PIONEER LINNS OF KENTUCKY

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Part III

Colonel William Linn—Soldier Indian Fighter

William Linn, second son of the Andrew Linn, Senior, who appears earlier in this series of studies, is the most noteworthy of Andrew's children. He appears in the annuals of Maryland, of western Pennsylvania, of Kentucky, Illinois, and elsewhere; but, strangely enough, it is only in recent years that an attempt has been made to trace his career in detail.

According to his nephew, Andrew Linn, of Cookstown, Pennsylvania, William was born in 1734 in northwestern New Jersey, where the family lived for some time prior to its trek southward, about 1750, to Maryland, and some years later to southwestern Pennsylvania.[1] Of his childhood and youth nothing is known, the first references to his activities being in connection with the French and Indian War, after he reached Maryland. He had developed marked ability as a scout and Indian fighter very early, an ability that was to show itself in many a test, as will be seen.

One of the first of these, according to Andrew Linn of Cookstown, was his reconnoitering, in 1755, of Fort Duquesne in the Monongahela Valley in western Pennsylvania for General Braddock, an undertaking that involved the crossing of mountain ranges, threading Indian-infested forests, the swimming of rivers, and so on. Linn was not with Braddock in the battle in which that officer met defeat and death at the hands of the French and Indians, and Andrew Linn says that he was probably with Dunbar's division of the army, about forty miles back from the scene of the actual fighting.[2]

Shortly after the Braddock disaster, William, under Colonel Thomas Cresap, fought the Indians at Savage Mountain in Maryland, and in this engagement dispatched the savage that had just killed Colonel Cresap's son. He was a volunteer

ranger in Captain Alexander Beal's company in 1757, and was with Cresap in the battle at Negro Mountain that same year. He was a volunteer under Captain Evan Shelby in the General Forbes Campaign of 1758, which resulted in the expulsion of the French from the Monongahela region.[3] In all this he gained a familiarity with the country that stood him in good stead throughout his life.

When his father and brothers moved from Maryland to the valley of the Monongahela River, William went with them and while they were selecting locations, "tomahawked" a claim for himself in the vicinity of Redstone. In due time he acquired title to it.[4]

In 1774, Lord Dunmore, the last of the royal governors of Virginia, initiated measures designed to suppress the savages of the trans-Allegheny frontier in a series of movements known afterwards as Dunmore's War. In August an expedition under command of Major Angus McDonald marched upon the Indian towns in what is now central Ohio, and William Linn accompanied it, probably in the capacity of scout, since he was so skilled as a woodsman. In a skirmish about six miles from the Wakatomica towns he received a wound in the shoulder that incapacitated him for further service in Dunmore's campaigns, and it was not till the following year that he recovered sufficiently to resume military activities.[5] The Indians were finally defeated, in a fierce battle with another expedition, at Point Pleasant on the Ohio, in October.

George Rogers Clark, then a young man of twenty-two, was in the McDonald expedition along with Linn. The two may have been acquainted prior to that time, but it was probably there that the foundation was laid for the intimate relations of later years, when Linn served as second in command in Clark's march to Kaskaskia, and as colonel of a regiment of militiamen in Clark's Piqua Campaign. More will be said of these.

The rich lands in Kentucky that had been opened for settlement at this time were creating deep interest among Americans generally, and as the Indians were quiet for a time after their defeat at Point Pleasant, Linn went with his brother, Andrew Junior, and others to locate claims there. They tomahawked claims on the Licking River and its tributaries and built rude cabins. William's claim included the Big Blue Lick, which is

associated with the tragic battle of that name which occurred in 1782. Details of this first visit of Linn to Kentucky are meager, but it is known that while there he visited Boonesborough, meeting Colonel Richard Henderson who had arrived a week earlier with his colony of settlers. From Boonesborough Linn went to Leestown, a settlement on the Kentucky River where Frankfort now stands. George Rogers Clark was there working as a deputy surveyor under Hancock Lee, chief surveyor for the Ohio Company, and incidentally establishing claims to land for himself and members of his family.[6]

On returning to Pennsylvania from Kentucky, Linn found that his wife had died, leaving six children motherless. Of these the two youngest were twins, infants. Nothing is known of this wife or of the family from which she came. Even her first name is lacking.[7] He had probably married her in Maryland.

Prior to 1785, when the United States Congress enacted the land ordinance establishing a simple rectangular system of surveys for its public lands, there were no general governmental surveys of lands in territories and states. Each individual claiming public land had his own surveys made. Often the line of previous surveys was not known, and the rush in Kentucky was so great that portions of land were frequently included in two or more claims and patents issued for them. Land litigation filled Kentucky court dockets for years, and many settlers lost their properties.

In order to settle these conflicting claims, the Virginia government appointed a commission in 1779 to hear testimony and quiet titles by issuing certificates to rightful claimants, sometimes for a four-hundred acre settlement, sometimes for a preemption right to a thousand acres, sometimes for both, the claimant, paying the "state price" of ten shillings for each hundred acres, plus a court fee.[8]

On October 30, 1779, William Linn appeared before this land commission and secured a certificate granting a pre-emption right to the thousand acres "lying on the South side of licking Creek known by the name of the Big Blue Lick, . . . by improving the same in the year 1775 by building a Cabbin on the premises. . . ." On the same day, he obtained a similar cer-

tificate for his brother, Andrew, for land on a branch of Hingston's Fork of Licking.[9]

The Revolutionary War was under way, and the question whether the Indian tribes would side with the British or the Americans was ever present in the minds of settlers on the frontier. The devotion of these pioneers to the cause of Liberty was intense, of course, but it was only when the Indians were quiet that men dared leave their families to help in the struggle against England. Lord Dunmore had directed the settlers in 1774 in their efforts to subdue the savages, but with the opening of the Revolution his attitude toward the Americans changed and he endeavored, through an agent, to secure the allegiance of the tribesmen to the royal cause.

Fortunately, these efforts were unsuccessful, and in September, 1775, there gathered at Pittsburgh the largest Indian delegation ever seen at that fort. They united with the Americans in a treaty of peace, friendship, and neutrality, a treaty which made possible the release of a body of capable riflemen who hurried eastward to swell the Continental Army that was being hastily organized.[10] All the Linn brothers—Andrew Junior, William, Benjamin, Nathan, and James—served in the Revolutionary War in some capacity.

George Gibson, a dashing young captain, with William Linn as an able lieutenant, raised a company of riflemen about Pittsburgh and in the valley of the Monongahela, and entered the service of Virginia. The men in this company were accustomed not only to the daring but also to the independence of a frontier life, and there were times when it required all the ability and influence of their officers to reconcile them to the restraints of military discipline. They were promptly dubbed "Gibson's Lambs," doubtless because they were so utterly unlamblike. The name persisted. During the campaign against Dunmore, now the enemy of the colonists who had so recently fought with him, this famous company fought in the battle for the Long Bridge near Norfolk, and also in the taking of the cutter, Brigs, at Hampton.[11]

From the very beginning of the Revolution, gunpowder had been sorely needed by the colonists. England, the former source of supply, was now naturally closed to them, and they did not develop their own factories at once. The region west

of the mountains was especially lacking, owing to the difficulties of travel and transportation. George Morgan, Indian agent at Fort Pitt, wrote on May 16, 1776, that there was hardly enough powder west of the mountains to enable every man to prime his gun, and only two hundred pounds in the fort where he was.[12]

In this emergency an arrangement between the Virginia authorities and Captain Gibson was made whereby he was to secure powder secretly from the Spanish government in New Orleans. Oliver Pollock, a loyal and patriotic American merchant there, was acting as a volunteer agent for Virginia, and he was to help Gibson. Accordingly, Gibson, Linn, and a few of their "lambs" made the long trip down the Ohio and the Mississippi in the guise of traders. Despite their caution their arrival in New Orleans aroused the suspicions of the British representatives there; and in order to allay this distrust, the Spanish commandant, who was friendly to the American cause, trumped up a charge against Gibson and ostentatiously cast him into prison. Ten thousand pounds of powder were purchased through Pollock, one thousand pounds of it were slipped aboard a ship about to sail for Virginia, and the remaining nine thousand pounds, the part intended for use on the western frontier, was packed in barrels and loaded onto boats for conveyance up the Mississippi and Ohio. Gibson was released from prison and departed on the ship, and the responsibility for the trip up the river was on Linn.[13]

Linn increased his force of helpers to forty-three, and slipped away from New Orleans September 22, 1776. A dishonest commissary agent had misappropriated part of the funds furnished him for the purchase of provisions, and the party was undersupplied with food from the start. With untold difficulties and hardships they reached the Spanish post near the mouth of the Arkansas River two months later, provisions gone and the men so exhausted that half of them had to be helped off the boats, some even having to be carried in blankets. The Spanish commandant there was sympathetic, and permitted the able-bodied to hunt and cure meat during the winter for use on the journey to be resumed in the spring. Indeed, hunters were busy during the entire trip securing game to supplement the meager food supply they carried. The danger of surprise by

Indians was ever present, and only a week before the journey's end one of the men was shot in the shoulder. The Virginia legislature made him an allowance on account of this injury.[14]

Before leaving the Arkansas post Linn sent a messenger ahead to the Spanish commander at St. Louis, begging that provisions and additional men be furnished him at the mouth of the Ohio at a time he specified. Later he distrusted the wisdom of this act, remembering that the Spanish at St. Louis might be less friendly than their countrymen had been at New Orleans and the Arkansas post where Oliver Pollock had had great influence; and he made a special effort to reach the mouth of the Ohio before the time he had appointed. He succeeded in doing so, and his fears were probably justified, for it was learned later that a band of Indians appeared at that point at the time given, evidently at the instigation of the Spanish at St. Louis and with the intention of attacking the party.[15]

Linn therefore secured no aid from St. Louis, but his party was met a short distance below the mouth of the Ohio about March 3, 1777, by a trading boat belonging to Thomas Bentley, a British merchant at Kaskaskia, and from it he obtained eighteen bags of corn, giving in exchange an order on Oliver Pollock for $60.[16] This selling of food to Americans by a British merchant was clearly a treasonable act from the British point of view, but Bentley was somewhat of a double-dealer, bent on profit. His presence at Kaskaskia was no blessing to the British cause.

In the meantime, Gibson arrived in Virginia with his part of the powder and word that his comrade was on his way up the river with the remainder. Governor Patrick Henry, who had been largely instrumental in arranging for the powder expedition, promptly ordered the county lieutenants of the Monongahela region to send a force of one hundred men to meet and assist Linn. He realized that locating the party would be no simple thing, and directed that stops be made at various points along the way where the party might have paused. Among these points were Harrodsburg, Kaskaskia, the mouth of the Ohio, and "St. Louis on the Mississippi." One county lieutenant expressed himself as at a loss to know where St. Louis on the Mississippi might be, to which Lieutenant Governor Page replied, "We are at as much of a loss to know where

St. Louis is as you can be, but suppose it to be where you mention."[17]

Linn's party showed unexpected speed in the latter part of their trip and reached their destination, Wheeling on the Ohio, before the relief expedition even started. By the second of May, 1777, the precious cargo was delivered to the county lieutenant there. The powder had been transferred from the barrels to kegs during the winter at the Arkansas post so that it could be more easily handled, and the men had worked their way rapidly up the Ohio, carrying the boats and the cargo around the Falls by hand.[18] When one remembers that Linn and his men had poled and towed their boats against the current of a mighty river for eighteen hundred or two thousand miles, and that they were the first white men known to have made the trip with a cargo, the magnitude of their achievement becomes clearer.

Although Gibson and Linn had started down the Ohio in 1776 with the purchase of powder in New Orleans as their great objective, Linn had evidently not forgotten the land in Kentucky that he had seen the year before, for he left the boat at Limestone—the Maysville of today—and explored the region between Licking River and the Falls with future land claims in mind. He rejoined Gibson at the Falls. This stopover was profitable to him, as will be seen.[19]

On starting out on the trip to New Orleans, Linn had ranked merely as a lieutenant under Captain Gibson, but after the return he became captain, and Gibson was made colonel. In 1777, Clark referred to Linn as Captain Linn. Captain was also the title used by Governor Patrick Henry when mentioning him in the instructions to Clark in 1778. The State of Virginia had offered Gibson and Linn their choice of money or promotion in the army, and both chose the promotion.[20]

The powder exploit aroused suspicions among British authorities in Kaskaskia, and in September, 1777, a Court of Inquiry was convened by Philippe de Rocheblave, a Frenchman who was agent for the British there, to investigate charges against Thomas Bentley growing out of his transactions with Linn at the mouth of the Ohio. If one may credit the testimony of Hippolito Bolen, an Indian interpreter summoned as a witness, Bentley's boats had loitered seven or eight days at the

mouth of the river several leagues from where they had been trading with the Indians, and signal guns had been fired morning and evening each day as if to attract the attention of an expected party. Finally the boats moved down the river four leagues farther, where the Bentley force met Linn's party and camped with them.

Such testimony as this suggests a more serious idea in Bentley's mind than the desire to sell a few sacks of corn. Evidence exists to show that Linn brought a letter from William Murray in New Orleans to his brother, Daniel Murray, Bentley's agent in Kaskaskia. The Murrays were known to be supporters of the cause of the colonists.[21]

In his introduction to *Kaskaskia Records,* Clarence W. Alvord offers an interesting hypothesis to the effect that the expedition against the Illinois County developed in the mind of George Rogers Clark as a result of information Bentley furnished him regarding weakness of British authority there and the presence in that region of sympathizers with the American cause, the information probably being carried to Clark by Linn. The meeting of the Linn party at the mouth of the Ohio and the furnishing of the corn by Bentley's boats form an important link in the chain of evidence on which Alvord's hypothesis is based.

The Bolen testimony did not seem to Alvord to be conclusive as to Bentley's instigation of the Clark Campaign, but there is no doubt about the attitude of Bentley's agent, Daniel Murray, toward an invasion. Clark's sending spies to Kaskaskia —one of them, by the way, being Linn's brother Benjamin— within six weeks after Linn passed that point may have been to confirm and add to information Linn had brought him. Eleven years after Alvord offered his hypothesis, he wrote that further thought had led him to believe that "the logic of events furnished real proof."[22]

This Bentley affair suggests that William Linn may have had a larger part in originating the Illinois Campaign than has been generally realized. Although his brother, Benjamin, was one of the two spies Clark sent to look over the situation around Kaskaskia, they were given no idea of the purpose behind their mission. With William the case seems different. Oliver Pollock at New Orleans doubtless knew much about conditions at Kas-

kaskia, since William Murray had only recently come from there.[23] As commander of the powder expedition up the Mississippi, Linn was a man of prestige; and because of a sincere interest in the American cause, in addition to his natural desire to have the powder he had secured for the Americans reach its destination, Pollock would naturally have talked freely with him, giving him all the information he could. Pollock may have had a part in arranging for the meeting with Bentley's men at the mouth of the Ohio. He almost certainly was largely responsible for Linn's friendly reception by the Spanish at the post on the Arkansas River. Everything about the situation suggests that Linn was on the inside.

In the fall of 1777, Linn had a part in a skirmish with Indians on the banks of the Ohio. The fight itself possesses no special significance, but the number of settlers killed in it has given it prominence in frontier annals. An unusual amount of detail concerning the affair has been preserved, and it furnishes interesting insight into the personality of Linn. It seems that on September 1, 1777, a large band of Indians attacked Fort Henry, at Wheeling. Twenty whites were killed or wounded outside the fort, but the stockade itself withstood the assault and the Indians finally withdrew.[24]

Captain William Foreman had reached Fort Pitt from Virginia shortly before with a company of militia, and General Hand, Continental Commander on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, sent him to assist the beleaguered occupants of Fort Henry. Captain Linn, with a small force, probably of volunteer settlers, also went. Finding no Indians near the fort, forty-six men from Foreman's and Linn's commands and a few others under Captain Ogle, left on September 26 to reconnoiter the country around Captina Creek, south of Wheeling and on the west side of the Ohio, where Indians frequently gathered. Ogle had been at Fort Henry during the siege.[25]

On reaching Grave Creek, about twelve miles below Wheeling, they found that the blockhouse erected there for the protection of the settlers had been burned, along with the boats the party had planned to use in crossing the river. They therefore abandoned the idea of advancing farther and camped for the night, intending to return to Fort Henry the next day. Most of the men under Linn wished to return with Foreman as his

was the larger party, and Linn, in accordance with prevailing ideas regarding the relation of frontiersmen to their leaders, did not insist upon their accompanying him. Foreman was new to the frontier and unfamiliar with Indian warfare, and Linn cautioned him against returning by the trail along the river, since indications of Indians had been noted there.

Foreman rejected this advice. Linn himself started over a hill with but four men, one of them a lieutenant. The larger party proceeded along the river and suddenly found themselves in an ambuscade. Twenty-one of them were slain, among them Captain Foreman. The survivors fled, some up the river, some down, and a few started up the hill after Linn. Linn heard the uproar accompanying the attack and he and his four men, dashed down the hill firing their guns and yelling. The Indians assuming that substantial reinforcements were coming to the whites, fled to their canoes, and crossed the river.[26]

John Cullins, one of the men who endeavored to escape over the hill, had his thigh bone shattered by an Indian bullet. Linn and his lieutenant found the injured man and Linn proposed their moving him to a less dangerous spot where he could remain until he could be rescued. The lieutenant objected, declaring that they should think first of themselves since the Indians might return. Linn replied vehemently that he would shoot his companion if he did not assist in moving the helpless man, and they then carried Cullins to a place of concealment, gave him food, and left him until that night. Linn reported to Colonel Shepherd, who was in command at Fort Henry, and then returned alone and bore Cullins on his back to Shepherd's own home stockade about nine miles east of Wheeling. He made this longer and more roundabout trip in the fear that he might encounter Indians on the path to Fort Henry, the nearer place of refuge.[27]

This incident illustrates the sagacity, the caution, the sympathy, the fearlessness, and the physical strength and endurance of Linn. In less than twenty-four hours he traversed about thirty miles of mountainous country, bearing a helpless man weighing one hundred seventy pounds on his back more than one-third of the distance. The people at the fort were evidently too terrified to go back with him to help bring Cullins in.

Cullins was at this time a youth of but nineteen years of age. In his later years he called upon a William Linn, of Brownsville, Pennsylvania, thinking that he might be the one who had saved his life at Grave Creek. The William Linn he found, however, was a grandnephew of the man he sought, his benefactor having moved to Kentucky not long after the Grave Creek affair, there to meet his death in 1781 at the hands of Indians. Cullins told the story of his rescue to Dr. William Johnson Lynn, son of the William he found at Brownsville, and Doctor Lynn repeated it to Lyman C. Draper, who preserved it.[28]

During the campaign of 1777, General George Washington had requested the Governor of Virginia to send Gibson's regiment to join the Continental Army, and the Virginia Assembly later did transfer it.[29] It continued, however, to be known as Gibson's Lambs. Linn was evidently interested in enlisting men for this regiment, for on October 11 he wrote to General Hand at Fort Pitt saying, "I intend to Rais Men fast As possible if they Congress Grants what We Concluded upon."[30] Linn was then at Catfish Camp, the site of the Washington, Pennsylvania, of today. He had apparently severed connection with the regiment and was engaged in the defense of the frontier, but he still felt an interest in the Lambs.

The letter from which the above was quoted raises the question whether Linn wrote it himself or whether it was written by someone else at his dictation. Illiteracy was, quite understandably, the regular and not the unusual condition among the frontier people of his day. Their education was not gained in schools, but was of the type necessary for survival in the wilderness. The signature to Linn's will, three years later, was made with his mark.[31] Another letter, from Linn to Oliver Pollock in New Orleans, giving details of the powder expedition was found by Doctor Draper among the Virginia State Archives and copied. Unfortunately, but perhaps significantly, his copy merely gives the text and does not reproduce the signature. Efforts made by the present writer to locate the original in Virginia were fruitless.

Subsequent to his writing to General Hand, nothing is known of Linn in 1777 until he disposed of his home in the Redstone region in Pennsylvania, where in addition to farming

he had been engaged in trading, and moved with his children to Kentucky. They were one of several families that went down the Ohio with the Clark Expedition and settled temporarily on Corn Island at the Falls, a location more secure from Indian attack than a post on the mainland with no protecting stockade would have been.[32]

Why Linn had left Gibson's regiment is not known, but it should be remembered that his family responsibilities would naturally make him anxious to help in frontier defense, and that was what he always did. Such men as he hesitated about joining forces that might be called far from home for long periods of time and leave their families without protection.

Clark left the Falls of the Ohio for the Illinois country with his Northwest Expeditionary Force on June 24, 1778, and only a few days later a letter came from Fort Pitt addressed to Clark or, "in his absence, to the Inhabitants of Kentucky", with the news of the French alliance with the American colonists.[33] Realizing instantly how invaluable this information would be to Clark in dealing with the French population in the Illinois towns, Linn set out down the Ohio alone in a canoe, and overtook the expedition near the site of the old Fort Massac on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Tennessee.[34] The use that Clark made of the information Linn brought in winning over the French in the Illinois country is a matter of history.

Linn joined Clark's forces as a volunteer, was given the rank of major, and served throughout the Kaskaskia campaign. Clark must have been happy to have him. His skill in dealing with independent frontiersmen showed to advantage. In one instance when they ran out of food only a few days from Kaskaskia and were compelled to subsist on wild berries, his example and encouragement kept them moving on when they were strongly tempted to stop.[35]

The men in the expedition had enlisted only for the time necessary to occupy the Illinois posts. Kaskaskia was taken July 4, 1778, and early in August Father Gibault at Vincennes reported that the people there had submitted voluntarily to the authority of Virginia. The enlistments then expired automatically. One hundred of the men re-enlisted, but about seventy others were sent back to the Falls under the command of Major Linn, for discharge. Rocheblave, the agent for the British and commander of their post at Kaskaskia, had been

taken prisoner there and was carried as far as the Falls by Linn, to be forwarded from that point to Williamsburg in Virginia when possible. Instead of returning overland from Kaskaskia, as they had gone, the party returned in boats.[36]

One marvels at the informality of the arrangements by the Virginia government for financing the Northwest Expedition. Clark was given twelve hundred pounds, in Virginia paper money, part of which was expended in enlisting men and purchasing supplies. In addition, Governor Henry's advisers—Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, George Wythe, and others—pledged Clark in writing to use their best endeavors in the legislature to provide that "each volunteer entering as a . . . common soldier in the expedition should be allowed three hundred acres of land, and the officers in the usual proportion, out of the land which may be conquered in the country . . ." In explaining certain perplexing matters later, Clark wrote that owing to the short time intervening between the approval of his plan and his departure, "I never thought anything about it [the future financing]. I remember his Excell'y the Governor told me I could get what I wanted from Mr. Pollock."[37]

After taking Kaskaskia, Clark began drawing bills on Virginia, which Pollock in New Orleans accepted and paid in specie. By February of the next year they totaled $30,000.[38] How much of this, if any, was repaid by the State of Virginia on presentation of the bills is unknown. The credit of that state soon fell so low that all payments to Pollock ceased. His loyalty to the American cause cost him dearly, so far as money was concerned. It did not, however, ruin him permanently.

As was said earlier, Linn had been a trader while living in Pennsylvania, and when about to return from the Illinois campaign with the men who had not re-enlisted, he saw a chance for a profitable business venture on the side. He could obtain goods from French merchants in Kaskaskia, and in Ste. Genevieve on the west side of the Mississippi, and carry them back for sale to the settlers at home. He did this, conveyed the goods in a boat of his own to the Falls, sold most of them there, and carried the remainder up the Ohio later.[39]

Lacking the money with which to pay for his purchases, and claiming, quite justly we must admit, that Virginia was indebted to him, he made drafts on that state as he had done the pre-

ceding year when bringing the powder up from New Orleans. These drafts were doubtless honored by Pollock, so the Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve merchants must have received pay for their goods. Colonel John Montgomery, a brother officer, was present when Linn made many of his purchases, and on asking how they were to be paid for, Linn replied that "he would draw bills on Oliver Pollock as the Country was indebted to him, and that he would go to the Government and settle those Bills when he Settled his Accounts. . . ."

Clark was incensed by Linn's action, holding that he (Clark) alone was entitled to make drafts on Virginia. In 1783, Clark told the commission appointed by that state to liquidate western claims that in August, 1778, Linn brought some Bills of Exchange to him for his countersignature, and that he refused to sign them, reprimanding Linn and asking him how he could issue such papers. The commission then recorded the opinion that "all Bills drawn by Colo. Lynn except those drawn when he went to New Orleans for powder" should be classed as "Bills drawn by persons unauthorized".[40] This recommendation by the commission leads one to wonder whether Pollock had been reimbursed for Linn's expenditures for the powder expedition.

When, on March 1, 1784, Virginia finally acted in accordance with her resolution of January 2, 1781, and ceded to the United States her lands north of the Ohio, the act she passed contained the condition "That the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by this State in subduing any British posts or in maintaining posts or garrisons within and for the defense or in acquiring any part of the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States." Among such expenses submitted to Congress by Virginia was a list of "Bills drawn by Officers of the Illinois Department, on the credit of Virginia," naming twenty officers besides General Clark who drew bills. Among them were bills by William Linn to the amount of "6236 2/5 dollars."[41]

In the face of Clark's assertion that he alone could issue drafts on Virginia for such purposes, the approval by the commission of bills drawn by other officers calls for comment. Unfortunately, the George Rogers Clark Papers in the Virginia State Library are not arranged in such a way as to show the date of the bills and the purposes for which they were issued.

During the times when the various settlements were made for the soldiers of the Northwest Expedition the papers lost their original order. The drafts made were, however, doubtless for purely military purposes. Officers at isolated posts often could not wait for Clark's authorization of necessary expenditures, and acted upon their own responsibility. Clark appears to have offered no objections to these emergency moves.

The bills for 6236 2/5 dollars drawn by Linn may not all have been of this nature. As in the case of the officers, it seems virtually impossible now to identify the different bills and vouchers he submitted. Some are known to have been for military supplies and services. For example, the Journal of Western Commissioners contains one item as follows:

"Recd. of Colo. William Pope, Administrator of Col. Lynn Dec'd, Sundry certificates for said Lynn's services as a field officer, also for Flour Iron &c furnished by said Lynn for the use of the State, which Accounts the Commissioners cannot Settle untill his Accounts with the State are adjusted".[42]

Linn had made drafts upon Virginia while bringing the powder up from New Orleans, and he may have reasoned that he was justified in drawing upon sums due him from that state for non-military expenditures. Clark drew no pay for his services during the Revolutionary War for many years but, unlike Linn, he never married and had no family responsibilities resulting from marriage.

When Linn returned from the Illinois Campaign he carried orders from Clark for the removal of the post from Corn Island to the Kentucky shore, and under these orders he supervised the construction of the first fort at the Falls, at the foot of what is today Twelfth Street, in Louisville.[43] The fort was completed by Christmas in 1778, and the event was celebrated by one of the famous pioneer housewarmings. It was a very real Christmas gift to Kentucky, and one in which Linn may have felt a very special interest. As noted earlier, his first wife had died in Pennsylvania in 1775 while he was absent on his trip to Kentucky. Sometime in 1779, probably very early in the year, he journeyed to Maryland and married again.[44]

The lack of any information concerning so interesting a frontier courtship and marriage as this is tantalizing. One can imagine, however, that a busy and practical man like Linn

would not spend much time in such a matter, and the women of his day would have appreciated the situation and would have acted accordingly. This wife's first name was apparently Letitia, but nothing more is known of her. Linn returned to Kentucky with his bride and built a stockaded home which became well known as Linn's Station, on the headwaters of Beargrass Creek about twelve miles from the fort at Louisville, on land he had explored when he left the New Orleans-bound party at Limestone nearly three years before. He evidently had purchased some settler's claim to this land, along with claims from several other persons to lands on Harrod's Creek. Both Beargrass and Harrod's Creek emptied into the Ohio near the Falls.

Major Bland Ballard, the famous Kentucky scout, was a contemporary of Linn, and in reply to a letter from Senator Lewis Fields Linn, of Missouri, years later—in 1838, to be more exact—he said that he first met Linn in 1779, when he (Linn) was in charge of Clark's prisoners from Vincennes.[45] Senator Linn was a grandson of Wm. Linn, and was collecting information relative to his noted grandparent.

The Vincennes prisoners had arrived at the Falls in March, 1779, on their way to Williamsburg in Virginia, some six months after Linn had brought back the men whose enlistments had expired. They were escorted all the way from Vincennes to Williamsburg by Captains John Rogers and John Williams; and Ballard's assertion that Linn was in charge of them at the Falls may have meant merely that Linn was then in command at the fort there and hence temporary custodian of the prisoners. Rocheblave was sent on to Williamsburg with them. Andrew Linn of Cookstown told Doctor Draper that Linn was "perhaps" in command at the Falls at that time.

Linn was one of thirty-nine signers of a petition to the Virginia legislature to establish the town of Louisville at the Falls of the Ohio, and on April 24, 1779, either in person or by proxy, he took part in a drawing for lots in that proposed community.[46] He must have spent some little time in April or May of that year gathering men to join Clark at Vincennes for an expedition against Detroit, for early in June Colonel John Bowman, at Harrodsburg, notified Clark that Linn had one hundred men ready for this undertaking.[47] Bowman may have

taken them with him on his futile expedition against the Shawnee towns, for instead of one hundred, only thirty men from Kentucky joined Clark at Vincennes in July, and William Linn was not with them.[48]

On February 9, 1780, Linn again met the Virginia Land Commission, and this time he secured a certificate for four hundred acres "lying in the dry run of Beargrass . . . to include the place whereon the s'd Linn now lives. . . ." On the same day he received pre-emption certificates to one thousand acres each for six other claimants, acting as their representative. One of these tracts was described as "Lying on the Ohio River at the mouth of a Small Creek about 6 miles below the mouth of the Big Maamia [Miami] River on the south side of the said Ohio river." The other tracts were in the same region, and the certificates covering them identified the small creek as Stony Creek.[49] Apparently Linn bought all these claims later, for in his will he bequeathed an aggregate of 5,250 acres in the tracts to certain ones of his children and to four of his friends on condition that they perform certain specified acts.

The Beargrass and Harrod's Creek lands were surveyed for Linn,[50] but no patent for them was ever issued to him or his heirs. The reason in the case of the Beargrass property is clear. After Linn's death, in 1781, it was found that the land on which Linn's Station stood had been patented in September, 1779, to a son of a veteran for military services in the French and Indian War, prior to 1763. This patent took precedence over the title certificate issued to Linn in 1780, and Linn Station was lost to his estate. In 1789, five hundred acres of this military grant was sold to Colonel Richard C. Anderson, the deed saying, "it being part of an old military survey patented for & in the name of Henry Harrison & lying . . . on the head of Beargrass & commonly called Lynn's Station. . . ."[51] Colonel Anderson had been sent to Kentucky by Virginia as head surveyor of the bounty lands to be entered for Virginia officers and soldiers of the Continental Line. He named his country residence Soldier's Retreat, and it is a well known landmark about eleven miles east of Louisville today. In all probability the Harrod's Creek lands were also found to be within earlier military grants. The Blue Lick claim will be considered later.

To return to our narrative, in the autumn of 1779 Linn is mentioned in connection with another affair that is typical of the time in which he lived and that throws additional light upon his character. The success of Gibson and Linn in securing the powder from the Spanish at New Orleans in 1776 led Governor Henry to send another expedition down the Mississippi two years later to obtain military supplies in general. Colonel David Rogers was prevailed upon to assume the command. When he reached the Arkansas post on the way down, the Spanish commandant there informed him that the supplies he wished were at St. Louis, and he would have to go on to New Orleans for permission to buy them.

The permission was secured, and Rogers toiled back up the river, purchased and loaded the cargo at St. Louis, and conveyed it successfully to the Falls of the Ohio, where Clark detailed an extra guard to accompany it through that Indian-infested territory. On October 4, 1779, Rogers reached a point opposite the mouth of the Licking River, and was there set upon by a large band of Indians under the renegade Simon Girty, who was leading a raid into Kentucky and happened to be at the river at that time. Colonel Rogers and most of his men were either killed or taken captive, and all but one of the boats were seized. The last boat in the line escaped down the river to the Falls.[52]

There is a well supported tradition to the effect that the boat that escaped did so through the skill and daring of William Linn, though the documents of the time do not mention his name in connection with the affair. Dr. William Johnson Lynn, mentioned earlier in this paper, told Doctor Draper that he remembered hearing his parents speak of Colonel Linn's commanding the rear boat and escaping.[53] Doctor Draper evidently believed Doctor Lynn's story and regarded the incident as another instance of Linn's cleverness, for he made the comment, "Likely Lynn may have suspected treachery, and kept back."[54] Lieutenant Abraham Chapline was one of the prisoners taken in the attack, and the account given Doctor Draper by his son was the same as the account furnished by Doctor Lynn.[55]

In a letter describing the affair, Clark mentions no name but simply says,

"The Indians pressed hard on our men in their retreat, and boarded two of their bateaus; the third, having about a dozen soldiers on board as a guard, a brave fellow among them refused to surrender her, and assuming the command, brought her off through a heavy fire from the shore."[56]

Andrew Linn of Cookstown told Doctor Draper that he believed that William Linn was not with Rogers at this defeat.[57] He apparently changed his mind, however, after learning what his nephew, Dr. William Johnson, had said, for Doctor Draper noted on his copy of the above-quoted Clark letter that both Andrew Linn and Doctor Lynn stated that William Linn commanded the boat that escaped.[58]

If this was the case, it may be wondered why Clark did not name Linn in his report of the disaster. He and Linn were more or less estranged at the time as a result of Linn's drawing bills upon Virginia for private business deals as has already been described, but it seems incredible that Clark would allow any such feeling to keep him from doing Linn justice when he merited it.

Another thing that causes wonder is the fact that if Linn was one of the guards that accompanied the supplies on from the Falls of the Ohio, he was there as a mere private soldier instead of as an officer. He had held commands before this where he ranked first as captain and later as major. One must remember, however, that he could not have been a stickler for rank, since he gave his assistance always whenever and in whatever manner he could. A strong reason for his going would have been the fact that he had been summoned as defendant in a suit scheduled for trial in a court in Yohogania County on October 26, and traveling alone in those regions was not pleasant. It would have been only natural for him to ally himself with a party going up the Ohio, even though it did involve his going as a common soldier. The disastrous end of the expedition would have made it impossible for him to reach the Yohogania Court in time for the trial, and the record shows that judgment was entered against him for one thousand pounds. What the suit was about does not appear.[59]

A judgment for one thousand pounds against a frontiersman of that day seems appalling, but the condition of the currency then must be taken into account. By 1779, paper pounds

were so low in value that the sum assessed against Linn might have amounted to not much more than $100 in specie.

The year 1780 opened full of menace to the settlers in Kentucky. Spain had declared war against Great Britain the year before, the war with France had been occupying England since 1778, and the Revolution in America became merely part of the general trouble in which she was involved. The British government planned comprehensive attacks not only on the Spanish-American possessions west of the Mississippi and in Florida, but also against the part of the Illinois country that had been occupied by Clark and his Virginians, and on the American settlements in Kentucky. Major de Peyster, the British governor at Detroit, became alarmed at the number of immigrants pouring into Kentucky, and expended more than eighty-four thousand pounds of English money for presents to Indian tribes to secure their co-operation and to induce them to attack the Kentuckians. He reported in May that the Delawares and Shawnees were daily bringing in scalps and prisoners.[60]

The Delawares had previously been fairly friendly to the settlers, but now they were seeking to maintain peace with the authorities at Detroit. They were told to bring in "live meat" from among the Americans as proof of their fidelity to the British, and they were clearly obeyed.[61]

In March, 1780, the inhabitants of Boonesborough and of Bryan's Station sent pathetic petitions to Clark at Louisville, setting forth the appalling conditions in Kentucky. The one from Boonesborough stated that nothing less than a vigorous campaign against the Shawnee towns would put an end to the Indian depredations, preserve the settlements, and save many families in the country from ruin. They implored Clark's personal assistance, but asked that he beg Linn to command an expedition if he (Clark) should be unable to go himself, since they considered Linn the next best man for such an undertaking. Colonel Richard Henderson, sometimes called Judge Henderson, attested the letter accompanying the petition, saying that it expressed the unanimous sentiments of the people of Boonesborough. One of the men in the town thus expressing confidence in Linn was none other than Daniel Boone.[62]

The expedition requested was delayed for a time, since Clark was then bending his energies to comply with the in-

structions of Governor Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry's successor, to construct a fort near the mouth of the Ohio. He reached that point on April 19, and in May was called to the defense of Cahokia when it was attacked by British and Indians. Incidentally, his presence there contributed to the failure of the British attack on St. Louis, many Indians deserting the British on learning of Clark's arrival in that region.

In May, Major de Peyster sent Captain Bird from Detroit with one hundred fifty white soldiers, one thousand Indians, and two cannon, to attack the American posts at the Falls of the Ohio. On learning of the arrival there of reinforcements from Virginia, and of the failure of the British expedition against the Americans in the Illinois and the Spanish at St. Louis, Bird diverted his forces and attacked Ruddle's Station, a small stockaded post in northern Kentucky. Knowing that they could not withstand the British cannon, this post surrendered. Captain Bird granted very moderate terms of surrender, but found himself unable to control his Indians and carry out the terms, and therefore halted his invasion of Kentucky and returned to Detroit, with one hundred prisoners. Among them were the two older daughters of William Linn and their families. One of them had married a Ruddle and was living at Ruddle's Station, as was her sister, also married.[63] The two women were never recovered, but there is a fairly well authenticated tradition to the effect that one of them made her way back to Kentucky years later, much disfigured by tattooing.[64]

Word of Captain Bird's plans had reached Clark at Kaskaskia, and he had left there June 5, reaching Harrodsburg a short time in advance of the news of the disaster at Ruddle's Station. He quickly organized a retaliatory expedition one thousand strong. John Floyd, James Harrod, and William Linn, each commanding a militia battalion, met him at the Falls. Colonel Slaughter was already there with some regulars and artillery. They proceeded by boat to the rendezvous at the mouth of the Licking, and there met Benjamin Logan and his battalion, the largest in the expedition. It was composed of men from Boonesborough and from Logan's and Whitley's Stations, and had marched overland. Daniel Boone was with Logan.[65]

On August 1, the expedition crossed the Ohio and marched to Old Chillicothe which was found deserted. They pushed

on to Piqua, on the Big Miami River, and there encountered the Indians in force. The savages fought fiercely but were defeated, and their town and their crops were destroyed. Bland Ballard, the scout, was in Linn's command, and in the letter to Senator Lewis Fields Linn already mentioned, said that the colonel "most gallantly distinguished himself in the battle at Piqua."[66] That Linn did distinguish himself there would seem certain, for two of his own flesh and blood were then in the hands of the foe at Detroit.

In November of this year of 1780, the legislature of Virginia divided the County of Kentucky into three counties—Jefferson, Fayette, and Lincoln. John Floyd was appointed County Lieutenant and Colonel of the Militia for Jefferson County. In a letter to Governor Jefferson he acknowledges the receipt of his Colonel's commission, of a commission for Isaac Cox as Lieutenant Colonel, and of one for William Linn as Major.[67] Linn and Floyd had served as militia colonels in the Piqua campaign under appointments from Clark, and Clark had made Linn a major during the Kaskaskia campaign, but these new commissions were from the Virginia government.

And now to Linn's personal affairs again, and to the tract of land containing the famous Blue Salt Lick about which there was so much dispute. John Floyd had been deputy surveyor under Colonel William Preston, County Lieutenant of Fincastle County, Virginia, when that county included all Kentucky, and before Linn ever saw that region.[68] The correspondence between Preston and Floyd shows that Preston had laid claim very early to various tracts, among which was the one containing the Blue Lick. His claim antedated that of Linn.

In a letter apparently to Colonel Preston, dated November 26, 1779, Floyd says, "I have had no time to attend the commissioners here, and I am told they have granted a settlement and pre-emption to Capt. Wm Lynn on your Salt Spring by mistake. . . ."[69] On May 3, 1780, he wrote, "Col. William Lyn is so engaged in war that I have had no opportunity yet of mentioning the land affair."[70] Incidentally, the date of this letter suggests that Linn had been active in defense work in Kentucky even before the Piqua campaign in Ohio, and to the neglect of his own interests.

In another letter to Colonel Preston, dated April 26, 1781, after Linn's death, Floyd says, "Major Lynn, who you had to

dispute with about the Salt Spring was killed by the Indians as he was going to our March court; he seemed in his life time to be willing to settle the matter without a suit, but as he had partners in the claim was at a loss how to proceed."[71]

As regards "partners," Linn may have sold two-thirds of his Blue Lick claim not long after securing the right to it, for in his will, executed July 18, 1780, shortly before he left on the Piqua expedition, he bequeathed only one-third of it, to his son, Asahel. A patent issued for the tract in 1787 was in the name of William Linn, James Barbour, and John Williams, but inclusion of Linn's name may have been merely to complete the chain of title.

The beginning of the year 1781 saw the British influence dominant among the Indian tribes, and the American commander at Fort Pitt was anticipating a general Indian war.[72] Clark was in Virginia arranging for a large force to move against Detroit. John Todd wrote Governor Jefferson from Lexington, "Accounts from all quarters lead us to expect vigorous measures from our enemies the next campaign."[73] Indian raids against the settlements in Kentucky were renewed. Colonel John Floyd wrote to Jefferson, in April:

"We are all obliged to live in forts in this Country, and notwithstanding all the Caution that we use, forty-seven of the inhabitants have been killed and taken by the savages. . . . A large proportion of the inhabitants are helpless, indigent widows, & Orphans who have lost their husbands and fathers by Savage hands, and left among Strangers, without the common necessities of Life."[74]

One of the early victims of the Indians in this year was William Linn. He had passed through dangers uncountable, avoiding traps and pitfalls, and although wounded at least once had recovered to fight again and again. John Floyd called him "one of the finest Indian fighters in the world."[75] And now, on March 5, 1781, he was to be shot down while riding peaceably to attend county court in Louisville. Bland Ballard was living at Linn's Station at the time recovering from a wound received in the fight at Piqua, and in the letter to Senator Linn before mentioned, said:

"Lynn left the station a little ahead of the others of the party who were going to the court. Shortly after, a report of several guns was heard. A party from the fort immediately went to the place and found his horse killed by a shot but could find nothing of Linn. The next day the search was renewed, and his body was found about a mile from the station and near the place of residence of the late Colonel Anderson."[76]

In addition to the general hostility of the Indians towards Americans at this time, there may have been a desire for personal revenge. John Floyd, Jr., son of Colonel John Floyd, was reared on Beargrass, and while discussing the Seminole Indian situation in a Congressional debate in 1819, years later, illustrated one of his points by saying:

"In one instance, well known, when a band of Indians who had committed depredations and murders, were followed by Colonel Lynn, known to be a brave and active officer, by some chance of war one of the warriors fell into his hands and was hanged upon the next tree."

Doctor Draper commented upon this statement, remarking that revenge for the hanging of this Indian, a form of execution which involved an element of dishonor to the savage, was very probably the cause of Linn's death.[77]

When, on January 2, 1781, the Virginia legislature passed the resolution expressing an intention to cede Virginia lands north of the Ohio to the United States, it stipulated that a quantity of land not exceeding 150,000 acres be granted to the officers and men of the Illinois Regiment, in redemption of the pledge made to Clark before the expedition started out.[78] In 1783, the legislature passed an act which provided for the locating and surveying of these lands, and named a board of commissioners to consider all claims to land under the resolution. The land selected was across the river from Louisville in what is now the State of Indiana, and is referred to in documents sometimes as "Clark's Grant" and sometimes as "The Illinois Grant."[79]

The commission at first restricted allotments to such as "marched and continued to serve till the reduction of the British posts on the North West side of ye Ohio, . . . enlisted afterward [prior to January 2, 1781], & served during the war."

Under this rule a claim for allotment by the estate of William Linn was rejected August 4, 1784, possibly because Linn had marched as a volunteer and had not re-enlisted. A year later, however, the commission reconsidered its action and "Resolved that the heirs of William Linn Dec'd be entitled to receive a Major's quota of land in the Illinois Grant." The Linn heirs finally received 4,312 acres.[80]

The will of William Linn adds much to one's knowledge of his family. It gives the name of his second wife as Lettia probably Letitia). By her he had one daughter, Ann. To Ann he bequeathed the home plantation known as Linn's Station and one Negro slave woman. To the wife were left the household equipment and the profits of the plantation so long as she remained single. His oldest son, William, was given his choice of one thousand acres of his father's land below the mouth of the Big Miami, and two Negro slaves. Provision was made for freeing one of these slaves within fourteen years after the death of the testator.

To his son, Asahel, Linn gave a third of the Big Blue Lick and 330 acres of the surrounding land adjoining that was covered by the pre-emption certificate issued to Linn November 20, 1779. Asahel was also given a young Negro slave. The son, Benjamin, was given one thousand acres adjoining the tract bequeathed to his brother, William, below the Big Miami, and a mulatto boy slave. The two daughters, Theodosia and Luornamia, who had been captured at Ruddle's Station, were given one thousand acres each, in the lands below the Big Miami provided they returned from captivity. Another daughter, Rachel, was given six hundred acres from the lands on Harrod's Creek, and a Negro girl slave.

Linn named two other children, twins, John and Josie, born while he was away on his first trip to Kentucky, in 1775. To them he left one shilling each. A home had doubtless been provided for them when their mother died, and they seem not to have been in his family afterward.

Four friends of Linn were left 1,250 acres below the Big Miami, on condition that two of them serve as executors of the estate and as trustees to guard the property interests of the sons, William and Asahel, and care for their education. The

four friends were to bear the costs of surveying the lands Linn left.

Unhappily, all these land bequests proved to be futile. It is doubtful if the titles to any Kentucky lands mentioned in this will were ever confirmed to William Linn or his heirs. A singular fatality befell his attempts to acquire real estate. The County Court of Jefferson County appointed Colonel William Pope, one of its members, as administrator of the estate and guardian of William and Asahel,[61] and two other friends were made guardians of Ann Linn.[62] An inventory of the estate, showing that Linn was equipped as a well-to-do settler for those times, was filed in the County Court June 3, 1783, but the actual value of his property is hard to estimate. The inventory shows the low level to which the currency of his day had sunk. Appraised values were stated in pounds. Typical items are: 6 slaves, 31,000 pounds; 1 crosscut saw, 300; 1 churn, 30; 3 razors, hone strop, and oil bottle, 100; 30 pounds bacon, 144; 2 sows and pigs, 2,200; 1 bed quilt, sheet, curtains, and pair of pillows, 1,000.[63]

In 1784, Colonel Pope, the guardian of William and Asahel Linn, built and moved into a house about five miles south of Louisville, in a locality more liable to Indian attack than were houses in the town. He employed a teacher, primarily for the benefit of his own children, but took the Linn boys into the class, along with the sons of some of his friends. These boys were full of the spirit and daring of their sires. In February, 1785, the Linn brothers and some of the other boys went hunting and camped for the night near the bank of the Ohio in a forested bottom where ponds were frequented by geese, ducks, and other water fowl. In the morning they found themselves surrounded by Indians who seized them and endeavored to learn from them the location of unprotected houses or settlements. The boys refused to give information, thereby saving the home of Colonel Pope. They were carried to Indian towns on the White River in what is now Indiana. By their endurance in tests of fortitude and by their prowess in contests they soon became favorites, were adopted into the tribe, and assigned to families. They pretended to be content with their lot and were allowed great liberties, but they were merely awaiting an opportunity to escape.

In the autumn the warriors set out on their annual hunt, leaving the young captives behind in charge of the old men and the women. On one of their fishing trips taking them some distance from the village, no one accompanied them but an old man and a squaw. The boys dispatched these two people and set out for home. Traveling by night and hiding by day, living on wild fruits, nuts, and small game, they reached the Ohio three weeks later. They made a raft large enough to carry the three smaller boys, and William swam the river, pushing the raft to the Kentucky shore where they were seen and rescued. Indians pursued them to the river and fired at them while they were crossing, but the boys were not hit.[64]

These Linn sons grew to manhood in Louisville. William married Mary Keller, widow of Absalom Keller, July 5, 1790, and later they moved to Missouri.[65] Asahel Linn, on November 3, 1792, married Nancy Dodge, whose maiden name had been Nancy Ann Hunter.[66] She was the daughter of Captain Joseph Hunter, one of the original settlers on Corn Island, in 1778.[67] Before marrying Asahel Linn, Nancy had married and separated from Israel Dodge, by whom she had one son, Henry Dodge, who became governor and afterward United States Senator from Wisconsin. By Asahel Linn Nancy had three children, William, Lewis Fields, and Mary Ann. Lewis Fields Linn became a prominent physician in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, and later, United States Senator from that state. Nancy, therefore, had the distinction of being mother of United States Senators from two different states. Her daughter, Mary Ann, became the wife of John McArthur, of Baltimore, Maryland.[68] A grandson, Augustus C. Dodge, was Congressman from Iowa.

A tale which has been handed down shows that Nancy possessed the courage and daring of her forebears. During an attack by Indians on a beleaguered garrison, a cow and her calf were outside, and the saving of them meant the saving of children's lives. While the men were parleying over what to do and hesitating to expose themselves, Nancy Ann ran out into the open and taking up the calf brought it into the enclosure, the cow following, while shots of the savages whistled by her and cut her clothing. She was not injured.[69]

By this time, one may be pardoned for longing to know something of William Linn's personal characteristics and ap-

pearance. Fortunately, Andrew Linn, of Cookstown, left some information concerning these. He told Dr. Draper that his uncle was about five feet nine in height, was heavily formed, with dark complexion, black hair, dark eyes, and a handsome round face; that he weighed about one hundred and seventy pounds, and in disposition was sociably inclined.[90] Patrick Scott, a Kentuckian who knew Linn well, described him as playful, active, and a very swift runner, although unwilling to run in races on which bets had been placed, owing to a dislike of gambling.[91] This may betray some of the traditional Scotch-Irish morality, and Linn must have been possessed of orthodox religious ideas. His brother, Benjamin, became a notable preacher and church organizer in Kentucky, as another of this series of papers shows, and Colonel William's nephew, the Reverend William Lynn, was a well known circuit rider in Southern Indiana, and continued preaching after he moved to Iowa.[92] There is abundant evidence to show that Colonel William was generous and hospitable, and that Linn's Station was often a refuge for settlers compelled by Indians to leave their own homes.

Any man may justly be considered a figure of national importance when he conceives or executes a plan that affects his country materially. The fame of George Rogers Clark is due mainly to his planning and carrying out the Illinois campaign which resulted in the moving of the western boundary of the United States from the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi River. But it has already been suggested in this paper that Linn had more to do with the formulating of Clark's plans than is generally realized. The information he acquired during his powder expedition and passed on to Clark, his grasp of the significance of the news of the French alliance with the colonists and his promptness in conveying this news to Clark had an important bearing on the success of the campaign against Kaskaskia.

While the credit for planning the daring and dramatic powder expedition to New Orleans belongs to Governor Patrick Henry, it was carried out by George Gibson and William Linn, and of these two Linn deserves the greater glory, since it was he who brought the powder up the Mississippi at that critical time. Had he failed to arrive with it, the settlers west of the

Alleghenies would have been practically helpless, the conquest by the British of the entire trans-mountain frontier would have been inevitable, and Clark's expedition to the Illinois in 1778 would have been impossible. With the colonists crushed in the West, the patriots fighting east of the mountains would certainly have been attacked from the rear, and their chances for success would have been greatly diminished.

Colonel William Linn is entitled to a place among our national heroes and as to his place in Kentucky history. He should be put beside Clark, Logan, Floyd, and the other builders of that great State. The letter from the inhabitants of Boonesborough asking that Linn be appointed to lead an expedition against the Shawnees in case Clark could not do so, and Floyd's estimate of him as one of the best Indian fighters in the world show that Kentuckians of that time regarded Linn and Clark as their foremost leaders.

NOTES

Draper Manuscripts Indicated Herein as D.M.

[1] Andrew Linn, of Cookstown, to Lewis Fields Linn, January 30, 1828, D.M. 37J62-77; Andrew of Cookstown to Dr. Lyman C. Draper, February 8, 1845; April 6, 1845; July 27, 1845; and September 23, 1848, D.M. 37J17-21; Andrew of Cookstown, interview with Dr. Draper, October 6, 1848, D.M. 37J22-4.

[2] Andrew Linn of Cookstown, interview. See note 1.

[3] *Ibid.;* Draper note appended to interview *supra.*

[4] Eliza B. Lynn, *Genealogy of Colonel Andrew Lynn, Jr., and Mary Ashercraft Johnson and Their Descendants,* Part I, 5, 6; *Ibid.,* Part II, 2.

[5] Andrew Linn interview.

[6] *Ibid.;* "Certificate Book Virginia Land Commission," in *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* (January, 1923), 53; Journal Colonel Richard Henderson, entries July 19 and 25, 1775, in D.M. 1CC99-102; Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark,* 19.

[7] Andrew Linn interview.

[8] W. W. Hening, *Statutes at Large,* X, 35-50.

[9] Certificate Book Virginia Land Commission. See note 6.

[10] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio,* xiii.

[11] Edgar W. Hassler, *Old Westmoreland,* chapter V (An exceptional account of the Powder Expedition).

[12] *Kaskaskia Records,* ed. by C. W. Alvord, in *Illinois Historical Collections,* V, xvii, *et seq.*

[13] E. W. Hassler, *Old Westmoreland,* chapter V.

[14] *Ibid.;* Petition of William Gorman, in *Journal* Virginia Legislature, October Session, 1777, entries November 10 and 14; William Linn to Oliver Pollock, November 30, 1776. D.M. 60J277.

[15] Andrew Linn interview.

[16] *Kaskaskia Records* (see note 12), Statement Thomas Bentley, 12; *Ibid.*, Testimony Hippolito Bolen, 34-36; J. A. James, *Oliver Pollock*, 102.

[17] Col. Dorsey Pentecost to Capt. William Harrod, January 28, 1777, in *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 226; John Page to Col. George Morgan *et al.*, April 15, 1777, *Ibid.*, 247-248, f. n. 91.

[18] Draper Notes on William Linn, D.M. 36J41; *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 252, f. n. 99.

[19] Hassler, *Old Westmoreland*, chapter V.

[20] U. S. Senate Report No. 26, on Revolutionary War Claims, Serial No. 836, 34th Congress, 1st Session, March 4, 1856, Vol. I.

[21] *Kaskaskia Records*, xix, xx.

[22] See note 38. James, *Oliver Pollock*, 102, f. n. 31.

[23] *Virginia State Papers*, II, 675.

[24] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 54-68.

[25] Petition of John Cullins, *Ibid.*, 109-110, f. n. 73; Capt. John Van Meter to Col. Edward Cook, September 28, 1777, *Ibid.*, 110, 111.

[26] Dr. Wm. Johnson Lynn, interview by Draper, D.M. 37J22-41.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Senate Committee Report, see note 20, *supra.*

[30] *Frontier Defense, supra*, 132, 133.

[31] Will of William Linn, in Office Jefferson County Court Clerk, Kentucky.

[32] George Rogers Clark to George Mason, November 19, 1779, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 118; Draper Notes on William Linn, *supra.*

[33] John Campbell to Clark, June 8, 1778. *Frontier Defense*, 298-300.

[34] Draper Notes on William Linn.

[35] Andrew Linn, interview.

[36] "Clark Memoir," in *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 302; Clark to Mason, *Ibid.*, 123; Deposition Col. John Montgomery, February 17, 1783, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, XIX, 195, 196.

[37] "Clark Diary," *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 27; Wythe, Mason, and Jefferson to Clark, January 3, 1778, *Ibid.*, 37; J. A. James, *George Rogers Clark*, 114, 124.

[38] See note 22. James, *Oliver Pollock*, 144, 156.

[39] Deposition re Linn's Bills, *Illinois Historical Collections*, XIX, 195-197.

[40] "Journal of Western Commissioners," *Ibid.*, 321; "Northwestern Commissioners and Western Debts," *Ibid.*, 224.

[41] Bills drawn on Virginia, *Ibid.*, 283.

[42] *Ibid.*, 371.

[43] "Clark Memoir," *supra*, 239, 240; Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 19.

[44] Andrew Linn, interview.

[45] Lloyd Levis, interview with Bland Ballard, D.M. 37J62-77.

[46] Filson Club *Publications*, No. 7, *The Centenary of Kentucky*, pp. 139, 142, 149.

[47] Col. John Bowman to Clark, June 13, 1779, *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 332.

[48] "Clark Memoir," *Ibid.*, 300.

[49] "Certificate Book . . .", *Register*, Kentucky State Historical Society (September, 1923), 189, 190, 191.

[50] Entry Book for Jefferson County Kentucky, 185, in Office County Court Clerk. Linn's Beargrass Claim is here marked "surveyed"; *Ibid.*, Bland Ballard's Claim noted as adjoining Linn's four hundred acres.

[51] Deed Book 1, p. 436, Office Jefferson County Court Clerk.

[52] "Clark Memoir," *supra*, 302.

[53] D.M. 37J22-41.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Draper note on transcript of Clark letter of November 27, 1779, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* XXIV, 94, n. 1.

[56] D.M. 23J29.

[57] Andrew Linn, interview.

[58] See note 55 *supra.*

[59] *Minutes* of Yohogania County, October 26, 1779, in *Annals of Carnegie Museum,* II, Part 1, p. 392.

[60] *Illinois Historical Collections,* VIII, cxxxv.

[61] Col. De Peyster to the Delawares, April 12, 1781, *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* XXIV, 375 376.

[62] *Illinois Historical Collections,* VIII, 396, 402.

[63] Andrew Linn, interview.

[64] W. H. Lynn to Helen Pruitt Beattie, August 11, 1917.

[65] Howe (*Ohio Historical Collections,* 68), gives Clark's account of the destruction of Piqua, first published in John Bradford's *Notes of Kentucky* (April 29, 1838).

[66] Bland Ballard interview, April 29, 1838, D.M. 37J62-77.

[67] *Illinois Historical Collections,* VIII, 529.

[68] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War,* 9, f. n. 15.

[69] D.M. 17CC186-187.

[70] *Ibid.,* 129.

[71] *Ibid.,* 135-137.

[72] Daniel Brodhead to Thomas Jefferson, January 17, 1781, *Illinois Historical Collections,* VIII, 495.

[73] John Todd, Jr., to Jefferson, February 1, 1781, *Ibid.,* 503.

[74] John Floyd to Jefferson, April 24, 1781, *Ibid.,* 541-543.

[75] D.M. 24CC51-54.

[76] Bland Ballard interview, *supra.*

[77] D.M. 30J30.

[78] Hening, *Statutes at Large,* X, 565.

[79] *Illinois Historical Collections,* XIX, 413-464.

[80] Allotment of Lands in Clark Grant, *Ibid.,* 418-419, 426-427; W. H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio,* II, 839.

[81] Pope as Administrator, *Illinois Historical Collections,* XIX, 195; William Pope as Guardian, Draper Notes, D.M. 5J104; James Hall, *The Romance of Western History,* 113.

[82] *The Filson Club History Quarterly* (July, 1929), 192.

[83] *Ibid.,* 177-179.

[84] James Hall, *Romance of Western History,* 115-118.

[85] Marriage Records, Jefferson County, Kentucky; Andrew Linn, interview.

[86] Marriage Records, Jefferson County, Kentucky.

[87] Filson Club *Publications* No. 8, *The Centenary of Louisville,* p. 40.

[88] Robert E. Schleuter, "Dr. Lewis Fields Linn, Physician and Statesman", in *Weekly Bulletin,* St. Louis Medical Society (January 25, 1935); E. A. Linn and N. Sargent, *Life and Public Services of Dr. Lewis Fields Linn,* 16; Will of Asahel Linn, in Office Jefferson County Court Clerk, Kentucky.

[89] Bodley, *George Rogers Clark,* 170.

[90] Andrew Linn, interview.

[91] D.M. 11CC7-8.

[92] *Cumberland Presbyterian* (January 20, 1898); Rev. W. J. Darby, paper on the Reverend William Linn read before Indiana Presbytery, Princeton, Indiana (April, 1876).