, but was removed in 1802 by President Jefferson, probably because of his strong Federalist tendencies.

CHAPTER V

The Neglected Patriot, 1802-1818.

Upon his dismissal as governor of the Northwest Territory, St. Clair retired from public life to his home in Ligonier where he hoped to spend the rest of his days in peace and quiet, working his farm and pioneering in the iron industry. While he was governor of the Territory, he had built for himself and his family a home, said to have been beautiful at the time, calling it the "Hermitage" in fond anticipation of his retreat from the public eye. Besides the ordinary apartments, it had a suite of numbered rooms for the accommodation of his guests, for he was of a hospitable nature. The house was painted and papered and it was pleasantly situated on a picturesque trout stream from where a spacious view could be had of the surrounding country.

About the year 1803 he built Hermitage furnace, the second in Westmoreland County. It was managed for its owner by James Hamilton and stoves and other castings were made. It was in blast in 1806, for the following advertisement appeared in the Farmers' Register for November 21, 1806, printed at Greensburg. It had for its caption "Hermitage Furnace in Blast" and was signed by Henry Weaver and Son and dated at Greensburg on September 12, 1805. It read as follows:
“The subscribers being appointed agents by General A. St. Clair for the sale of his castings generally, and for the Borough of Greensburg exclusively, give notice that they will contract with any person or persons for the delivery of castings and stoves, for any number of tons, on good terms. Samples of the castings and stoves to be seen at their store in Greensburg any time after the 20th instant”.  

St. Clair had spent about $10,000 on this enterprise and it rented for $2,400 a year.  

But St. Clair’s dream of spending his last days surrounded by friends and enjoying peace and plenty was not to come true. He had been far from a miser, in fact, it seems that he tended to be too free in his use of money. He endorsed for his friends and fellow officers and thus lost large sums which he paid as far as he was able. But, though he may not have used the best judgment in his use of money, there can be no question that he advanced large sums for the benefit of worthy and noble causes and for which he was not recompensed. St. Clair himself told the Assembly that as early as 1774 he supplied nearly all the forts and blockhouses in Westmoreland County with arms and the means of defense at his own expense. When Washington appealed to him to save the Pennsylvania troops when wholesale desertions were taking place, he responded with funds from his private resources in order that recruiting might be carried on. In the management of Indian affairs in the Northwest Territory, to carry out the instructions of the Secretary of War, he was forced to supplement the funds voted by the Government by buying on his own credit to the amount of $9,000. To fit out the expedition against the Indians in 1791, St. Clair advanced $7,042 giving his bond to James O’Hara for that amount. We have already noted his financing of the rangers for the Pennsylvania frontier, but for which he was reimbursed.  

For these expenditures in the interests of the Nation, St. Clair had been promised reimbursement by Alexander Hamilton, but before the appropriation could be made he was out of office and later was killed in the duel with Burr, so the one man who could and would have attended to St. Clair’s claims was gone. When he presented his claims to Congress, some of them were refused because no appropriation had been made for debts contracted under the
Confederation, while others were recognized by the Government but were refused on the ground of the Statute of Limitations. On May 25, 1809, Mr. Findley, Congressman from St. Clair's district, presented his memorial "Praying the reimbursement of a sum of money advanced by him in public account, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six for the purpose of re-enlisting the troops then in service in the Northern Department, in order to form the permanent army then organizing agreeably to a resolution of Congress". 10 This was referred to the Committee on Claims which reported on June 30, that the claim was barred. 11 After an investigation the Committee made its final report to the House in which it was stated that though it recognized the validity and justness of St. Clair's claim for $1,800, it could not recommend that the "prayer" be granted. 12

With no relief in sight from Congress, St. Clair's creditors closed in upon him. James O'Hara, to whom St. Clair had given his bond for over $7,000 foreclosed on him in 1810. Although he had paid $5,000 on the bond previously, the remainder with interest had reached a total of $10,000. To satisfy this debt his property was auctioned off at a time when money was scarce and times were hard, due partly to the Embargo. His property, which was worth $50,000, went under the hammer for $4,000 13 and was bought by O'Hara, the holder of the bond. 14 All the rest of his property went the same way. St. Clair said, "They left me a few books of my classical library, and the bust of Paul Jones, which he sent me from Europe, for which I was very grateful". 15

St. Clair now removed to a rude log cabin located on Chestnut Ridge, a very "rough and rocky mountain" 16 which for an "extent of two miles presents nothing but a dry chalky soil abounding with oaks and chestnut trees, stunted in their growth". 17 The cabin was given to him by his son Daniel 18 and here he made his home with his favorite daughter, Louise Robb, living in great privation, trying to eke out a bare living for himself and his dependent children and grandchildren by keeping a tavern for the entertainment of the traveling public 19 and raising provender for their horses. 20
After his misfortune, St. Clair renewed his attempt to get some satisfaction for his claims. On February 2, 1818 the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the bill for his relief. The bill gave rise to a lengthy discussion lasting until sunset, in which the motives for the act of 1810 for his relief, the act of limitations, the merits of the petitioner, the justice of his claim, were all considered. Mr. Ervin of South Carolina made the chief plea for St. Clair's cause, a part of which follows:

"And can it be possible that a man thus elevated by those circumstances which usually tend to enoble human character, can submit to the degradation of presenting to the Government of his Country a false account for the pitiful sum of four or five thousand dollars, and be trembling on the brink of the grave? The idea is too debasing, it is ungenerous—it ought not to be entertained for a moment. Seven long years he has literally begged at your doors; committees have said his accounts ought to be paid . . . . Mr. Chairman, we have listened to the prayers of the subaltern, let us not discard the claim of the chieftain; pay him his account; fill his heart with gratitude; send comfort to the humble mansion which now shelters him from the rude storm of the mountain; he will thank you, and in his last moments will give to his country all that he has to give—his blessing".

While this question was before Congress, General Ogle earnestly remarked that "this was a subject not to be mentioned in the House in the face of day; the treatment of that man ought to be spoken of here only in the night. For his part, if there was a statute as strong as brass or as solid as the pillars of the Capitol, he should blow it to powder, to do justice to a soldier of the Revolution".

St. Clair's claims were recognized and met by his own State of Pennsylvania before they were in Congress. In 1813 the State voted him an annuity of $200 and in 1817 increased the amount to $600. In Congress from time to time his claims were revived. In the session of the House of Representatives on February 5, 1815, Henry Clay moved to have him placed on the pension list and after much debating and haggling over the amount to be given him, it was voted 122 to 90 to make it $60 a month and this was dated one year back. The petty haggling over the ques-
tion of whether St. Clair's pension should be fifty, sixty, or seventy-five dollars and the bitter criticism heaped upon him for his past career seem to show that he was hated by the Republicans because he had been a staunch Federalist. The climax of this ill feeling was perhaps reached when it was moved that the following preamble be added to the bill:

"Whereas, the Congress of the United States entertain a high sense of the tried integrity, as well as the civil and military virtues, of Arthur St. Clair, late President of the Congress and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, whom they learn with regret, has been reduced, by misfortune, to extreme poverty". This motion was voted down 61 to 81. 26

St. Clair never saw a dollar of the pension that was voted him, for his creditors attached all of it before it left th Capital, 27 but in 1857, thirty nine years after his death, Congress appropriated a considerable sum for the benefit of his surviving heirs, a belated recognition of their duty. 28

But the calumny and recrimination heaped upon St. Clair during the debates in Congress was more than he could stand without defending himself and consequently, in 1812 he published A Narrative of the Manner in which the Campaign against the Indians, in the Year 1791, was Conducted, in which he strove to justify himself and, as nearly as possible, to correct many of the falsehoods which were spread over the country. It is not intended here to analyze or criticize this document, but it is worthwhile recording the purpose of this defense as given in St. Clair's own words. He decided upon this move, he wrote, "in vindication of my own reputation, in which, if the public have no interest, now I am past service my children have a great one; as after a long life, I am bold to say, zealously and usefully spent in public service, and the sacrifice of a very liberal fortune, it is all the inheritance they are likely to derive from me; and even that, those persons, it would seem, are unwilling should descend to them". 29

General St. Clair's last days are not pleasant to dwell upon. If he was without honor in places far removed, the same was true in his own country. When visiting nearby towns sometimes the greatest disrespect was shown for him. True, those persons were of the lower strata, but it must
have been the dregs to this proud man when it seemed that all the world had turned away from him. Albert expresses vigorously the contempt for such persons that every one must feel:

“There were those who mocked and jeered at the Samson, now shorn of his locks,—these were the asses who came and kicked their heels into the face of the dying lion,—mean, brainless, insulting men, who in their cups sang ditties within his hearing which charged him with the death of those who had fallen in battle, and still more worthless curs who charged him to his face with cowardice”.

If St. Clair had many enemies, he did find a few thoughtful and sympathizing people. Especially during the last few days of his life, the family was often in great want, and upon hearing this, a group of New York ladies sent him money and $800 worth of steamboat stock, the latter proving worthless, but it was a good deed, nevertheless, and St. Clair acknowledged it gracefully. He was capable of that sort of thing, for throughout all of those trying years of disheartening circumstances he retained his self respect, his kindliness, and his gracious manner. His attitude and bearing cannot be better shown than by presenting a portion of his beautiful and touching letter thanking the ladies of New York for their thoughtfulness. This letter is dated Chestnut Ridge, 4th March, 1813:

“To sooth affliction is certainly a happy privilege, and it is the appropriate privilege of the fair sex, and nobly have the ladies of New York exercised it; and though I feel all I can feel for the relief brought to myself, their attention to my daughters touches me the most. Had I not met with distress, I should not have, perhaps, known their worth. Though all their prospects in life (and they were once very flattering) have been blasted, not a sigh, not a murmur has been allowed to escape them in my presence, and all their pains have been directed to rendering my reverses less affecting to me, and I can truly testify that it is entirely on their account that my situation ever gave me one moment’s pain”.

St. Clair’s self respect is portrayed in the two following stories which are told. At one time St. Clair and Mr. Findley, who was a man of wealth and a member of Congress, remarked, “General, I pity your case and heartily
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sympathize with you”, whereupon, St. Clair drew himself up and replied, “I am sorry, sir, but I cannot appreciate your sympathy”. On another occasion, so the story goes, St. Clair was toasted at a militia muster by a thoughtless admirer as the “brave but unfortunate St. Clair”, upon which he quickly drew his sword and demanded that the offender retract his words. He was not to be praised and commiserated in the same sentence. 33

Elisha Whittlesey visited with St. Clair for an hour in 1815 as he was traveling through the country, and he wrote a letter years later in which he described the old General as follows:

“I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of veneration and esteem. He wore a citizen’s dress of black of the Revolution; his hair was clubbed and powdered. When we entered he arose with dignity and received us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double log house of the western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon . . . . Poverty did not cause him to lose his self respect; and were he now (1856) living his personal appearance would command universal admiration”. 34

Lewis Cass saw him a few years before his death and found him living in a “rude cabin, supported by selling supplies to the wagoners who traveled the road, one of the most striking instances of the mutations which chequer life”. 35

But his sorrows were drawing to a close. On the 30th of August, 1818, he started for Youngstown, about three miles away, to get some supplies. He was traveling in a wagon pulled by a pony and when within a mile of the village, the road being rough, he was thrown out upon the ground where he lay unconscious until some ladies, who were out picking berries, found him by the roadside. 36 He was taken back to the house where the next day he passed away, without regaining consciousness, at the age of eighty-four. 37

Upon the news of his death, the citizens of Greensburg held a meeting and passed resolutions to the effect that St. Clair should be buried in the Greensburg cemetery, and an invitation to that effect was sent to his daughter, Mrs. Louisa Robb, with whom he had been living and who carried the responsibility of the household, since Mrs. St.
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Clair was an invalid, her mind having been weakened.  
Arrangements had also been made for his burial at Ligonier and at Unity, but the consent of the family was obtained for burial at Greensburg. The Masonic Lodge, of which St. Clair had been a member, had charge of the last rites. The committee of citizens went to his home and accompanied the remains, and the funeral procession, when about a mile from town, was joined by the Greensburg Volunteers and a little further on the Masonic Lodge joined. The family left their conveyances about the middle of town and from there the procession moved on foot to the graveyard. The order of the procession was, military, by the left, with arms and its colors reversed and drums muffled; citizens generally; committee of arrangement; judges; clergy; coffin containing the remains, with six pall-bearers on each side; relations; officers of the Revolutionary army; corporation of the borough.

Mrs. St. Clair died only eighteen days after her husband and was buried by his side where for nearly fifteen years the grave was marked only by two flat stones. In 1832 the Masonic Society erected a handsome sandstone monument over the grave with this inscription:

"The earthly remains of Major-General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country".

"He died August 31st, 1818, in the 84th year of his age".

Outside of his own community, his death caused relatively little notice. One citizen, presumably of Pittsburgh, upon visiting Greensburg in November was waiting at the church for the Sunday services to begin, when he noticed a small group of people standing by a newly made grave. Supposing it to be the grave of some local citizen or benefactor, he was "struck with awe" when on approaching, he was informed that it was the last resting place of St. Clair. In his letter to the Gazette he made an appeal to the State of Pennsylvania to erect some worthy memorial to show her respect and esteem for her illustrious citizen.

It was a sad ending for a man whose career had been so notable, if not so successful as some, a man who had been the confidant of Washington and who had stood with
that great man at his first inauguration, and who had retained his confidence and friendship until his untimely death. He was a close friend of Lafayette and in 1787 John Paul Jones had written to him, "I pray you be assured that no man has more respect for your character, talents, and greatness of mind than, dear General, your most obedient and most humble servant". His had been a life of service to his family and to his country, and if he had not been so successful as others, it was not because of lack of sincerity, honesty, or patriotism and it is probably safe to say that he did more for his country than most of his carping critics combined have done. He should be given credit for what he attempted and the motive behind those efforts. But it is the conclusion of the author that St. Clair's defeat by the Indians in 1791 has blinded the public to anything else that he did and he is measured not by his successes, but by his great failure.

FOOTNOTES — CHAPTER III

2. Thurston, *Allegheny County's Hundred Years*, 18.
4. Ibid., Series 1, I, 437.
7. Ibid., 327.
8. Ibid., 328.
11. Ibid., 301.
15. Ibid., 306f.
16. Ibid., 309.
17. Ibid., 325.
18. Ibid., 309.
19. Ibid., 303.
26. Ibid., 329.
27. Ibid., 331.
32. St. Clair Papers, I, 347.
33. Ibid., 361.
34. Ibid., 361n.

FOOTNOTES — CHAPTER IV

2. Ibid., Series 4, II, 615.
7. Ibid., 449.
8. Boucher, Pittsburgh and Her People, I, 204.
13. Ibid., 205.
15. Ibid.
19. Ibid., XV, 197.
23. Ibid., 244ff.

FOOTNOTES — CHAPTER V

5. Ibid., 221.
7. Gresham (ed), Biographical and Historical Cyclopedia of Westmoreland County, Pa., 552.
8. Albert, op. cit., 221.
10. Annals of Congress. The debates and proceedings in the Congress of the United States, with an appendix containing state papers and public documents and all the laws of a public nature; with a copious index. Compiled from authentic materials by Gales and Seaton. XX, 73.
11. Ibid., 350.
12. Ibid., XXI, 2387f.
17. Michaux, "Travels to the west of the Allegheny Mountains in the State of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, undertaken in the year 1802", Thwaites, Early Western Travels, III, 152.
19. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 854.
27. Gresham, op. cit., 553.
29. St. Clair, A Narrative of the manner in which the campaign against the Indians, in the year 1791, was conducted, under the command of Major General St. Clair, together with his observations on the statements of the Secretary of War and the Quarter Master General, relative thereto, p. xv.
31. Smith, op. cit., 252n.
32. Albert, op. cit., 222n.
34. Albert, op. cit., 223n.
37. Albert, op. cit., 223n.
38. Ibid., 222.
40. Ibid., 24
41. Pittsburgh Gazette, XXXIII, No. 49 (New Series), November 3, 1818.
42. Found on the new granite monument which is an exact duplicate of the old sandstone one.
43. Pittsburgh Gazette, XXXIII, No. 49 (New Series), Nov. 3, 1818.
44. Irving, Life of Washington, IV, 582.
45. Ibid., V, 155.
46. St. Clair Papers, I, 609.

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