

# WILLIAM CROGHAN, SR. [1752-1822]:

## A PIONEER KENTUCKY GENTLEMAN

BY SAMUEL W. THOMAS, PH.D.  
Louisville, Kentucky

By 1790, William Croghan was prepared to build his country seat. He was a veteran of the Revolutionary War, an accomplished surveyor, a rising entrepreneur, and within the year would become a father. The home he constructed a few miles northeast of Louisville, Kentucky, now on Blankenbaker Lane, withstood the test of time and in 1961 was purchased by the Commonwealth of Kentucky and the County of Jefferson. It has been restored by Jefferson County and Historic Homes Foundation, Inc. of Louisville to preserve and demonstrate a way of life led by a prominent pioneer Kentucky family and to serve as a fitting memorial to the home's most illustrious occupant, George Rogers Clark [1752-1818].<sup>1</sup> William Croghan married General Clark's sister, Lucy Clark [1765-1838] in 1789 and the retired western military leader came to live permanently at the Croghan home, Locust Grove, in 1809.

This paper is the result of the research program undertaken for the restoration of Locust Grove. The author wishes to thank Historic Homes Foundation, Inc. for its most generous support of the project.

The land for Major Croghan's country seat was purchased on April 10, 1790, from a fellow surveyor, Hancock Lee [ca. 1736-1820]. The 387-acre tract near the falls of the Ohio River had been part of Colonel William Peachy's [1729-1802] 1,000-acre military land grant and its purchase cost 341 pounds.<sup>2</sup> While the Georgian brick house was under construction, the family maintained a log cabin. This structure was mentioned by Major Croghan in a letter to General Thomas H. Cushing [d. 1822].

When part of the Army was stationed at the Falls of Ohio I had the pleasure of a slight acquaintance with you, and last saw you with Elia Williams and Michael Lacassagne [d.1797] at my cabin a few miles above Louisville on a piece of Land I had just then purchased in a cane brake.<sup>3</sup>

Most probably, Croghan had a verbal agreement with Hancock Lee to obtain possession of the land prior to a formal and legal sale.<sup>4</sup> The major's removal from the town of Louisville to the tract opposite the Six Mile Island was necessitated by a desire to sell his urban properties. The following advertisement was placed in the *Kentucky Gazette* of Lexington in April, 1790.<sup>5</sup>

To be sold — a lot in Louisville, the best stand and situation for business in the whole town, with the following improvements; a two story log

house 30 x 15 feet, well roofed and with an excellent ground cellar under the whole house; and another house one and a half story high, 24 x 15 with a complete store for goods at the end and a counting room or bed chamber at the other, extremely well finished, being circled all around with good plank well groved and tongued, it has a complete loft and excellent stone chimney . . . Cash or tobacco will be received in payment.

The Jefferson County tax records, unfortunately, are not complete for the years 1789-1791.<sup>6</sup> Without this indirect statistical data, it is difficult to ascertain the progress of the new domicile. However, the later records report that by 1792 Major Croghan was being taxed for 516 acres, 1 white male, 17 blacks, and 34 horses and cattle.<sup>7</sup> Of the blacks listed, 12 were above 16 and could be considered suitable for the manual and skilled labor involved in the construction of Locust Grove. The land was abundant with the stone and wood materials. A primitive terra cotta waterpipe system, emanating from the well, traversed to an area, west of the house, where it appeared that the brick had been puddled and baked.<sup>8</sup> As the excavation for the cellar proceeded, the earth, which was a high clay content, could have been carted there and used.

Evidently, Croghan had more than a passing knowledge about the rudiments of building, even though he had been trained as a surveyor and had been issued a license by the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.<sup>9</sup> In April of 1788, he had been ordered by the Jefferson County Court to lay out the new court house on the public square and to contract for its erection.<sup>10</sup> The Court thought Croghan was capable of carrying out the prepared design. Architectural design books were available which detailed the prevailing Georgian style, from the general plan to the embellishment of the mantel panels and trim. Itinerant master carpenters passed from one construction site to another, a fact evidenced by the similarity of homes built in the vicinity. Slaves trained in a particular facet, such as the hand planing of moulding, were rented or purchased for the duration of construction.

Usually a few years were consumed in the erection of a home with as large proportions as Locust Grove. Several hundred dollars were expended but only for materials not readily available, such as locks, door latches, hinges, shutter hardware, nails, and glass. Usually the procurement of glass and hardware was handled by an agent, a situation which, when coupled with poor communication, led to considerable delays in any pending completion date. However, Croghan was quite adept at obtaining such materials, having been employed by Thomas and John Shipboy, merchants of New York,<sup>11</sup> and being a personal acquaintance and frequent correspondent of Bernard Gratz [ca. 1735-1801] and Michael Gratz [1737-1811], merchants of Philadelphia.

His relationship with the Gratz brothers had spanned many years, beginning with his arrival in America in the spring of 1769.<sup>12</sup>

In that year the 17-year-old Croghan had disembarked in Philadelphia, where he remained at the Indian Queen Tavern as the guest of his uncle, Colonel George Croghan [d. 1782].<sup>13</sup> With the influence of his uncle, then the deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, William was placed with the Shipboys, "to learn trade and commerce,"<sup>11</sup> and through the Shipboys and Colonel Croghan, William formed a lasting friendship with the Gratz family. At the time of William's immigration, his father, Nicholas Croghan [d. ca. 1790] represented Colonel Croghan in Dublin. Nicholas had been procuring tradesmen for his brother, but the task was difficult because, ". . . tradesmen who had Served their Seven Years would not hear of Indenting a Second time unless I would promise a Sallery to them during their Servitude."<sup>11</sup>

Unfortunately, any record of Nicholas Croghan and his family in Ireland has been elusive to researchers.<sup>14</sup> It is known, however, that William had a brother, John Croghan [dates unknown], and several sisters.<sup>11</sup> Although no mention of William's childhood was ever recorded, his seemingly pleasant recollections of it were later passed on to his children.<sup>15</sup> Based upon his father's desire for him to gain mercantile training in America, it can be assumed that the young Croghan had not been trained academically or professionally in Ireland.

His training under the auspices of the Shipboy brothers was terminated within two years, as the restless youth joined the British military service in America. On February 22, 1771, he was commissioned an ensign in the 16th Regiment of Foot under Colonel James Gisborne and served into 1774 when he was listed by the secretary at war.<sup>16</sup> He then travelled to western Pennsylvania where Colonel Croghan had large landholdings and exerted much influence. There he formed a friendship with Colonel James Innis [d. 1791] of Washington County, a relationship which lasted until at least 1783.<sup>17</sup> When the friendship terminated for some unknown reason, the embittered Innis entered the following disparaging item in his will.<sup>18</sup>

Item: Whereas a William Croghan whom I in the year 1774 rescued from Beggary, Drunkenness, Contempt, & Want, took under my protection & patronage, & in the year 1776 procur'd a Captaincy in the eighth Virginia Regiment, & a Company & who if any thing, is solely indebted to me for it, has by every fraudulent Artifice, Base insidious practice, & [. . .] plausibility obtain'd from me a Bond with judgment without any settlement, which has been enter'd up against me tho on a fair statement of Accts: between us as will by my Books appear, there is at this time truly a Ballance due from the sd. Croghan to me of £44.14.8. My will & desire is, that the sd. Croghan be compelled by every Legal method as soon as possibly may be, (As I've been long convinc'd, that he has so long & so

carefully avoided a decision of the matters only in expectation of my Death, when he considered he would meet with little opposition to his designs & readily succeed in the perpetration of his Black, ungrateful, Base, & sordid purposes.) be compell'd to come to a final decision & determination thereof.

With respect to these statements, especially the usage of "Beggary," it is interesting to observe that on February 20, 1776, William purchased for £ 702.12, 6,424 acres in Washington County, Pennsylvania, from George Croghan.<sup>19</sup> The indenture states that he had been in possession of the property for one year prior to the 1776 date.

Conceivably, he was given the land by Colonel Croghan, who felt it might be confiscated for political reasons. The deputy Indian agent had been loyal to the American cause, but his many years of service to the Crown and his son-in-law being English, permitted him to be unfairly maligned.<sup>20</sup> William was concerned about the indenture in the spring of 1779, when the Virginia legislature proposed to look into the lands covered by Indian titles. Evidently the deed still needed Colonel Croghan's signature and witnesses to his signing,<sup>21</sup> ". . . pray how is the Old Gentleman, When do you & he purpose setting out for Virginia, did Colonel Nevill, or any other persons, Witness my Deed."<sup>22</sup> William later heard that Virginia would not allow the Indian claim of Colonel Croghan, but the title to the Indian land remained unresolved and later he lost possession by the technicality of squatter's rights.

The technicality involved not having it in his power, being in the service of his country, to make such improvements which would have secured for him the same quantity he had purchased from Colonel Croghan.<sup>24</sup> Young Croghan understood that the Virginia legislature would probably not rescind the squatter's titles, but he evidently petitioned the General Assembly, anyhow. The precedent for revoking of titles had been established, but possibly Major Croghan's military career lacked the brilliance to influence the indecisive Assembly to act favorably.

In the service of his new country during the Revolutionary War, William spent the better part of seven years. He joined the American army probably as early as 1775 and on April 19, 1776, was commissioned a captain in the 8th Virginia regiment. Having reached Fredericksburg in August of 1776, Captain Croghan moved his men through Alexandria, Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Trenton, Princeton, and Brunswick to Hackensack, New Jersey, in one month.<sup>26</sup> While under this deployment, his men did not enter into combat.

Meanwhile, General Washington [1732-1799] was experiencing a series of major setbacks with defeats at Brooklyn, Long Island, Manhattan, and Harlem. As a result, he was forced to retreat into New

Jersey with the complete loss of New York City. As Washington withdrew north to White Plains, Croghan was dispatched to Fort Lee on the Hudson River under orders of General Nathanael Greene [1742-1786].<sup>27</sup> The fort was considered impregnable by Greene, however, Washington had his doubts concerning its effectiveness in preventing British ship movement up the river. By the middle of November, Fort Washington, the outpost guarding the opposite, eastern side of the Hudson, had been overrun and some 2,800 troops taken prisoner. A few days later, Fort Lee was evacuated, with the resulting loss of copious amounts of weapons and supplies.

Late in November of 1776, following Washington's defeat at White Plains, Croghan was ordered to maneuver his men south towards Elizabethtown, New Jersey, to stop the British who were advancing to that point. At New Brunswick, on December 1st, "we paraded our men, and then the enemy began to cannonade us. The first shot they fired killed one man, wounded a Lieutenant in the thigh, a Captain in the foot. Then our cannon began to play, which silenced theirs, etc."<sup>28</sup>

Washington was desperate in his retreat to cross the Delaware River. With large scale desertion and many soldiers without shoes or the rudiments of warfare, his army was in no condition to oppose the enemy. Croghan marched his men to Princeton where they remained to hold the advance of General Charles Cornwallis [1738-1805]. However, Cornwallis did not pursue the retreating troops for a few days, allowing Washington to evacuate safely across the Delaware River. On the 8th, Croghan crossed the Delaware at Trenton and later marched his men about 12 miles up the river, as the enemy had come into sight. From the position above Trenton, his men "got some more prisoners, nothing more extraordinary."<sup>29</sup>

Croghan remained in the vicinity of Trenton for the next two weeks. General Richard Howe [1726-1799] in New York, had suspended the British military operations for the winter. The condition of Washington's army was critical with the end of the year expiration date approaching for many of his troops. He was disgusted at the conduct of his men throughout the New Jersey campaign and was even more concerned with the attitude of the civilians. He could not procure the necessary men or supplies and the general spirit was quite low. This fact is indicated by the subsequent partial evacuation of Philadelphia by its merchants. Lesser men joined the Tory cause and sympathy toward the Crown was mounting. This was the crucial point in the revolution not yet two years old. In mid-December, 1776, Congress gave General Washington almost dictatorial powers in the operation of military affairs and adjourned to Baltimore.<sup>30</sup>

There had appeared at Fort Lee, about the same time as Captain

Croghan, a pamphleteer, as a volunteer aide-de-camp to General Greene. He took part in the retreat through New Jersey with Croghan and consequently knew and understood first hand, the desperate condition of the troops. Following the retreat, Thomas Paine [1737-1809] published the first of his *Crisis* numbers in the *Pennsylvania Journal*. To veterans, like Croghan, who were to witness still greater hardships before the success of victory, Paine's words were an immediate inspiration.

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it *now*, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.<sup>81</sup>

Yet Washington knew he would lose the better part of the army on December 31st, through retirement. In desperation, he planned a clandestine attack on Trenton, one of the outposts which General Howe had set up throughout New Jersey. Defeat would mean the probable end of the war, victory would lift the spirit of both his troops and the civilians.

"Christmas Eve, there was some talk of marching." The next day, Croghan, under order of battle, recrossed the Delaware at Brown's Ferry<sup>82</sup> and marched toward Trenton and "came there about daybreak and beat the damn Hessians and took 700 and odd prisoners. And the worst day of sleet rain that could be." The following day brought another river crossing in retreat with the prisoners, under cover of severe weather.<sup>83</sup> The trek through snow, hail and rain to Trenton after crossing the ice-laden Delaware was without doubt the severest test of physical endurance Washington's men would face. Many were still without shoes and wearing summer clothes. The battle lacked general order, but a victory was obtained.

Croghan's men under division leadership by Nathanael Greene were to recross the Delaware River on December 30, but ice and snow prevented it for a day. Reconnaissance missions and patrols were immediately sent out and on January 2nd were forced to fall back toward Trenton under mounting pressure from Cornwallis. Presumably, Croghan was fighting directly under Colonel Charles Scott [ca. 1739-1813] at this time, and the heaviest fire was directed at this part of General Adam Stephan's [d. 1791] brigade. Under intense cannonade, the Hessians withdrew from Trenton in the evening. In the interim, Washington proposed to attack Princeton by skirting the enemy to the east. There was no alternative, as a retreat was blocked by unfavorable crossing conditions in the Delaware River. As the flanking attack on

Princeton would demand a rapid and light movement, the heavy baggage was moved south to Bordentown and Burlington. General Stephan was placed in charge of this aspect, which would also provide protection for Philadelphia, if General Washington failed.<sup>34</sup>

Following the victory at Princeton, Washington was unable to move against New Brunswick, as planned, because of his troops' fatigue and the bad weather. He did, however, evacuate the vicinity of Princeton prior to the arrival of Cornwallis. It seemed to Cornwallis that Washington's removal indicated an attack on the rich supplies at the New Brunswick outpost, to which he marched his men. Meanwhile Croghan's men marched northwesterly from Bordentown to rejoin the main force. They followed it to Pluckemin and reached Morristown on January 11th.<sup>35</sup> Washington established winter quarters at Morristown while Howe remained in New York.

It would not be until the following June that the two armies again would begin to maneuver. However, Croghan's men were involved in several skirmishes near New Market, New Jersey, in early 1777. On January 30th, his men were ordered to attack the British guard, but after foraging through the next day, they returned to New Market, unable to find the enemy. On the 1st of February:

We got orders to fall in, about ten o'clock and we marched about a quarter mile, where we stayed a while then, expecting the enemy, when we got orders to march again, and we marched on and came close on a party of light horse, 5 in number. Two of them had about seventy or eighty shots at them, but killed none. We took an officer and his horse, then marched on, when we discovered their main body where they were loading of hay. We attacked the body, and bullets flew like hail. We stayed about 15 minutes, when we retreated with loss. We drove them first, but at our retreat the balls flew faster than ever. There was a body of above 400 men that never came up to our assistance till we retreated. Then they came up, but too late, and only some. There was several of the officers went to the field where we retreated from, and the men that was wounded in the thigh or leg, they dash out their brains with their muskets and run them through with their bayonets, make them like sieves. This was barbarity to the utmost.<sup>36</sup>

After securing provisions, Croghan again moved his men into battle on February 8th near New Market. The British advance force was far stronger than the American troops, who retreated under heavy fire. Within the week, Croghan marched his men to Whippany, New Jersey, where they were inoculated for smallpox, prior to departing for Philadelphia on leave. Thus ended the campaign of 1776-77 for Croghan and the rest of the army.<sup>37</sup>

It was not until September 11, 1777, that Generals Howe and Washington engaged again in a major battle. Howe had moved his troops by

boat from New York, up the Chesapeake Bay to Elkton, Maryland. From that position, he began to move toward Philadelphia and prepared to fight along the Brandywine Creek, but flanked and crossed the Brandywine north of the American position. His overwhelming force attacked the American position repeatedly, finally dispersing them in a general rout. Captain Croghan retreated towards Chester with the remainder of the army.<sup>38</sup> Cornwallis moved into Philadelphia on September 26th, after the evacuation of Congress to Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

With considerable reinforcements, Washington decided to strike the enemy north of Philadelphia at Germantown. Captain Croghan was a part of General Greene's column, which was to go through Chestnut Hill then, swinging to its left, attack the British right flank. The attack by Greene was to be against the strongest part of the enemy's defense. Croghan and his men fought fiercely but without the adequate support which Washington had planned for them. General Stephan's division, a support of Greene, had disobeyed orders and had pulled out to fight in another area. Croghan was forced to draw back in a slow retreat because of the extreme exhaustion of his men. Following the near victory, Lafayette [1757-1834] was given command of Stephan's division.

By late December, 1777, the army had retreated to Valley Forge, where in dire need of clothing, food, and materials, it would remain for the tedious winter. Croghan's company was still part of the 8th Virginia regiment under Brigadier General Charles Scott.<sup>39</sup> With the advent of spring, came fresh meat and fish, and for those who had not died or deserted, a rigorous military training was initiated under the direction of Captain Steuben. Although German, Baron von Steuben [1730-1794] wrote his regulations in French, which were then translated and hand copied for distribution to the various officers.<sup>40</sup> The training enabled faster movement of the troops, which for the first time were being accurately counted. The combat soldiers were also taught to utilize the bayonet which the British had employed so effectively.

Sir Henry Clinton [1738?-1795] replaced General Howe and, fearing intervention by France, he intended to evacuate Philadelphia for New York where defense against a French naval invasion was more advantageous. Most of Washington's advisers desired to attack the rear guard of Clinton's evacuation operation as it traversed New Jersey, but Major General Charles Lee [1731-1782] thought it advisable not to do so. Major Croghan's men, therefore, presumably under General Scott, were just to harrass the enemy's rear and left flank.<sup>41</sup> However, with the evacuation movement slowed by heat and rain, Washington divided his army, ordering Lee to attack the enemy which was in a de-

fensive position northeast of the Monmouth County Court House at Freehold.<sup>42</sup> In late June 1778, Croghan moved out as an observation party.

General Lee had no plan of attack and unbeknownst to Washington, would rely on his officers' judgment completely. Lee advanced to the Court House before turning northward to deploy against what was considered the British rear guard. However, Clinton ordered a return to Freehold, which forced Lee to move southward, leaving General Scott to cover the northern flank. Scott withdrew, swinging in with the main force, finally deploying with General Anthony Wayne [1745-1796] northwest of Freehold. The main body of Lee's men was positioned west of the Freehold. Without a defined battle order from Lee, Scott and Wayne retreated northwestwardly, paralleling Lee's retreat. It is not known positively if Croghan's 8th Virginia regiment were fighting under Scott or Wayne, but both were regrouped for a counter attack as Washington dismissed Lee and took personal charge. By the end of the day, Washington occupied the field and was preparing for battle on the following day. Clinton was anxious only to reach New York and consequently left the field under cover of darkness. Both sides could claim victory, having both occupied the field. But the march across New Jersey had been a difficult one for the Americans, and with little accomplishment. Monmouth would be the last major engagement of the war in the north.

While most of the army remained in the vicinity of White Plains, New York, for the winter of 1778-1779, Major Croghan was stationed at Middlebrook, New Jersey. He had been on command as brigade inspector in Philadelphia in September, and later in January and February he was furloughed to Philadelphia.<sup>43</sup> The army was reorganized in September, such that the 8th Virginia regiment was merged into the 4th Virginia regiment, with the officers including Croghan of the old 8th assuming command of the revitalized 4th regiment.<sup>44</sup>

Croghan returned to the camp near Middlebrook by the middle of March, 1779, finding the situation quite different from the preceding winters. France had entered the War and supplies of clothing had arrived in camp and fortunately, the winter was not as severe as the ones before. There appears to be a discrepancy on the actual condition within the camp. Some claim that food was still very scarce because of the inflation of money.<sup>45</sup> But, Major Croghan, in writing his old friend, Bernard Gratz, stated exuberantly:

We Spend our time very Sociable here, Are never disturbed by the Enemy, have Plenty of Provisions, & no want of Whiskey Grog. We Sometimes get good Spirits; Punch, &c, and have Madeira Sometimes. We have a Variety of Amusements. Last Evening the Tragedy of Cato

was performed at Brunswick, by the officers of the Army. Will the Congress be Displeas'd.<sup>46</sup>

By the end of March, 1779, the troops had become anxious, as it was rumored that the enemy intended landing some men in New Jersey. "Tis now more currently talked they intend some for the Eastward. Perhaps not. However, we expect an active campaign."<sup>47</sup> A month later, Croghan received orders to send off his heavy baggage, but he did not feel the army would march for some time. The anxiety of the troops was removed with the

great preparation making for the reception of the French Embassidor, in & Near Camp. We are to be Review in his presence, & a Considerable quantity of Blank Cartridgis fired. There will be Several great Entertainments, Balls, Concerts, &c, &c. You see we Can find Methods to Spend Money in Camps, & I think my preporition will be no Small Sum for two Weeks to Come.<sup>48</sup>

With Clinton's movement of troops by boat up the Hudson in late May, 1779, Major Croghan moved out with the rest of the army to assume a position at Smith's Clove on the west side of the Hudson, just south of West Point. It is doubtful if Croghan took part in the ensuing battle and important victory at Stony Point, on July 16, 1779. Later, on August 7th, he wrote to Gratz that the British army was at Harlem Heights and the navy at Sandy Hook and "Nothing Material has Transpired here."<sup>49</sup>

The next minor engagement was at Powles Hook, where Major Henry Lee, Jr. [1756-1818] attempted to gain the public recognition similar to that which had been heaped on Anthony Wayne for his victory at Stony Point. Powles Hook was well fortified and had excellent natural protection from the Hudson River. Lee had proposed the plan of attack to Washington, who subsequently accepted it, but with reservations.

Among the attacking forces were a hundred men under Major Jonathan Clark [1750-1811], of the 8th Virginia regiment.<sup>50</sup> The Virginians did not endorse Lee's battle plan and Clark was dissatisfied that Lee should have been placed in command when Clark was the senior Major. About half abandoned the action in protest, but Clark remained and commanded his troops creditably. His men were the first through the peripheral fortification of fallen trees and the inner redoubt.

The battle and victory, so similar to Stony Point, had no military significance, but Lee was commended by Congress for his action. Major Clark was not commended, a situation which compounded the Virginians' feeling of disdain for "Light-Horse Harry" Lee. Charges were made against Lee, and he was tried by court-martial, but acquitted with

honor. Three days after the battle, Major Croghan wrote Gratz making similar charges.<sup>51</sup>

... I suppose now you have a Variety of Accounts of the Takeing of the Garrison at Powel's Hook, which was taken by surprize about 3 o Clock the Morning of the Nineteenth Inst & Instantly evacuated again by us after doing no greater damage than taking 7 Officers & about 160 Rank & File prisoners & killing about 20 in the Garrison. We have about 7 privates Missing. Had not the Officer who Commanded (Major Lee) been in so great a hurry from the Garrison Much More Execution Might have been done as they did not take time to Carry off All the prisoners or Even take a Major & party of Men who were there in their power. Not the least damage whatever was done to the Garrison. The Magazine was not blown up, the Barricks not set on Fire, the Cannon not Spiked; no Article of stores Clothing &c &c of which a great plenty were there was in the least Damaged, in fact nothing further was done than rushing into the Garrison in Confusion & driving out the prisoners mostly without their cloths; perhaps there will be an Enquiry into the reason of the Confusion & great heast the party Made to get out of the fort, ... I believe Major Lee will be Arrested. I marched with a Covering party that did not go near the Garrison. Lord Stirling [William Alexander (1726-1783)] who Commands here is very Uneasy at Our Complaints on this Affair. Several Letters have passed between his Lordship & the Officers of our line Concerning his Ordering 300 of our Men under Major Lee. ...

On November 28, 1779, Croghan under General William Woodford [1734-1780] began to march through snow from Stony Point, New York, to Ramapough, New Jersey.<sup>52</sup> Continuing to Morristown on December 2, he found the conditions undesirable as Washington's wintering army had taken the most convenient places. It snowed while the chimneys for tents and huts were being built, and ironically when they were nearly completed, orders were issued for his troops to prepare to march for Philadelphia. The destination by a long march was to Georgia or South Carolina. The regiments moved out on the 10th, with Colonel John Neville's [1731-1803] 4th Virginia regiment to which Croghan had been transferred, bringing up the rear two days later. On the 19th Croghan set out from Philadelphia for Lancaster to see old Colonel Croghan, as the Virginia troops were to be sent south by water. He returned after spending two days with his uncle and friends to find the plans changed such that Colonel Neville would command one of three divisions (ca. 400 men) marching southward. About the middle of January, the troops left Philadelphia in the snow and cold which again prevented use of naval transportation. The route was westward through Lancaster and York before moving south into Virginia.<sup>53</sup> As the columns passed through the various towns, they were requested to fire the cannons for the residents. Croghan stayed

normally in taverns or inns along the way, or in private homes. At Fredericksburg, the troops remained ten days, where "we Spent in the Most Agreeable Manner the Inhabitants doing all in their power to Add to our happiness; we had Several Public & Private Balls, a Constant Round of Invitations on hand & found a hearty Welcome to All houses." On February 11th, the troops joined Washington's family in a birthday celebration, including a dinner and large ball.

The procession south was slow, and frantic orders were issued by the over-all commander, General Benjamin Lincoln [1733-1810], from Charleston, South Carolina, to make haste for the theatre of operation. At Richmond, Washington's birthday was again celebrated on the 22nd (old style). The request of General Lincoln was forgotten at Petersburg, where the troops were again entertained for ten days, repaying the inhabitants by firing the cannon and going through a few maneuvers.

On March 11, Croghan left with General Scott, following the troops toward Charleston. The route traversed North and South Carolina back country which prevented social diversions and the march was made in good order, reaching the destination on the 30th.

The British fleet had appeared at Charleston early in February. The enemy spent almost two months preparing for the eventual siege by moving troops and heavy armament into the surrounding territory and blockading the water with a formidable armada. Several skirmishes took place before Croghan arrived with General Scott. They immediately viewed the batteries and earth works with General Lincoln, but found the fortifications to be suitable only on the Cooper River side. The cannonading and mortaring began to increase as both sides became better entrenched. On the 13th of April, consideration was given to the overall situation and it was agreed by all, except General Lincoln, that the Continental troops should be evacuated while an exit over the Cooper River was still open. The enemy's fire became closer and more intense each day, with smaller shells raining from mortars and howitzers.

... The Enemy advance their bomb Battery within 800 yards of our lines. A constant fire of small arms from their New Trenches, on the left. A Shell came into my Marque about Midnight, but the Fuze going out it Fortunately done me no further Injury than tearing the marque, breaking the Table, going through the Floor & lodging itself a foot or two in the Ground, ...

On April 19th, the council of war met again, to consider evacuating the city of the continental forces, which could then defend the state in a more advantageous position. Lieutenant Governor Christopher Gads-

den [1724-1805] and Colonel Charles Cotesworth Pinckney [1746-1825] appeared before the board and coerced the group into holding out "to the last Extremity." Croghan again attended the council of war meeting on the following day, when it was agreed the "last extremity" had been reached and with the escape routes virtually blocked, that terms should be presented to General Clinton which "possibly Might be Accepted." The terms were rejected and the firing commenced with greater vigor. Croghan being then on Lampries Point across the Cooper River could witness both sides' fire power. He was soon ordered back to Charleston. "I was Sorry to Receive Such Orders, being in great doubt of my ever having it in my power if I once Returned to Town; if I could again leave it, Except as a prisoner."

There seemed little doubt of this fact as in the ensuing days the British trap closed tighter. The number of killed, wounded, or deserted for April was set at about 300. The ration was rice, bad meat, and a little coffee and sugar. The enemy was using even its sugar as a combustible fuel to hurl missiles. The subsequent days of the siege were evidently too hectic for Croghan to maintain his diary. It ended on May 4th, the siege and capitulation were concluded on May 12, 1780.

Croghan wrote Michael Gratz,

... I had an opportunity of seeing the enemy at one view, both by land and water. We had one small skirmish with the infantry, but nothing of consequence done. They have been throwing up works and making nightly approaches on this city for some nights past. Their lines are now about 600 yards off, but I expect they are now approaching much nearer, as eleven sail of their line this afternoon, with a fair wind, passed Fort Sullivan, now Fort Moultrie, under an exceeding heavy fire. We don't know what injury they sustained, further than our seeing one of their masts shot away. They now lay just out of cannon shot from town, but we expect, if the wind continues fair, that they and their army will attack us early tomorrow, when they doubtless will meet with a very warm reception from our batteries, which are well constructed, have heavy metal and are well pointed, as we have convinced their army for some days past, having fired pretty constant at their new works. The army and citizens are in high spirits and have no doubt of their ability to defend the city and makes Sir Henry again give up the thought of taking it. . . .<sup>54</sup>

Later Croghan generally described the siege and his subsequent parole to Michael Gratz.

... I am just now going to cross the river to Haddrell's point, where I am to remain on parole within the space of six miles, our army being under the necessity of surrendering this town to the British forces the 12th of this month. The bearer, Major Rice, is aide-de-camp to General Lincoln, and can give you every information concerning this town. I suppose you

will be informed of our supporting the town while we had provisions to live on, or a prospect of a reinforcement of troops. We have had no Continental troops but the Virginians, Hogan's, and three South Carolina regiments. We have had very few militia. The majority of them are citizens of this town. We had a pretty constant fire from our side six weeks, and from the enemy twenty-nine days; not many lives lost on our side. The second day after the enemy took the town, their magazine blew up by an accident which destroyed all the arms they received from us and near a hundred lives. . . .<sup>55</sup>

For Croghan, the parole within six miles was not an impossible situation, as Major Augustine Prevost [1767-1816], husband of Colonel Croghan's daughter, was stationed in the city. But the capitulation of Charleston and the capture of its copious supplies and men constituted the greatest disaster for the American cause. Croghan commented, "We flatter ourselves our friends to the northward will say we maintained the post as long as people in our situation could."<sup>56</sup>

With Major Prevost's help, Croghan thought he would obtain "a parole to go to the Northward."<sup>57</sup> However, he remained on parole at Haddrell's Point, across the river from Charleston, with the other continental officers apparently until late in 1780.<sup>58</sup>

In the spring of 1781, he went north to Caroline County, Virginia, as a guest of Jonathan Clark who was also on parole.<sup>59</sup> On this initial visit, William met his future wife, Lucy Clark, younger sister of Jonathan and George Rogers Clark. The western military leader, who was preparing for another northwest campaign, was not present and Croghan would not meet his future surveying partner until they had both reached Fort Pitt later in the year. He still had not been exchanged when he arrived at Fort Pitt. Writing the commissioner of war of Virginia, Colonel William Davies [b. 1749] on the subject, he also described General Clark's difficulties in obtaining man power.<sup>60</sup>

. . . A few days ago General Clarke settout from this Country by Water, with about four Hundred Men, Including Officers & Colonel Crockets Regiment, flattering himself he would be Join'd by some more from Kentucky, & the Falls of the Ohio, about half way between this & the Falls. The General Expected 1500 Men from this part of the Country & is much Shagreen'd at his disapointment having provisions, Amunition, Artillery, Quarter Masters Stores, Boats, &c Sufficient for upwards of 2,000 Men. Had the Country people turn'd out & went with him I have no doubt the people of this Side of the Mountain in particular would be Senciabile of the advantage they must reap, by being able to live at their plantations without the dread of being Scalp'd, which is far from being the Case at present, few days passing without the Indians doing mischief of this kind.

I much fear the General will be disapointed in Getting Men down the river from Kentucky & the Falls, if so the State is thrown into an Infinity of Expençe, without any advantage, as the few Men the General Now has,

is Not More than Might be Necessary to Guard the Great Number of Boats, Stores, &c he has with him. From Every Account we have the Indians Are preparing to receive him And if they Should Attack him in his present Situation, either by land or Water, I dread the Consequences. The Reason so few went with him from this place, is Owing to the dispute that Subsists here between the Virginians & Pennsylvanians Respecting the true bounds of the Latter, And the General being a Virginian was oppos'd by the Most Noted Men here of the Pennsylvania Party. . . .

Croghan's appraisal is very important in the understanding of Clark's ultimate failure in the 1781 campaign. The prevailing poor climate at Fort Pitt for such an expedition would have prevented most military leaders from beginning. The group did reach the falls of the Ohio River, but the anticipated reinforcements were ambushed and killed coming down the Ohio River or did not leave the safety of central Kentucky. The Shawnee realized that Clark was powerless to invade their territory with such a small force, but respecting his abilities and reputation did not attack him directly.

As General Clark moved west, General Washington maneuvered his troops from New York into Virginia in an effort to curtail Cornwallis' exploits at the expense of Lafayette's greatly outnumbered force. Simultaneously, the French fleet sailed north to block the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay. Undoubtedly, the news of the tremendous troop deployments onto the peninsula of Virginia enticed Major Croghan to leave Fort Pitt to rejoin the army there. Cornwallis was well entrenched at Yorktown as Washington advanced from Williamsburg. Croghan arrived at the siege of Yorktown just as the American and French artillery emplacements were beginning to devastate the British positions. He soon found that he had not yet been exchanged and was not permitted to take part in the military operations. On October 19, 1781, he did witness the capitulation of the British forces by Brigadier General Charles O'Hara [1740?-1802]. Major General Benjamin Lincoln, who had been in command at Charleston when Croghan was captured, accepted the British surrender for General Washington.<sup>61</sup>

One of the most fascinating and historically valuable commentaries on the Moravian Indian massacre and the subsequent agonizing death of Colonel William Crawford [1732-1782] was prepared for Colonel Davies by Major Croghan, as he awaited parole at Fort Pitt. He had returned to the outpost in the spring of 1782, still with the concern for "my Exchange & my Wish of receiving orders from Genl. Washington where I am to go if Exchanged."<sup>62</sup> He also wrote on April 20th, "The country talks of nothing but killing Indians and taking possession of their lands." Croghan was referring to a brutal attack by about 300 militia under Colonel David Williamson [1752-1809/14] on the

Moravian villages west of Fort Pitt. The Delaware, from which Christian conversions had been made, retaliated in a like fashion. General William Irvine [1741-1804] who had just taken command at Fort Pitt ordered Colonel Crawford to destroy the Indians on the upper Sandusky River. When the first report of Crawford's unfortunate capture was brought to Fort Pitt, Croghan wrote the following letter to Colonel Davies with the initial details.

... General Irvine Commands at this post where he has so few Continental troops (about 200 for duty) that tis not in his power to go from the Garrison against the Indians, who Are daily Commiting Murders through this Country. The Pennsylvania Militia form'd an Expedition against the Indians about three Months ago, but Instead of going against the Enemys of the Country, they turn'd their thoughts on a Robing plundering Murdering Scame, on our well known friends the Moravian Indians, All of whom they mett, they in the Most Cool and Deliberate Manner (after living with them apperantly in a friendly Manner for three days) Men Women & Children in All Ninety three Tomahawk'd Scalp'd, & burn'd, Except One boy who after being Scalp'd made his Escape to the Delaware Indians (Relations of the Moravians) who have ever Since been Exceeding Cruel to All prisoners they have taken. About Six Weeks ago 500 Voluntiers of this Country Commanded by Colonel William Crawford, went on an Expedition against the Indian towns. The Men behaved amiss, no More than about 100 having faught the Indians who came out from their towns to Meet them. The firing Continued at long Shots with Rifles for near two days. The Second Evening our party broke off & Retreated in the Most disorderly Manner. Colonel Crawford and a few others finding the Men would pay no attention to Orders were going on Cooly in the Rear leaving the Road to avoid the pursuit of the Indians, untill the Second day when the thought they might Venture on it, but before they had marched two miles a body of Indians fell between them & the Rear of the party and took them prisoners. We had no Certanty of this unhappy affair untill yesterday when Doctor Knight who was taken with Crawford came into the Garrison in the Most Deplorable Condition Man could be in and be alive. He Says that the Second day after they were taken they were Carry'd to an Indian town Strip'd and then Blacked, and Made to March through the Indians who, Men Women & Children, beat them with Clubs, Sticks, fists, &c in the Most Cruel Manner. Col. Crawford & the Doctor were confined together all night. The Next Day they were taken out, Black'd again & their hands tied behind their backs, when Colonel Crawford was lead by a long rope to a high Stake to the top of which the rope about the Colonel was tied, all round the Stake a great quantity of red hot Coals were laid, on which the poor Colonel was Obliged to walk barefoot, and at the Sametime the Indians firing Squibs of powder at him while Others pock'd burning Sticks into Every part of his body, thus they Continued torturing him for about two hours, when he begg'd of Simon Girty a whild renegade, who was standing by to Shute him, when the fellow Say'd 'don't you see I have no gun.' Some little time after they Scalp'd him & struck him on the bear Scul Several times with Sticks. Being now nearly Exausted he lay down on the Burning Embers when the Squaws put Shoefelds of Coals on his

body which dying as he was made him move & Creep a little; the Doctor was obliged to stand by to See this Cruelty performed. When the Colonel was Scalp'd, they Slap'd the Scalp over the Doctors face, saying this is your great Captains Scalp, tomorrow we will Serve you So. The Doctor was to be Serv'd in the Same Manner in an Other town Some distance off, and on his way to his place of torment he past by where Colonel Crawfords dead body had been dragged to and Burned and Saw his bones. The Doctor was guarded by but one Indian. On the way the Indian wanted a fire Made and untied the Doctor ordering him Make it, the Doctr. appear'd willing to Obey, was Collecting wood till he got a Good Chunk in his hand with which he gave the Indian so severe a blow as levelld him. The Indian sprung up, but seeing the Doctor Seize his gun Run away; the Doctor could not get the gun off other ways would have shot the Indian. He Steerd through the Woods and arrived here the twenty first day after he left the Indian, having no Cloths, the gun being wood bound, he left it after Carrying it a few days; for the 21 Days & two or three more while he had been under Sentence of Death, he Never Eat anything but Such Vegetables as the Woods afforded. None of the prisoners were put to death but those that fell in the hands of the Delawares who say they will Shew no Mercy to any White Man as they would shew None to their friends & Relations the Religious Moravians. I believe I have not told you that the Whole of the 500 who went out with Crawford Return'd Except about 50. . . .<sup>63</sup>

Major Croghan was present at Fort Pitt until late in 1783, except on trips to Philadelphia and through Virginia.<sup>17</sup> In August of 1783, he was ordered to grant his troops furloughs and to requisition \$3,000 for their payment.<sup>64</sup> If the account books and muster rolls in the National Archives are accurate and reliable, Major Croghan enjoyed a rather lucrative military career. He was granted the following pay for the listed years: 1777 \$400; 1778 \$660; 1779 \$1,875; 1782 \$1,685; 1783 \$2,547; totaling \$7,149.<sup>65</sup>

Major Croghan was a charter member (1783) of the Society of the Cincinnati, a fraternal and patriotic organization which many unfavorably thought would perpetrate the leadership of the military, as General Washington was made president of the national Society. Later Croghan, with several others, petitioned the national Society to establish a chapter in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The secretary general affirmed the request, but evidently no formal action was ever taken by the General or the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati.<sup>66</sup> The insignia of the Society is very prominently displayed, extending from his vest on a light blue ribbon in the only extant portrait of Major Croghan, painted from life by John Wesley Jarvis [1780-1840].<sup>67</sup>

Relative to another fraternal organization, he had already joined the Masonic order while in Williamsburg on August 6, 1778. The war records in the National Archives indicate that his presence in Williamsburg at that time is plausible. After removing to Kentucky, however,

he never took an interest in Masonic activities and did not transfer his membership locally into either the Abraham No. 8 or Clark No. 51 Lodge.<sup>68</sup>

Returning to Williamsburg from Fort Pitt and rapidly ascertaining the rudiments of surveying, Croghan passed an examination acceptable to the faculty and president of the College of William and Mary. Commissions were granted in early 1784 to both Croghan and George Rogers Clark, as the principal surveyors for the lands appropriated to the military of the Virginia State line.<sup>69</sup>

Because of his prestige in the western country where the major portion of the military land location was to take place, General Clark was nominally in charge of the work. However, it was Croghan who was personally overseeing the daily operations, carrying out the overall policy as set forth by the Commonwealth of Virginia.<sup>70</sup> In this vital position, Croghan had the opportunity to select first rate land for himself and in his latter years such investments would be amply rewarded.<sup>71</sup>

When not in the surveying office, Croghan was on field trips, such as the one from Louisville to Nashville in the fall of 1784,<sup>72</sup> or traveling to Richmond with plats to be entered for constituents who were unwilling to remove to an area still ravished by Indians.<sup>73</sup> His field notes were meticulous in style and data which would be a definite aid in the multitude of boundary and entry disputes arising from lack of forceful central planning and enforcement by the Commonwealth of Virginia. Copies of the major's extant correspondence, which was assembled to provide information for the recent restoration of Locust Grove, deals entirely with complicated land transactions. These highly boring and historically unhelpful letters do amplify, however, the precise, factual aspect of his character. The University of Chicago Library owns two ledgers or manuscript account books which almost exclusively record land transactions, such as expenses for surveying, chain carriers, making entries of land and receipt of warrants. The first book which Croghan referred to as "Ledger A" comprises principally the years 1784 to 1789, in 165 pages. The second generally covers in 143 pages from 1789 to 1822.<sup>74</sup>

In 1786, he was added to a commission to survey and appoint lands for the military establishment which served under General Clark in the invasion of the Illinois country in 1778-1779.<sup>75</sup> This commission was also instructed to establish a town within the 150,000 acre tract, known as Clark's grant, on the northwest side of the Ohio River. The two prominent positions, serving the Illinois Regiment and the Virginia State line, produced ample revenue through proportional fees for acreage surveyed and entered.

Not all the revenue came in the form of paper notes or cash. Pay-

ment was also made in "country produce," such as for his assistance in positioning the new court house and overseeing the contract for its construction. On April 1, 1788, the Jefferson County Court issued the following order:<sup>76</sup>

That a court house be built on the public sq. in Louisville and that the place as made out by the persons appointed by the last court be taken and accepted as a model, whereby the same shall be built and ordered that Alexander Breckenridge, William Croghan and Ben Johnston or any two of them fix the situation on the public square and to contract with some person to build the same of stone or brick as Platt order to be paid in country produce of every species.

By securing the necessary passport into Spanish New Orleans, Croghan was able to sell his country produce at a considerable profit.<sup>77</sup> The only available market for such produce was at the mouth of the Mississippi River, but very rigid restrictions were placed upon the sale of produce by the Spanish Governor Don Esteban Miró [1744-1787]. Daniel Clark [1766-1813] acted as Croghan's agent, for which he received 10 per cent of the collected revenue. Clark advised his supplier that, "Hemp, tobacco, good hams, and fletches of bacon, good butter and well rendered lard are the goods proper for this market."<sup>78</sup>

During this period, a partnership with his future brother-in-law, Richard Clough Anderson [1750-1826], was formed. Using Croghan's New Orleans passport, the two were purchasing mostly tobacco in central Kentucky and exporting it through the southern port.<sup>79</sup> Shortly after this passport was granted, General James Wilkinson [1757-1825] entered into an agreement with the Spanish governor as the devious general attempted to monopolize the prosperous trade. Although the partnership feared intervention by Wilkinson, it appears that this did not occur. Wilkinson, who had already succeeded in removing General Clark from the national scene through innuendo, began to malign Croghan in the same manner. A very direct and forceful letter informed Wilkinson to terminate his discrediting statements.<sup>80</sup> Wilkinson also conspicuously omitted Croghan's name from a list of prominent Kentucky entrepreneurs to whom the Spanish government at New Orleans might issue passports.<sup>81</sup> However, this had little effect on the passport presented and used in the Anderson-Croghan partnership. The lives of these partners were deeply intertwined in commerce and surveying and finally by marriage. On July 14, 1789, William Croghan married Lucy Clark, sister of Mrs. Richard Clough Anderson [1767-1795].<sup>82</sup>

Added burdens were placed upon Croghan's surveying office, when its nominal head, George Rogers Clark, fully retired in 1788. "Gen.

Clark has sent his resignation as Surveyor to the Superintendents of the State Line. If offered to me I shall accept of the place but suppose they will appoint a State Officer."<sup>79</sup> Because of his most thorough knowledge in the land granting system, Croghan's nomination was submitted by the superintendents to Governor Edmund Randolph [1753-1813]<sup>83</sup> and he was appointed the general's successor in the spring of 1789.<sup>84</sup> It should be noted that Croghan had acted as General Clark's private secretary while the western partisan was still in absolute control of the civil and military affairs of the Kentucky district.<sup>85</sup> In this capacity, he became fully aware of the changing political situation and possessed a deep understanding of the figures who would mould the area into statehood after they had disposed of General Clark late in 1786.

Croghan, himself, briefly entered the local political arena as a representative of Jefferson County for the constitutional convention held in Danville, Kentucky, in 1790,<sup>86</sup> and as a trustee of the town of Louisville.<sup>87</sup> The number of trustees was drastically reduced between 1789 and 1791, when he was appointed. However, the duties of appropriating public lots within the town and the laborious transactions with regard to compensating Colonel John Campbell [d. 1799] for the confiscation and public sale of his property, made Croghan wisely refuse the appointment. A great deal of his time was being spent in preparing for the change of state jurisdiction in land grant procedures, as Kentucky assumed statehood in 1792. The *Jefferson County Minute Books* indicate the extent to which the county government enlisted his aid in civic activities. He was named to juries and grand juries, listed as a commissioner for elections, ordered to examine surveyor's abilities, ordered to procure scales and weights, asked to view roads, and recommend persons for commissioners of the peace.<sup>88</sup> The pressures of raising a large family and business daunted any future political prospect which the Irish emigrant might have possessed. One cannot overlook that on the statewide level he represented to the new lawyer breed of politician, the old dissident Clark military faction.

On April 26, 1791, Croghan placed the following statement in *The Kentucky Gazette*.<sup>89</sup>

Notice is hereby given, that agreeable to direction from the superintendants of the Virginia State line, I will open the office at my house near the falls of Ohio, on Monday the 1st day of August next, to receive entries, and proceed to surveying the military state lands on the south side of Green river &c.

It should be noted that between the retirement of General Clark in the fall of 1788 and the opening of the land office at Locust Grove,

no surveys were examined or recorded for the Virginia State line. A survey book, belonging to George Rogers Clark and William Croghan, now the property of Jefferson County (on loan to the Locust Grove restoration), does not list surveys being examined during this period. Significantly, the examinations were resumed by Croghan on August 5, 1791, as he had stated in the above advertisement.

The surveying office at Locust Grove was, evidently from necessity, moved into a separate primitive building, later described to be in the middle of the garden.<sup>90</sup> No indication of a foundation suitable for such a structure has been located during the present restoration period. The rapid growth of the family, the influx of distinguished visitors and the complex record-keeping for business and surveying interests undoubtedly forced the separation of home and work.

Within the massive confines of Locust Grove, the development of the Croghan children occupied their father's principal attention. Evidently poorly educated himself, Major Croghan stressed the values of academic training and made available to each of his children who were physically capable, matriculation into the country's finest institutions. "You have it now in your power to be Acquainted with the Sciences, by knowing them well you will find them pleasing and profatable to your Self and highly gratifying to your Mother myself & all your friends."<sup>91</sup> His first three sons, endowed with stronger constitutions, endured several academic institutions apiece, and each had rigorous scientific courses. John Croghan [1790-1849] attended the Danville, Kentucky Seminary (1806-1807), the College of William and Mary (1807-1809), and the University of Pennsylvania (1809-1813) for the M.D. degree;<sup>92</sup> George Croghan [1791-1849] attended the Danville, Kentucky Seminary (1806-1807), the College of William and Mary (1808-1810), and returned after graduation to study law briefly in 1811;<sup>93</sup> William Croghan [1794-1850] graduated from Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky (1808-1810), attended Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (ca. 1811-1814) and the Litchfield Law School, Litchfield, Connecticut (1815-1816);<sup>94</sup> Charles Croghan [1802-1832] and his twin, Nicholas Croghan [1802-1826], went to St. Thomas College, Springfield, Kentucky, following Nicholas' attendance at the Buck Pond Academy near Versailles, Kentucky;<sup>95</sup> Ann Croghan [1797-1846] and Elizabeth Croghan [1801-1833] attended the Domestic Academy, near Springfield, Kentucky (ca. 1809);<sup>96</sup> Edmund Croghan [1805-ca. 1825] attended the Jefferson Seminary in 1816.<sup>97</sup> It should be noted that Major Croghan took an active interest in local education, being an original (1798) subscriber and trustee of the Jefferson Seminary,<sup>98</sup> a predecessor of the University of Louisville.

The academic discipline and awareness through travel led to the

success of the children in later life. John returned to Locust Grove to pursue scientific and business ventures such as the development of Mammoth Cave, and to practice medicine; George, with a brilliant military record in the War of 1812, became inspector general of the United States army; William married Mary O'Hara [1804-1827] of Pittsburgh and removed there following her death to use his lawyer talents to manage her vast estate; Charles died while in Paris, France, trying to regain his constantly poor health; Nicholas also attempted to enter medicine but succumbed at an early age; Edmund was going into law, when he died; Ann married the quartermaster general of the United States army, Thomas Sidney Jesup [1788-1860]; Elizabeth married George Hancock [1788-1875] who for a short period owned part or all of Locust Grove.<sup>99</sup> Charles Croghan's [1796-1796] life is just a record; Nancy Croghan [dates unknown] is just a mention in one letter.<sup>100</sup>

The children could take great delight in hunting and fishing on the tract adjoining the Ohio River. Major Croghan maintained a public ferry across the river just below the Six Mile Island, which he also owned for many years.<sup>101</sup> This landing on the river was the center of activity in spring and late fall when supplies could be brought by boat to the farm and produce shipped both up and down the river. Of the enlarged 693.5 acre Locust Grove tract,<sup>102</sup> the upper 400 acres were cleared and cultivated, the lower acreage near the river was left for timber cutting. Beside the country produce crops, sheep, cattle, hogs, horses, and abundant orchards were maintained. Income was forthcoming from the rental of prime land in Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. The major's land holdings remained fairly constant from 1800 until his death when he devised to his wife and children a total of 53,860 acres.<sup>103</sup> The income accruing from other sources included salt wells in Christian County<sup>104</sup> and 5 brick houses rented on lot No. 80 at 5th and Main Streets in Louisville. As early as 1797, a mill was operated about a half mile south of the main house. A road from the mill to Louisville was proposed by the county government to accommodate those living in the neighborhood.<sup>105</sup>

The town of Smithland, Kentucky, at the mouth of the Cumberland River was established by Croghan in 1805. The town in Livingston County would attract persons wanting urban services and in turn the rental and sale prices for town lots which Croghan owned would increase.<sup>106</sup> He became equally interested in the development of Iron Banks near Columbus, in Hickman County, Kentucky.<sup>107</sup> The initial proposal for establishing the town was transmitted to the governor of Virginia in 1784 by a group of trustees, including Croghan; but the plan was abandoned. In 1789, both Croghan and Colonel John Campbell revived the effort separately, which led to discussions for a possible



partnership to establish the settlement.<sup>108</sup> Croghan's further participation in the project is not well defined.

Yet with prosperity, Major Croghan remained a frugal individual, seemingly to such an extent that several of his children later rebelled. Charles died relatively young saving the family some financial embarrassment, but George drained the second generation of its inheritance. In a similar vein, Major Croghan has been criticized, by the uninformed, for completely appropriating General Clark's small annual pension as remuneration for his stay at Locust Grove. General Clark retired to the constant surveillance of the Croghan household in 1809 and finally in 1812 began to receive a \$400 per year grant from the Commonwealth of Virginia.<sup>109</sup> Partially paralyzed, the general had little use for the money and many of his previous accounts were paid by his generous benefactor. Clark's personal account with the major began in 1783 and extended until his death. The amount owed Croghan in 1818 was £ 311.15.2, roughly \$1,000.<sup>110</sup>

His generosity and humanism can be measured in the well-recorded hospitality shown at Locust Grove. Not only relatives, but persons of varying occupations and stations in life were given the same reception and care. John O'Fallon [1791-1865] and John Gwathmey [d. 1824] were virtually raised as members of the huge family.<sup>111</sup> Relatives, such as Marston G. Clark [1771-1846], lived at Locust Grove for long periods of time before establishing their own homesteads.<sup>112</sup> Being successful and stalwart, his family and friends placed a heavy burden of reliance upon Major Croghan. Visitors came, went, and returned to the refined atmosphere. James Monroe [1758-1831], Andrew Jackson [1765-1845], Aaron Burr [1756-1836],<sup>113</sup> Meriwether Lewis [1774-1809], William Clark [1770-1838],<sup>114</sup> Zachary Taylor [1784-1850],<sup>115</sup> and John James Audubon [1785-1851]<sup>116</sup> instilled a certain aura of distinction about the country seat.

The young painter, Audubon, was slightly older than the second generation of Croghans, but on his frequent visits to Locust Grove he extracted much valuable information from the family and knowledgeable guests. He claimed that his father, Jean Audubon [1744-1818] was an old friend of Major Croghan as they had "fought together" during the Revolutionary War. Conceivably, their only meeting took place at the capitulation of Yorktown [1781], but Audubon needed little else to gain entrance into the coterie of Croghan friends in Louisville. Once in discussing the roosting habits of birds, Major Croghan informed the ornithologist of a hollow sycamore where numerous chimney swallows or American swifts [*Chaetura pelagica*] resided. Audubon through careful observation and measurement estimated the bird population inside to be an astounding 9,000.<sup>116</sup>

Croghan effectively lobbied for legislation to purchase the Chickasaw Indian claim still remaining within Kentucky. Both Croghan and Clark had land in the area southwest of the Tennessee River, but surveys were not permitted until the Indian title could be extinguished. Through his nephew, R. C. Anderson, Jr. [1788-1826] in the House of Representatives, Croghan tried to push for federal appropriation of funds to buy the land. The effort was successful when General Andrew Jackson and Governor Isaac Shelby [1750-1826] were nominated to treat with the Chickasaws in October, 1818. Anderson had intended to nominate Croghan, whom he knew would be acceptable to President Monroe, but Shelby had already been named to the commission. The seven million acres of land, known as the Jackson purchase, were obtained for a \$20,000 annuity for fifteen years.<sup>117</sup>

The appropriation of military lands, formation of new counties and towns, and a better understanding of water courses called for a new map of Kentucky. In late 1818, Luke Munsell [1790-1854] published a huge 7' x 3' map of the Commonwealth, including parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. "Locust Grove, Maj. Croghan's Seat" appears northeast of Louisville as one of several homes listed. Munsell included the seats of the principal surveyors as recognition for the information they had contributed to his impressive effort.<sup>118</sup> The line which marked the eastern boundary of the Virginia State line's reserved land and established by Croghan and Lincoln County surveyor, James Thompson, can be seen on the Munsell map. It extends southeast from south of Stanford, in Lincoln County, along the northeast line of Pulaski County, about 75 miles to just northeast of the Cumberland Gap.<sup>119</sup>

At the same time (1818), revitalized attention was being given to a canal at the falls of the Ohio River. The bottleneck to steamboat traffic was reaching untenable proportions and the old Indiana Canal Company was apparently reformed. Croghan had been an initial director of the old company in 1805, but did not participate in the later deliberations.<sup>120</sup> When President James Monroe came to Louisville and reviewed the new Jeffersonville Ohio Canal undertaking in 1819, he and his family were escorted by Major General Andrew Jackson. On the 26th of June 1819, a public dinner was held in their honor at the Union Hall and Major Croghan presided as president of the day. Toasts were given, followed by pieces of martial music, one of which was "Croghan's March." The final toast was made to Croghan, "The president of the day, the amiable and worthy friend of mankind." President Monroe and his party spent the following weekend at Locust Grove before departing eastward.<sup>121</sup> Andrew Jackson would return to Locust Grove and, later as president, would help maintain the dignity

of the Croghan name by keeping George Croghan from certain discharge by the army.<sup>122</sup>

There are indications in the family correspondence that the major's normally good health was marked by several severe illnesses. Friend and neighbor, Zachary Taylor, mentioned one almost terminal sickness. "Major Croghan, who is rapidly declining, and I am fearful, unless a change for the better takes place shortly, he can not stand it long. I have visited him several times since my return."<sup>123</sup> Yet, he continued to lead a productive life until his 70th year, when death came to this "independent country gentleman." The *Louisville Public Advertiser* remarked that,

He was one of those patriots, who, raised this country to honor and to empire. During the whole of that memorable conflict which resulted in the dismemberment of one, and the creation of another empire, he discharged his duties of an ardent and gallant officer in the dangers, as well as the glories of that eventful period, he largely participated.<sup>124</sup>

Major Croghan succeeded in raising his family "to honor and to empire," although both became somewhat tarnished and diminished in the hands of his children. Unfortunately, some members of the subsequent generations did not inherit the kind of fine qualities which prompted the obituary writer to refer summarily to Major William Croghan as an "independent country gentleman."

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> For further information about the restoration of Locust Grove, see, Samuel W. Thomas, "The Restoration of Locust Grove," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (1965), pp. 145-150; Samuel W. Thomas, "History of houses: Locust Grove, Near Louisville, Kentucky," *ANTIQUES*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (1967), pp. 223-227; Samuel W. Thomas, "The History and Restoration of Locust Grove, Near Louisville, Kentucky, Built ca. 1790," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (1967), pp. 271-277.

<sup>2</sup> The military land grant of 1,000 acres to William Peachy for service in the French and Indian War, dated November 12, 1779, is signed by Thomas Jefferson, *Kentucky County Deed Book 6*, p. 5, and is in the possession of the secretary of state, Frankfort, Kentucky. The tract was surveyed for Peachy by William Preston [1729-1783] on June 1, 1774, and entered, December 23, 1774. *Fincastle County Survey Book 5*, p. 66, is also in the office of the secretary of state, Frankfort, Kentucky. There is no record of a transaction from Peachy to Hancock Lee. The deed from Lee to William Croghan was recorded on July 19, 1802, in the *Jefferson County Deed Book 6*, p. 249, but the purchase date is given within the indenture as April 10, 1790.

<sup>8</sup> William Croghan, Sr. to General Thomas H. Cushing, March 13, 1813. The Croghan Papers, The Filson Club. General Richard Butler [1743-1791] reported a cabin opposite the Six Mile Island as early as 1785. Neville Craig, ed., *The Olden Time*; . . . Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1876, Vol. 2, p. 496.

<sup>9</sup> George Rogers Clark had been appointed deputy surveyor under Hancock Lee for the Ohio Company in 1775. Together they surveyed Leesburg, now part of Frankfort, Kentucky. It is very possible that Croghan met Lee through General Clark. The deed was not recorded until July 19, 1802, 12 years after the purchase, indicating that neither party was anxious to legalize the transaction.

<sup>10</sup> *The Kentucky Gazette*, Vol. 3, No. 33, April 12, 1790, p. [2], col. [3].

<sup>11</sup> "State Archives, Tax Lists of Jefferson County, 1789," *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 66 (1924), p. 219.

<sup>12</sup> Jefferson County tax records, State Archives, Frankfort, Kentucky.

<sup>13</sup> During the restoration of Locust Grove, piping was cut several times while putting in underground power cables. Members of the Waters family who had lived on the property since 1883, had traced the system to an area where a considerable brick deposit still existed.

<sup>14</sup> William Croghan and George Rogers Clark passed the surveyor's examination prepared by the faculty of the College of William and Mary. It is presumed that both received their commission on February 9, 1784, when Croghan paid the necessary fee and received Clark's commission. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd Ser., Vol. 5 (1910), pp. 311-312; James A. James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark*, University of Chicago Press, 1928, p. 299.

<sup>15</sup> *Jefferson County Minute Book 2*, p. 81.

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Croghan to George Croghan, dated Dublin, July 17, 1769. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>17</sup> B. and M. Gratz, *Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754-1798*, W. V. Byars, ed.; The Hugh Stephens Printing Co., Jefferson City, Mo., 1916, p. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1959, p. 260.

<sup>19</sup> Nicholas Clarke [dates unknown] of Dublin wrote his uncle, William Croghan on March 31, 1792, "There are many strange alterations in they family since you was here ne since you last wrote [1785]. My Mother Father Unkle Gibson & your own Father have all departed this life. . ." Draper MSS. 1N16, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Nicholas Clarke later immigrated to America and lived in Louisville. Mrs. Margaret Pearson Bothwell of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has spent much time and effort in tracing the Croghan family in Ireland. Hopefully her noble task will be rewarded with confirmation of the relationships set forth in this paper.

<sup>20</sup> ". . . The first land that we saw was the 'Irish coast.' You cannot imagine the sensations I experienced in beholding the native land of my Father: a land so intimately interwoven with all my early associations." John Croghan to Ann Croghan Jesup, dated London, August 18, 1832. The Croghan Papers, part of the Thomas S. Jesup Papers, Library of Congress, hereafter cited as L. C.

<sup>21</sup> Statement of William Croghan, Jr. Draper MSS. 4S187. Worthington Chauncey Ford, *British Officers Serving in America 1754-1774*, David Clapp & Son, Boston, 1894, p. 30. *A List of the General and Field-Officers, . . . on the British and Irish Establishments*. . . London, 1774, p. 70. This list is in the New York Public Library, and Croghan misspelled as Grogan. William Croghan is listed as a Justice of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, in 1771, in T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1937, p. 92. However, this fact could not be confirmed.

<sup>22</sup> William Croghan to Bernard Gratz, January 31, 1783. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Innis is frequently spelled and referred to as Innes.

<sup>23</sup> *Washington County, Pa. Will Book 1*, p. 129.

<sup>24</sup> *Washington County, Pa. Deed Book 1-A*, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that William Croghan was not mentioned in the will of George Croghan, although other kinsmen were. See fn. 12, p. 209.

<sup>26</sup> William Croghan to Bernard Gratz, March 1, 1779. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>27</sup> William Croghan to Bernard Gratz, March 26, 1779. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>28</sup> William Croghan to Bernard Gratz, August 7, 1779. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>29</sup> Draper MSS. 1N38.

<sup>25</sup> National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.; H. W. Flournoy, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*. . . , Richmond, 1890, Vol. 8, p. 214. He is listed unofficially as a captain in West Augusta (1775-1776) by John H. Gwathmey, *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution*. . . , Dietz Press, Richmond, 1938, p. 193. A return (1776) for the 1st Virginia regiment of foot, commanded by Col. Isaac Read, records Captain Croghan. *Manuscripts*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1965), p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Jared C. Lobdell, ed., "The Revolutionary War Journal of Sargent Thomas McCarty," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (1964), pp. 29-36. Muster rolls in the Draper MSS. indicate that Sargent McCarty was in Captain William Croghan's company. The leather bound journal was found in the Croghan Papers of Draper MSS. in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. At present, Mr. Lobdell is editing the 1779-1780 journal of William Croghan, Draper MSS. 3N1-134, and the Croghan letters dealing with the Revolutionary War period.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39-40.

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Ward: *The War of the Revolution*, John R. Alden, ed., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1952, Vol. 1, p. 287.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel Edwin Wheeler, ed., *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vincent Parke and Company, New York, 1908, Vol. 3, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> See fn. 26, p. 40. Three separate divisions made the crossing of the ice-laden Delaware River, with the majority of about 2,400 men in the principal division under Washington crossing at McKonkey's Ferry. Croghan's men, as part of Washington's division, undoubtedly crossed in the vicinity.

<sup>33</sup> See fn. 26, p. 41.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41-42; also Samuel S. Smith, *The Battle of Princeton*, Philip Freneau Press, Monmouth Beach, New Jersey, 1967.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>38</sup> Reasonable assumptions are made in following Croghan during the campaign north of Philadelphia. Croghan's obituary states he fought at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. *National Intelligencer* [Washington], Vol. 23, No. 3374, October 9, 1822, p. [3], col. [3].

<sup>39</sup> Muster roll. The Croghan Papers, the Chicago Historical Society. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1911), p. 478.

<sup>40</sup> Draper MSS. 1N1. Croghan served for a period on the staff of Steuben. T. S. Jesup to Wm. H. Denny, M.D., July 13, 1859. *The Record of the Court of Upland . . . and A Military Journal, kept by Major E. Denny, 1781 to 1795*, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1860, pp. 486-87.

<sup>41</sup> The fact that Croghan was promoted to major on May 16, 1778, was officially substantiated by, among others, Major Jonathan Clark [1750-1811] later his brother-in-law. William Croghan military service record in National Archives and Records Service.

<sup>42</sup> Samuel S. Smith, *The Battle of Monmouth*, Philip Freneau Press, Monmouth Beach, New Jersey, 1964.

<sup>43</sup> National Archives and Records Service.

<sup>44</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1912), p. 187.

<sup>45</sup> See fn. 30, p. 595.

<sup>46</sup> See fn. 21.

<sup>47</sup> See fn. 22.

<sup>48</sup> William Croghan to Bernard Gratz, April 22, 1779. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>49</sup> See fn. 23.

<sup>50</sup> See fn. 30, p. 605. Jonathan Clark was the brother of George Rogers Clark and William Clark [1770-1838], of Revolutionary War and expedition fame respectively. The 8th Virginia regiment was made from the 12th when the reorganization merged the old 8th with the 4th.

<sup>51</sup> See fn. 48. Henry Lee was the father of Robert E. Lee [1807-1870].

<sup>52</sup> The following facts and quotes relating to the march south are taken from Croghan's diary (Draper MSS. 3N1-134), unless specifically referenced.

<sup>53</sup> William Croghan to Michael Gratz, February 7, 1780. See fn. 12, pp. 194-195.

<sup>54</sup> William Croghan to Michael Gratz, April 8, 1780. See fn. 12, p. 198.

<sup>55</sup> William Croghan to Michael Gratz, May 18, 1780. See fn. 12, p. 199. This report is substantiated by the diary of Jonathan Clark in The Filson Club.

<sup>56</sup> William Croghan to Michael Gratz, June 12, 1780. See fn. 12, p. 200.

<sup>57</sup> William Croghan to George Croghan, June 10, 1780. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>58</sup> William Croghan to Bernard Gratz, July 16, 1780. See fn. 12, p. 201.

<sup>59</sup> March 28, 1781, Vol. 16 of Jonathan Clark's diary. The Filson Club.

<sup>60</sup> William Croghan to William Davies, August 18, 1781. Virginia State Library, Richmond. Davies was appointed commissioner of war in April 1781. His office maintained all records of military personnel, as such, much official correspondence was directed to his attention, especially letters dealing with exchanges like Croghan's.

<sup>61</sup> . . . Last August I done myself the pleasure of writing you from Fort Pitt. And the first of October, flattering myself I was Exchanged Settout to Join the Army at the Seige of York, but finding I was not, came to this city Immediately after seeing Lord Cornwallis' army lay down their arms. . . . I have gave up the thought of returning to Virginia untill January or untill Informed of my Exchange, when I hope we will have our Regiments in such order, as to members &c, as we may expect commands, by which some reputation may be acquired, which the Troops and others who arrived here from Virginia will by no means allow us. I labour hard with many of them to support the credit of the old Dominion, but I fear to little purpose as they seem much prejudiced against us. . . . William Croghan to William Davies, dated Philadelphia, November 30, 1781. Virginia State Library.

<sup>62</sup> William Croghan to Michael Gratz, April 20, 1782. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He also wrote Coloney Dorsey Penticost on April 28, 1782, regarding the same situation. Draper MSS. 30J41.

<sup>63</sup> William Croghan to William Davies, dated Fort Pitt, June 6, 1782. Indiana Historical Society. This is obviously a first draft, and has been copied using Croghan's final changes and usual editorial techniques to make it more readable. James A. James also published this important letter in the *George Rogers Clark Papers 1781-1784, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. 19, Springfield, 1924, pp. 71-73, from a copy made by Lyman Draper. Draper MSS. 11S61-65. Both Draper and James were interested in the letter's information because of the relationship between the Indian retaliations emanating at Fort Pitt and at the falls of the Ohio River directed by George Rogers Clark.

<sup>64</sup> W. Jackson to William Croghan, August 18, 1783. L.C.; National Archives; Draper MSS. 1N30.

<sup>65</sup> The Croghan military records, National Archives and Records Service.

<sup>66</sup> Edgar H. Hume, "The Attempt to Establish a State Society of the Cincinnati in Kentucky," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 32, No. 98 (1934), pp. 208-211.

<sup>67</sup> The Anderson House, Washington, D.C., the headquarters and museum of the Society of the Cincinnati owns a portrait of Major Croghan which their records state was painted by Mr. Fred W. Wright, St. Petersburg, Florida. Mr. Wright, however, denied making the portrait in a letter to the author dated January 23, 1965. The Society's records also show that only George Croghan [1852-1911] and Spencer Cochrane Browne [1885-1945] were ever admitted through the Croghan name. George Croghan did not complete his membership. John Wesley Jarvis came to Locust Grove in November 1820, when presumably the portraits of William and Lucy Croghan were executed. The portraits have been owned by the Christopher B. Wyatt family (descendants of George Croghan) and are on exhibition at Locust Grove. They appear in Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, 1780-1840* . . . , The New-York Historical Society, 1949, plates [76] and [77], with text regarding Jarvis' visit to Louisville and Locust Grove, pp. 223-228. A miniature of Lucy Clark Croghan, by an unknown miniaturist, is in the museum at Locust Grove restoration. A miniature thought to be William Croghan, Sr. is owned by a descendant, Mr. E. A. Leavett-Shenley, South Hampshire, England. This ascription is very doubtful from the countenance revealed by photographs, but from known physical descriptions, might be Dr. John Croghan.

<sup>68</sup> George E. Kidd, *Early Freemasonry in Williamsburg, Virginia*, Dietz Press, Inc., Richmond, 1957, p. 65, gives initiation date of August 6, 1778. However, Croghan is listed tentatively as a member of the Williamsburg Lodge in 1776 in the *William & Mary Quarterly*, 1st Ser., Vol. 1, No. 1 (1892), p. 19. Allen M. Reager in "George Rogers Clark, A Mason," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1942), p. 189, reported that Major Croghan was a member of Clark Lodge No. 51. Neither Croghan nor Clark are mentioned in any of the existing Masonic records for the local lodges (Abraham No. 8 and Clark No. 51), and Clark's membership can only be assumed from the fact that Masons were present at his funeral. The confusion relating to Major Croghan's membership locally is because William Croghan, Jr. was initiated, passed, and raised in July, 1818, in Clark Lodge No. 51. The published records, *Proceedings of the*

*Grand Lodge of Kentucky*, . . . Worsley and Smith, Lexington, 1818, pp. 85-86, did not specify "junior." The records for 1820 did make the proper entry.

<sup>69</sup> Bond for Croghan and Clark for £3,000, stipulated \$1.00 per 1,000 acres surveyed, \$1.00 per 100 acres with warrant delivery. W. P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* . . . , Richmond, 1883, Vol. 3, p. 550. The certification and commission for Croghan have not been found, but he did receive Clark's and paid the fees due the college. Draper MSS. 53J3.

<sup>70</sup> William Croghan to George Rogers Clark, November 3, 1785, and November 16, 1785. Draper MSS. 53J21-22.

<sup>71</sup> "Plans of Different Tracts of Land, Situate in the District Set a Part for the Officers and Soldiers &c. in the State of Virginia the Property of Major Wm. Croghan." The Alderman Library, University of Virginia, formerly in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

<sup>72</sup> Draper MSS. 1N1. The manuscript notebook includes 41 pages.

<sup>73</sup> William Croghan to John Brown, December 19, 1786. Yale University Library. He also went to Richmond and New York in the fall of 1788 on governmental matters. Cyrus Griffin to Beverly Randolph, February 2, 1789. W. P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* . . . , Richmond, 1884, Vol. 4, p. 559.

<sup>74</sup> The University of Chicago Library possesses a third ledger which was also attributed to William Croghan. The entries therein provided circumstantial evidence that the bookkeeper, presumably Croghan, was building a home of the magnitude of Locust Grove in 1789. However, upon closer inspection, this ledger was found definitely not to belong to Croghan and could be attributed to a Mason County, Kentucky merchant. The author wishes to thank Mr. G. Glenn Clift of the Kentucky Historical Society for his knowledgeable assistance in the proper identification.

<sup>75</sup> *Statutes at Large; . . . Laws of Virginia* . . . , William Waller Hening, ed., Richmond, 1823, Vol. 12, p. 397. The board of commissioners for apportioning the lands granted to the Illinois regiment elected Croghan to replace the deceased Walker Daniel, on August 16, 1784. He did not attend a meeting until he was also elected a trustee of Clarksville, Indiana, in December, 1785. Official recognition followed in the above mentioned act.

<sup>76</sup> *Jefferson County Minute Book 2*, p. 81.

<sup>77</sup> Passport by Miro on June 14, 1788. Draper MSS. 1N31 and 1N37. Croghan and Clark could have been related as stated in T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, Russell and Russell, New York, 1959, p. 18. Daniel Clark was a cousin of George Croghan, William Croghan his nephew.

<sup>78</sup> Daniel Clark to William Croghan, June 14, 1788. Draper MSS. 1N28.

<sup>79</sup> William Croghan to Richard Clough Anderson, November 20, 1788. The Croghan Papers, The Filson Club.

<sup>80</sup> William Croghan to James Wilkinson, October 10, 1788. Draper MSS. 1N42.

<sup>81</sup> James Wilkinson to Don Andre, August 1, 1787. Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba leg. 2373, doc. 40, Library of Congress.

<sup>82</sup> Marriage dates of July 14 and July 17, 1789, are most frequently used, based upon the consent of John Clark [1724-1799], dated July 13, 1789, and the bond of the same date. Photostatic copy of both instruments in Locust Grove restoration records.

<sup>83</sup> George Muter to [Edmund Randolph], November 13, 1788. Virginia State Library.

<sup>84</sup> *Jefferson County Minute Book 2*, p. 116. Croghan took oath of office as surveyor of the State Military line on May 7, 1789. *Jefferson County Minute Book 2*, p. 120.

<sup>85</sup> Some important letters usually attributed to George Rogers Clark were actually written by Croghan and signed by Clark. One written in April or May, 1786, to Governor Patrick Henry was cited by its present owner, Yale University Library, as an autograph letter signed by Clark, when it was in the very distinctive handwriting of Croghan. It was published in William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* . . . , Richmond, 1884, Vol. 4, p. 122, indicating it was later removed from the Virginia State Library's manuscript collection.

<sup>86</sup> Certification of election by sheriff, dated May 10, 1790, Draper MSS. 53J86.

<sup>87</sup> See fn. 63, Vol. 13, p. 299. Croghan was appointed as part of an act passed December 8, 1791.

<sup>88</sup> *Jefferson County Minute Book 1*, p. 123; 2, pp. 77, 103, 105, 118, 123, 138; 3, p. 11; 5, p. 64.

<sup>89</sup> *The Kentucky Gazette*, Vol. 4, No. 35, May 7, 1791, p. [2], col. [3].

<sup>90</sup> James Craik, *Sketches of Christ Church Cathedral*, Louisville, John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, 1862, p. 31.

<sup>91</sup> William Croghan, Sr. to William Croghan, Jr., December 16, 1809. The Croghan Papers, The Filson Club.

<sup>92</sup> 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. 206-210.

<sup>93</sup> Samuel W. Thomas, "George Croghan [1791-1849]: A Study of the Non-Military Life of the Inspector General of the United States Army," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (1967), p. 305.

<sup>94</sup> Samuel W. Thomas, "William Croghan, Jr. [1794-1850]: A Prominent Pittsburgh Lawyer from Kentucky," *The Western Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1968), pp. 213-227.

<sup>95</sup> William Croghan, Sr. to Nicholas and Charles Croghan, June 19, 1816. New York Public Library. The attendance of Nicholas at Buck Pond Academy is mentioned in "Reminiscences" by Charles Anderson, *The Filson Club*. Nicholas lost the sight of an eye in 1807, but continued his education. Briefly, in 1819, he visited Transylvania College, and wrote ". . . I have not as yet joined any one of the regular classes of the College but I intend joining the junior or next to the last class when I enter it. . . . I have heard a great many lecturers during the last two weeks the most of them on surgery. Natural History, Botany &c the best of which I think was delivered [by] Doct Caldwell on medicine, the most diverting and some think the most learned was delivered by a Mr. Rafinesque a Frenchman on Natural History and Botany. . . ." Nicholas Croghan to Maria Preston, November 14, 1819. The Preston Papers, *The Filson Club*. In 1823, he seriously considered going to Washington to study privately under the surgeon general. John Croghan to T. S. Jesup, May, 1823. L.C.

<sup>96</sup> Ann Croghan to Elizabeth Anderson [1794-1870], December 10, 1810 and March 2, 1811. L.C. Eliza Croghan to William Croghan, Jr., December 25, 1810. L.C.

<sup>97</sup> William Croghan, Sr. to Nicholas and Charles Croghan, June 19, 1816. New York Public Library. Little is known about the short life of Edmund Croghan. On July 22, 1823, he wrote his mother that "We had a splendid commencement," but the letter does not bear his address. He also stated that, "should I find that my health will permit, I will commence the study of law next October," Evidently, his health did not permit.

<sup>98</sup> By an act of the General Assembly, approved February 10, 1798, 6,000 acres, for the use and benefit of the Jefferson Seminary, were vested in a group of prominent Louisville leaders, including William Croghan. William Littell, ed., *The Statute Law of Kentucky*; . . . Johnston & Pleasants, Frankfort, 1810, Vol. 2, p. 108. A subscription for the Seminary's support was initiated and Major Croghan donated \$100.00 on April 3, 1798. Subscription list in University of Louisville library.

<sup>99</sup> See general information for family accomplishments in fns. 92, 93 and 94.

<sup>100</sup> "Roger's Index" in *The Filson Club* lists the Croghan children with data, but fails to record Nancy Croghan, who was mentioned in a letter from William Clark to William Croghan, January 15, 1804, Missouri Historical Society. Mrs. Frances H. Stadler, Archivist of the Missouri Historical Society, has suggested "Nancy" as a familiar form of Ann, but no other such references to Ann Croghan have been found.

<sup>101</sup> *Jefferson County Minute Book 5*, p. 175; *Farmers Library* (Louisville) Vol. 3, No. 62, March 3, 1803, p. [4], col. [3]. The deed for the Six Mile Island was dated March 18, 1798, but was not recorded until April 13, 1813. *Jefferson County Deed Book 10*, p. 80.

<sup>102</sup> The tract was increased in March, 1792, when Croghan gave his bond to Ambrose Madison [1755-1793] for 104.5 acres which was part of Hancock Eustace's 1,000 acre grant west of Locust Grove. Croghan later paid £94 but failed to receive his bond from James Madison [1750/51-1836], co-owner of the land. William Croghan to James Madison, April 7, 1802. L.C. Croghan brought suit against Madison for title. Dolley [1768-1849] and James Madison signed the indenture on September 27, 1802, in Orange County, Virginia. However, as Croghan had not received the deed by May, 1803, he again wrote Madison enclosing a decree of the Court of Quarter Session for the title. William Croghan to James Madison, May 22, 1803. L.C. On November 7, 1803, the clerk of the Jefferson County Court recorded the deed. *Jefferson County Deed Book 6*, p. 544.

On July 18, 1811, Croghan paid neighbor Richard Taylor [1744-1829] \$1,000 for 202 acres south and east of Locust Grove. *Jefferson County Deed Book 9*, p. 150. This was part of the Springfield tract on which President Zachary Taylor was raised.

<sup>103</sup> *Jefferson County Will Book 2*, p. 229.

<sup>104</sup> Agreement between Benjamin Stephens, Joseph Harbour, and William Croghan, February 24, 1809. University of Michigan Library. Croghan also owned iron ore rights in Christian County.

<sup>105</sup> *Jefferson County Minute Book 5*, p. 64. The mill foundation has been destroyed

since 1963. Cassius Marcellus Clay [1810-1903] fought a duel near the mill in 1841. See fn. 92, p. 221.

<sup>106</sup> William Croghan to [Dennis Fitzhugh?], October 24, 1805. University of Michigan Library; *Livingston County Deed Book A*, p. 181.

<sup>107</sup> William Croghan to M. D. Hardin, January 3, 1821. The Hardin Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

<sup>108</sup> William Croghan et al. to Governor of Virginia, August, 1784. Chicago Historical Society; Draper MSS. 1N13 and 14. The lives of George Croghan, the Gratz brothers, and the Irish immigrant, John Campbell, were entwined in western trade and land speculation when William Croghan arrived in America. Formerly a clerk for Colonel Croghan, Campbell became a merchant in Pittsburgh, and planned to establish a trading post at the Falls. Dunmore's War caused a postponement of Louisville's founding, which is generally credited to George Rogers Clark, but Campbell made the initial and formal proposal. He resumed activities at the Falls after being released by the British in 1782, following his capture in 1779. In 1783, Campbell was appointed a commissioner to apportion land to the Illinois regiment, serving with Clark and William Croghan. Politically active as a merchant at the Falls, he served in the Virginia legislature and represented Jefferson County and later Fayette County in the Kentucky Senate from 1792-1799.

<sup>109</sup> John Pope to William Croghan, February 24, 1812. Draper MSS. 55J80; William Croghan to Charles F. Mercer, March 17, 1812. Draper MSS. 55J81; William Croghan to James Barbour, December 15, 1812. Virginia State Library.

<sup>110</sup> "Ledger A" page 29 lists the first entry for George Rogers Clark as December, 1783. On October 9, 1785 (p. 161) the total owed by Clark to his partner was £505.13.1. The balance due Croghan forwarded to his new ledger was £414.10.1¼. "Ledger B" on page 31, records accounts of Croghan with Clark from 1791 until February, 1813. The entries after June 11, 1809, become more personal. On that date is noted, "To your Boarding, Lodging, Washing, &c &c from this day @ \$200 per annum to 1st Janry. 1812." This would establish the exact day on which General Clark arrived permanently at Locust Grove. The amount owed Major Croghan transferred to p. 141 was £623.0.7. This page includes listings from August, 1813 until February, 1818. The notations generally are for clothing, taxes, and fees. The total amount owed Croghan, which remained untallied, was £311.15.12. The final entry is on "February 13th, the above Genl Clark died at my House & was buried the 15th. To Cash paid for his coffin \$50." This lends credence to the burial date being on the 15th, although some biographers of Clark believe the 18th.

<sup>111</sup> John O'Fallon to George Rogers Clark, February 19, 1809. Draper MSS. 55J65; William Croghan to John O'Fallon, August 31, 1813. The Croghan Papers, The Filson Club; William Clark to Edmund Clark [1762-1817], February 22, 1797. Draper MSS. 2L44.

<sup>112</sup> Between 1801 and 1803. Draper MSS. 25S120.

<sup>113</sup> Draper MSS. 25S221. Burr, a distant relative through marriage, probably first met Croghan during the New Jersey campaign.

<sup>114</sup> Jonathan Clark's diary, Vol. 16, pp. unnumb., dated November 8, 1806, The Filson Club. William Clark was a frequent guest when travelling between St. Louis and Washington.

<sup>115</sup> Son of the nearest neighbor, friend and associate, Richard Taylor, Zachary is frequently mentioned in the family correspondence.

<sup>116</sup> John James Audubon, *The Birds of America*, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, [1967], Vol. 1, pp. 166-169. For additional information see Samuel W. Thomas and Eugene H. Conner, "John James Audubon and His Relationship with the Croghan Family." *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, pending publication.

<sup>117</sup> William Croghan, Sr. to Colonel William Campbell, Barboursville, Virginia, March 20, 1819, Virginia State Library; R. C. Anderson, Jr. to William Croghan, Sr., April 15, 1818, Duke University Library, Durham; *Public Advertiser* (Louisville), Vol. 1, No. 19, November 3, 1818, p. [2], col. [3], reported the treaty gained by Jackson on October 19, 1818.

<sup>118</sup> The Kentucky Historical Society and the Margaret I. King Library of Kentucky have original maps. In 1962, the University of Kentucky Library Associates reproduced a small version from an original in the Library of Congress. Biographical data on Munsell is available in a "Footnote to a Map" by F. L. S. Dugan which accompanies the reproduction.

<sup>119</sup> The act appointing Croghan and Thompson was part of a larger bill to establish a boundary line between Kentucky and Virginia. It was approved December 21, 1795, and sent to Governor James Wood of Virginia. H. W. Flournoy, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*. . . , Richmond, 1890, Vol. 3, pp. 350-351. An act compensating Croghan

and Thompson, £25 each, was approved February 2, 1798. William Littell, ed., *The Statute Law of Kentucky*. . . , Frankfort, 1810, Vol. 2, p. 182.

<sup>120</sup> Frances S. Philbrick, ed., *The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Springfield, Vol. 22, p. 155.

<sup>121</sup> *Kentucky Herald and Mercantile Advertiser* (Louisville), Vol. 2, No. 34, June 30, 1819, p. {2}, col. {3}; *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington) Vol. 7, No. 2027, July 12, 1819, p. {3}, col. {1}.

<sup>122</sup> See fn. 93.

<sup>123</sup> Zachary Taylor to John O'Fallon, October 25, 1818. William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, eds., *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, The Southern History Company, New York, 1899, Vol. 3, pp. 1664-1665.

<sup>124</sup> *Louisville Public Advertiser*, Vol. 4, No. 13, September 21, 1822, p. {3}, col. {5}. Lucy Clark Croghan died in April, 1838, and was buried at Locust Grove on April 6th, within the parish of Christ Church. It is presumed that Major Croghan was also an Episcopalian, but there are no records to substantiate this. James Craik in his *Historical Sketches of Christ Church*, Louisville, John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, 1862, p. 11, states that William Croghan was named to a committee on July 1, 1822, to obtain subscriptions for the building of Christ Church, but further investigation indicates he meant William Croghan, Jr.