

The Papers of Arthur St. Clair

From the Microfilm Collection
Early Ohio Political Leaders
Published by the Ohio Historical Society,
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FOREWORD

The Early Ohio Political Leaders (EOPL) project began in 1974 when the State Library of Ohio agreed to loan the manuscript collections of Ethan Allen Brown, Samuel Huntington, Return J. Meigs, Jr., Arthur St. Clair, Micajah T. Williams, and Thomas Worthington to the Ohio Historical Society (OHS) for conservation and preparation of an inventory and microfilm guide. This State Library material was combined with OHS's collections for these individuals as well as the society's holdings of seven other political leaders — Charles Hammond, Thomas Kirker, Othniel Looker, Jeremiah Morrow, Winthrop Sargent, Edward Tiffin, and Allen Trimble. A bound volume of Northwest Territory governmental proceedings — the *Northwest Territory Transcripts* — and two executive letterbooks — *Letters from the Executive of Ohio* and *Ohio Governors' Letters* — were also added to complete the project.

Because the collections of these thirteen leaders provide an unparalleled body of primary source material about Ohio's early development, the Ohio American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Commission provided a grant to fund the preparation and publication of this guide. Although each collection has been treated as a separate entity within the guide, a single subject index and one complete correspondence index reveal the interrelated nature of the material.

Filmed on sixty-eight rolls of microfilm, the entire EOPL project contains twenty-eight and two-thirds linear feet, or fifty-nine Hollinger and oversized document boxes, of material. The bulk of these manuscript collections consists of correspondence; there are approximately 9,100 letters from 2,650 correspondents. This guide follows the general inventory format. Material within each collection was divided into correspondence chronologically arranged, and non-correspondence which was arranged alphabetically according to the type of material and then chronologically within each type. Most of the material is in good condition.

Although the EOPL papers span the period from 1731 to 1964, the majority of this material was generated from 1776 to 1852. By their nature these papers sketch the development of some of Ohio's urban areas; internal improvements within Ohio — canals, roads, turnpikes, and railroads — are chronicled with particular emphasis on the political and economic implications. They also provide information about diverse aspects of life in Ohio during these years of growth: emigration, land, and frontier settlement; confrontations between Indians and settlers; a fluctuating economic climate; the development of education; and the evolution of state and local governments. In addition, the material provides insight into various personalities who influenced Ohio's history — Nathaniel Massie, Alfred Kelley, Ralph Osborn, and DeWitt Clinton, to name a few.

However, the scope of these collections is definitely not parochial; these papers reflect the fact that Ohio was an integral part of the national scene. A great deal of material dealing with national politics, especially presidential elections, is included as well as information about national figures, such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Andrew Jackson, Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr, and John Randolph.

Other topics of state and national concern include slavery, the country's expansion, banking, and the Aaron Burr conspiracy. Affairs in the Mississippi Territory are described as well as those within several states, particularly those created from the Northwest Territory. Abundant source material about the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 is included along with numerous military records. The material is particularly rich in Indian history, including treaties, speeches, and a good deal about St. Clair's 1791 expedition. Other items of particular historical interest include census material, maps, county and township receipts and expenditures, and manufacturing records. Foreign affairs and relations are extensively covered — especially relations with Great Britain, France, Spain, and Brazil.

The strength of these collections is contemporaneity; this guarantees the immediacy of historical records, testifies to the writer's direct association with historical events, and minimizes distortions that arise with the passing of time. The documents, with few exceptions, are contemporary with the historical events they describe and reflect the forces of the political conditions under which they were composed. The arrangement is both systematic and largely comprehensive providing sources that illustrate a broad historical narrative. Thus, the researchers who use these collections may experience vicariously the events here described.

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I would like to thank the many people who have contributed to the successful completion of this inventory: Joseph F. Shubert and Catherine Mead of the State Library of Ohio and Watt Marchman of the Rutherford B. Hayes Library; Ohio American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Commission Chairman Alan Norris, Administrator Michael J. Devine, and Grants Coordinator Beth Woodrow; Susan Blaine, Vernon Will, and especially Brian Sartor for their conservation work under the direction of Virginia Ingram; microfilm coordinator Robert B. Jones, quality control operator Mark Mong, and camera operators Delores Vikre and especially R. Douglas Ramsey; publications coordinator Thomas H. Hartig, Ph.D., editorial assistant Nancy Summers, and typist Cynthia L. Reed of the Publications Division, under the direction of Jim Richards; Bruce R. Baby, for the cover illustration; typists Sue Defenbaugh, Marilyn Bosen, and Margaret Fink, under the direction of Lynn Jensen; and Stephen Gutgesell, the original project supervisor who gave me the opportunity to work on this project.

My most sincere gratitude to project director Gary Arnold and editor Clare Wulker for their contributions and advice; to Marc Lee Raphael, Ph.D., for his support and historical consultation; to State Archivist Frank Levstik; to the Director of the Ohio Historical Society, Thomas H. Smith, Ph.D.; and to Archives/Manuscripts Division Chief Dennis East, Ph.D.



Arthur St. Clair

Although there is ample information about Arthur St. Clair's life, various sources contradict one another. While St. Clair was apparently born in Thurso, Caithness County, Scotland, in 1734 (some sources say 1736) even his distinguished parentage is uncertain. Arthur St. Clair's parents have been variously listed as Margaret Balfour and French army officer James St. Clair — which would make him the grandson of the Earl of Roslyn — or Elizabeth Balfour and merchant William Sinclair — making St. Clair the great-grandson of the second Laird of Assery, James Sinclair.

After studying for a time at the University of Edinburgh, St. Clair was indentured to a well-known London physician, William Hunter. St. Clair's interests, however, lay outside of the medical profession and he soon purchased his freedom with money apparently inherited from his mother. He also purchased an ensign's commission dated May 13, 1757, in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment of Foot; thus began an illustrious military and public service career.

St. Clair apparently immigrated to North America in May of 1758. Two months later during the French and Indian War he took part in the capture of Louisburg as part of a British force led by General Jeffrey Amherst. On April 17, 1759, St. Clair became a lieutenant and served under General James Wolfe during the battle of Quebec. One of the first to attack on the Plains of Abraham, St. Clair raised the British flag at the walls of Quebec.

After Wolfe's death during the surrender of Quebec in September of that year St. Clair served under Generals Moncton and Murray. Sometime after the French surrender, St. Clair obtained a furlough to Boston where his connections with Major William Ewing and the Commander of the British forces in America Douglas Gage admitted St. Clair to Boston society. On May 15, 1760, at Trinity Chapel, Arthur St. Clair married Phoebe Bayard, daughter of Mary Bowdoin and Belthazar Bayard and niece of Governor

James Bowdoin. The St. Clairs had three sons: Daniel, Arthur, Jr., and John; as well as three daughters: Elizabeth, Jane, and Louisa.

St. Clair helped repel Indians from the Boston area in 1763, even though he had resigned from the British army the previous year. At the close of the French and Indian War, he received an appointment from General Gage to take command of the forts in western Pennsylvania and soon became Fort Ligonier's first commander. Phoebe's dowry of £14,000 as well as his own military claims enabled him to acquire 5,000 acres in the Ligonier Valley, where he built a residence near the fort. After bringing his family to join him, St. Clair cleared the land, raised stock, and built the first gristmill in the region.

Amidst frontier difficulties, St. Clair rapidly became an acknowledged leader and public servant. On April 5, 1770, he was appointed surveyor for the District of Cumberland and the following month a justice of the courts of quarter sessions and common pleas as well as a member of the Proprietary, Governor John Penn's council for Cumberland County. In 1771 St. Clair was a justice of the court in Bedford County, recorder of deeds, clerk of the orphans court, and prothonotary of the common pleas court. In addition, Governor Penn appointed St. Clair regional agent of the colonial government.

After the formation of Westmoreland County in 1773, St. Clair became a justice of that county's court and was involved in the Pennsylvania-Virginia jurisdiction dispute over western Pennsylvania land surveyed in 1769. When Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore's agent, John Connolly, took possession of Fort Pitt and summoned the people to form a militia on January 25, 1774, St. Clair issued a warrant for Connolly's arrest and jailed him. Although Lord Dunmore called for St. Clair's dismissal, Governor Penn refused to remove him.

A year later the country was involved in its struggle for independence from Britain. Despite his British ties, after much deliberation St. Clair espoused the colonial cause. While he was convinced that independence was not in America's best interests if liberties could be secured otherwise, he also believed that independence was justifiable if foreign troops were employed to bring America into absolute submission. His involvement with the colonies steadily increased and he was appointed as a member of the Westmoreland County Committee of Safety. When the Continental Congress appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty at Fort Pitt to secure Indian neutrality during the colonies' struggle with Britain, St. Clair acted as commission secretary. He also recruited about five hundred volunteers for an expedition against the British in Detroit; a lack of ammunition prevented any action.

Commissioned as a colonel in the Continental service, St. Clair was ordered to lead the second of five battalions raised in Pennsylvania and to cover Benedict Arnold's retreat from Canada. Leaving Philadelphia on March 12, 1776, St. Clair's battalion marched to defeat. In spite of another defeat at Three Rivers, he was promoted to brigadier general in August. Later that fall St. Clair joined General George Washington and their long-lasting friendship began. St. Clair was appointed to organize New Jersey's militia and fought in the battles of Trenton and Princeton where his geographical knowledge was valued. At Princeton, Washington adopted St. Clair's plan to have the army march to Morristown while St. Clair destroyed bridges behind them. This successful plan enabled the army to reach safety.

In the late 1770s, there was much discontent among army officers on the Pennsylvania line. In 1776 St. Clair apparently had to advance \$1,800 of his own money to Major Richard Butler in order to reenlist the second Pennsylvania regiment. Early in 1779, St. Clair refused to accept resignations from several officers. Although confidence was eventually restored to the line, St. Clair's financial aid proved a burden for him.

In the spring of 1776, St. Clair became a major general; he was ordered to defend Fort Mifflin which was considered impregnable. However, St. Clair realized that he needed five times as many soldiers and that his 2,000 dispirited, poorly-conditioned troops would be unable to defend the fort. He held a council of officers which decided in favor of evacuation. As a result losses were minimal; one account lists no casualties. Nevertheless, St. Clair was strongly criticized for the evacuation and was suspended from his command. He was honorably acquitted after a congressional board of inquiry ruled that he made a wise decision in light of certain defeat.

Although he did replace Benedict Arnold briefly at West Point, St. Clair remained with George Washington almost until the war ended. When Washington was planning a major offensive toward the end of the war, he sought St. Clair's advice; St. Clair suggested that Washington's troops be reinforced from the south. A congressional resolution on February 20, 1781, ordered Pennsylvania and Maryland troops south under St. Clair's command and, as a result of the campaign, the British retreated. Before the British surrender at Yorktown, St. Clair had joined General Greene's Carolina campaign.

By war's end, St. Clair was financially ruined. As early as 1782 he had even contemplated resigning his commission because his credit was exhausted and he was anxious over family affairs and debts. Although he had moved his family to relative safety in Pottsgrove (Pottstown) early in the war, his Ligonier estate, gristmill, and land were destroyed by fire. When he moved to Philadelphia he apparently began trying to restore his estate.

St. Clair remained outside the public arena only a short time for he was soon appointed as Philadelphia's auctioneer or vendue-master, a prestigious position through which public revenues were received. In 1783 he was elected as a member of the Council of Censors which decided whether the constitution

had been violated, whether the legislative and executive branches of government acted as guardians of the people and whether taxes were properly levied and collected. St. Clair drafted the council's majority report and a resolution calling for a new constitutional convention; however, the necessary two-thirds vote was not attained. He reportedly favored a bicameral legislature, called for residency requirements for officials and believed that if justices of the peace were appointed for life, they would be more independent of political influence.

Other dimensions of St. Clair's life are revealed by his membership in the American Philosophical Society and his presidency of the Philadelphia Order of the Cincinnati. This national society was founded in 1783 by army officers to commemorate the eight-year struggle for independence, preserve the rights for which they fought, create a fund for orphans and widows, and confer honors on French allies.

Elected as a Pennsylvania state delegate to the Continental Congress, St. Clair attended his first congressional session on February 20, 1786; a year later he was chosen president of that body. One of Congress' most significant accomplishments that year was the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 which created the Northwest Territory. As a Federalist, St. Clair's earlier political advancement had been blocked in Pennsylvania at a time when Republicanism greatly impeded the progress of Federalist politics. Having failed to be elected governor of that state, St. Clair accepted the appointment as Northwest territorial governor.

In the beginning of his fifteen-year administration St. Clair lived in a Marietta house designed by the Ohio Company. Later he apparently lived in Cincinnati and Chillicothe. As territorial governor St. Clair promulgated laws, formed counties, and issued proclamations. He claimed sympathy for the Indians, believed the governor's approval was needed for any bill to become law, recommended changes in the Marriage Act and Act of Limitations, and requested publication of laws about the duties of probate officers. In addition to fixing the territorial seat of justice at Cincinnati, St. Clair offered suggestions regarding the recovery of small debts, fences, court of common pleas terms, and county and township division. While he upheld Article 6 of the Ordinance of 1787 which forbade slavery in the Territory, St. Clair said it had no retroactive power, thus placating those who already owned slaves. The governor's frequent travels to Philadelphia, New York, and Washington, as well as within the far reaches of the Territory, placed a strain on his \$1,500 annual salary and led to disputes with Secretary of the Territory Winthrop Sargent who acted in St. Clair's absence. Because Sargent was not always aware that St. Clair had returned, occasionally they acted simultaneously.

As governor, St. Clair was also the administrator of Indian affairs. He concluded two treaties in 1789, one with all of the Six Nations except the Mohawks and one at Fort Harmar with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatomes, and Sacs. At the grand council where all of the northwest tribes were to be represented, the Miami, Shawanee, and Wabash tribes wanted the Ohio River to be the final dividing line between themselves and the settlers. The Indians, however, were manipulated and forced to accept the restrictions of earlier treaties which had deprived them of land in 1784 and 1785; St. Clair had defended these treaties. When some of the tribes resisted, he sent an expedition against them which failed; subsequently the Indians formed a powerful confederacy.

In the spring of 1791 Major General St. Clair was placed in command of the forces against the Indians; again he assembled troops to prevent further hostilities and this time to establish a post (Fort Wayne) at the Maumee village. The troops consisted of two small regiments of regulars and two regiments of volunteers as well as three or four hundred Kentucky militia men. At this time mounted men who were paid sixty-six cents a day were under the command of their own officers while footmen, paid \$3 a month, were subject to military law. Keeping harmony among the men proved a difficult task.

St. Clair's expedition left Fort Hamilton in late September. On November 4, Indian warriors surprised and overwhelmingly defeated St. Clair's army which was only a day's march from its goal. Accounts say that during the battle St. Clair had several horses shot from under him and his clothes were riddled with bullet holes. One eyewitness claimed 900 troops were killed and only 600 survived. Another claimed 37 officers and 600 privates were killed with 300 wounded. Indian losses are unknown. Damage to government property was estimated at \$34,000. In addition to the Indians' skill, their element of surprise, and the discord within the army, a lack of equipment, delayed orders, and rivalry among officers led to the army's defeat.

When George Washington learned of the Indians' victory twenty days later, he was deeply distressed, but exonerated St. Clair who was severely criticized by almost everyone else. St. Clair maintained that his troops were green, outnumbered, and inadequately armed — that he, personally, had neglected nothing. In addition, St. Clair had again expended his own money for the cause. Although he had hoped to remain an officer in order to be subject to a court-martial, on March 5, 1792, St. Clair resigned his commission and returned to his duties as territorial governor. Eventually, a congressional committee acquitted him of all blame due to his own courage and the numerous obstacles he had faced. Arthur St. Clair later published a narrative of the campaign in his own defense.

In 1798 the Northwest Territory had 5,000 white males and, as required by the Ordinance of 1787, St. Clair called for elected representatives to meet at Cincinnati in February, 1799. His address to the assembly called for "justice" to the Indians, restraint on liquor traffic, preservation of the rights of the

people, and establishment of minor courts for local administration. However, as a result of his actions, many felt that St. Clair held only disdain for the common people and merely wanted to enhance his own interests and power. During the first session of the territorial legislature, for example, St. Clair had reinforced the fears of his detractors by vetoing over 60 percent of the legislation, including bills which would have created new counties and necessitated St. Clair's selection of new officials acceptable to the residents of each county. It became increasingly apparent that St. Clair favored as little democratic process as possible; as a result he became less and less popular.

This animosity was in no way diminished when St. Clair opposed as premature the 1799 move for Ohio's statehood. When a census enumerated only 45,000 inhabitants in the eastern portion of the Territory (60,000 were required for statehood according to the Ordinance of 1787), St. Clair tried to gerrymander the Territory into even smaller segments in order to postpone statehood. In light of these developments, several individuals including Judge John Cleves Symmes, Hamilton County Judge William Goforth, and Republican leader Thomas Worthington, urged St. Clair's removal from office.

Another step toward statehood occurred in 1800 when the 1799 election law was replaced; it had mandated that all voting take place in county courthouses. The new election law authorized the court of quarter sessions in each county to subdivide the county into voting districts which facilitated and increased voting. For those who favored statehood, the issue apparently became a struggle between groups favoring different capitals and boundaries. As a Federalist seeking Cincinnati Republicans' support for his reappointment as governor, St. Clair favored redistricting which would make Cincinnati, Marietta, and Vincennes the seats of government. This would have reduced Chillicothe's importance considerably and as a result, feelings against him in Chillicothe were strong. At one point St. Clair's house was even mobbed and he was burned in effigy. His plan was successfully defeated by the 1802 Enabling Act which established Ohio's present boundaries and provided for a state government. Because St. Clair opposed this act, a constitution, and Congress' right to legislate for the territories — and after further recommendations for his removal from office — President Jefferson dismissed him on November 22, 1802.

Retiring to the Hermitage, his home near Ligonier, St. Clair built an iron furnace to manufacture stoves and castings, but he was plagued by recurring financial problems. Never reimbursed for the personal credit he had advanced during the Revolutionary War, Indian negotiations, and the 1791 campaign against the Indians, St. Clair submitted to Congress numerous petitions for his reimbursement. The committees which considered two of these petitions dated March 29, 1808, and February 23, 1810, decided that his claims were inadmissible, that he could have "adjusted the receipt," and that he had had no authority to loan money on U.S. credit.

Apparently in 1813, the Pennsylvania legislature did grant St. Clair an annuity of \$400 and he may have received \$2,000 in discharge of his claims with a pension of \$60 a month. But in 1815 when Elisha Whittlesey and three others visited St. Clair, they reported he did not even have grain to feed their horses. Upon hearing of his plight, friends in Scotland offered St. Clair a home there but he chose to remain in Pennsylvania. One of his sons built a log cabin for him at Chestnut Ridge, five miles west of Ligonier near Greensburgh where St. Clair lived in abject poverty — in view of his former Ligonier estate — until his death. While on his way to town for provisions on August 21, 1818, St. Clair's wagon overturned; the injuries he sustained led to his death at the age of eighty-four in the early hours of August 31. His wife, Phoebe, died less than a month later on September 18, a little before sundown. Both were buried in the Greensburgh churchyard. Viewing St. Clair as a patriot, his Masonic brothers placed this inscription on his gravestone: "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."

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NOTES TO RESEARCHERS

PROVENANCE* — In 1869 an unsuccessful effort was made in the Ohio General Assembly to secure an appropriation to purchase the Arthur St. Clair papers then in the possession of an heir, Robert Graham. Graham wrote on January 30, 1870, that the papers were not to be sold for less than \$2,000 and if more could be obtained it would be much appreciated since the estate was small and his sisters apparently had little else to depend on other than the proceeds of the papers. The papers, which were fragmented, mice-eaten, almost entirely without arrangement, and generally in poor condition, were examined and appraised at \$2,000 (although scheduled in Graham's property at \$5,000). In spite of attempts by other descendants to block the sale of the manuscripts, the Superior Court of Cincinnati decided in favor of Graham. Governor Rutherford B. Hayes recommended to the Ohio legislature that permission be granted to purchase and preserve the papers. During the 1870 session the legislature passed a resolution appropriating funds to purchase — for the use of the State Library of Ohio — the correspondence, messages, documents, and miscellaneous manuscripts of Arthur St. Clair (fifteen boxes and four volumes). The papers were purchased for \$2,000, deposited in the State Library, and indexed.

In an agreement made on July 12, 1974, between the State Library Board and the Ohio Historical Society (OHS), the State Library of Ohio deposited Arthur St. Clair's papers in the OHS for conservation and for preparation of an inventory and microfilm guide. The State Library papers were then interfiled with the OHS's St. Clair papers.

In March 1940, the OHS acquired a copy of a document pertaining to the Northwest Territory, and in February 1953, purchased manuscripts and photostats from various sources. These apparently became the OHS Arthur St. Clair Vertical File Material (VFM) No. 1172, and were integrated only for filming with the Arthur St. Clair Papers.

Other OHS VFMs and selected items from the Charles E. Rice Collection (OHS Manuscripts Collection No. One) were integrated only for filming with the St. Clair Collection. The OHS acquired the Rice Collection between 1930 and 1941, in large part directly from Charles E. Rice.

One transcript from the collection of Captain F. L. Pleadwell of Honolulu, and two from the Pennsylvania Archives were also integrated with the Arthur St. Clair Papers.

The Early Ohio Political Leaders (EOPL) project includes the papers of Ethan Allen Brown, Samuel Huntington, Return J. Meigs, Jr., Arthur St. Clair, Micajah T. Williams, and Thomas Worthington (consisting of material from the State Library of Ohio and the OHS) and those of Charles Hammond, Thomas Kirker, Othniel Looker, Jeremiah Morrow, Winthrop Sargent, Edward Tiffin, and Allen Trimble, along with two executive letterbooks — *Letters From the Executive of Ohio* and *Ohio Governors' Letters* — and one executive journal — the *Northwest Territory Transcripts* (consisting exclusively of OHS material).

*Provenance was compiled from information in accession logs and case files at the OHS, posthumous estate papers in the Arthur St. Clair Papers (OHS Manuscripts Collection No. 356), the deposit agreement between the State Library of Ohio and the OHS, the files of the State Library of Ohio, the Rutherford B. Hayes Papers at the Rutherford B. Hayes Library (Fremont, Ohio), and the preface of *The St. Clair Papers* by William Henry Smith.

ACCESS — Access to the original papers is restricted but the microfilm edition of the Arthur St. Clair Papers is open to the public in the OHS library.

FINDING AIDS — Each collection included in the EOPL project was filmed separately and is treated as a separate entity. Only one printed guide, however, was prepared for the entire project. This guide is available for use in the OHS library; it contains a subject index and a complete correspondence index covering all of the collections and volumes included in this project.

Throughout the microfilm editions, a target has been filmed to indicate the contents of each folder. Microfilm frames have been numbered consecutively within each edition. Generally, the names of the thirteen individuals whose papers are included in the EOPL project are designated on these targets and in the guide only by initials.

VFM's and items from the Rice Collection are listed individually in the OHS library card catalogue and can be located by using the guide.

A partial calendar of items in the Arthur St. Clair Collection for the period from September 15, 1763, through December 20, 1871, is available in the OHS library.

CITATION — Footnotes and bibliographical references should refer to the original material at the OHS and to the researcher's use of the Arthur St. Clair microfilm edition. Examples are:

Arthur St. Clair to George Tod, April 21, 1802, Washington City — Charles E. Rice Collection, Ohio Historical Society (Arthur St. Clair microfilm edition, roll 24, frame 22).

Arthur St. Clair to the Secretary of War, August 19, 1800, Cincinnati — VFM No. 1172, Ohio Historical Society (Arthur St. Clair microfilm edition, roll 22, frame 256).

The bulk of the material in the Arthur St. Clair Papers is on deposit from the State Library of Ohio. Such material is marked and should be cited in this manner:

Henry Knox to Arthur St. Clair, November 12, 1787, War Office — ON DEPOSIT FROM THE STATE LIBRARY OF OHIO — Arthur St. Clair Collection, Ohio Historical Society (Arthur St. Clair microfilm edition, roll 1, frame 48).

If material is not designated as being from the State Library or elsewhere, it belongs to the OHS. Material may be marked "OSAHS" — Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which was the name of the OHS from 1885 to 1954.

PROPERTY RIGHTS — According to the deposit agreement referred to in the provenance, property rights to the Arthur St. Clair papers deposited by the State Library of Ohio remain with the State of Ohio and the State Library Board. Property rights to the Arthur St. Clair papers not on deposit from the State Library reside with the OHS. The society exercises responsibility for physical custody of both the original manuscript material and the master camera negative of the microfilm edition. No duplication of the microfilm except paper prints not for resale may be made without written permission from the OHS. The OHS may grant permission for reproduction of State Library manuscripts under the same conditions described above, provided that acknowledgement is made in any published source that this material is the property of the State Library of Ohio.

LITERARY RIGHTS — Literary rights to the Arthur St. Clair Papers have *not* been dedicated to the public. Consideration of the requirements of literary rights is the responsibility of the author and the publisher.

SCOPE AND CONTENT

The Arthur St. Clair Collection, filmed on eight rolls of microfilm, consists of four linear feet of material (eight Hollinger boxes); two and three-fourths linear feet of this is composed of correspondence. Much of the material, although in large part laminated and encapsulated, is fragmented, mice-eaten, and indistinct, while some other material is in excellent condition. There are approximately 1,100 letters from 251 correspondents. Of the approximately 435 outgoing letters, 71 percent are contemporary copies; the remainder are the original letters. Among those who corresponded with St. Clair are: Richard Butler; Henry Dearborn; Diego de Gardoqui; John Edgar; Samuel Finley; Nathaniel Greene; John Hancock; Josiah Harmar; John Jay; Paul Jones; Henry Knox; Israel Ludlow; James McHenry; Trevor Newland; Samuel Parsons; Joseph Reed; Daniel, William, Elizabeth, Arthur, Jr., and Jane St. Clair; Bartholomew Tardiveau; Anthony Wayne; and James Wilkinson. There are nineteen letters from George Washington, and several letters in French.

The St. Clair Papers are largely representative of St. Clair's life. Although there is nothing from his early life in Scotland, there are orders from General Jeffrey Amherst and materials pertaining to the defense of Ligonier. There is no correspondence for the period from 1764 to 1771. Material from the three years prior to the American Revolutionary War pertains to military matters, Indians, rangers raised by St. Clair, boundary disputes, St. Clair's commission as clerk of peace, and the actions of Lord Dunmore's agent, John Connolly. The one-half linear foot of material generated during the American Revolutionary War and post-war hostilities pertains to military matters and the war; the make-up of St. Clair's troops; his appointment as brigadier general, his opinions about the military code and systems, and his role in the evacuation of Ticonderoga; the Carolinas, Canada, and Yorktown; the Pennsylvania line and the Pennsylvania Assembly; and the evacuation of Savannah. It includes correspondence with St. Clair's wife and George Washington.

For the period from 1783 until St. Clair's appointment as Northwest territorial governor in 1787, material pertains to the country's return to peace, Indians and the assembly at the Tawa River, personal anxiety over family affairs and debts, St. Clair's possible resignation from the service, Paul Jones, foreign affairs, and economic concerns. Also included are fragmented and incomplete papers, probably notes for and from St. Clair's draft of the majority report in the Council of Censors in 1783.

For the early part of his gubernatorial administration, papers pertain to gubernatorial powers and actions; the Grand Confederacy and negotiations with and speeches to the Indians; interests in Spain, New Orleans, South America, and Florida; slavery; emigration; St. Clair's nomination for and failure to become governor of Pennsylvania; and recommendations for Western territorial division. There is a large amount of material regarding Indians and St. Clair's 1791 campaign against them including orders, plans, St. Clair's diary and an analysis of reasons for the expedition's failure, testimonies, observations, narrative fragments, and proposals to publish his narrative. Also included is material pertaining to St. Clair's differences with Richard Butler.

For the latter part of his gubernatorial term, there is material regarding Indians including an incomplete treaty, slavery, the question of whether U.S. laws applied to the territories, the clash between Arthur St. Clair and Winthrop Sargent over simultaneously performing official acts, St. Clair's financial problems, Northwest territorial division, Ohio's statehood, the Chillicothe Christmas riots, and politics and the 1800 presidential election. Also included are Thomas Worthington's charges against St. Clair.

Materials generated during St. Clair's later years are concerned mainly with his financial situation and include his petitions to Congress for reimbursement of funds he loaned and services he performed, and financial records. These materials also pertain to the Hermitage Furnace, Indians, and politics.

Included in this collection are maps, deeds, bonds, depositions, resolutions, acts, and addresses.

Related material held by the OHS includes the Northwest Territory Collection, one-half linear foot (Manuscript Collection No. 248); the Anthony Wayne Papers on thirty microfilm rolls (Microfilm Manuscript Collection No. 38) — original manuscripts are held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, the Detroit Public Library (Burton Historical Collection), the Filson Club (Louisville, Kentucky), and Harvard University; the Frazer E. Wilson Collection, three linear feet (Manuscript Collection No. 192); the Josiah Harmar Papers on one roll of microfilm (Microfilm Manuscript Collection No. 35) — original manuscripts held by the William L. Clements Library, (Ann Arbor, Michigan); and the Denny O'Hara Papers on seven rolls of microfilm (Microfilm Manuscript Collection No. 33) — original manuscripts held by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

ROLL NUMBERS AND FOLDER DESCRIPTIONS

ROLL 1 (Box 1, FOLDER 1)

Correspondence: March 23, 1746 — September 30, 1763

Letters pertain to: Ligonier inhabitants who expected payment for houses destroyed in defense of the fort, and orders from Sir Jeffrey Amherst forbidding importation of goods but granting permits for necessities.

ALSO INCLUDED: seven French letters; and mention of garrison supplies and Lieutenants Carre and Potts. (no outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, FOLDER 2)

Correspondence: June 10, 1772 — September 4, 1775

Letters deal primarily with: **MILITARY MATTERS AND WAR** — many doubts that a general war was inevitable; **INDIANS** — hopes that Indians would remain neutral and that Britain would not encourage Indians to pledge false opposition to the British or to act as arbiters, ASC's raising of rangers in an attempt to encourage settlement, and efforts to reassure and not offend the Indians; **THE ASSEMBLY** — called to take steps toward a general congress for all provinces, and its concern over Parliament's attitude toward America; and **BOUNDARY LINES** — the Mason-Dixon line in Ohio, statement in late 1775 that boundary disputes were started as a tool to set the colonies against each other, and that the issue in the "approaching crisis" was whether the colonies were to be Parliamentary slaves or an independent people.

ALSO INCLUDED: land and personal business, ASC's commission as clerk of peace; and mention of traders, the Shawanees, John Penn's reappointment as governor, Pittsburgh residents' anger over Pittsburgh not being the county seat, and the actions of John Connolly. (no outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, FOLDER 3)

Correspondence: June 2 — September 21, 1776

Letters pertain to: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — conduct of certain officers, Ticonderoga, ASC's military character, his appointment as brigadier general and his personal sentiments on independence 1) that it was not in America's interest if American liberties could be secured otherwise and 2) that independence was justifiable if foreign troops were employed to bring America into absolute submission; **THE PENNSYLVANIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION**; **COLONIAL AFFAIRS**; **PENNSYLVANIA-VIRGINIA BOUNDARY DISPUTE**; and **FOREIGN AFFAIRS** — the status of Britain's power. (2 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, FOLDER 4)

Correspondence: January 11 — November 25, 1777

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — the battle and evacuation of Ticonderoga, criticism of ASC's role in this, orders, troop make-up, conditions, the need for provisions, Philip Schuyler, William Howe, John Burgoyne, Baro Kalb, Henry Knox, the Horatio Gates-Benedict Arnold hostility, and ASC's commission and army leave; and to a lesser degree with **PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS**; and **DISSENSION IN THE ASSEMBLY**.

ALSO INCLUDED: letters from George Washington, John Jay, and President of the U.S. Continental Congress John Hancock; and reference to liberty of press versus publication of misleading, false, or anonymous material. (6 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, FOLDER 5)

Correspondence: January 3 — December 28, 1778

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — events at Ticonderoga including part of a rough draft memorandum on conduct at Ticonderoga prior to evacuation on July 6, 1777, and references to the circumstances of this evacuation; public conduct toward ASC and his acquittal; military dispositions including detailed suggestions for improvements in the quartermaster's department; recruiting service; training; supplies and observations on conduct.

ALSO INCLUDED: a request for ASC to help someone find a job and mention of the French fleet. (2 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, Folder 6)

Correspondence: January 9 — May 31, 1779

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — column systems; recruiting service; orders from George Washington; provisions for soldiers' dependents; return of prisoners of war to their regiments; half-pay arrangements; treatment of soldiers in Massachusetts Bay, Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia; and discontent among officers on the Pennsylvania line; and **ASC** — his refusal to accept the resignations of some of the officers in the Pennsylvania line, his suspicion of Thomas Paine and his abuse of "official confidence," his plan for a regular return of the names of the men and articles chosen and mention of his suggestions for public measures for deserters and his claim of rank over General Arnold.

ALSO INCLUDED: letters from George Washington; and mention of dissention in the Pennsylvania Assembly, charges against Benedict Arnold, and Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. (13 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, Folder 7)

Correspondence: June 3 — December 17, 1779

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — news of surrender of the fort on Verplanck's Point, strategies, jealousy among colonels, recruiting, rations and clothing for troops, winter's effects on military maneuvers, reinstating exchanged prisoners of war, and a detailed analysis of terrain and water approaches in the event of occupation of positions by either American or British forces.

ALSO INCLUDED: correspondence with George Washington including a request for ASC's opinion on possible offensive army moves; and ASC's opinions on military code, cantoning troops, and objectives and suggestions for furnishing stores to commanding officers of regiments. (9 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, Folder 8)

Correspondence: January 28 — November 20, 1780

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — prisoner exchange and parole including mutual exchange of chaplains, soldiers' pay and recruitment, the consequences of unauthorized raids made by numerous small militia parties on Staten Island, sentiments against dispersing troops, the weather factor, difficulties in obtaining intelligence, and disposition of the enemy. There is much correspondence with George Washington including his orders and a request for ASC's advice and opinions; ASC's comments about troop detachment; prospects for Charleston, New York, and St. Augustine; the strategic importance of Canada particularly for trade and friendship; and estimates of forces on both sides. Also mentioned are: Horatio Gates' army and its prospects for recovering Carolina and checking Cornwallis, Benedict Arnold's desertion, and orders referring to prisoners and crime including ASC's feeling that he had authority to judge when it was proper to try criminals both in brigades and in divisions at large. William Phillips wrote that if Great Britain and America were again united, the sons and brothers of both could then share the riches of Spain.

ALSO INCLUDED: some personal business. (17 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, Folder 9)

Correspondence: January 7 — September 30, 1781

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — fraudulent discharges, equipment needs, soldiers' pay, sickness and desertion among troops, court-martials, reinstating exchanged prisoners of war, federal army quotas, the defense of Philadelphia, movements of American and British forces, Charles Cornwallis' retreat, ASC's orders to General Anthony Wayne to take command of Yorktown, and ASC's approval of corporal punishment but disapproval of anything that might tend to degrade the Marine service. Included is correspondence between ASC and George Washington with situation assessments, military orders, and recruiting instructions.

ALSO INCLUDED: an extract from the minutes of the Philadelphia Council; and mention of the situation in Pennsylvania and defects in the communication of laws and resolutions. (22 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, Folder 10)

Correspondence: October 6 — December 30, 1781

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — supplies and provisions, sickness among troops, orders and instructions, Charles Cornwallis' fate, details of land and water routes in the Carolinas,

movements of British and American forces, comparative advantages and disadvantages of several routes from Yorktown to South Carolina, and a recommendation for a captain's return on parole to the U.S. Army. One letter described the make-up of ASC's troops as Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia Continental troops, and instructed him to place himself under Nathaniel Greene's command.

ALSO INCLUDED: ASC's correspondence to his wife. (16 outgoing)

ROLL 1 (Box 1, FOLDER 11)

Correspondence: January 3 — December 20, 1782

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — movements of forces; speculation of peace; intended evacuation of Savannah; the evacuation of Charleston on December 14; Tories; helpless women and children in North Carolina and efforts to move them to relatives in Charleston; dispute over army organization; paroles; sickness; military orders; provisions; a case involving Negro prisoners as property; and references to improvement of the "late system" introducing economy and abolishing useless officers, departments, and state taxes in order to obtain better army pay; and the congressional order to reform and rearrange the army as of January 1, 1783; and **ASC's PERSONAL BUSINESS** — anxiety over family affairs, debts, and inability to raise anything on property; his exhausted credit; his promise to George Washington to return to the army December 1 but request for further leave; inability to be reimbursed by Congress for expenses; and possible resignation. (11 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (Box 2, FOLDER 1)

Correspondence: January 8 — December 28, 1783

Letters deal primarily with: **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** — 1) the revolt of the Pennsylvania line including expenses incurred, plans to investigate the matter and reorganize, furloughs, orders, reactions and insinuations as to the "prejudice" nature of ASC's conduct, half-pay arrangement, correspondence to George Washington that the revolt was over and obedience was restored, draft of thanks to be given to the Pennsylvania line by council and assembly, and draft of the reply to the governor of Pennsylvania; 2) prospects of peace including dependence on congressional determinations, and statement that there should be no obstacle since ASC had no desire that America be the "instrument of exaltation (to/at) the destruction of England"; 3) routine militia business including difficulties with troop organization after cessation of hostilities, and the importance of the eastern or main army; and 4) Indian affairs including reports of savage incidents.

ALSO INCLUDED: correspondence with George Washington, a French letter, and references to congressional versus state powers. (17 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (Box 2, FOLDER 2)

Correspondence: January 26 — December, 1784

Letters pertain to: **THE COUNTRY'S RETURN TO PEACE** — public debt and credit, paper money, a funding bill, and disillusionment that the contest with Great Britain was in vain; and **COUNTY DIVISION** in Philadelphia, Pottstown, and Westmoreland.

ALSO INCLUDED: French correspondence; and references to the college in Philadelphia, land, American produce, and importation of Scotchmen. (5 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (Box 2, FOLDER 3)

Correspondence: February 4, 1785 — November 12, 1787

Letters pertain to: **PERSONAL BUSINESS** — ASC's debts, correspondence with his son including references to his "poor" progress in law school, etc.; **PERSONAL OPINIONS** — on a bill for funding public debt; on women's ability to scold and not always be reasonable; and on a commercial treaty with Spain to be negotiated by John Jay with Diego de Gardoqui which ASC considered impossible because Spain demanded exclusive navigation rights on the Mississippi, yet important and worth the necessary concessions since Spain did offer friendship; **AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY** — its importance and comparison with that of Spain and Great Britain; and **INDIANS** — in the Northwest Territory, attempts by the British to keep the Indians at odds with the U.S., and a recommendation for deputy superintendent of Indian affairs.

ALSO INCLUDED: a circular to be sent to five governors regarding the image of the U.S., due representation in Congress, and stating that the assembly has the power of peace and war but for lack of numbers

has been unable to exercise same for a year; and a letter from Paul Jones about securing contracts in France to supply masts, timber, and naval stores from the U.S., and regarding ASC's offer to ask George Washington to write to the Marquis de Lafayette in favor of such a project.

ALSO MENTIONED: a posthumous medal for General Green for his victory at Eutaw Springs, the Pennsylvania delegation, and New York Governor Clinton conferring on action to be taken against citizens attempting sedition. (8 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (Box 2, FOLDER 4)

Correspondence: January 27 — July 31, 1788

Letters deal mainly with: **INDIANS** — their request to see someone of high U.S. authority, the assembly on the Tawa River, uneasiness and possibility of war, jealousies "fermented" by British agents, land sales for discharging public debt, meeting place for a treaty May 1 at the Falls of Muskingum and ASC's request for expenses to attend, ASC's sympathy for the Indians, trade, disturbances, fears, and the dangerous extension of white settlements.

ALSO INCLUDED: routine business; and references to the public seal, a Jewish person with "considerable property" in Lancaster, July 4 celebration, ratification of the U.S. Constitution, misfortune in New Orleans; and ASC's views on government of the Northwest Territory quoting from the Ordinance of 1787, on a law relating to estates and to the establishment of a court of common pleas and quarter sessions of the peace, and on the ordinance of May 20 (?). (13 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (Box 2, FOLDER 5)

Correspondence: August 1 — September 26, 1788

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — mentioning Tawas, Delawares, Wyandots, Chippewas, Shawanees, Senecas, and Iroquois; the Indian chief known as The Pipe; a treaty; fears of Virginians attacking; report from a white prisoner who had spent twenty years with the Indians, that when sober they talked of peace and when not they spoke of maintaining their lands; council at Detroit; and ASC's suggestions for waging war should the need arise.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal business including ASC's inclination to leave the governorship, correspondence with Judges Parsons and Varnum, ASC's views on the necessity of gubernatorial approbation before passage of a bill, and assembly resolutions; and mention of the fire at New Orleans and the market glutted by the influx of flour from Havana. (8 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (Box 2, FOLDER 6)

Correspondence: October 7 — December 20, 1788

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — the apparent lack of agreement among them; British actions; land claims on the Mississippi; mentioning the Six Nations, the Grand Confederacy, The Pipe, Wyandots, Piquas, Kickapoos, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Chippewas, Mohawks, and Delawares; and including details of conferences, a warrant to seize and store all intoxicating liquor in the vicinity of Fort Harmor, and indications that ASC was optimistic about a treaty and impressed with evils of an Indian war; **KENTUCKY** — persons who wrote to Lord Dorchester requesting British government protection, and the possibility that Colonel Connolly's involvement was a treasonable offense but the laws were insufficient to authorize action; and **LEGAL MATTERS** — ASC's recommendation for changes in the Marriage Act and the Act of Limitation, and request for publication of law on probate officers' duties.

ALSO MENTIONED: Spain's offers to give one thousand acres to every American who would move to the West or Florida, to pay ten dollars for every one hundred weight of tobacco raised and delivered at New Orleans, and to allow tax exemptions; and Spain's actions on the east side of the Mississippi. (14 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (Box 3, FOLDER 1)

Correspondence: January 5 — May 29, 1789

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — a letter stating ASC was trying to avoid war; a report that the "Indian business" was concluded with the Six Nations, Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottowas, Potawatomes, and Sacs, ASC's view that the Confederacy was broken and Brandt's influence lost except among the Shawanees; ASC's judgment not to extend the northern borders as ordered; congratulations to ASC on the "happy issue" of Indian affairs; and the Wyandots' claim against the Shawanees.

ALSO INCLUDED: ASC's recommendation for Western Territorial division, memoranda to the President on the Northwest territorial government, and view in favor of admitting Kentucky into the Union as a separate state; personal business; and mention of slavery and the wish of liberals to abolish it even in the southern states. (5 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (BOX 3, FOLDER 2)

Correspondence: June 1 — October 30, 1789

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — instructions including those from George Washington that ASC should negotiate a treaty with the Indians inhabiting the Mississippi River in order to extinguish their land claims, business of the War Office, the President's removal of Virginia's responsibility to support the militia for western frontier defense, hostilities between Indians and Kentuckians, the role of British emissaries, treaty expenses, and the President's injury; **SLAVERY** — the 1787 resolution concerning West Federal Territory, and claims as to the legality of the *ex post facto* law and its effect on emigration from Virginia and Carolina where slave labor was legal; **ADMIRAL PAUL JONES' REPUTATION** — his favor with the French King and Russian Empress, and a letter in French intended to be printed in the *Gazette de France* regarding "false" reports of his conduct and credibility; **FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS/EUROPEAN STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN THE U.S.** — an alliance between Britain and Spain, Spain's jealousy toward rapid western growth, advances toward Mexico, envoy to divert emigration from the Atlantic States to the Spanish territory, and efforts to induce French inhabitants to abandon their own country; and **PERSONAL BUSINESS** — the house in Marietta designed for ASC by the Ohio Company, and accounts owed by the U.S. for ASC's expenses incurred during his term as the Northwest territorial governor and as superintendent of Indian affairs.

ALSO INCLUDED: ASC's plan to prevent the loss of people to the Spanish territory; his views on judges, legislation, the importance of the Western Territory, the need for an attorney general, and on gubernatorial authority to call on Virginia for its militia; and letters in French. (6 outgoing)

ROLL 2 (BOX 3, FOLDER 3)

Correspondence: January 11 — April 27, 1790

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — ASC's sentiments on the Kentucky-Indian hostilities, a draft of his address to the Kickapoos arguing for peace, mention of his speech to the Indians of the Wabash and the Miamis, and mention of Indian rivalry and the defeat of [John] Doughty's mission to the Cherokees; and **ASC** — his name mentioned at the Pennsylvania convention as a gubernatorial candidate, "sober, industrious" persons sent by the Scioto Company who would be assets to ASC's government, his intention to secure peace, and his defense of Admiral Paul Jones.

ALSO INCLUDED: correspondence with Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson regarding boundaries set by the treaties of Forts McIntosh, Muskingum, and Miami; and mention of the proceedings at the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, scarcity of corn, efforts to induce people to move into Spanish territory, loyalty in relation to land ownership, and Vincennes. (7 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (BOX 3, FOLDER 4)

Correspondence: May 1 — June 18, 1790

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — "mischief" on the Ohio; ASC's examination of inhabitants' claims and opinions of the Indians; his feeling first that it was better for the government to reduce the Indians to reason by incurring expenses than to lose its reputation, and later that the critical situation called for force; the President's confidence in ASC and Major Josiah Harmar to extirpate the banditti but take vengeance only against the perpetrators; and a request from Frenchmen for protection.

ALSO MENTIONED: districting, public servants at variance with each other, a direct session of court, gubernatorial salary, slavery, the President's health, and legal matters. (5 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (BOX 3, FOLDER 5)

Correspondence: July 17 — September 28, 1790

Letters pertain mainly to: **INDIANS** — hostilities; ASC's capture; and mention of the Shawanees, Wyandots, and Wabash; the attack on Major Doughty; and instructions; **MILITARY MATTERS** — including a circular to officers in counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio regarding scouts, rangers,

and instructions; quota deficiencies; gubernatorial powers; and supplies; and **FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS** — discussion of English and Spanish monarchs at loggerheads regarding fur trade with north-east America, a report that England desired war with Spain, South American gold, the French battle for liberty, politicians who pretended the English fleet was carrying a king for North America, and the jealous reaction of British officers in Canada to U.S. designs on posts which were to have been relinquished.

ALSO INCLUDED: references to judicial business and ASC's nomination for governor of Pennsylvania. (5 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (Box 3, FOLDER 6)

Correspondence: October 6 — December 15, 1790

Letters pertain mainly to: **ASC'S OPINIONS** — 1) on laws — suggestions for or need of laws regarding speedy recovery of small debts, fences, terms of the court of common pleas, division of counties into districts and townships, highways, lawsuit expenses, and gubernatorial powers; 2) on army, reinforcements, and treaties; and 3) on Indians and land boundaries; **PROSPECTS FOR PEACE**; and **ASC'S FAILURE TO BECOME PENNSYLVANIA'S GOVERNOR**.

ALSO INCLUDED: Daniel St. Clair's political thoughts and references to the compromise between Spain and England, and the English war with France and Spain. (11 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (Box 3, FOLDER 7)

Correspondence: January 1 — April 21, 1791

Letters pertain mainly to: **INDIANS** — Josiah Harmar's expedition; a letter in French; the state of the militia; fears of continued hostilities; Spain's dissatisfaction with McGillivray's treatment of the Creek nation; references to Seneca Chief Cornplanter's complaint to the President regarding the murder of some friendly Indians; Henry Knox's sentiments that the U.S. should make clear its disapprobation of such acts and that ASC should inquire into the situation; and the speeches of The Pipe, Venango, and Cornplanter.

ALSO INCLUDED: ASC's report of the Governor of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson about proceedings in the Illinois country, Indians, public affairs, St. Clair County, and confirmation of land held by inhabitants on the Mississippi; personal business and land matters. (4 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (Box 3, FOLDER 8)

Correspondence: May 1 — June 30, 1791

Letters pertain mainly to: **INDIANS** — instructions for defense and attack; assessment of affairs; speeches delivered in council by Thomas Proctor on his mission to the Indians, including those of the Fish Carrier (chief of the Cayugas), of Farmer Brother (King of the Six Nations), of the Elders of the Women in General Council, and of Red Jacket; Proctor's replies and a report of the failure of his mission; and references to treatment of prisoners and the President's order for "humanity," provisions, recruitment, and Colonel Pickering's treaty.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal business, land matters, a detailed discussion by ASC concerning the act for speedy recovery of small debts, his opinion on legal matters concerning military servants, his request for opinions from judges, and reference to the mails. (20 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (Box 4, FOLDER 1)

Correspondence: July 5-31, 1791

Letters deal mainly with: **MILITARY CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE INDIANS** — instructions, provisions, expenses, martial law, the Kentucky campaign, and mention of Thomas Rhea's report that Britain was aiding the Indians; and **GOVERNMENT/ROUTINE BUSINESS** — answers to ASC's questions concerning prisoners, land purchases, and resignation of a judge; and **KNOX COUNTY** — a statement of problems concerning vacancies, lack of laws, slavery prior to the 1787 Ordinance, and settlement of estates.

ALSO INCLUDED: ASC's sentiment that private concerns weren't to be protected at public expense, a complaint against Lieutenant Schuyler at Fort Knox, and reference to a guard at Big Bone Lick. (9 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (Box 4, FOLDER 2)

Correspondence: August 4-31, 1791

Letters pertain mainly to: **INDIANS** — the President's feelings, concern with transportation of provisions, uneasiness over the dismissal of a Big Bone Lick U.S. guard since the salt works were in operation and the Indians were hostile, a speech stating that ASC would consider applications for exchanges of prisoners or peace and that the U.S. would make war if necessary, instructions from ASC urging that Indians be well treated and not be fired upon if carrying a white flag, expeditions, and volunteers.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal business; Judge Turner's answers to ASC's questions regarding criminals and legal matters; and references to prisoners and habeas corpus. (10 outgoing)

ROLL 3 (Box 4, FOLDER 3)

Correspondence: September 3 — December 23, 1791

Letters deal primarily with: **MILITARY CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE INDIANS** — transportation and account of supplies; deserters; expeditions and military instructions, including a circular on the authority to call up county lieutenants for the necessary militia; and mention of the inquiry into Josiah Harmar's conduct against the Indians; and **ASC'S EXPEDITION OF NOVEMBER, 1791** — its failure, the responses of William Darke and the War Department, ASC's analysis of reasons including his own illness and green troops which were outnumbered and inadequately armed, and his contention that he neglected nothing.

ALSO INCLUDED: surveying and personal business. (14 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (Box 4, FOLDER 4)

Correspondence: January 1 — February 24, 1792

Letters pertain mainly to: **INDIANS** — provisions; military disposition; misunderstandings in communication; William Darke's denial of the receipt of ASC's orders; and mention of a spy's report on streams, game, and the Indian custom of painting saplings to indicate victory; **ASC'S EXPEDITION OF 1791** — "misrepresentations" which appeared in Dunlap's paper; and **GENERAL RICHARD BUTLER** — letters concerning a letter signed "AB" and addressed to ASC which appeared in a paper and charged that ASC injured the memory and reputation of General Richard Butler in letters to the secretary of war, and ASC's defense.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal business and legal matters. (3 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (Box 4, FOLDER 5)

Correspondence: March 3 — December 5, 1792

Letters pertain mainly to: **ASC'S EXPEDITION OF 1791** — an investigative committee appointed March 27 by the House of Representatives; and correspondence from ASC to the President thanking him for the appointment to command the U.S. Army during the campaign, stating that though it failed he did everything in his power to succeed, revealing his hope to resign unless the inquiry should turn against him in which case he'd submit to censure, and his wish to remain in office in order to be subject to court-martial; and finally, his formal resignation as major general; and to a lesser degree with **INDIANS** — relations with Kentucky, salaries, expenses, and a complaint that information was withheld from WS and ASC.

ALSO INCLUDED: further response from ASC to Edmund Butler attesting to the friendship between ASC and Richard Butler and stating that Butler did indeed receive the orders in question, a letter in French regarding land surveys, and mention of Ensign Morgan's arrest. (8 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (Box 4, FOLDER 6)

Correspondence: January 18 — December 5, 1793

Letters pertain mainly to: **MILITARY MATTERS** — formation of a company, the Morgan court-martial and ASC's request for its remission, troops raised in Kentucky, and a proclamation requiring Illinois inhabitants to remain neutral; **INDIANS** — ASC's complaint that he had no information on the Indians, his sentiments on the desirability of an end to the Indian war, and mention of a proclamation to Muskingum and upper Northwest Territory hoping to prevent incursions on inhabitants; **FOREIGN RELATIONS** — the Spanish militia, the arrival of artillery from Orleans, rumors of war with Spain and ASC's hope to avoid involvement with any of the European powers since a war with one meant a war with others, uneasiness in the Atlantic States over the French minister's machinations and propositions to raise men in Kentucky to attack Spanish settlements in Louisiana, and the moves of Spain across the Mississippi; and **JUDICIAL**

MATTERS — examples cited by WS where Judge Symmes and others were lax in their official duties, claims of corruption in Hamilton County, a meeting of court of common pleas justices, and ASC's continued support for the creation of the office of attorney general.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal business and a reference to ASC's philosophy that in all cases, all is for the best and fretting never does any good. (14 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (BOX 4, FOLDER 7)

Correspondence: May 14 — December 23, 1794

Letters pertain mainly to: **INDIANS** — a drinking incident near Fort Washington, hostilities, WS's urging that hostile feelings against the Indians be checked or war would continue, the Cincinnati riot on September 8-9 between whites and Choctaw Indians, and a claim that Abner Prior impersonated an Indian agent and possibly interfered with the superintendent of Indian affairs; and to a lesser degree with **SLAVERY** — that persons employed by Henry Vanderburgh seized two free Negroes as slaves, ASC's opinion on the applicability of a declaration of no slavery or involuntary servitude, and the establishment of slavery in Virginia while under French rule.

ALSO INCLUDED: routine government business — county division, finances, and Governor Mifflin's possible resignation; and reference to ASC's 1791 expedition. (9 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (BOX 4, FOLDER 8)

Correspondence: January 1 — December 20, 1795

Letters pertain to: **JUDICIAL MATTERS** — complaints against judges particularly Judge George Turner and ASC's statement that general court could sit wherever judges deemed proper in the county but that the Supreme Court sessions had no relation to county records, that Turner had no right to meddle in Indian affairs and that the governor had the prerogative to appoint officers and designate meeting places of courts; **OHIO'S SEAT OF GOVERNMENT** — retaining Marietta until the end of the Indian war when territorial division would take place, problems with lack of roads, and feelings that both executive and legislative branches should remain ambulatory; **FOREIGN AFFAIRS** — conference between ASC and Manuel Gayoso de Lemos (U.S. and Spain) regarding mutual benefits for trade and politics; **INDIANS** — General Wayne, treaty, and obstructions to peace; **ASC'S DISSATISFACTIONS** — his discouragement about his treatment by U.S. departments, that he had not been notified of Indians affairs, that negotiations conducted by ASC at high personal cost were never reimbursed, that there was no official notice of treaty and no provision to pay for new duties; and the **NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT/QUESTION OF WHETHER U.S. LAWS APPLIED TO THE TERRITORIES** — detailed arguments on the subject including the attorney general's affirmative response and ASC's negative response.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal and land business; correspondence to George Washington; and mention of Christopher Cunningham's conduct, and the Massey Affair. (17 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (BOX 5, FOLDER 1)

Correspondence: January 9 — December 1, 1796

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — mention of the Potawatomis, Kickapoos, an incident where peaceful Indians were killed, whites who were unaware that hostilities had ceased, ASC's suggestion that a heavy fine be levied for murdering an Indian, land possessions, and effects of the Greene Ville Treaty; **LAND** — surveying, land possessions in Illinois, patents, problems regarding French and Indian claims, donations to heads of families, and mention of ads for land sales; **FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS** — encroachments of Spaniards below the Ohio River; a report that certain French and Irish people were employed to encourage people in the Western Country to secede from the Union and form separate connections with foreign powers; and a letter in French concerning Europe, which was on the verge of revolution, and the American Revolution; **GOVERNMENT/ROUTINE BUSINESS** — establishing the seat of government and accessibility of the public seal; and **THE CLASH BETWEEN ASC AND WS** — their simultaneous official acts, and ASC's feeling that there are few transactions in public or private life that aren't seen by different people in different ways.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal business; references to slavery — mention of a petition to be sent to ASC asking that a law be enacted admitting importation of slaves from any state where it was then allowed, and prescribing a time limit for freeing children of slaves brought into the Northwest Territory; and mention of people ruined by change of government, depredation of the Wabash regiment, and inundation by the Mississippi. (9 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (BOX 5, FOLDER 2)

Correspondence: January 9 — November 30, 1797

Letters pertain mainly to: **INDIANS** — a complaint from Gano and Stanley that Indians were trying to obtain things to which they were not entitled, surveying of lands granted by Congress to Society of United Brethren in order to propagate the Gospel among the heathen and Christianize the Indians, the Treaty of Greene Ville, and guidelines restricting settlement within reservations; **FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS** — France's refusal to receive a U.S. envoy until the U.S. "redres" certain grievances; and mention of C. Pinckney, that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson harmonize, and that the Emperor of Russia acknowledged the Republic of France; **LEGAL MATTERS** — the office of attorney general, and the issue of whether U.S. laws extend to the Territory; and **THE CLASH BETWEEN ASC AND WS** — their simultaneous official acts.

ALSO INCLUDED: personal business. (2 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (BOX 5, FOLDER 3)

Correspondence: January 4 — December 22, 1798

Letters deal primarily with: **INDIANS** — regulations for the new deputy superintendent and Indian interpreter of the Northwest Territory; and mention of the 1706 Treaty of Hop[e]well and land allotted to the Chickasaws; the work of the Church of the United Brethren with nine Christian Indian families who survived the Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhutten, and Salem massacres; the fact that the U.S. didn't maintain lands and that Indians were going to push out unauthorized persons; **GOVERNMENT/ROUTINE BUSINESS** — the Hamilton County committee to secure representatives in Congress, voting rights in Hamilton County, controversy over the Adams County seat location, and inadequacies in the court system; **ASC** — nomination for governor of the Northwest Territory for the third year and opposition to same, and the controversy between ASC and WS over a certificate for a share in the Ohio Company; **PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS** — report that I. Israel, a Jew, might be barred from the Pennsylvania Senate because many Irish who voted for him neglected to take an oath of allegiance; the state's potential role in politics; political division; hopes of regaining influence in the Union; Westmoreland County politics; the Federalists, anti-Federalists, and Jacobins; and **FOREIGN RELATIONS** — France's refusal to receive U.S. ministers, General Marshall's return from France having lost all hopes of accommodation, and passage of a bill to cut off relations with France.

ALSO MENTIONED: influx to U.S. lands, censuses, the "present national crisis," and division of the Northwest Territory and its importance to the U.S. (9 outgoing)

ROLL 4 (BOX 5, FOLDER 4)

Correspondence: January 9 — December 23, 1799

Letters pertain to: **INDIANS** — agitation among tribes, survey of land set by Wayne's treaty, ASC as ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, the desire of some Shawanees and Delawares to have a road excluding whites from their hunting grounds, the President's reply to Little Turtle's speech, the Potawatomes, Secretary of War James McHenry's regret for white attacks and failure of juries to take action, the Treaty of Greene Ville, transportation of goods to the Indians, problems of selling liquor, and increased alarm on both sides; **FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS** — report of the peaceful character of the Spaniards which offered no opportunity for a clash, and ASC's support of a petition to Congress by the Spanish minister requesting a grant of 4,000 acres between Illinois and Cahokia as indemnity for those sold him by the Scioto Company in 1790 but never transferred; and **LEGAL MATTERS** — nominations for the legislative council according to the Ordinance of 1787, a judge's resignation, detailed complaints against Judge Symmes, and the issue of whether U.S. laws extended to the Territory.

ALSO INCLUDED: land business, detailed information on the township reserved from land granted to Judge Symmes for an academy, two letters in French, election results including William Henry Harrison's election as territorial representative to Congress; and mention of the market situation. (23 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (BOX 5, FOLDER 5)

Correspondence: January 16 — July 28, 1800

Letters pertain mainly to: **NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL DIVISION** — a request from the people of Vincennes that the Territory be divided in order to return Illinois to a particular kind of government, and ASC's support of a three-part division because the Territory was too large for one unit and division into two units

would ruin Cincinnati; **INDIANS** — rations and provisions, restraint of Indian traders from following Indians to their hunting camps, defeat of Chief Pacan by the Potawatomes, differences among tribes, the Hurons and ASC's support of fulfilling the provisions in the Greene Ville Treaty, and ASC's written speech to the chiefs of the nations assembled at Fort Wayne concerning the arrival of goods; and to a lesser degree to **FOREIGN AFFAIRS** — petition from the Spanish minister, and mention of Napoleon and Cromwell; and **ASC** — accusations against him regarding his conduct and abuses designed to injure his reputation and prevent his reappointment as governor.

ALSO MENTIONED: an incident involving Negroes and actions expected to be taken by ASC. (13 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 5, FOLDER 6)

Correspondence: August 3 — December 24, 1800

Letters pertain to: **INDIANS** — incidents; provisions; and reports that the British were stirring up Indians mainly against Spain but also to disturb U.S. settlements, that there were some Indians living in the U.S. whom the Spanish governor expected to be restrained according to treaty, and that without orders from the Canadian governor there was no way to prevent the British actions; **THE 1800 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION** — reports that Aaron Burr might become head of the government if he and Thomas Jefferson tied, and results in doubt both in Washington and the Territory; **NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL DIVISION** — congressional act dividing the Territory into two districts each with a new government while preserving the existing legislature and executive department, designating the location for the first session only; and **ASC'S REPUTATION AND OFFICE** — report that his successor was offered his position by the President, later report that attempts by ASC's enemies made no impression on the President, and finally ASC's nomination for reappointment.

ALSO INCLUDED: land business; references to taxes, sickness, the Connecticut Reserve, and new Indiana Governor William Henry Harrison whose ignorance of the French language was a handicap; and mention of an attempt to seize British deserters, and that the U.S. was at peace with France. (6 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 5, FOLDER 7)

Correspondence: January 1 — December 31, 1801

Letters pertain mainly to: **ASC** — the question of his reappointment as governor, delay in action of the Senate committee, confirmation of the nomination, congratulatory messages, and charges against him; **FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS** — French convention, ASC on British violation of the Territory at Detroit, and the "delicate" matter of the indictment of a British sergeant; and **NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL DIVISION AND OHIO'S STATEHOOD** — Claiborne's move to create a U.S. judicial district, ASC's request to Congress for more judges as three were too few, a bill regarding state boundaries and ASC's opinion, the roles of Michael Baldwin and TW, and ASC's reasoning as to why the Territory was far from statehood.

ALSO INCLUDED: routine government business; and references to the presidential election and new Chief Justice John Marshall. (8 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 5, FOLDER 8)

Correspondence: January 11 — December 21, 1802

Letters pertain mainly to: **NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL DIVISION AND OHIO'S STATEHOOD** — the roles of TW, RJM, and Michael Baldwin; an act authorizing the Territory to form a constitution and convention to meet at Chillicothe to vote upon state government; and ASC's opposition to statehood; and to a lesser degree to **ASC** — his desire for James Ross to tell the President that ASC has only five enemies in the Territory: TW, ET, Nathaniel Massie, William Darlington, and Michael Baldwin; and **INDIANS** — effort by the President to carry out benevolent congressional views in order to promote peace.

ALSO INCLUDED: a letter to President Jefferson regarding ASC's conduct, instructions for reports from agents and sub-agents of factories; and mention of the Chillicothe Christmas riots. (11 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 5, FOLDER 9)

Correspondence: March 25 — December 15, 1803

Letters pertain mainly to: **NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT** — talk of a constitution, boundaries, elections, suits, acts, etc.; and **ASC** — request for speedy action on his petition to Congress, and outline and explanation of his claim for reimbursement of expenses incurred during the Revolution. (3 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 5, FOLDER 10)

Correspondence: February 15 — November 26, 1805

Letters pertain mainly to: **ASC'S FINANCIAL SITUATION** — his claim of being on the brink of financial disaster, his fear of congressional apathy toward his petition, and mention of his original purpose in advancing money to raise U.S. troops during the Revolution.

ALSO INCLUDED: a request for ASC's assistance in collecting materials on the history of the Indian wars in North America from 1750 to the Treaty of Greene Ville; and references to the bill for making provisions for debts of the U.S., the death of General Hamilton in the duel with Colonel Burr, and delays on turnpike work due to rain. (2 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 6, FOLDER 1)

Correspondence: January 17, 1806 — December 3, 1807

Letters pertain to: ASC's personal business, land sales, the poor economic conditions in Greensburgh, and congressional business including a reference to foreign interference with American shipping. (4 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 6, FOLDER 2)

Correspondence: January 5, 1808 — December 27, 1809

Letters pertain mainly to: **ASC'S FINANCIAL SITUATION** — his petition before Congress and the sale of Hermitage Furnace. (5 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 6, FOLDER 3)

Correspondence: January 8, 1810 — July 21, 1811

Letters pertain mainly to: **ASC'S FINANCIAL SITUATION** — attempts to get Congress to act on his memorial and petition; and references to a memorial regarding money expended in his Indian campaign in November of 1791, his application to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, his property, and the Furnace. (9 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 6, FOLDER 4)

Correspondence: February 24 — May 11, 1812

Letters pertain to ASC's personal business and to land claims for Dayton and vicinity. (3 outgoing)

ROLL 5 (Box 6, FOLDER 5)

Correspondence: January 26, 1813 — April 9, 1814

Letters pertain mainly to: **ASC'S FINANCIAL SITUATION** — his appeal to the legislature for compensation for his services during the early settlement of western Pennsylvania, and a bill awaiting the governor's signature granting \$200 immediately and \$200 to be paid semi-annually for the rest of ASC's life; and **FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS** — Arthur St. Clair, Jr.'s, comments on Napoleon's repulse from Russia; William Henry Harrison's expedition at the Rapids; and anticipation of lifting the embargo and suspending parts of the Non-Intercourse Act. (3 outgoing)

ROLL 6 (Box 6, FOLDER 6)

Correspondence: May 3, 1815 — August 31, 1818

Letters pertain to: **POLITICS** — comments on President James Monroe's inauguration, his "fair but insincere" speech, and his cabinet members, particularly John Quincy Adams who was appointed to "conciliate" the East and had no influence with Federalists or Democrats, and also on the state of Congress; and **ASC** — financial and property matters, and requests to obtain material from ASC for books about distinguished historical figures and neglected patriots.

ALSO MENTIONED: an influenza epidemic; and the death of Fulton, the mismanagement of persons he employed to build the Buffalo steamboat at Pittsburgh, the abandonment of the company, and demands for repayment of stock with interest. (no outgoing)

ROLL 6 (Box 6, FOLDER 7)

Acts, Laws, and Resolutions: 1785 — December, 1799

Folder includes: a protest against a resolution denying benefits to revolutionary army officers who had been taken prisoner; a draft of a U.S. Continental Congress resolution requested by Pennsylvania delegate ASC that Virginia and Georgia present complaints to Congress and refrain from hostilities against Indians, and that a proclamation be issued prohibiting individual U.S. citizens from performing hostile acts against Indian tribes having peace treaties with the U.S.; resolution on expenses for treaties; an act establishing courts of the quarter session of the peace and inferior courts of common pleas; resolution regarding the term of superintendent of Indian affairs; extract of an act to adapt to the Constitution resolutions for raising troops; resolutions from a special meeting of Ohio Company agents and proprietors concerning army and Indian hostilities; resolution by the Kentucky legislature concerning the Alien and Sedition Laws; and a list of acts approved by ASC which originated in the House of Representatives during the 1799 session.

ROLL 6 (Box 6, FOLDER 8)

Addresses: February 4, 1779 — November 3, 1802

Folder includes ASC's addresses: to the "Gentlemen of the House of Assembly" [February 4, 1779]; regarding the origins of the American army, compensation for officers and prisoners, etc. [1785]; regarding jurisdiction of single magistrates, juries, warrants, etc. [June 8, 1791]; to the "Gentlemen of the Council and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives" in order to end the legislative session, and regarding his response to several acts, December 19, 1799; (draft of a presentment) to be submitted to the grand jury of Hamilton at the November term regarding persons supposedly moved by ambition and personal interest to stir public sentiment in favor of Ohio statehood, and reasons against such a move [1801]; to "Fellow Citizens" regarding election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, societies trying to influence voters, and [Joseph] Kerr's actions [September, 1802]; and to "Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention" regarding Ohio's government and constitution, November 3, 1802.

ROLL 6 (Box 6, FOLDER 9)

Articles of Agreement: March 30, 1792 — December 12, 1817

Agreements pertain to: land, rent, an ore tract, a lime kiln, a boarding house, a coal bank, etc.; and include several ASC agreements.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 1)

Bill of Complaint and Answer [October 15, 1811]

Folder includes: a bill of complaint to "The Honorable Judges of the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio in chancery sitting within and for the country of Montgomery" of the defendant in *Arthur St. Clair v. Daniel C. Cooper* — a detailed account of the ownership and claims to ownership of a tract of land granted to John Cleves Symmes, October 15, 1788. Also included is an answer to the bill of complaint.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 2)

Bonds: January 9, 1772 — February 2, 1816

Folder includes several ASC bonds to various people.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 3)

Charges Against ASC: February 20, 1802

Folder includes: TW's "Charges exhibited to the President of the United States Against Arthur St. Clair Esquire as Governor of the Territory of the United States North West of the River Ohio" (photostatic copy), a paper titled "Explanation of and references to documents in support of the foregoing charges," and a fragment with some charges against ASC.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 4)

Council of Censors and Constitutional Convention Materials: [1784] (fragments, many incomplete)

Folder includes: an address of the Council of Censors to the Freemen of Pennsylvania calling for a convention to revise the Constitution of 1776; and what appear to be numerous notes probably utilized in the deliberations of the Council of Censors — notes for suggested revision of the Constitution in such

areas as representatives, execution of laws, executive council, elections, publication of laws, proposals and bills, powers of the governor and council, and impeachment.

ALSO INCLUDED: what appear to be part of a speech or debate and prerogatives to the executive and legislative branches regarding a committee to inquire into the manner of dispensing public monies and whether or not laws were duly executed, the committee's findings that many laws were unequally executed, lists and remarks, and references to a committee to inquire into the conduct of the legislature and Pennsylvania government expenses.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 5)

Deeds: May 3, 1773 — March 6, 1809

Folder includes: quitclaim deed, mortgage deeds, and warranty and land deeds.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 6)

Depositions: July 13, 1791 — October 16, 1815

Depositions pertain to: an incident involving a major, his employees, the Choctaws and the Chickasaws; Judge John Symmes' land grant; evidence in the proceedings of the commission of inquiry to examine a complaint by Elias Langham; ASC as governor of the Northwest Territory and, therefore, superintendent of land sales at Marietta; and the authenticity of James Holland's, Israel Ludlow's, and ASC's handwriting on certain documents.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 7)

ASC's Expedition of 1791 — General Orders and Plans: [March, 1791] — October 31, 1791

Folder includes: a partial discussion of plans for the campaign against the Indians and daily general orders for the campaign from June 16 through October 31, 1791.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 8)

ASC's Expedition of 1791 — Excerpts From His Diary: November 9-20 and 23-27, 1791

Excerpts include references to the Muskingum, General Knox, Thomas Jefferson, William Darke, the Choctaws, General Wilkinson, provisions, troops, etc.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 9)

ASC's Expedition of 1791 — Testimonies: April [1-2]-18, 1792

Folder includes: several pages of testimonies taken during the investigation of ASC's expedition — questions asked by, of, about, or answered by: Messrs. Giles, Clark, Vineing, and Fitzsimmons; Captains Ford, Doyle, Slough, Snowden, and Trueman; General Butler; Colonel Dark; Doctors Jackson and William Nichols; Majors Malartie, Ashton, and Gaither; Ensign Morgan; and ASC.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 10)

ASC's Expedition of 1791 — Observations: February 5, 1793

Folder includes: pages 1-34, and 44-64, of ASC's handwritten observations on the testimonies of the Secretary of War and of the quartermaster general concerning the failure of the 1791 expedition. Observations and remarks maintain that the failure was not brought on by ASC and that he did everything possible to insure a successful campaign.

ROLL 6 (Box 7, FOLDER 11)

ASC's Expedition of 1791 — Separate Sheets and Miscellaneous Pages of Observations: February 5 and 6, 1793

Folder includes: additional observations written by ASC on testimonies given concerning the failure of the 1791 expedition. Pages include those marked "Separate" and numbered 3 to 14, as well as fifteen other pages.

ROLL 6 (BOX 7, FOLDER 12)

ASC's Expedition of 1791 — Narrative (Fragments): 1812

Folder includes: fragments of an introduction and narrative about ASC's 1791 expedition against the Indians, which was apparently later published.

ROLL 6 (BOX 7, FOLDER 13)

ASC's Expedition of 1791 — Proposals for Publishing the Narrative: August 13-29, 1812

Folder includes: an account for the printing, and thirteen "Proposals For Publishing By Subscription A Narrative of the Manner in Which the Campaign Against the Indians in the Year 1791, Under the Command of Major General St. Clair, was Conducted." Under the headings of each proposal are signed subscribers' names, places of residence, and the number of copies desired.

ROLL 6 (BOX 8, FOLDER 1)

Financial Records — Accounts: February 12, 1766 — August 18, 1817

Folder includes: accounts of estate, land, the Department of Indian Affairs, and wages of employees of Superintendent of Indian Affairs ASC, accounts against the U.S., and several ASC accounts of purchases and regimental expenses apparently incurred between April and August of 1776.

ROLL 6 (BOX 8, FOLDER 2)

Financial Records — Bills, Inventories, Invoices, and Orders: February 18, 1776 — June, 1808, and undated

Folder includes: itemized bills, accounts for supplies and money, abstracts of provisions issued, etc.

ROLL 7 (BOX 8, FOLDER 3)

Financial Records — Receipts: January 21, 1776 — October 26, 1804, and undated

Folder includes: receipts for services, goods, drafts, bills, and postage.

ROLL 7 (BOX 8, FOLDER 4)

Hermitage Furnace Material: [c. 1795] — March, 1810

Folder includes: notes on possibilities of profit, balances due for work done, pages from a memorandum book regarding agreements for labor in construction and operation, accounts, receipts, and property sales.

ROLL 7 (BOX 8, FOLDER 5)

Indian Material [August 21, 1783] — October 8, 1794

Folder includes: a paper regarding Indian land boundaries, notes on information received by messengers to the Indians, a resolution in Council based on ASC's assessment of the Indian situation which called for troops to be in constant readiness, a case regarding grants given by the Indians at the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix and the subsequent history of these, a statement regarding the Cherokees and Chickasaws, "Memorandum of the Testimony given to the Grand Inquest at a Special Court of Sessions Sept'r 1794," statements regarding orders and action taken, questions and answers regarding an alleged assault on some Indians, and a memo on traders.

ROLL 7 (BOX 8, FOLDER 6)

Land Records: [c. 1773] — November 15, 1790

Folder includes: a list of lands in Ligonier Valley, Pennsylvania; a petition to the President of Congress regarding Judge John Symmes' contract for land; notes on lands claimed by Kaskaskia residents; land claims at Cahokia in the Northwest Territory; land descriptions; abstract of lands which were the property of William Drury at St. Phillips; descriptions in French; a list with descriptions of lands in the Ohio Company's purchases drawn in ASC's name; ASC's handwritten translation in French of a proclamation of the governor(?) apparently regarding proprietorship; and a description of a Miami Company tract.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 7)

Land Records: July 19, 1791 — [c. 1815]

Folder includes or contains material pertaining to: a proclamation of the boundaries of Judge Symmes' purchase, information regarding the township reserved from the land grant to Judge Symmes, certificates of claims, land descriptions, indentures, a list of tracts formerly owned by ASC, a statement of dates of public sales of ASC's property, a schedule of ASC's real property, memoranda of conversations regarding claims, agreements, claims presented at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and donations of 400 acres to each head of a family in Illinois country.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 8)

Maps (surveys): April 3, 1769 — October 10, 1800

Maps include: lands near Mill Creek, April 3, 1769; land surveyed for John Campbell, Jr., May 31, 1769; land joining the Ligonier Town tract and surveyed for Daniel St. Clair, November 11, 1769; land surveyed for ASC, November 11, 1769; lands in dispute by James Davis and James Dun, September 6, 1770; map and table of lands for ASC, November 3, 1770; Widow Winn's land, March 26, 1796; and the rough draft of part of Hamilton County, October 10, 1800.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 9)

Military Records: February 9, 1776 — December 15, 1803

Folder includes: statements of a captain's company in the second Pennsylvania battalion; a translation of Toland's tract on the column and "inconvenient" tactics; remarks on a system of Major Galvan's sent to General Washington for ASC's consideration; remarks on a system of Baron de Steuben also sent for ASC's consideration by General Washington; fragment of the summary of March 20, 1780, act of the Pennsylvania legislature concerning penalties for neglecting to perform a tour of duty; the October 24, 1781, minutes from the Board of General Officers assembled at ASC's headquarters regarding the protection of the flag, Cornwallis, and York; draft of a report of the board of officers on North Carolina Governor Burke's escape from James Island; a captain's account and payment received; payrolls; return of ASC's battalion; statement regarding manner of payment of Pennsylvania's Second Regiment; a roster; a pay estimate; a provision for return of troops at Fort Washington; a list of officers appointed; and an extract from orders.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 10)

Minutes and Proceedings: February 19, 1784 — December 12, 1798

Folder includes: an extract from the Pennsylvania General Assembly minutes recording ASC's election as auctioneer for Philadelphia, proceedings in the Virginia Council regarding the union of the frontier militia with federal troops, proceedings of a special session of court in the case of *U.S. v. Elias Wallan*, extract of minutes of the committee regarding territorial boundaries and including names of committee members, extract of records of a special court of the quarter sessions of the peace held at Detroit, extract from minutes of the Adams County court of common pleas, and proceedings at Fort Washington of the court-martial trial of Major Hamtramck by order of ASC.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 11)

Observations of ASC on probate law as presented by Judges Parsons and Varnum in four parts and regarding the establishment of probate offices, a court, etc.: July 30 — August 7, 1788

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 12)

ASC's Personal Papers: May 12, 1778 — February 20, 1818

Folder includes: a notice signed by ASC stating that the United States are free, independent, sovereign states owing no allegiance to George III; his memorial to the Board of War concerning Benedict Arnold and ASC's claim of rank over Arnold; ASC's oath to support the U.S. Constitution and his oath of office as governor of the Northwest Territory; his petition regarding his position as auctioneer for Philadelphia and money he paid to the comptroller general; an act for his relief and revision of the settlement of his accounts as public auctioneer; an appeal to the judgment against him in *Wendel Guyer v. ASC*; a statement of his claim to a tract in Pennsylvania by right of preemption; and a resolution directing the secretary of the Department of War to place him on the pension list.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 13)

ASC's Petitions to Congress for Financial Reimbursement: February, 1789 — January 30, 1818

Folder includes: memoranda of expenses incurred in dealing with Indian tribes from February, 1789, to November 1, 1791; two claims against the U.S.; three slightly varying copies of a report on the petition for reimbursement of money expended by ASC for Major William Butler and the U.S. recruiting service during the Revolutionary War; two slightly differing copies of outlines of ASC's claims and of explanations of circumstances that might work against those claims; a fragment of the draft of a petition; a draft of the memorial presented to the U.S. Senate for reconsideration of his petition with details and further elaboration of facts on his personal financial desperation; and fragments regarding his feelings about the country which refused to pay him and his humiliation due to his reduced circumstances.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 14)

ASC's "Remarks and observations on the Report of the Committee of the Senate on the claim of General St. Clair": March 1, 1809

Folder includes three copies of the remarks plus additional sheets marked as partial drafts or remarks to Timothy Pickering. The claim refers to ASC's request for financial reimbursement and assistance.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 15)

Commercial Treaty Material: May 11 — August, 1786

Folder pertains to a U.S. commercial treaty with both Spain and Portugal; and includes notes, memos, deliberations, and speech fragments on the subject as debated in the Continental Congress.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 16)

"A Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and the Tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chipewas, Putawatimies, Miamis, Eul River Weeds, & Kickapoas": August 3, 1795 (incomplete)

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 17)

Miscellaneous Material: [c. 1757] — December, 1794

Folder includes: a family history memo (not St. Clair), a summons by George III of Great Britain, memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts Bay regarding action of a general court, memo and deficiencies in several counties' tax payments, papers regarding a law for opening land offices, a bill of sale for two Negro slaves, form for commission of a justice and a clerk of the peace, prescription recommended for gout, and notes on Kaskaskia affairs.

ROLL 7 (Box 8, FOLDER 18)

Miscellaneous Material: May 22, 1795 — July 22, 1811, and undated

Folder includes: an extradition paper; notes on laws under discussion in the legislature dealing with courts and legal procedures; a power of attorney; a printed circular to counties in the eastern district of the Northwest Territory regarding representation in Congress; an affidavit; an advertisement; a report of appraisers; words of an anthem to the tune of "God Save the King"; ASC's memorial regarding inhabitants of countries desiring the establishment of separate countries; a printed sketch of the Washington National Monument signed by John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, James K. Polk, and G. Dahal; and documents regarding delegates to the Constitutional Convention and *Journals of the Continental Congress*.

ROLL 8 (Box 8, FOLDER 19)

Posthumous Estate and Biographical Correspondence: September 13, 1818 — April 12, 1882, and undated

Letters deal mainly with the deaths of ASC and his wife, Phoebe; personal business and family matters — crops, land debts, claims; and appropriations for, and care of, the ASC papers and statements of value, mentioning future publication and the Ohio State Library.

ROLL 8 (Box 8, FOLDER 20)

Posthumous Estate Papers: November 4, 1818 — November, 1830

Folder includes or contains material pertaining to: claims against ASC's estate for sums loaned at various times, letters of administration for estate, conditions of the vendue of the personal effects of ASC, a list of articles sold, and memoranda of papers selected from the ASC papers.

ROLL 8 (Box 8, FOLDER 21)

Posthumous Biographical Material: November 7, 1818, and undated

Folder includes: a newspaper article from the *National Intelligencer* titled "Life of General St. Clair," and the deposition of William J. Torrence and John Doty as witnesses to the death of ASC at his home on Chestnut Ridge in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.

ROLL 8 (Box 8, FOLDER 22)

Posthumous Family Papers: July 24, 1820 — March 30, 1869, and undated

Folder includes: a newspaper clipping of the charge to the grand jury by R. St. Clair Graham, a letter from R. St. Clair Graham to A. T. Goodman, a warranty deed, and an agreement between Louisa Robb and George Matthews to lease a plantation.

ROLL 8 (Box 8, FOLDER 23)

Posthumous Other: Undated

Folder includes: a newspaper clipping entitled "The Baughn Murder Trial," and a photostatic copy of "The Will of Arthur Cook (First Chief Justice, Province of Pennsylvania — 1680-84) Book A, Page 219, number 219, office Register of Wills, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania."

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