

GEORGE CROGHAN [1791-1849]:

A STUDY OF THE NON-MILITARY LIFE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

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Colonel George Croghan was the only son of Major William [1752-1822] and Lucy Clark Croghan [1765-1838] to enter the military. Fighting in the War of 1812, George Croghan again distinguished his family, as his father and uncle, General George Rogers Clark [1752-1818], had done before in the American Revolution. He later became Inspector General of the United States Army (1826-1849), a position he held through the administrations of Presidents Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, and Polk.

Perhaps it is fortunate that the frequent poor conduct of George Croghan remains well-recorded. A monument of family letters and papers is extant in various institutions and they mark his life as one of intemperance and indebtedness. For the researcher, his conduct, or lack of it, has provided a means for studying an early Kentucky family. The voluminous Croghan family correspondence would have certainly been reduced drastically if the colonel's every public display of intemperance was not discussed in detail. Interesting facts about the family were carried in every letter, but the primary motive for writing usually centered on George Croghan. This distinguished, youthful hero of the War of 1812 has been compared to his more famous uncle, George Rogers Clark. Both were intemperate and in debt in later life, but Clark's life was marked by tragedy. George Croghan never was that fortunate. He sailed along from incident to incident, never to truly know that hour of success, never to be deposed from leadership by lesser men as Clark was. This study of the Inspector General of the United States Army, Colonel George Croghan of Louisville, Kentucky, is another in a series, growing out of research undertaken for the restoration of Locust Grove, where George Croghan was born and raised. The author wishes to thank the Locust Grove Division of Historic Homes Foundation for its generous support of this research.

George Croghan first joined the military in the fall of 1811 for expeditions against the Indians in the Northwest Territory. It was, however, a year later that he reasoned with his father:

I determined to enter the Army that you might for the future be relieved from the expense of my education and &c [,] at the same time to gain a pretty general acquaintance with mankind, & a knowledge of the world.¹

The expense of Croghan's education had been considerable. As in the case of all the Croghan children, his earliest education was obtained in the second floor ballroom at Locust Grove; however, he

was soon to depart for far distant institutions of higher education. By the fall of 1806, he had matriculated in the Danville (Kentucky) Seminary with his brother, John [1790-1849],² and his cousins, the O'Fallons.³ George remained for the school year, studying under Dr. Priestley [d.1821], "his native tongue—geography—the elements of geometry—and the Latin and Greek languages. In these different branches of literature he made a respectable progress."⁴

In September, 1808, young Croghan left Kentucky with his cousin Richard Clough Anderson, Jr. [1788-1826] for the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia.⁵ John Croghan had attended the college during the previous year and was pursuing the scientific course which George began also.⁶ His interests were primarily biography and history, although he enjoyed and could recite much from Shakespeare. Evidently his conduct was not perfect,⁷ but it was adequate enough for graduation, July 4, 1810. His commencement oration on the subject of expatriatism was "concise, ingenious, and argumentative, and was pronounced in a manner which did great credit to his oratorical powers."⁸

William Croghan, Sr. was anxious for his son to continue an academic pursuit leading to a profession. Littleton Tazewell [1774-1860],⁹ with whom George had stayed while at William and Mary, suggested George attend the law lectures of Judge William Nelson. Tazewell had been asked by William Croghan about the advisability of George's returning in the fall of 1810 for further education. With the "utmost candor" Tazewell characterized Croghan, indicating precisely the very idiosyncracies which would plague him in maturity.

That he [George] may do well and be an ornament to his country is my hearty wish. All depends on himself. Nature has sufficiently endowed him with capacity, and an indulgent Father hath furnished him all the means of improvement. A more docile young man I have never known. He is a youth for whom I myself with each individual of my family have the highest esteem . . . George has a most excellent disposition, indeed his greatest fault is, that he is disposed to be liberal, perhaps, in too extensive a degree.¹⁰

Croghan attended the course of law lectures apparently for only half a year, before returning to Locust Grove to pursue his education with "miscellaneous reading." This included mostly history and biography and the writings of Shakespeare, the noted passages of which he could recite.¹¹ George was more adventurous than his brothers and the uneventful execution of the law profession did not appeal to his outdoorsman taste. While at Locust Grove, "his principal amusements were gunning and fox hunting. He would frequently

rise at twelve o'clock at night, and repair to the woods alone (or with no attendant but his little servant) either to give chase to the fox, or to battle the wild cat and racoon."¹¹ His interest began to center on military affairs and certainly the battles described by his uncle George Rogers Clark influenced his imagination. With his cousins, John O'Fallon [1791-1865] and J. R. Gwathmey [dates unknown], George Croghan left Locust Grove in the fall of 1811¹² as a volunteer dragoon to fight Indians in the Northwest Territory.

The military aspects of George Croghan's career, especially during the War of 1812, have been the subject of many detailed publications,¹³ therefore only the highlights will be summarized to maintain a sense of continuity. At the Battle of Tippecanoe, Croghan served as volunteer, aide-de-camp to the acting Brigadier General Col. John P. Boyd [1764-1830].¹⁴ He was appointed captain in the new army in the spring of 1812, following the request of his father of General William Henry Harrison [1773-1841] for the promotion.¹⁵ A year later, again probably with the persuasion of his father, George was promoted to major.¹⁶

By 1813, the conduct of the war moved into the lower Great Lakes region where Harrison attempted to curtail the naval support of the British land operations by controlling the rivers leading from the Lakes. Major Croghan was in charge of the garrison at Fort Stephenson near the head of the Sandusky River.¹⁷ In late July, Harrison issued orders to Croghan to evacuate the fort immediately and to set fire to it.¹⁸ Croghan's emphatic reply defying his orders would begin a successful defense of Fort Stephenson, and would bring to Croghan instant fame for his bravery and valor. ". . . yours . . . was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can."¹⁹

Croghan reported that the siege began on August first, with cannonading by an advance group (700-800) of Indians and a large detachment (500) of British regulars. Late in the afternoon of the second, an attack was mounted, but Croghan's one 6 pound cannonaded the oncoming charge and the assault was defeated. The American loss was one killed and seven wounded, whereas Croghan estimated the enemy's to exceed 150 as killed, wounded, or taken prisoner.²⁰

Governor Harrison was initially complimentary in his reports to the Secretary of War, but soon he began to circulate reports that disparaged Croghan's apparently brilliant defense.²¹ Quite a verbal hassel resulted, with a considerable correspondence emanating between the military leader and his subordinate. Croghan was never one to play down an opportunity for public credit although being subdued by his commander. But he never seemed to receive the

satisfaction he thought he deserved and time and again, reopened the confrontation.

Following the battle, Major Croghan marched under General Benjamin Howard [1760-1814] westward to the Illinois River area²² and then returned to Locust Grove²³ late in 1813. In the spring of the next year, Croghan was ordered to command the post at Detroit.²⁴ In July, Major Croghan took part in the extensive operation of both army and navy troops attempting to capture Michilimackinac Island.²⁵ As the war in the Northwest Territory was drawing to a close, Croghan returned again to Locust Grove. However, reports in January, 1815, from New Orleans were awesome. Although the Treaty of Ghent had been signed, British troops were seiging the city whose defenses were under Andrew Jackson's [1765-1845] command. Edmund P. Gaines [1777-1849] wrote the Secretary of War, James Monroe [1758-1831] that he had "advised Lt. Col. Croghan, Major Taylor and Captain Bradford . . . at Louisville, Kentucky, to raise and organize with the consent of the Governor, a corps of Volunteers not exceeding 2000 men; and put them in readiness to descend the river to Louisiana."²⁶ Croghan wrote Governor Isaac Shelby [1750-1826] of his willingness to command the corps of volunteers,²⁷ but it was not until at least late spring that Croghan arrived in New Orleans.²⁸

What had appeared in January to be an exciting military situation became a routine command in October. Major General Jackson had returned to Washington and Lt. Col. Croghan was about to be relieved of command by Major Thomas S. Jesup [1788-1860], his future brother-in-law. Although Croghan described Jesup as an "Intelligent fellow, an officer to whom I am ferandly (*sic*) attached," he was furious at being replaced by a junior officer of the regular army. Croghan asked for leave so the embarrassing situation could not occur, but it was not granted.²⁹ Jesup did not arrive in New Orleans to assume command until June. Croghan had not been granted a furlough, but departed for New York by boat without concern.³⁰ His military career would not be resumed for ten years.

While in New York, Croghan made his greatest single mistake. He selected Serena Eliza Livingston [1795-1884] to become his wife. He described her kindly as "the fairest flower of the Hudson." She had concealed her thorns miraculously. Croghan made his plan such

that I have left the army, that I am shortly to be married and that I have resolved on establishing myself as a farmer in the neighborhood of Louisville and there to enjoy 'time cum digniti' (as the landowners have it). The young lady to whom I am engaged is the niece to Edward Livingston of New Orleans and the . . . daughter of J. R. Livingston of this city [New York].³⁰

For the next seven years, Croghan was seemingly unproductive, as his enterprises were poorly recorded. He traveled extensively from New York to New Orleans via Louisville.³¹ Being in part financially dependent upon his father, he helped maintain the Locust Grove farm while engaging in land and rent speculation for him. He was also obligated to Serena's family, especially to her uncle, Edward Livingston [1764-1836], in New Orleans. Croghan had a sugar plantation outside the city, but his constant movement left little time for his regular plantation duties. He considered its value at over \$100,000, but already he was in need of additional sums to finance some improvements.³²

Unfortunately, Serena did not enjoy the climate in New Orleans and preferred the conviviality of the New York gentry. Orlando Brown [1801-1867], son of the senator from Kentucky, John Brown, wrote descriptively of the Croghan relationship in 1820. "Col. Croghan and lady passed . . . [through Princeton, New Jersey] a few weeks ago. He looks a good deal 'hen Pecked.' He intends returning to Ky. in a short time leaving his *aimable* sweet tempered wife at her fathers."³³ There is no confusing Orlando Brown's sentiments and this was certainly not a spot judgment, for the Brown family knew and understood the Croghans well and had for a long time.³⁴

Croghan did return to Kentucky in November of 1820 with the artist John Wesley Jarvis [1780-1840]. They had been acquaintances at least since late 1816 or early 1817 when George was pursuing Serena in New York and Jarvis painted one of George's portraits.³⁵ Undoubtedly, before departing from Louisville for New Orleans, Jarvis visited Locust Grove to paint the superb portraits of Major Croghan and his wife, Lucy Clark Croghan.³⁶ Both John Jarvis and George Croghan continued by steamboat near the end of the year to New Orleans. Descending the Mississippi River also was the naturalist and painter, John James Audubon [1785-1851]. His arrival was somewhat later and Croghan was already established at his plantation.³⁷ Audubon sought out his old friend, George Croghan. The two had hunted racoon over the Locust Grove tract when Audubon was a merchant in Louisville from 1808 until 1810.³⁸ Audubon would often relate that Major William Croghan had pointed out to him a hollow sycamore tree which he estimated had some 9,000 chimney swifts inhabiting it for the winter.³⁹ Audubon was just beginning to formulate his realistic, three dimensional style of animals in action. He had few patrons and little financial resource. Croghan undoubtedly made the arrangements for the "painter of feathers" to meet the "painter of portraits." As can be perceived

by their respective feelings towards each other's subject matter, the meeting was not successful and Audubon failed to become an accessory painter for Jarvis. Jarvis had a fine and experienced background painter, Henry Inman [1801-1846], and he was leary that Audubon's realism and detail, even in the background, would detract from his portraits.⁴⁰

Evidently Croghan continued to reside in Louisiana, although in 1823 he exchanged his plantation for houses in New Orleans. As usual, his anticipated income was falling short of his expenditures.⁴¹ Believing his earlier military exploits justified a military or political appointment, Croghan and his family sought the aid of two fairly recent visitors to Locust Grove. If appointments or recommendations would be made, General Andrew Jackson or President James Monroe certainly could lend their weight.⁴² In March of 1824, Jackson recommended Croghan for the position of postmaster at New Orleans to John McLean [1785-1861], the postmaster general.⁴³ In April the position seemed assured him and Serena's family was applying great pressure on him to work, but he wanted to know more about the possibility of becoming the adjutant general.⁴⁴ In July, he left Louisville for New Orleans to become its new and progressive postmaster. He was off to a bad start, however. His brother John thought, rightly, that he was unsuited for the job, but suggested he apply for the same position in New York City where "it would be more lucrative and less laborious."⁴⁵ And, of course, Serena refused to accompany him, but he wanted to remain employed there at least long enough to pay off his debts.⁴⁶

Exactly what John Croghan meant by "laborious" is difficult to ascertain. George only worked one or two hours a day at the post office and considered enhancing his income by acting as a commissioned agent to handle produce shipped in from northern Louisiana. To compensate for not buying or renting a home, he proposed to build a new post office and dwelling house under the same roof in a corner of the custom house square.⁴⁶ For Croghan, traveling to and from work was the hardest part of the day.

Land speculation around New Orleans reached a high level in the early 1820's and this atmosphere brought an undesirable element to the city. Croghan was weak in character and was further weakened by a dominating wife. Under her watchful eye he maintained dignified habits, but alone, he acted with reckless abandon. He no doubt took an active part in his city's life. John Croghan stated flatly, "I dislike the idea of his locating himself permanently in the vile [center] of dissipation New Orleans."⁴⁷

With the expectation of an extended residency in New Orleans,

George began to appropriate postal funds to meet his own short term notes.⁴⁸ The chief clerk was sick for extended periods, allowing the menial bookkeeping tasks to be fulfilled by the postmaster.⁴⁹ For a man who in his adult years never witnessed a debt-free day, George had a perfectly delightful, euphoric attitude. It was his only saving grace. The future was studded with bright successes in his various speculations. Over the long run the post office would be reimbursed. But when another position became available in 1826, George left the post office and at least a \$11,898.07 debt.⁵⁰ The amount was the first, but certainly not the last, paid by the family to maintain the Croghan name.

While discontent with the post office routine, Croghan had sought the position of adjutant general.⁵¹ Evidently he was completely ignored. His difficulties in obtaining a federal position, he believed, were because of the deflated role he was given at Fort Stephenson in the public press. The future president, William Henry Harrison, was the logical conspirator. In 1825, the bitterest of controversies was rekindled by Croghan. The significance of his role, not only at Fort Stephenson but within the scope of the theatre in the northwest, needed clarification and publicizing. The end result would be an important federal appointment.

The controversy had erupted seven years earlier. Reports reached Croghan that Harrison at a dinner in Philadelphia credited the defense of Fort Stephenson to the folly of the enemy and not to the gallantry of the defenders. Robert Breckinridge McAfee's *History of the Late War in the Western Country . . .* (Lexington, 1816) which had been substantially edited by Harrison, maintained the same idea. Croghan wrote Harrison in the strongest terms for a "candid *denial* or *admission*." If the latter were the case as Croghan seemingly hoped, "I will immediately take it upon myself to correct the false impressions you may have created."⁵²

Harrison graciously replied, denying the charges and in fact referred to the numerous opportunities he had championed Croghan's cause. But Harrison failed to close the matter, probably because his own temper began to flare. He concluded:

I have always said and believed Sandusky could have been taken, and that the Enemy acted most stupidly, but does this opinion detract from the heroism which determined you never to surrender when you knew it was my opinion and that of other officers that it could not be defended against a proper attack?⁵³

Croghan replied in part, "the subject I hope may stand at rest forever, at least as far as relates to yourself."⁵⁴ Croghan realized

and admitted that Harrison had not maliciously maligned him, but at the same time he did not consider Harrison to be his greatest supporter. Then in 1825, Croghan referred to their last letter of August, 1818, as he, again, was enraged by supposedly detrimental remarks in a recently published biography of Harrison. The force of Croghan's retaliation is incredible.⁶⁵ It strikes one as being so out of character, because he seemingly did not ever become bothered by criticism. The correspondence and this letter in particular do emphasize two points clearly. Croghan was trying to cause such a commotion that through the resulting publicity he would enhance his chances of a military appointment. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, his public honor was at stake. His military prestige was being deflated. The defense of Fort Stephenson was his only realization of universal fame. He had to maintain its importance in the northwest theatre and in this reopening letter he maneuvered the successful conduct of the war around his defense. The actual significance of the defense must be somewhere between the concepts held by both men, probably farther away from Croghan's inflated opinion. It is interesting to note, but unfortunate to record, that George Croghan would have to make his stand on this single military action. His private life, moral conduct, intemperance, his reputation other than in the defense of Fort Stephenson meant nothing. He was incredibly weak in character and his one significant accomplishment would have to endure a life time.

Harrison did not answer the May, 1825, letter. Probably he was too angered by the demands and enlarged statements put forth by his former subordinate. Receiving no satisfaction, Croghan threatened to have their correspondence published unless Harrison brought before the public the full significance of "the transactions at Lower Sandusky."⁶⁶ In the meantime Harrison had begun to prepare a manuscript for publication as a supplement to either Humphrey Marshall's *History of Kentucky* (Frankfort, 1824) or to Moses Dawson's *A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major-General William H. Harrison . . .* (Cincinnati, 1824). He chose the latter and obtained Dawson's consent to publish the supplement, but would not agree to do so until Croghan withdrew his threatening letters.⁶⁷ Croghan refused to recall the letters stating:

My letter of the 5th August which you have determined on construing in a threat of the most offensive character was written with no other view than the one expected, to prove to you that I was in earnest, for I had every reason to believe that without an occasional hint of the kind, you might in your forgetfulness let slip a third opportunity for rendering justice to those who fought at Sandusky.⁶⁸

Repeatedly, Harrison had attempted to accommodate these excessive demands, but he could no longer cope with the problem.

I now write to make a proposition which I think it impossible you can reject. It is this. As it seems impossible that we can come to any agreement ourselves, let us leave the whole matter to one or more of our mutual friends constituting a board of Honor. Say Genl. Jesup. It could not be in safer hands for either of us.⁵⁹

Croghan agreed to mediation by Jesup,⁶⁰ who evidently asked several friends to aid in working out an agreement. No report was made by Jesup,⁶¹ who with intimate knowledge of the northwest theatre, evidently considered Croghan's position as untenable.

Although Croghan did not receive restitution in print, he did obtain a federal appointment. The matter was thus suspended.

He made reference to his appointment [December, 1825] as inspector general of the United States army in a letter to General Jesup:

Mr. [Henry] Clay [1777-1852], Genl. Harrison, Col. [Josiah Stoddard] Johnston [1784-1833] and you (more especially) are entitled to and shall receive on the first opportunity that may arise, my personal expression of grateful Thanks for the active part you have taken in obtaining for me the place in question I will of course be a little awkward at first (for I have not looked at a military book in 10 years).⁶²

As inspector general, Colonel Croghan was required to make a yearly tour of the various posts which maintained the regular army which did not exceed more than 6,000 men. These small, isolated installations were the stabilizing force in the development of the west. Croghan represented the general-in-chief of the army and was to report to him his findings at the different garrisons. His reports were most valuable as they depicted every facet of army life. Suggestions for important military changes were also made by Colonel Croghan, not only in an official report, but also by private communications, usually with Quartermaster General T. S. Jesup. Because of their insight into the conditions of western life, the reports have been published.⁶³

The tours were made in the summer months, usually between June and October. After his official report was submitted, Croghan appeared free to await the following year's tour. Obviously, his position required much paper work in preparation for each tour and this was not recorded in his correspondence. His non-military time was spent in one occupation. He was thinking or writing about money. He only corresponded when he needed money, but at that,

his letters still extant would fill a trunk. His long, yearly tour seemed to be his undoing. George would hardly be out of his wife's eyesight before he was drinking and gambling. Returning to Philadelphia, New York, Washington, or wherever Serena remained behind, he would immediately begin to correspond with the family to regain a financial hold.

Of course when he started out on his first tour, he already owed the post office department a considerable sum. He asked Orlando Brown for aid, but received none.⁶¹ As has been shown in the case of Serena, Orlando was a keen judge of character. George turned quickly to a windfall, the lands of his recently deceased brother, Nicholas [1802-1826]. As George outlived his parents and all his sisters and brothers except William [1794-1850], he frequently resorted to instant sale of their lands and property for debt payment. When Lucy Clark Croghan died in April, 1838,⁶⁴ George wrote his brother John lamenting the fact that their mother could never see how perfect his conduct would become, and in the next sentence he wanted to know what was in her will.⁶⁵

It should be made perfectly clear and emphasized that George Croghan never really fraudulently, maliciously, or disrespectfully entered into his debt-easing situations. His uncanny ability to continually obtain loans and outright gifts of money to answer his outrageous debts is a credit to his charming personality.

He overwhelmed his fellow officers, sympathized with his family, and was personable with his prospective bankers. George was his own bank and, as it was a traveling affair, he asked for new accounts from whomever he might meet. His indebtedness from incompetence while intemperate aroused the indignation of all around him, but had little effect on his future conduct. This was a personal matter, not a public one, such as the Fort Stephenson affair which he considered a point of honor. Fighting for financial survival was his everyday world and, from force of habit, he became impervious to his family's degree of solvency.

Croghan's first major crisis which involved the debt to the post office was brutally compounded when the New Orleans insurance company, The Life and Fire Company, went bankrupt. George had mortgaged his Louisiana and Louisville property and was indebted for \$60,000.⁶⁶ He had to borrow money to proceed from garrison to garrison on his tour of 1827, and he still had not paid back the post office in full.⁶⁷ In 1828, he approached John Jacob Astor [1763-1848] in New York, but found money was too scarce for a loan.⁶⁸

The tour of 1828 along the eastern seaboard brought Colonel

Croghan his first recorded public scorn. At New London, Connecticut, Croghan failed to complete his inspection as his intoxication and public incidents became the subject of the citizenry's conversation. A report was sent to Quartermaster General Jesup pleading with him to change the colonel's habits before "his trial and perhaps his conviction on account of his drunkenness."⁶⁹ Because of Jesup's official capacity at headquarters in Washington and his being a brother-in-law, the brunt of every disciplinary action was placed upon his shoulders first. The old news that George was relaxing into former habits spread rapidly through the family.⁷⁰ The results were usually mitigated in some manner, but few preventative steps were taken to guard against the next outbreak.

George, Serena, and the four Croghan children came to Locust Grove, probably in late fall of 1828.⁷¹ George was still interested in disposing of his lands inherited from his brother Nicholas in the Green River area. By selling these properties in the spring of 1829, George thought he would enter 1830 debt-free.⁷² John Croghan was equally concerned with the autocratic rule of Serena, especially in her rigorous educational training of daughter, Angelica. "I think Serena improves Angelica's mind at the expense of her constitution."⁷³

Colonel Croghan left Locust Grove in March for his tour of the western posts. By May, the family was beginning to receive its first reports of his intemperate conduct. John Croghan wanted him to resign if he continued to disgrace the family, and, as usual, Jesup was asked to address George on the subject.⁷³ The apparent result of Jesup's discussion was Croghan's decision to remove to Washington or Georgetown. "I wish when not on my tours to live under the immediate eyes of all at Hd Qrts."⁷⁴ The drinking and gambling problem arose mostly when the colonel was on tour, so the moving solved few of his problems, but it did act as pacification for his superiors. There can be little doubt that George Croghan had a completely disarming and charming personality. Without it, he would not have lasted in the military beyond one incident. While in Washington, he dined with President Jackson and his family and discussed numerous military problems with his superior General Alexander Macomb [1782-1841].⁷⁵

The family solved the disciplinary problem, while on tour, by sending John Croghan as an escort in 1830. The first part extended along the eastern coast through Boston, Bangor, Eastport, and Belfast, Maine. In July, the tour was curtailed as George hurried back to his family still at Barrytown, New York:

I am now in attendance upon my sick family. Two of my children have been wrested from me within the last three weeks and of the remaining

two, one [Angelica] is scarcely yet convalescent and the other [St. George] is now stretched upon his bed, ill of the very fever which has already visited us so fatally.⁷⁶

Colonel Croghan made no inspection tour in 1832, due to the cholera epidemic. His department remained good as Charles and John Croghan stayed with him at his new home at Barrytown, New York, prior to their ill-fated trip to Europe. To avoid the cholera and to improve Charles' generally poor health, the two departed. Unfortunately Charles died in Paris, France, but his will was of vital interest to George.⁷⁷ The country residence at Barrytown was not an adequate panacea and the colonel departed himself poorly in 1833 and freely admitted the fact:

Genl. I have much to say to you and all in relation to my recent most improper conduct, but I must defer for a time all mentions of it for I am yet far from being so calm as to do — my worthless self — justice.⁷⁸

George recovered his senses in the latter part of 1834 and early 1835, probably only to support his cause which again was before Congress. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs was referring to a resolution inquiring "into the expediency of giving suitable testimonials to Major George Croghan (now a colonel in the army of the United States)."⁷⁹ The report was highly complimentary and the section which the Committee considered "conjectural . . . however, certainly not improbable," was obviously prepared by Croghan. The Report on the resolution became an Act passed February 13, 1835. Under the provisions, Croghan received the credit and Congressional consideration he had sought for so long. A gold medal was presented him and a sword was given to each of his subordinate officers.⁸⁰ Croghan had already been given a fine sword by the women of Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1813. He prized that award, but noted in his early correspondence with Harrison that he coveted dearly Congressional approbation.⁸¹

Croghan celebrated his Congressional recognition to an extent which John Croghan thought would bring his immediate dismissal. John wanted him to resign and return to Locust Grove.⁸² One such typical incident is aptly described by Serena in a letter to General Jesup:

I am convinced that Col. Croghan has been induced to remain out all night by the Mr. Bird of whom I spoke to you yesterday. A hack man came here this morning to tell me that he was sent by Col. Croghan to say that business before the Committees had kept him out all night and that I must send the Carriage to the Capitol at 2 o'clock for him. Nathan [servant] met the same man & insisted on his showing him where Col. Croghan was which he refused. He discovered him however in a miser-

able little Shop or Tavern on the Avenue. The people of the house did not know Col. Croghan but said that he was brought there by two gentlemen at twelve o'clock last night (one of them Nathan ascertained to be Mr. Bird). They paid for his breakfast and night lodging for he had not a cent altho' he had been seen early in the evening with gold & bank notes . . . I have myself no doubt that this Mr. Bird who urged him not to return home last evening . . . has induced him to accompany him to some Gambling House where he has taken advantage of his situation & plundered him. I only fear that he may have induced him to sign some note to a large amount. Can you ascertain of Major Cross if he drew yesterday the quarter due for the next month. His pay was drawn & given to me the day before yesterday. He is now in a terrible situation & can not speak. . . You will oblige me by requesting the pay master not to pay him any money for the next month.⁸³

This habitual intoxication caused a poor disposition of his funds. When his credit failed, once more George sought the only means to obtain money. He applied for his military pay from two locations for the same pay period. He would rationalize the discrepancy as a governmental loan. The deploy always brought the family to his rescue, at least to the point where they wished to save their name from disgrace. The first reported incident involving double payment was in 1836,⁸⁴ although it would later be disclosed that he received double payments as early as June, 1826.⁸⁵ He was not particularly concerned about the governmental repercussions. His next check was being held back to cover the double payment. He feared that Serena had already earmarked it for routine household expenses and he would have to answer to her.⁸⁶ The pay record is an interesting item and indicates the reason for Croghan's financial difficulties. The rate of pay did not essentially change between 1826 and 1836. For one month: \$90 self; \$16, 2 private servants; \$69.60 subsistence, self; \$11.60 subsistence for 2 servants.⁸⁵ Considering that Croghan was paid \$2.40 a day for subsistence, his yearly military income was slightly less than \$2,000. Without additional income, Croghan could not hope to live within his means.

In 1838, George continued in major debt. Within twelve months his brother John had lent him \$2,730 and George was demanding \$2,400, "as necessary to the extraction of myself from a difficulty which if suffered to remain will prove ruinous."⁸⁷ The difficulty was again double payment. The family began to break apart because of the constant pressure exerted through George's financial negligence. Ann Jesup attempted to explain the situation to her husband who himself was on the verge of bankruptcy from supporting George:

. . . but had my poor lost brother had a kinder and more affectionate

wife he would have been a different man, he never talks of all her unkind treatments to him, my mother has shed tears while telling me of it, you will hear so much of his bad conduct that it will be enough to make you cast him off entirely, but my Dear husband he is my brother, one whom I was once proud to call brother and although now disgraced by his habits, still I have a sisters affection for him . . . is it not strange that he will be here [Locust Grove] for three or four months and at our house as many or more and never gets intoxicated?⁸⁸

The earliest recorded concern of the highest military leaders occurred in 1841. The correspondence between Major General Alexander Macomb, Brigadier General John E. Wool [1784-1869], and J. R. Poinsett [1779-1851], the secretary of war, centered on three facets of Croghan's habits: drinking, double payment, and borrowing from new officers without ability to repay.⁸⁹ No official action resulted, although Croghan was certainly reprimanded strongly.

From January through April, November, and December, 1844, George accepted double payments again.⁹⁰ When it became known in December, Serena filed for a legal separation.⁹¹ She had threatened before,⁹² but this separation also blocked George from all of her possessions which he might have desired to sell. The double payment incidents were becoming too numerous to be accidental. By charges brought against Colonel Croghan by Major General Winfield Scott [1786-1866], President James K. Polk [1795-1848] called for a general court-martial to be convened at Fort Monroe, Virginia, on May 5, 1845. Fourteen officers were named to the court.⁹³

The amount received through double payment was refunded to the paymaster by the disgraced family and Jesup undoubtedly appealed to Scott to drop the charges. Brother William Croghan also approached William Wilkins [1779-1865], an old Pittsburgh friend and the new secretary of war, for a pardon prior to the trial. Such was granted and President Polk revoked his call for a court to convene.

Colonel Croghan made his usual tour of western posts in 1845, but the military had lost its confidence in the inspector general. He remained in the service, but his duties were severely limited. For a period he worked at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, overseeing construction of new buildings which his brother, John, as proprietor, was undertaking.⁹⁴ Later, his principal military duty was to muster volunteer troops for the Mexican War.⁹⁵ In the fall of 1846, at 55, George was in Monterey fighting under his former neighbor and good friend Zachary Taylor [1784-1850].⁹⁶ He remained for one year until "ague and fever and often that diarrhea"⁹⁷ began to continually plague him. In two weeks his weight dropped from 168 to 148 pounds and furthermore his spectacles broke.⁹⁸ He made up his mind, ". . . peace or no peace I will leave the country in Nov." "⁹⁷

Colonel Croghan returned on a 60-day leave to Locust Grove in December.⁹⁹ He corresponded with Jesup informing him of the military situation in Mexico and stating that he desired to be reinstated as the inspector general. His military capacity until his death on January 8, 1849 is not well-defined. He did return to Washington in early 1848,¹⁰⁰ evidently to seek reinstatement or a further assignment. In the fall, he was again in New Orleans with General Taylor, perhaps performing the function of inspector general.¹⁰¹ Nine days after Croghan's death, Vice-President George H. Dallas [1792-1864] wrote:

. . . after all, it is our *Colonel*, and not *Doctor* Croghan that has died. So George loses the handsome fortune which, for a season, was ascribed to him. As the Colonel was Inspector General of the Army, he leaves a vacant office of considerable military dignity and emolument to be struggled for by Col. Bliss, Col. Duncan etc. etc. . . .¹⁰²

George was apparently biding his time in New Orleans, waiting to inherit Dr. Croghan's multifarious estate, which included: lands, houses, stores, Mammoth Cave, and Locust Grove. For some years, the Doctor had been very ill with consumption, ironically, the disease he had proposed to cure at Mammoth Cave. If the intent in Dallas' note can be assumed correct, the Colonel had the funds already appropriated. They died three days apart, George in New Orleans of cholera.¹⁰³

The body was returned to Louisville in a lead-lined casket. The funeral was held at Christ Episcopal Church, Louisville, on July 10, 1849, and the burial was in the small family graveyard north of Locust Grove.¹⁰⁴

Little more can be said in summation which has not already become redundant in the recording of a life so patterned and repetitious. George Croghan will be remembered in history as a brilliant military leader because he left his public mark on one battle and made valuable reports of the northeastern and western defenses. But few individuals in America's military history have led such a contemptible private life. Perhaps it should remain unpublished, but it is an integral part of an understanding of the man and the family which was occupied so completely with his perfidy.

FOOTNOTES

¹ George Croghan to William Croghan, Sr., September 19, 1812. Draper MSS. 1N52.

² For biographical information see Eugene H. Conner and Samuel W. Thomas, "John Croghan [1790-1849]: An Enterprising Kentucky Physician," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (1966) pp. 205-234

³ William Clark [1770-1838] to William Croghan, Sr., December 14, 1806. Historical Society of Pennsylvania; John Croghan to William Croghan, Sr., April 27, 1807. Draper MSS. 1N34.

⁴ *The Port Folio*, 3rd Series, Vol. 5, No. 3 (March, 1815), p. 214. This sketch [pp. (208)-220] prepared for *The Port Folio* is the most important record of George Croghan prior to the summer of 1814. The Croghan family was concerned with its veracity. John Croghan to William Croghan, Sr., April 20, 1814. Draper MSS. 1N36. Mrs. Margaretta Brown [1772-1838], the wife of Senator John Brown [1757-1837] supplied the principal biographical sketch. She was later critical of the editor's changes. The editor thought he had performed an admirable task with her "raw material." Mr. Caldwell to Mrs. John Brown, dated Philadelphia, April 27, 1815. Brown Collection, Yale University.

⁵ Alfred Tischendorf and E. Taylor Parks, eds., *The Diary and Journal of Richard Clough Anderson, Jr., 1814-1826*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1964, p. 6. Richard Clough Anderson, Jr., was the son of William Croghan's neighbor, friend, and business partner, Colonel R. C. Anderson and his wife Elizabeth Clark, sister of Lucy Clark Croghan. Anderson, Jr. served in the Kentucky House of Representatives (1812-15 and 1821-23) the Federal House (1817-21) and as U. S. Minister to Colombia (1823-26).

⁶ See fn. 4, *The Port Folio*, p. 218.

⁷ John Croghan to William Croghan, Sr., May 29, 1810. Draper MSS. 1N35.

⁸ See fn. 4, *The Port Folio*, p. 214.

⁹ Tazewell was a lawyer, a member of the House of Delegates (1798-1800), United States Congress (1800-1801), General Assembly (1804-1806, 1816-1817), United States Senate (1824-1832), and the Governor of Virginia (1834-1836).

¹⁰ Littleton Tazewell to William Croghan, September 23, 1810. Draper MSS. 1N27.

¹¹ See fn. 4, *The Port Folio*, p. 214.

¹² George Rogers Clark to William Clark, dated near Louisville [Locust Grove] October 27, 1811. O'Fallon Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

¹³ Thomas W. Parsons, "George Croghan in the War of 1812," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1948), pp. 192-202; David D. Anderson, "The Battle of Fort Stephenson: . . .," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1961), pp. 81-90; C. R. Williams, "George Croghan," *Quarterly of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1903), pp. 375-409.

¹⁴ Brigade orders by John P. Boyd. *Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. 7, p. 632.

¹⁵ Samuel T. Fitzhugh to John O'Fallon, March 21, 1812. Missouri Historical Society.

¹⁶ William Croghan, Sr., to General Thomas H. Cushing, March 23, 1813. Croghan Papers, The Filson Club; John O'Fallon to Mrs. Fanny Fitzhugh, March 31, 1813. Missouri Historical Society.

¹⁷ William Henry Harrison to Secretary of War, John Armstrong [1758-1843], July 23, 1813. *Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. 9, p. 494.

¹⁸ Harrison to Croghan, July 29, 1813. *Ibid.*, p. 502.

¹⁹ Croghan to Harrison, July 30, 1813. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

²⁰ Croghan to Harrison, August 5, 1813. *Ibid.*, p. 514.

²¹ Harrison to Secretary of War, John Armstrong, August 4, 1813. Ohio Historical Society. Harrison later would claim that the siege of Fort Stephenson was poorly conducted with too little artillery, thus indicating the defense could have been weak and still survived.

²² William Clark to Colonel George Hancock, dated Major Croghan's, October 27, 1813. Property of Locust Grove, Louisville, Kentucky.

²³ William Croghan, Sr., to General William Lytle, January 15, 1814. Cincinnati Historical Society.

²⁴ Order of General William Henry Harrison, dated Detroit, May 17, 1814. Chicago Historical Society; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. 6, No. 13 (1814), p. 213.

²⁵ G. R. Clark to William Clark, July 30, 1814. Missouri Historical Society.

²⁶ Edmund P. Gaines to James Monroe, January 19, 1815. Library of Congress (hereafter referred to as L. C. and unless indicated are in the Jesup Papers.)

²⁷ George Croghan to Governor Isaac Shelby, February 2, 1815. Hardin Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

²⁸ Croghan was still in Louisville on April 12, 1815. See fn. 5, p. 23.

²⁹ George Croghan to Major General Andrew Jackson, October 14, 1815; and June 4, 1816. L. C.

³⁰ George Croghan to unknown addressee, dated New York, February 27, 1817. L. C.

³¹ See fn. 5, p. 36.

³² George Croghan to William Croghan, Jr., October, 1819. Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh.

³³ Orlando Brown to John Brown, July 28, 1828. Brown Papers, Yale University Library.

³⁴ The relationship began at least as early as 1786 (Brown Papers, Yale University Library). John Brown and his brother, Samuel Brown, M.D. [1769-1830], were recognized by the Croghan family as having the most complete and accurate knowledge of George Rogers Clark's life. Also see fn. 4.

³⁵ Portrait shows Croghan seated, in military dress, looking to his left, with sword in his left hand. It is owned by a descendant, Mrs. Christopher B. Wyatt of New York City. The portrait was first exhibited in the Pennsylvania Academy in 1817. Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840, With a Checklist of his Works*, The New-York Historical Society, 1949, p. 224. The portrait is shown as plate 75 by Dr. Dickson. A similar portrait is owned by a descendant, Mrs. George Wheaton, Pasadena, California. In the opinion of Dr. Dickson this is a "weakened copy" of Mrs. Wyatt's portrait. [Personal communication with the author.] Mrs. Wheaton, also owns the mate, Mrs. Serena Croghan. She is seated behind a harp, in a vivid red dress, holding what is evidently several sheets of music in her left hand. Dr. Dickson also maintains that this portrait is "acceptable as the work of Jarvis." A similar portrait given to the Locust Grove restoration by the late Donald Newhall of New York is a doubtful Jarvis, in Dr. Dickson's opinion. Mr. Spencer C. Browne, III, of Berkeley, California, a descendant, owns a Jarvis portrait of George Croghan, in military dress, but without sword and looking toward his right. A good copy of this portrait was made by John Henry Witt [1840-1901], an Ohio artist in the 1860's or 1870's and is in the Sardis Birchard Collection in the Birchard Public Library, Fremont, Ohio. The fact that only two Jarvis portraits existed, but copies were to be made is stated by Serena L. Croghan to Rutherford B. Hayes, March 22, 1872. Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio. The originals were painted when George was 26 (1817) and another original was painted about 1841 by Burt of Louisville. Only one other portrait has been recorded. Matthew Harris Jouett [1787/8-1827], the Kentucky portrait painter, apparently made a sketch of Croghan some time during the War of 1812. He later finished the oil on canvas (38 x 24 inches). E. A. Jonas, *Matthew Harris Jouett, Kentucky Portrait Painter (1787-1827)*, The J. B. Speed Memorial Museum, Louisville, 1938, p. 22. A photograph of the painting appeared in the *Catalogue for the Cornelius Michaelson Collection Sale*, Rains Galleries, April 16, 1936. Unfortunately no record of that sale exists. It was later (ca. 1939) in the Walter Ehrich Galleries, New York City, but Mr. Ehrich has since died and the associated New House Galleries have no record. The Kraushaar Galleries (New York), the Frich Art Reference Library (New York), and the Archives of American Art (Detroit) could not shed light on its present location. There is no doubt that the portrait in the above Catalogue is of George Croghan, but certainly the style and execution are considerably foreign to the usual Jouett style. Croghan appears in a winter coat with fur collar, pulled together at the neck, open at the waist showing a very wide belt.

³⁶ See fn. 35, Dixon, p. 226 and plates 76 and 77. The portraits are in the possession of Mrs. Christopher B. Wyatt, New York City.

³⁷ [January 4, 1821]. *Journal of John James Audubon . . . 1820-1821*, Howard Corning, ed., The Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, 1929, p. 105.

³⁸ [May 9, 1843]

We very soon reached the post of Fort Croghan [near Omaha, Nebraska], so called after my old friend of that name with whom I hunted Raccoons on his father's plantation in Kentucky some thirty-eight years ago, and whose father and my own were well-acquainted, and fought together in conjunction with George Washington and Lafayette, during the Revolutionary War, against 'Merrie England.'

M. R. Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, Elliott Coues, ed., Dover Publications, Inc., New York [1960], Vol. 1, p. 478. Audubon was evidently confused about the dates by 3 to 5 years.

³⁹ *The Original Water-Color Paintings by John James Audubon for the Birds of America*, Vol. 2, American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1966, plate 387 with text.

⁴⁰ See fn. 35, Dixon, p. 236.

⁴¹ John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, February 25, 1823. L. C.

⁴² "Mr. Monroe has always professed for us the greatest friendship, and has taken opportunities of expressing a desire to serve us." See fn. 41.

- ⁴³ Andrew Jackson to John McLean, March 22, 1824. West Florida Papers, Bound Vol. 1799-1827, Folios 160-161, L. C.
- ⁴⁴ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, dated New York, April 4, 1824. L. C.
- ⁴⁵ John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, July 12, 1824. L. C.
- ⁴⁶ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, August 22, 1824. L. C.
- ⁴⁷ John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, March 15, 1825. L. C.
- ⁴⁸ William Croghan to T. S. Jesup, August 1, 1826. L. C.
- ⁴⁹ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, November 19, 1825. L. C.
- ⁵⁰ This amount is listed as drawn on New Orleans post office from August 12, 1824, through April 1, 1826. L. C. Jesup paid \$2,366.17 on December 1, 1827. L. C. This did not resolve the matter, as Croghan wrote Jesup on December 7, 1827, "I hope I have it in my power to take on money enough to pay off the balance in the post office Dept., a friend of mine will I think make the necessary advance for a short time." L. C.
- ⁵¹ Croghan apparently also sought to become brigadier general of the Kentucky troops by asking Orlando Brown to press the necessity of such a position. George Croghan to Orlando Brown, dated Louisville, June 4, 1826. Brown Papers, Yale University Library.
- ⁵² George Croghan to General William H. Harrison, dated Red Hook, July 1, 1818. *Extra Globe*, Vol. 6, No. 10, August 19, 1840.
- ⁵³ William H. Harrison to George Croghan, dated Cincinnati, July 21, 1818. Typescript, Croghan Papers, New York Public Library.
- ⁵⁴ George Croghan to William Henry Harrison, dated New York, August 13, 1818. *Extra Globe*, Vol. 6, No. 10, August 19, 1840.
- ⁵⁵ George Croghan to William Henry Harrison, dated New Orleans, May 24, 1825. *Extra Globe*, Vol. 6, No. 10, August 19, 1840.
- ⁵⁶ George Croghan to William Henry Harrison, dated New Orleans, August 8, 1825. *Extra Globe*, Vol. 6, No. 10, August 19, 1840.
- ⁵⁷ William Henry Harrison to George Croghan, August 31, 1825. Typescript, Croghan Papers, New York Public Library.
- ⁵⁸ George Croghan to William Henry Harrison, September 22, 1825. *Extra Globe*, Vol. 6, No. 10, August 19, 1840.
- ⁵⁹ William Henry Harrison to George Croghan, October 24, 1825. Typescript, Croghan Papers, New York Public Library.
- ⁶⁰ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, November 19, 1825. L. C.
- ⁶¹ The author wishes to acknowledge this search made through the Jesup Papers by Mr. C. L. Kieffer, Washington, D. C. Mr. Kieffer is preparing a biography of General Jesup.
- ⁶² George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, February 7, 1826. L. C. The correspondence was published in 1840 before the presidential election involving Harrison and Van Buren, the locofoco press believing it detrimental to Harrison.
- ⁶³ Francis Paul Pruca, ed., *Army Life on the Western Frontier, Selections from the Official Reports made Between 1826 and 1845 by Colonel George Croghan*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1958.
- ⁶⁴ Mrs. Croghan was buried at Locust Grove, April 6, 1838. *Funerals in the Parish of Christ Church, Louisville*. Photostatic copy in The Filson Club, p. 62.
- ⁶⁵ George Croghan to John Croghan, Croghan Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- ⁶⁶ John R. Livingston to William Croghan, July 17, 1827. Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh.
- ⁶⁷ George Croghan to John O'Fallon, dated Baton Rouge, June 27, 1827. Missouri Historical Society. George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, dated New York, December 7, 1827. L. C.
- ⁶⁸ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, dated New York, February 23, 1828. L. C.
- ⁶⁹ Colonel William Lindsay to T. S. Jesup, August 9, 1828. L. C.
- ⁷⁰ Charles Croghan [1802-1832] to William Croghan, dated Locust Grove, September 21, 1828. Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh.
- ⁷¹ John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, January 10, 1829. L. C. The number of Croghan children was a rational estimate as pertinent data is not available. See fn. 76.
- ⁷² George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, dated Louisville, February 5, 1829. L. C.
- ⁷³ John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, May 26, 1829. L. C.
- ⁷⁴ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, June 19, 1829. L. C.
- ⁷⁵ George Croghan to Lucy Clark Croghan, July 19, 1829. Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh.
- ⁷⁶ George Croghan to Major General Macomb, August 6, 1830. National Archives. The children of George and Serena Croghan were: Mary Angelica [1818-1906]; St.

George Lewis Livingston [1822-1861]; Charles, John, and William, all dates are unknown; one was born November 1, 1825, two died in July or August, 1830; Marie Dallas [1832-1838]; Serena L. [1833-1926].

⁷⁷ Charles Croghan died October 21, 1832, and his will was contested by John Croghan and as its executor, he prevented its settlement until 1839. Statement of James Speed, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁸ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, August 25, 1833. L. C. The family correspondence for 1833-1834 is completely devoted to the censure of George.

⁷⁹ Report of Mr. [William] Preston, with Senate Resolution No. 15, June 18, 1834, 23rd Congress, 1st. Session, Senate Document 447. National Archives.

⁸⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 4, p. 792; J. F. Loubat, *The Medallie History of the United States of America, 1776-1876*, New York, 1878. A restrike is in The Filson Club. An engraving by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing of George Croghan was prepared presumably at the same time. Property of Locust Grove, gift of Mr. David Edward Finley, Washington, D. C.

⁸¹ See fn. 4, *The Port Folio*, p. 212 and fn. 55. This elegant sword is in Locust Grove, a gift of Mrs. Christopher B. Wyatt, New York City.

⁸² John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, April 9, 1835. L. C.

⁸³ Serena Croghan to T. S. Jesup, undated. L. C.

⁸⁴ Pay list for February, 1836. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁸⁵ George Croghan to William L. Marcy, May 24, 1845, National Archives.

⁸⁶ George borrowed from his fellow officers and those of similar or higher rank would evidently hold his next month's pay. He normally borrowed from men of lesser rank, so as to avoid the wrath of Serena. He did not bother to pay them back and they could not withhold his pay. George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, July 18, 1835. L. C.

⁸⁷ John Croghan to Serena Croghan, May 23, 1838. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. George Croghan to John Croghan, July 4, 1838. Huntington Library.

⁸⁸ Ann Jesup to T. S. Jesup, February 7, 1839. L. C.

⁸⁹ A. Macomb to John E. Wool, February 20, 1841. National Archives. John E. Wool to A. Macomb, February 22, 1841. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A. Macomb to J. R. Poinsett, February 23, 1841. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁹⁰ John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, December 25, 1844. L. C.

⁹¹ Separation contract in Croghan Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

⁹² Interestingly enough, Serena many years later would be highly complimentary of her late husband, but she wrote William Croghan on May 3, 1840, that she was "on the eve of a final separation." L. C.

⁹³ The charges and proceedings of the investigation in document form are contained in a packet in the National Archives.

⁹⁴ Numerous references to his employment at Mammoth Cave are in the Croghan Papers, Huntington Library, and Journal of 1842-43. Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives.

⁹⁵ George Croghan to John Croghan, May 18, 1846. University of Michigan Library.

⁹⁶ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, dated Monterey, October 20, 1846. L. C. Zachary Taylor was a frequent guest at Locust Grove, having been raised on the adjacent tract, Springfield. Zachary could have been present at George's birth, as it is reported that he was born at Springfield after an Indian alarm. Draper MSS. 25S219.

⁹⁷ George Croghan to John Croghan, dated Monterey, August 8, 1847. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

⁹⁸ George Croghan to John Croghan, dated Monterey, October 5, 1847. L. C.

⁹⁹ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, dated Locust Grove, December 15, 1847. L. C.

¹⁰⁰ John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, January 4, 1848. L. C.

¹⁰¹ George Croghan to T. S. Jesup, dated Pascagoula, September 1, 1848. L. C.

¹⁰² George M. Dallas to Sophia Dallas, January 17, 1849. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (1949), p. 496.

¹⁰³ Obituary in *The Examiner*, Vol. 2, No. 85, January 27, 1849, p. [3], col. [2]. The Filson Club. This was copied from the *New Orleans Picayune* of January 9, 1849, written by an old Croghan family friend, Alexander Clark Bullitt.

¹⁰⁴ Photostatic copies of the records of Christ Church, Louisville, in The Filson Club, p. 79. On August 2, 1906, George Croghan was reinterred in Fremont, Ohio, sight of his brilliant defense. For details of the removal, see R. C. Ballard Thruston, "The Grave of General George Rogers Clark," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1936), pp. 213-216. The original grave marker, initialled G.C., is the property of the Birchard Library Association, Fremont, Ohio.