

# THE FILSON CLUB HISTORY QUARTERLY

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Vol. 12

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, OCTOBER, 1938

No. 4

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## JOHN FILSON'S NARRATIVE OF HIS DEFEAT ON THE WABASH, 1786

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In 1786 John Filson wrote an account of how he attempted to go by water from Vincennes to Louisville, but was obliged to finish the trip by land. The account of that trip is his Narrative of his Defeat on the Wabash in 1786.

How Filson got to Vincennes—Post St. Vincent, as it was then called—is told in the second of his "Two Westward Journeys of 1785." He arrived "about Christmas" and remained in the Wabash country until June of 1786. During these five months conditions in the West, and particularly at Vincennes, were rapidly moving toward a crisis. The Indians of the region above the Ohio, bitterly resentful of American encroachment on their lands, were showing signs of an organized resistance with perhaps an alliance with the powerful Six Nations. The situation was full of peril, not only for scattered "squatters" or "first settlers," as they preferred to be called, in the Northwest, but also for the settlements below the Ohio. In Kentucky, George Rogers Clark was organizing the militia from the Licking to the Falls. Colonel Josiah Harmar with nine companies of the Continental line was stationed at the mouth of the Muskingum and Captain Walter Finney was stationed at the mouth of the Great Miami with two companies. Finney was shortly, in August, to evacuate this position and remove to the Falls.

On March 16, 1786, John Filson joined other leading Americans at Vincennes in an appeal to Clark to march again to the Wabash and relieve the inhabitants. (Draper MSS., 53J23.) On June 1, Filson conferred with the American families and composed in their behalf a petition to Congress setting forth that they

were exposed "daily to danger and frequent death" and stood in sore need of military protection and a regular government. (Draper MSS., 53J31.)

That night, so begins his Narrative, Filson embarked for the Falls in a canoe manned by three men, two of whom had "taken too freely of the noxious Juices." Next morning, near the mouth of White River, he heard an "infernal yell" and was set upon by Indians who killed two of his crew. John Filson, now a thoroughly scared and philosophic historian, fled back to the Post. This was his Defeat on the Wabash.

He spent ten days at the Post recuperating from his harrowing experiences, varied by "some sportive exercises to prevent a malady." Departing the Post again "in the night of the twelfth of June" he proceeded to the Falls by land and after "seven painful days" arrived safely and related his melancholy tale.

This was his last "voyage" so far to the westward. In the autumn of 1786, filled with a longing to revisit the scenes of his youth, he mounted his horse and backtrailed over the eight hundred miles of Wilderness Road and Valley of Virginia to the banks of the Brandywine. Here he made his will, but the lure of "that important country," as he called Kentucky, was too much for him. By the spring of 1787 he had again taken the wilderness trail to the new-found paradise of "old Kaintuck." In the autumn of 1788 he met his final "defeat," on the Great Miami, probably the victim of an Indian bullet, arrow, or the "terrible right hand to lodge me in the land of silence." Reuben T. Durrett in his book, *John Filson, His Life and Writings*, says no one ever knew how or when the end came. Somewhere near where Cincinnati now stands, he fell, he vanished, but no traces of his body were ever found.

The Narrative here given, which Lyman C. Draper called "a very plain, bald affair," is Filson's account of the events of June and July, 1786. Although composed in melodramatic style and highly colored by the imagination of the man who created the legend of "Col. Daniel Boon," it is, nevertheless, an interesting and important source. Internal evidence indicates that it was written after his return to Louisville, June 19, and before Clark started on his expedition, September 17.

Colonel Durrett in his *John Filson* published this Narrative in part. His transcription represents a little more than one-

half of the original, he having omitted about 200 words at the beginning and about 1,000 words at the end. A careful comparison of Colonel Durrett's presentation with The Filson Club's photostat copy of the original shows that Colonel Durrett omitted a few of Filson's footnotes. It is published here exactly as Filson wrote it, the only exceptions being that Filson's footnotes are incorporated in the text in double parentheses to avoid confusing them with the editor's, and the paragraphing has been changed. Otherwise it stands, charged with human interest, plainly and baldly, as written:

JOHN FILSON'S NARRATIVE OF HIS DEFEAT ON THE  
WABASH, 1786

[Draper Manuscripts, 10CCc—22 pages]

In the night of the first of June 1786 left Post St. Vincent, in a pirogue with three men; the night was gloomy, Clouds and double darkness viel'd the skies, the descending moisture appeared to mourn our approaching fate. Two of my men were much disposed to sleep, having taken too freely of the noxious Juices; nor was it in my power to awake them, either to a sense of their duty or their danger. Their unhapy stupor silenced the oars, anxiety added diligence to mine. I toiled incessantly during the night, with one of my men, who was sober, and sensible of our situation; but ere we advanced within two leagues of the place where adversity assailed us (near the mouth of White river we were apprehensive of danger; it is 12 leagues below the Post) the unwelcomed day began to dawn. I blamed my men for their conduct, attributing our tardy sailing to their stupidity; endeavoring to convince them that danger might probably be at hand. Being desirous of refreshment, we floating with the stream, not thinking it safe to go to land, had scarcely time to finish our repast, when lo we espied some canoes fastened to shore, and a large wigwam ((An indian cabbin made of small poles and bark)) near, under the spreading foliage of the trees.

I told my men there was Indians and immediately about fifteen guns were fired at us, accompanied with that infernal yell, which ever carries the idea of terror with the sound ((the scalp hollow)). Being too far distant from shore to receive much damage, though several bullets lodged in our boat, we steered across the river, but was immediately pursued by a pirogue, crowded with savages, firing upon us, and yelling ((the war

whoop)) to discourage flight; My place being in the steerage, they directed their balls at me, numbers struck the boat, but although they came like hail, yet we gained the shore unhurt, my hat only received damages. It is impossible to paint the manner of our flight & the pursuit; no human warriors more violently pursues the unhappy objects of their rage, than savages. Our arms consisted of only two fuzees and one sword; the savages being advanced within fifty yards of shore, I directed my men to stand and fight them, they being advanced a few steps to flee, turned to me with a melancholy look, and saw cruel death approaching; self-preservation determined their answers for escape. I then told them with speediest flight to save themselves, if possible.

As I advanced to land took up two small trunks, containing some valuable articles; these I cast under the nettles, a little distance from shore, and entered the woods in a different direction from my men. like the unhappy mariner ready to sink with his vessel in the foaming surge, and used prayers and a vigorous flight for safety. the last hope of relief. These were not ineffectual; a wonderful deliverance indeed! Sure some guardian angel averted the impending danger. Who can reflect upon the circumstances without terror? the shore red with bloody savages, I may say just at my heels, who, that have not experienced such a situation can possibly conceive the distress? In flight I oft turned my eyes from behind some ancient friendly tree, to view some bloodthirsty savage, in full chase, with his terrible right hand, to lodge me in the land of silence. Sometimes I lay concealed in the thickest of cane ((a plant exceeding plenty in many parts of the Country)) and nettles ((wild nettles, grow tall, & much envenomed)) but immediately quitted the insecure covering, for to the sagacious savage my track must be obvious, as the herbage yielded to every step; and being wet did not recover their rectitude.

Concluding that a crafty flight was the only possible means to ensure safety, I used many turnings and windings by crossing my track and walking back and on logs and spaces clear of herbage. Wandering about two hours through the woods, I assayed to return to the spot where we were obliged to fly, and finding that the savages were gone over with their prize, I came near where I left my trunks, and seeing them safe, took them up, and departed, bending my course toward Post Vincent, which was

thirty miles distant on a N. E. course. two of my men had directed their course up White river, and about half a mile from Wabash was cruelly massacred: my third man had concealed himself under a large fallen tree, a little distance from the river, that was closely fenced on either side by nettles: there trembling and pale he saw the savages returning with the clothing and scalps of his companions.

Whether these bloodhounds concluded me out of reach, or passed my footsteps unobserved, or attended more to the plunder, is a mystery: but as we had some spirituous liquor on board, that probably might be the Lethe ((a river feigned by the poets, the water of forgetfulness)), in my favor. With hasty steps I left the dangerous place, bearing the trunks, the reliques of my property ((to the amount of 800 dollars in that country)). In passing a few miles up White river, I saw many late indian camps which induced me to cross it the first opportunity: and having found some drift wood, by fastening a few logs with bark, I formed a raft ((composed of logs and generally used in crossing rivers in uninhabited countries)), on which I comited my body to the full flowing stream: My trunks I had fastened on part of an old plank separately.

Having advanced a little distance from shore, my raft parted, and rendered my situation desperate; when I escaped the savages I thought the bitterness of death was past, but now concluded my time must be near a period. A gleam of hope was yet left, in this dilemma I fastened upon one of the logs, which being small, scarcely supported me from total immersion; with my left hand I held the little plank & with my right towed across the river ((about 400 yards wide)). Thus I escaped again and continued my course through the shadow of death; for although I met no savages, there was the greatest probability I should. The day began to decline, and heavy showers fell; the briers and thorns tore my cloaths, and my flesh experienced the most excruciating pain, from their repeated assaults, and the in-venomed nettles. Hunger now began to rage. I felt languid and my burthen increased with wet. Those lines in Homer came lively

“Oh friends a thousand ways frail mortals lead  
To the cold tomb, and dreadful all to tread;  
But dreadful most, when by a slow decay  
Pale hunger wastes the manly strength away.”

Late in the evening I advanced to the river Deshee ((a river on the east side of the Wabash, six leagues below the Post)) and, attempting to ford it, was near being drowned, but recovering the shore again I made a small raft and went over. being soon overtaken by night, the moon shone clear, I continued to travel by its light, though a disagreeable walk: at length worn down with fatigues, I sat down, and attempted to strike fire, but my powder being damp, it was impracticable. Miriads of misketoes surrounded me, humming their unwelcome tune to my distressed body, and though in a very uncomfortable state, and under the power of these tormentors, sunk into sleep, and awoke not until day appeared again; when rousing up I continued my course, and arrived about noon at the Grand Parery ((containing about 10,000 acres)); being then about six miles from town, it being visible.

Along this extensive tract, which is exceedingly level and fertile, where scarcely a tree or shrub is seen, but variegated with pastures, meadows, fields of corn, and other fruits; and not the smallest enclosure with a fence or hedge throughout. The different plantations were conspicuous, with numbers of the inhabitants cultivating the cornfields; had I beheld this in a day of prosperity, it must have afforded me pleasure; but all these laborious people were in dread of the savages, for if any imprudently fired a gun, with trembling hearts they all prepared for flight. The french labored without guards, being less the object of indian aversion than the Americans; who at this time could not turn up the earth with a plow, unless guarded by armed men. To one of these military occupants I first advanced, who scarcely believed their eyes, so greatly was my condition altered: such is the difference between prosperity and adversity. Here I met the warmest and most unfeigned sympathy, for in a land of suffering the unfortunate have that consolation. The humane people flocked around me to hear the melancholy tale, and gave me some wholesome provisions to refresh my emaciated spirits. Immediately quitting their tillage, conducted me to town in a carriage.

I took my lodging at the house of Colonel Small;<sup>1</sup> and after

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<sup>1</sup>John Small, generally regarded as the leader of the Americans at the Post, was born in Ireland about 1759, came to Pennsylvania in 1768 and removed to Vincennes after the Revolution. He settled about three miles from the village on the Grand Prairie, where he lived until his death in 1821. Draper MSS., 11J72. Filson's will dated November 21, 1786, bequeathed to his brother Robert "all the amount of my property in Post St. Vincent as will appear by a list of notes, deeds, etc in the hands of Col. John Small my attorney in said town of St. Vincent." Durrett, *John Filson, His Life and Writings*, page 69.

having related the consequences of my adventure to the alarmed inhabitants, I advised to send a party to destroy the robbers, and retake the property; which then was easily practicable; many professed a willingness to proceed, but the Major part maturely considering that it would weaken their number in town, the indians by taking advantage of their absence, might make themselves masters of their fort, and destroy the women & children; ((Two indians, at different times, was seen to examine the post)). it was therefore thought prudent to omit so interesting a design. Much distressed in body and mind, for some days, I was an object of pity; but recovering a little of the fatigue, was advised to use some sportive exercises to prevent a malady; the good effects of this I soon experienced; by which I am satisfied that a concise and diligent exercise of body and mind, is essential to overcome the bad consequences that often result from a capital misfortune.

Two principal causes moved me to expose myself at this time to danger on Wabash, one was the unhappy contentions existing between the French and American inhabitants of the Post,<sup>1</sup> on account of the unavoidable disputes daily multiplied between the latter and the savages; the former opposing every measure to which they were impelled by necessity to defend themselves from savage hostilities. So much influence has interesting commerce with mankind, that in effect it causes social and civilized beings to laugh at the calamity of others, though unjustly and barbarous the cause. secondly a desire to see my friends, and native soil—((Chester county in Pennsylvania)). Being now unhappily convinced that a passage by water was impossible, I determined to go by land, It was then thought impossible to leave the Post either by land or water, without imminent danger; the savages being insiduously ambuscaded round the parery. My friends earnestly desired me to stay, representing the danger consequent upon such an undertaking. I thanked them for their advice, adding that from the late interposition of heaven in my favor it was plain that I was not reserved for a severer fate, but some valuable purpose.

Being well refreshed in ten days, and finding a good hardy

<sup>1</sup>In "Two Westward Journeys of John Filson, 1785," edited by Beverley W. Bond, Jr., *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1923, the cause of this Franco-American animosity was discussed. The American squatters, being back-country Pennsylvanians and Virginians, were disposed to convert their corn into whisky and barter it to the Indians. The French magistrates had issued an order prohibiting this "baneful traffic," whereupon a great "spirit of jealousy and aspersions ensued."

woodsman intending the journey also, we agreed to leave the Post in the night of the twelfth of June. The moon shone with a agreeable lustre, and, accompanied a small distance by some of our most valuable friends, we directed our course for the falls of Ohio; and during the nocturnal hours traveled about fifteen miles: Although every step was disagreeable through brushy woods, and swampy grounds, yet safety from savages, afforded us some pleasure: next day rafted over White river, A. M., continuing our course one and a half point south of east; concluding ourselves out of the reach of the savages lurking around the Post.

The country lying between the Post and Louisville or Clarksville has a diversity of soil and timber and this being my second tour, suppose myself able to form a good judgment thereof; which for the information and satisfaction of my gentle reader for whose sake I write; have delineated my two journeys on my map of the country, which from my own and some others observation I rest assured, is the best that can be given at this day. The explanation thereof, with the plan annexed, points out the particulars referring thereto.\* I concluded the journey in seven painful days, and arrived safe at the falls of Ohio. ((Sailed in a barge to the Post from the falls of Ohio in July, 1785, which time I truly took the meanders of Ohio and Wabash with my compass, and returned through the woods with the indians for my guides, and having the prospect of a publication, made the best observations possible)).<sup>4</sup>

In the interim a number of boats were departing for the Post; being ignorant of the inevitable danger on Wabash; our intelligence called them back to the Post,<sup>5</sup> and excited a number of our Volunteers,<sup>6</sup> Who had for some time projected the plan ((Cap-

<sup>3</sup> Filson's language here seems to imply that he is making a map of the country between Vincennes and Louisville and annexing to it certain data. No such map, however, has been found. Possibly he is referring to his map of Kentucky published two years before. See Thruston, "Filson's History and Map of Kentucky," *THE FILSON CLUB HISTORY QUARTERLY*, January, 1934.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to his "Two Westward Journeys," edited by Bond.

<sup>5</sup> Filson arrived at Louisville, June 19, carrying his petition to Congress dated June 1, 1786, and a letter from John Small to Clark. This letter, dated June 12, stated that the Americans would be destroyed unless Clark sent aid. Draper MSS., 53J32.

<sup>6</sup> The Virginia Council on May 15 had authorized the field officers of the District to undertake a punitive expedition following the death of Colonel William Christian, Governor Henry's brother-in-law, who had been killed near Clarksville by Indians. This order seems not to have been dispatched at once; however, it did not reach the Kentucky officers until July 11. In the meantime, Clark was proceeding without orders from Richmond to organize an expedition of volunteers. See Helderman, "Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark," scheduled for early publication in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.



tain Patton of Louisville, and Captain Hardin of Severns Valley, were the gentlemen whose influence excited this expedition))<sup>7</sup> to expedite their march against the Wabash indians and save their countrymen, (late emigrants to the Post), from distress, and total destruction, which appeared more evident, by an express from thence a few days after my departure.<sup>8</sup> As it is indisputable, I mention the particulars. That every day the inhabitants experienced some recent mischief, & was obliged to retire into their fort with all their property; could neither labour in their corn fields, nor gardens in town; that about 25 were employed in a field a little distance from town, and attacked by a like number of Savages, who wounded one with several bullets and took his scalp, but being repulsed, carried off the wounded man, who, though dangerously wounded through the body, was expected to recover.

This brought on something extraordinary, Captain Sullivan<sup>9</sup> dragged an indian out of the house of a frenchman, where he lay concealed; and brought him to the fort, where the wife of the wounded man shot & scalped him immediately. The french inhabitants were exasperated by this, to the highest degree, collected a party of men and guarded the indians in town during the night; and conducted them safely to the woods the ensuing day. They also in council determined to order all the americans residing there, to depart their supposed territory ((suposed they

<sup>7</sup>This John Hardin-James Patton expedition left the Falls about July 1 and, apparently, without orders from Clark. He sent orders after it to proceed to about where Evansville now is, cross to the Wabash by land, and proceed thence along the east bank to Vincennes. The Indians attacked the boat carrying the order, and the crew escaped to Vincennes. The expedition proceeded to below the mouth of the Wabash and, advancing along the west bank, achieved what Filson called a "compleat Victory." Actually it met disastrous defeat, near present Shawneetown, with the death of Hardin and unanimous resolve to return.

<sup>8</sup>This express which probably arrived early in July contained letters from John Small and Daniel Sullivan, dated June 23. From these it appears that the Americans had been attacked June 21 and a certain William Donnally of Clarksville had been scalped. The Americans had then retaliated by seizing an Indian in the village under French protection whom they put to death. Whereupon the French magistrates had ordered the Americans out of the village, "bag and baggage." Moreover, the French were hinting that the place belonged to England. They were all crowded into a small fort, a large party of Indians was on its way to attack, and unless help came quickly: "Distruccion stears every american heer in the face." There is nothing in these letters to justify Filson's statement that Mrs. Donnally scalped the poor savage, Draper MSS., 53J35, 36, 38.

<sup>9</sup>Daniel Sullivan, a man of somewhat dubious reputation, lived at Sullivan's Station on Little River near Vincennes. Draper MSS., 1W424. Apparently of violent disposition, he was intensely hated by both French and Indians. The French Commandant, Colonel J. M. P. Le Gras, wrote Clark that "one Sullivan was a very dangerous man and pernicious to the public peace, whom we should all like sent away and the sooner the better." He later was sheriff of Knox County.

held by ancient right 12 leagues square, including the Post)),<sup>10</sup> immediately, upon their own risque and expence; or they would oblige them. This was drawn up in form ((a magisterial mandate)) and signed by the late Commandant and Magistracy.<sup>11</sup> ((Being remiss in supporting the dignity of their Stations, the inhabitants treated their authority with contempt for which reasons they had some months before actually declared their resignation but now appears to arrogate to themselves the authority)). The American officers were summoned to attend. When Colonel Legras impolitely threw the writing to Colonel Small, the first american officer in the Post; informing him, that for satisfaction, he might have it translated into english, but the substance was what they now were to expect.

This alarmed the americans, openly avowing the French to be their enemies, not only taking pleasure in seeing them daily murdered by savages, but determined to expel them in case of disobedience, turning out their women and children naked & destitute to the wide world. From the commencement of the disputes at the Post, the american officers had frequently & truly communicated every occurrence to his Excellency General Clarke at the falls of Ohio, and also to Captain Patton, his Excellency sensible of the hostile disposition of the Wabash indians, sympathizing with his suffering contrymen; had about the first of June made a tour through the interior and settled parts of Kentucke, to excite the inhabitants to carry a grand expedition against the indians.

In the mean time, Captain Patton and Captain Hardin by their influence, had raised two companies of Volunteers, and went on an expedition the first part of July; his Excellency returned to the falls of Ohio the day following, with accounts that fifteen hundred men would march the first of August; at this juncture the express from the Post arrived; the intelligence carrying the idea of real suffering, every generous breast was filled with pity and resentment against such barbarous, and inhuman treatment. his Excellency immediately sent the same

<sup>10</sup> Land titles in the Vincennes area were in the utmost confusion. Grants were made by French, Indians, British, Virginians and, after 1781, by the French magistrates. These were not regulated until the Ordinance of 1787 and a land office was established.

<sup>11</sup> Small in his letter of June 23 stated that he was sending a copy of this, but it is not found in the Draper MSS. It should be remembered that Virginia authority had expired in 1781, the area was ceded to the United States in 1784, and no government had been established. The Commandant, Colonel Le Gras, with title from the British period, and a court of three magistrates were ruling by default of American authority.

express after the two Captains Patton & Harden, with particular instructions to direct their course from the mouth of Pidgeon Creek to Post St. Vincent and assist the suffering inhabitants. This was the Volunteers intention, but previously to this had designed a different rout, by sailing down Ohio river a small distance below the mouth of Wabash and marching up on the western side of that river, destroy, several indian villages situate on little Wabash & fox rivers and then proceed to the Post. The General's directions never reached the Volunteers for the express had not sailed twenty leagues, below the falls of Ohio until they were pursued by savages and obliged to quit their canoe and escape through the woods to the Post. The Captains with their volunteers soon after landing had a smart engagement with indians of Saline Creek, about 25 miles from Ohio, where they obtained a compleat Victory<sup>12</sup> carrying off five scalps, some horses & rifle guns with the loss of one man killed and four slightly wounded, the brave Captain Hardin was one of the unfortunate, his men being discouraged by the fall of their Chief, the weather intolerably hot and provisions scarce, therefore unanimously resolved to return, their retreat was successful under the prudent conduct of Captain Patton.

During this time the Savages determined to revenge their loss, by destroying the american inhabitants of the Post, and assembled 450 warriors besieging their fort three days, with all the band of horrors that usually accompany indian Camps on such occasions but finding every effort [ineffectual], (the fort being bravely defended & sustaining no loss by the savages, except their horses, cows, & swine, few of them escaping:) was prevailed upon by the french inhabitants, who are yet in peace with the indians to raise the siege and depart the Village; being excited thereto for their own safety for it evidently appeared at this time, that a few days would terminate with the destruction of the town. To suppose that self preservation was the inducing motive of the french at this time, although the most natural conclusion, from their late domestic broils with the Americans in that place would be exceedingly injurious to that humane & generous principle so obvious and characteristic of that people so

<sup>12</sup>Colonel Le Gras was very critical of this "compleat Victory." He reported to Clark that Hardin and Patton had actually attacked a group of friendly Piankiasaws; the scalps taken were those of tribes friendly with the French and Americans. Small wrote Clark that he heard the expedition "is returned Back with plunder of considerable value."

often exemplified, by their interposition a day of calamity, and affords one of the most striking instances of true greatness of Soul, and Sympathy with Suffering mortals, that any age or history produces, for it is acknowledged that the narrow existence of a few days must finally terminate with the destruction of the Americans, if the Savages had not raised the Siege; the French gentleman being the true cause thereof, must be acknowledged the saviors of about 70 families men women & Children.

Thus to triumph over, former domestic broils, and be a united people, was an act of virtue in the French and the natural consequence of fellow sufferers, in consideration of mutual safety. Two expresses were immediately dispatched by land & water each with duplicates of the same accounts lest one should miscarry to General Clark at the falls of Ohio,<sup>13</sup> to inform him of their distress the General dispatched accounts by the last express that they might soon expect relief; that orders were actually arrived [*sic*] from government, to require the people of Kentucke to carry an expedition against the Wabash Indians, which they voluntarily were entering upon themselves, thereby giving a sanction to their laudable proceedings, and expediting the Campaigns.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>This express, which probably reached the Falls about the first of August, carried another letter from John Small and a report by Colonel Le Gras, both dated July 22. From these it appears that a party of four hundred and fifty Indians from the upper nations had come down the Wabash on July 15, determined to exterminate all the Americans. Le Gras and the French denied them entrance to the village, assembled the militia to defend the Americans, and meeting them at the Little Rock, three miles above the town, persuaded them to leave. They promised to return again "in roasting ear time," and would know how to make gates for entering without asking. Colonel Le Gras joined the Americans in an appeal for aid. He also requested Clark to remove "many outlaws who have slipped into this place." He hoped that the actions of the French in the recent crisis would erase the bad impression given the French by some letters of Americans "filled with lies," Draper MSS., 11J81; *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 150, Vol. II.

<sup>14</sup>The order from Richmond having arrived July 11, the field officers met at Harrodsburg, August 2, and voted to draft one half of the militia west of the Licking. The expedition assembled at Clarksville, early in September, and marched September 17. Early in October the Lincoln County contingent mutinied and fled back to the Falls, or, perhaps, as Filson more politely would say, achieved a "complete Victory" and unanimously resolved to advance to the rear. See Helderman's forthcoming "Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1786."

It may be well to add that, among the Filson items commented on in the foregoing account of Filson's Narrative of his Defeat on the Wabash, the following are to be published soon: *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, as stated in footnote 6, will include "Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1786." *The Indiana Magazine of History* is scheduled to print my paper, "Danger on Wabash," presenting the Filson material referred to in footnotes 5, 8 and 13, namely: the Petition of June 1 and letter of June 12, 1786; letters of John Small and Daniel Sullivan, June 23, 1786; letter of Small and a Report by Le Gras, July 22, 1786.

APPENDIX: Filson's manuscripts, published and unpublished, are as follows:

In 1784 Filson published his book entitled *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*, which includes "The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon." This small volume was republished in 1929 as The Filson Club Publications No. 35: *Filson's Kentucke—A Facsimile Reproduction of the original Wilmington Edition of 1784, with Paged Critique, Sketch of Filson's Life and Bibliography*—by Willard Rouse Jillson.

In 1884 The Filson Club issued the first of its Publications: *John Filson the First Historian of Kentucky—An Account of his Life and Writings*—by Reuben T. Durrett. Colonel Durrett's volume contained an incomplete transcription of "Filson's Defeat on the Wabash," here given in full.

In the March, 1923, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Beverley W. Bond, Jr., published his transcription of "Two Westward Journeys of John Filson, 1785."

Filson's history of Kentucky and the two manuscripts just referred to comprise his printed material. These three Narratives, as far as is known, are the only manuscripts that were prepared by him for publication. Two other Filson manuscripts (in addition to his "Defeat on the Wabash" and his "Two Westward Journeys") are in the Wisconsin State Historical Society, but they are, in the main, rough notes on which much in the "Two Westward Journeys" is based. Photostats of all four are in the archives of The Filson Club.

The "Filson Papers" in the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, is a collection of brief memoranda on sundry subjects.