(Portrait of Mann Butler from Collins’ History, I.)
Valley of the Ohio was serialized in thirty numbers of The Western Journal and Civilian, a St. Louis, Missouri, magazine. The first chapter was published in the issue of February, 1853; the concluding installment formed Article II of the December, 1855, number.

The author planned, as outlined in his prefatory remarks, to chronicle the history of the area "from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, to the Peace of Ghent, as ratified by the U. S. in 1815," a plan unfortunately thwarted by his untimely death on November 1, 1855, in a railroad disaster near St. Louis.

Writing of Butler in his History of Kentucky, Richard H. Collins noted: "At the time of his death Mr. Butler had mainly completed a history of the Valley of the Ohio, in the monthly numbers of The Western Journal and Civilian. Of this he left the MS, revised and nearly ready for publication in book form; but during the Civil War, a portion of this, with other valuable papers and most of his library, was stolen or destroyed by Federal soldiers."

The present volume, although brought up only to the year 1791, and lacking Butler's editing and revisions, marks, therefore, the first appearance in book form of the history as he concluded it 116 years ago.

The original title of the work, Valley of the Ohio: Its Conquest and Settlement by Americans, was shortened during the course of serial publication to Valley of the Ohio. Inasmuch as Butler was primarily interested in the early history of Kentucky and in the book confined himself largely to this area, it was thought not inappropriate to give the history its present title.

In the preparation of his edition of Valley of the Ohio, I have made few changes beyond those necessary for increased readability. As in his first book, it was not unusual for Butler to use twenty or more commas in a brief paragraph, or equally as many semicolons. Hundreds of these were taken out when their deletion did not alter or confuse the author's meaning.

I omitted the final chapter of the serialized version as being irrelevant to the chronicle. This thirteen-page chapter, entitled,
'Western Carolina and Virginia in the History of the Valley,' appeared in the December, 1855, issue of *The Western Journal and Civilian*.

It will be immediately patent to the knowledgeable reader that Butler's sources in the main are those he consulted during the writing of *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, and that he lifted bodily from this work, sections of Marshall's *History* and others of his references in writing the present volume.

It will be noted as well that [many of] his direct quotations are paraphrases. This is particularly true as concerns his use of George Rogers Clark's *Memoir*. He wrote that his quotations were "taken literally" from the *Memoir* whereas in actuality he but adhered to fact or the ordinary construction of primary meaning, setting the whole apart in quotations marks.

The author in many ways was well qualified to write of early Kentucky and her founding fathers. As educator, writer and collector of documents pertaining to the history of the "new" West, he was held in high esteem by his contemporaries.

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, in July, 1784, ostensively of parents of some affluence, Edward Mann Butler (he preferred to be called only by his mother's family name) received a better than average education.

It is regrettable that the actual record of his academic preparation is all but lost in the obscurity of conjecture. In the above mentioned biography by Richard H. Collins, from which most present day sketches derive, Butler was taken at age three to his grandfather's at Chelsea, near London, where he received his first schooling. Returning to the United States at the age of fourteen, again according to Collins, he "continued his education and graduated at St. Mary's College, Georgetown, District of Columbia; also graduated in medicine at the same college, but abandoned it because of great distaste for the practice; then graduated at the same college in law, and was admitted to the bar in Washington and Baltimore." Additionally, Collins in his biographical sketch assigned to Butler the M.D. and LL.B. degrees. The copyright of his *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* was entered in the name of Mann Butler, A.M. He was addressed by his contemporaries as "Dr. Butler."
Research of recent years has failed to corroborate many of these statements. There was a St. Mary’s College in Baltimore, forerunner of Loyola College there. Between 1795 and 1800 some professors from St. Mary’s taught classes at Georgetown. However, no record of Butler’s attendance at either location has been discovered.

[It is recorded (Collins) that Mann Butler, in March, 1806, moved to Lexington, Kentucky, to practice law, that he gave up legal practice for pedagogy, opening an academy at Versailles, Kentucky, married Miss Martha Dedman in August of the same year, taught at Washington, Mason County, Kentucky, and was one of the incorporators of the library established there in 1811; taught in both Maysville and Frankfort; was called to a professorship in Transylvania University, “where he remained for several years.” Collins stated that Butler was one of the organizers of the “Kentucky Association of Professional Teachers” and elected the first president, the meeting held in Lexington, November 6, 1833. The biographical sketch by John Wilson Townsend, in Kentucky in American Letters (1913), stated that Butler moved to Louisville in 1831 and that he was “engaged there in teaching for fifteen years.” Continuing with Collins, in January of 1834, the state senate passed a resolution to the effect that Butler, then in the process of preparing a “History of Kentucky,” be accorded permission, under bond, to take on loan certain state papers and documents. Further, the General Assembly, on February 14, 1835, directed the secretary of state to furnish Mann Butler, for use in preparing the second edition of his History of Kentucky, the whole or any part of certain state papers, “to be returned within twelve months.” (Collins, History of Kentucky, 1924 reprint, Vol. I, pp. 26, 38, 39, 40; Vol. II, pp. 12, 14, 557.)

In early 1806 Butler migrated from his native Maryland to Kentucky. It is a matter of public record that his impact on the cultural growth of the state was deep-seated and lasting.

Settling first in Lexington, in April of the same year he petitioned the Fayette County Court for license to practice as an attorney and counsel at law and was certified as “a person of honest demeanor.” Faced, however, with the superior eloquence of
speech of Henry Clay and others of the Lexington bar he soon abandoned his practice in favor of the schoolroom.

Moving to nearby Versailles shortly thereafter he assumed charge of the "State Academy," probably Woodford Academy which had been incorporated by the Kentucky legislature in 1798.

Four years later [1810], after an unsuccessful attempt to establish "A Classical, Mathematical and French School" in Lexington, he again moved — this time to the then flourishing town of Washington, Kentucky. There he taught during the years 1810-1811 and perhaps longer. His interest in and efforts to establish libraries in Kentucky was first evidenced there in 1811 when he was named as one of the incorporators of "The Washington Company."

Moving to Louisville, Butler became editorial writer for the *Western Courier*. Within a short time (September 11, 1815) he bought an interest in the *Louisville Correspondent*. With James Hughes as printer and William Wood as partner, he edited and published that paper until the issue of February 17, 1817, when he sold [perhaps an interest] to Elijah C. Berry.

One month earlier, Moses O. Bledsoe had established in Frankfort a weekly newspaper, *The Commentator*. Bledsoe was able to entice Butler from Louisville to write for his paper, a partisan political organ with "pre-Whig" leanings. Soon a running controversy developed with the seasoned Amos Kendall and his "pre-Jacksonian" paper, *The Argus*. The contest was apparently started by an unsigned article carried in *The Commentator*. Butler soon terminated his connection with Bledsoe because of a distaste for controversy. Though Butler's name had not been carried in the article mentioned, Kendall singled him out. Kendall noted in his *Autobiography*, "but as we knew he was a man unable to bear it from extreme sensitiveness, all our observations were aimed at him by name. As we anticipated, he could not bear it ... so that he concluded to quit the paper. He is a man of the best intentions," Kendall added, "but easily deceived."

Remaining in Frankfort, Butler was associated with the Kentucky Seminary, as Board member and teacher, from 1819 until 1822. He moved to Lexington in the latter year and took charge
of the grammar school of Transylvania University. He was still engaged in this position in May, 1823.

Sometime thereafter he returned to Louisville where for the next twenty-odd years he was one of the city's most respected citizens and a leader in its cultural life.

With four associates he had founded Louisville's first library in 1816, the Louisville Library Company. By 1819, the Library boasted five hundred volumes, including valuable published and manuscripts tomes collected by Butler. The library was forced to close its doors during the virulent fever epidemic of 1822. Nine years later Butler again tried to establish library service in the forming of the Louisville Lyceum. In this venture he was aided by Napoleon Bonaparte Buford [later a major general in the Union Army] and George Keats, brother of the English poet, as curators. When the present Louisville Free Public Library was dedicated July 24, 1908, *The Courier-Journal* pointed out that it was the "realization of Mann Butler's dream of 1816, the culmination of the thirteenth effort to establish a library in Louisville."

Butler's greatest impress on the educational awakening of Louisville began with his appointment in 1816 to the post of "principal teacher" of the newly opened Jefferson Seminary. That his tenure as principal of this school lasted for thirteen years, from 1816 to 1829, as claimed by some researchers, seems unlikely in view of his above described activities, during many of these years, in Frankfort and Lexington.

At any rate he was serving as such in 1829 when the Louisville City Council passed an ordinance calling for the establishment of Louisville's first free common school. For an annual salary of $750 Butler was coaxed to leave the principalship of Jefferson Seminary to head the new school. As evidence of his high place in the community's educational life, he was chosen agent of the Louisville public schools to go to Boston and New York to investigate and report on the desirability of the new Lancaster method of teaching, an assignment he completed in August of 1829.

From this time until his removal to St. Louis fifteen years later he enjoyed a position of respect and dependence in Louisville's literary circles. It was as historian, however, that Mann Butler
inscribed his name in the annals of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

In his Preface to the 1834 or first edition of his *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, he wrote: “The author has been no inattentive observer of public events in Kentucky from his migration to the state in 1806; nor has he been destitute of intercourse with public characters. His curiosity, he may add, his heart, was early engaged in the story of Kentucky heroism, hardship, and enterprise. Nor during his twenty-eight years’ residence in the bosom of the state has he felt his interest lesson in the fame and the fortunes of his adopted commonwealth.”

This interest early led him, as the first major collector of manuscripts pertaining to Kentucky and Kentuckians, to build a personal library of original documents and published works. Out of this collection and his hundreds of interviews with the first settlers, grew his *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* and the many articles he contributed to the leading periodicals and newspapers of his day.

With the publication in 1836 of a revised and enlarged edition of his history, Butler’s position as a ranking historian spurred him to greater efforts to collect and preserve documents relating to the early history of Kentucky. Identifying with the newly formed Kentucky Historical Society, he promptly deposited with the Society’s librarian, Edward Jarvis, his valuable body of manuscripts. In 1839 he journeyed to Frankfort to present to the General Assembly of Kentucky, the Kentucky Historical Society’s petition praying the passage of a law allowing the Society certain books and documents of the State. Butler and the Kentucky Historical Society failed to get the law passed. However, it was introduced again in 1841 and passage was secured, resulting almost immediately in adding a great body of early legislative and executive history to the expanding library of the Society.

With the beginning of the 1840’s Butler’s fortunes in Kentucky began to wane. Attempts to induce the State Legislature to purchase his valuable documents collection, procured at his own expense, were unsuccessful. Sales of his *History* were disappointing. By 1844 he had moved to St. Louis.

On March 24, 1844, he circulated in St. Louis his “Prospectus
of A Course of Lectures upon the History of the Western Country of the United States.” In the circular he explained that “failure of the publishers of his History only involved him in loss,” and that “he now seeks remuneration for his labors in ANOTHER SHAPE.”

During his eleven-year residence in St. Louis, Butler again earned an enviable position in the life of a growing community. Turning to law, he became a “Squire,” and Justice of the Peace and Notary Public for the county and city of St. Louis. It 1848 he was commissioned by the governor of Kentucky to take acknowledgement of deeds and other writings, and make certificate thereof to the proper recording office in Kentucky for the State of Missouri. When the Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society of Jefferson City was incorporated in 1845 he became a charter member and was one of eight vice-presidents, elected from various sections of the State.

In February, 1853, he began the publication of Valley of the Ohio in The Western Journal and Civilian.

A year later he was presiding at a trial in the St. Louis Criminal Court — a man of dignity, comfortable means and of high standing. Indeed, the esteem in which his fellow townsmen held him in the end might have been the cause of his death at the age of seventy-two.

On November 1, 1855, an excursion train left St. Louis for Jefferson City on the occasion of celebrating the opening of the Central Pacific Railroad to that point. Approximately 700 people were on the train, among whom were many of the first and most influential citizens of St. Louis. While crossing Gasconda River, about one hundred miles from St. Louis, a bridge gave way, precipitating the locomotive, tender and the train’s eleven cars a distance of twenty-five or thirty feet into a ditch. In the “list of the most prominent killed” was the name of Mann Butler.

Of Butler’s personal life, his place of burial and his family, little has been discovered. He had at least one son, victim of a steamboat disaster in the late 1840’s or early 1850’s. It is known that in Louisville he was a pew holder in the First Unitarian Church and in 1832 was named one of the first trustees of the church. It is also of record that he was a Mason, belonging at differing
dates to Clark Lodge No. 51 and Abraham Lodge No. 8, both in Louisville.

In the one hundred and thirty-seven years following publication of Butler’s first book, *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, historians of local and national repute have found his work of value, and many have sought, after their fashions, to assess the man and evaluate his worth. Theodore Roosevelt in *The Winning of the West* characterized him as “a sound political thinker.”

RICHARD H. COLLINS WROTE: “AS A HISTORIAN DR. BUTLER WAS EXCEEDINGLY LABORIOUS, FULL SOMETIMES TO TEDIUM, EXACT AS TO FACTS, CONSCIENTIOUS, FAIR, PLAIN-SPOKEN AND NEARLY ALWAYS ENTERTAINING BUT WITH FEW PASSAGES THAT WERE ELOQUENT OR SPECIALLY ATTRACTIVE IN STYLE.”

Louise Phelps Killogg noted that “George Rogers Clark was Butler’s hero, and his work was written for his [Clark’s] vindication — but he also presented Boone fairly in an effort to counteract Flint’s misrepresentations.” [However, it is true that Butler failed to stress fully Boone’s greatest abilities, contributions and their value to Kentucky.]

Ralph Leslie Rusk in *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* said of him: “From Marshall, Mann Butler drew a large part of the materials for *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (1834); but the later work shows many important differences in the complexion of events and the character of the actors. Butler severely criticizes his predecessor for misrepresenting those who came into collision with him or his friends, and offers a different estimate. . . In spite of his evident feeling of loyalty to his state, however, Butler deserves credit for a faithful picture of men and manners during the earliest pioneer times.”

W. H. Venable in *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* wrote: “Another historian of comparatively early time in Kentucky was Mann Butler, a pioneer who deserves to be remembered for his virtues and services . . . [his] history is agreeably written, and is specially interesting on account of its descriptions of life in the backwoods.” [Perhaps it should be stated that Butler lacking a facile, popular style of writing, was not perhaps popu-
larly read. He was painstaking, meticulous and something of a "historians' historian". John J. Weisert of the University of Louisville has designated him "the primate of all Kentucky historians."

Any or all of these appraisals of Mann Butler and his first book can as readily and as appropriately be applied to this, his second and last.


G. Glenn Clift

[Commentary enclosed in brackets has been added by Dr. Hambleton Tapp.]
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I
Introduction and Scope of the Work; Geography of the Region; Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748; Indians of the Region; Early Explorations

## CHAPTER II
British and Indians of the Ohio Valley; Christopher Gist; Treaty of Logstown; George Washington's Western Penetrations; European Rivals in the Region

## CHAPTER III
The Iroquois and the Six Nations; Virginia's Exertions Westward; Major Washington and Fort Necessity; General Braddock's Defeat

## CHAPTER IV
Indian Activities after Braddock's Defeat; Washington Appointed Commander-in-Chief; Occupation of Fort Pitt by the British and Beginning of the History of the Valley; French and Indians

## CHAPTER V
Policy of the British Government in the Valley; Colonel Bouquet and Fort Pitt; Situation on Northern or Northwestern Side of the Ohio; Situation on Southern or Southwestern Side of the River; Doctor Walker, Christopher Gist and James Smith in Kentucky. Explorations through Cumberland Gap; Boone's First View of Kentucky; The Long Hunters; Captain Bullitt and the McAfees; Big Bone Lick

## CHAPTER VI
Lord Dunmore's War in 1774; Battle of Kanawha, or Point Pleasant, Under General Andrew Lewis; Indian Chiefs Red Hawk, Scoppatus, Ellinipisco and Logan

## CHAPTER VII
Migration of Boone; McGary and Ray; Adventure of Three Boys, in 1773 and 1776; Fort of Harrodsburg; Grants of Land by Henderson & Co.; Social Compact for the Colony of Transylvania, in 1775; Members of the First Legislature in the West

## CHAPTER VIII
Mission of Clark and Jones to Virginia; Gunpowder Obtained for Kentucky; Sketch of George Rogers Clark; Establishment of Kentucky County

## CHAPTER IX
Escort of Gunpowder from Fort Pitt to Kentucky; First Considerable Invasion of Kentucky, Under the Indian Chief Blackfish, in 1776; Adventures of Gen. James Ray, His Speed, His Labors for the Be-
seiged; Siege of Harrodstown, of Logan's Station; Heroism of Logan; Reinforcements by Col. Bowman; Capture of Daniel Boone and 27 Men; Siege of Boonesborough; Retreat of the Canadians and Indians; British Proclamations to the People of Kentucky. ............................... 85

CHAPTER X

Virginia Negotiations for Arms Through Cols. Gibson and Linn with the Spanish Governor of Louisiana in 1776; 156 Kegs of Gunpowder Brought from New Orleans to Fort Pitt; 2d Expedition from Fort Pitt to N. Orleans for Military Stores, By Col. David Rogers; His Defeat and Death Near the Little Miami; Extraordinary Adventures of Capt. Robert T. Benham on that Expedition; Early Anglo-American Descent of the Miss., from Fort Pitt in 1769 by Col. Richard Taylor and his Brother Hancock Taylor, Father and Uncle to the late President Taylor; A Second Descent of the Same River in 1774; Foundation of Lexington, Ky., in 1779. .................................................... 99

CHAPTER XI

Clark's Negotiations with Virginia for the Illinois Campaign; March to Kaskaskia, in 1778; and Capture of Kaskaskia. .................. 107

CHAPTER XII

Mission of Father Gibault from Kaskaskia to Vincennes in 1778; His success in Reducing it Under the Government of Virginia; Clark's Notions of Indian Negotiations; Great Indian Council at Cahokia; Ceremonies; Speeches. .......................................................... 121

CHAPTER XIII

Recapture of Vincennes by the British; Capt. Helm; Gov. Hamilton; British Plan of Conquest for the Western Country; Clark's Plan for Recovering Vincennes from the British. ........................................ 134

CHAPTER XIV

Honors and Rewards of Virginia to Col. Clark and the Illinois Regiment; First Offensive Expedition from Kentucky into the Indian Country by Col. Bowman; The Indian Chiefs Blackfeet and Red Hawk; Capture of Stations in Kentucky by Col. Byrd; Settlement of the McAfees in Kentucky; Great Land Court of Kentucky. ........................................ 147

CHAPTER XV

Great Land Court of Kentucky; Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi; Clark's Expedition against Chilicothe and Pickaway; Kentucky County Divided into Three Counties of Fayette, Jefferson and Lincoln; Officers of these Counties; Marine of Kentucky. ........................................ 157

CHAPTER XVI

Grand Cession of the Northwestern Territory by Virginia to the United States; Loughery’s Defeat; Estill’s Defeat after most Gallant Efforts on
Both Sides; The Renegades, McKee and Girtys; General Combination of Indians Against the Kentucky Settlements; Siege of Bryan's Station; Repulse of the Indians; Retreat to Blue Licks; Counsel of Boone; Rashness of Maj. McGary; Disastrous Battle of the Blue Licks, in 1782; Death of Cols. Todd, Trigg and Major Harlan; Relief Effected by Western Hostilities to the Eastern Frontiers of the United States. ....166

CHAPTER XVII

Reinforcement under Col. Logan; Retreat of the Indians; Clark's First Expedition Against the Indians on the Miami and Scioto in 1782; No Formidable Indian Invasions of Kentucky after this Expedition; Rise of the Moravians in Europe and Pennsylvania; Visit of Zeisberger to the West in 1767; Establishment of the Moravian towns on the Muskingum in 1772; Schoenbrunn, the First Protestant Settlement made in the Valley of the Ohio; An Indian Christian Society of 300 or 400 Persons Established; Indian Outrages on the Moravians; Col. Williamson’s First Party Against the Same; Second Party with the Massacre of the Unresisting Moravians. ........................................176

CHAPTER XVIII

Extenuations for the Moravian Massacre; Fort Pitt Surrendered by Virginia to Pennsylvania, 1780; Boundary Between the Two States Not Finally Settled until 1788; Crawford’s Expedition Against the Indians on the Sandusky River; Battle; Retreat; Disorder; Capture of Col. Crawford and Dr. Knight; Torture and Burning to Death of Crawford; Land System of Virginia. ........................................................................186

CHAPTER XIX

The Progress of Public News in the Western Country in 1783; Intrigues of France and Spain to Limit the U. S. on the West; Proposed Surrender to Spain of the Navigation of the Mississippi Below the Southern Boundary of the U. S.; Firmness of John Jay; Establishment of the District of Kentucky in 1783; First Jail at Crow’s Station of Hewed or Sawed Logs and Log Court House; Rise of Danville; Its Neglect, Its Revival; Reception of an Immigrant to the West. .......................194

CHAPTER XX

Occupations of the People; First Roads; The Frontier Settler; The Cabin; The Fort; Mode of Alarming the Settlers on an Indian Invasion; The Furniture of a Frontier Cabin; The Table Furniture; Surprising Contrast With More Civilized Customs; Diet, Dress of the Frontier; Deer-skins and Paper Currency of the Frontier. ........................................202

CHAPTER XXI

Details of Hunter Life; The Signs of the Forest; Incessant Watchfulness; Military Duties; Punishment of Social Offenses; Virtues of the Frontier; Fights of the Pioneers; Mechanic Arts; A Backwoods Wedding; Bridal Procession; Housebuilding and Warming; Sports of the Frontier; State
of Medical Knowledge; Witchcraft; Manufactures; State of Education; Religion; General Character of the Frontier People. 214

CHAPTER XXII
French Intrigues to Confine the West; Clark's Expedition Against the Wabash Indians in 1786; First Failure of that Officer; Change in Clark’s Character; His Wrongs; Honors of Virginia to Clark; Person of Clark; Daniel Boone, His True Character; Col. John O'Fallon, Nephew of Gen. Clark. 240

CHAPTER XXIII
Trade to New Orleans in 1782 to 1798; Negotiations with Spain About the Navigation of the Mississippi; Views of John Jay, of the Old Congress; Rejection of them by Spain; Resolutions of Congress, of Virginia; Visit of Wilkinson to New Orleans in 1787; Seizure of his Boat; Spanish Permission of Trade; Price of Tobacco in Kentucky and New Orleans, 1787. 250

CHAPTER XXIV
Wilkinson and the Spanish Question; Col. Thomas Marshall; John Bradford and the Kentucky Gazette; Danville Conventions; Kentucky Statehood Attempted. 261

CHAPTER XXV
Third Convention of Kentucky, August, 1785; Fourth do., 1786; Fifth do., August, 1787; Sixth do., September, 1787; Seventh do., November, 1788; Letters of John Brown to Judges Muter and McDowell, Enclosing the Commercial Propositions of the Spanish Minister, Don Gardoqui to the People of Kentucky; Comment on these Letters; Spanish Seizure of Western Boats, and Confiscation of Western Produce; Defense of Kentucky Statesmen under the Old Confederation. 273

Bibliography 286

Index 291
INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE OF THE WORK; GEOGRAPHY OF THE REGION; TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1748; INDIANS OF THE REGION; EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

THE OBJECT of this work is to record the conquest and settlement of the valley of the Ohio by the united efforts of our English ancestors and our own countrymen. I mean to keep this story quite distinct from the French and Spanish enterprises in or about this region. They have been already most ably narrated by Bancroft in a manner at once to gratify the pride and to instruct the minds of his countrymen.

My object embraces the western portion of the United States, if so transitory a name can still be applied to its great central region, watered by the Ohio River and its tributaries.

The valley of the Ohio, without doubt, comprehends a larger quantity of fertile land, a more extensive and diffused interior navigation, together with a more salubrious climate, than any other portion of the temperate zones of the globe. It comprehends an area of 200,111² square miles, which is almost double that of France, more than twice that of Great Britain and Ireland, and nearly as much as the superficies of Germany. Its internal navigation is calculated by an indefatigable and skillful geographer at 5,000 square miles, with access to a navigation on the great northern lakes of 82,750 square miles. The resources of the finest iron and lead, of coal and salt, are spread over this section of the United States in a profusion unequalled in the world.

The valley extends from Latitude 40° 29' N. to Latitude 34° 12' N. In an eastern and western direction, this region of country stretches from the head of the Ohio River to its mouth, that is from 1° to 12° west from Washington City, or from 78° 2' west from Greenwich to 89° 2'.

The great debatable land, lying in this valley, which has con-
stituted an object of the fiercest contention between the white and
the red races, may well be confined to the country lying between
the mouth and the head of the Ohio and its tributaries. Sometimes its history will lead the reader to the great northern lakes
and again to the Cumberland mountains. The actions which form
the general tenor of the story were performed in the country bordering on its great central stream of the valley, so expressively
named by the French discoverers—La Belle Riviere.

The settlement by the English and their descendants in this
most beautiful and favored section of the United States presents,
among other aspects, one great and striking one, which has fast­
tened itself upon the mind of the writer with great tenacity. It
is that this great social work has been mainly a spontaneous,
individual effort, without the aid, and scarcely with the counte­
nance of government—often indeed, against its threatening orders.
The subjugation of the western country, as it has been limited,
has been effected by a great contemporaneous movement of so­
ciety at various attached points. . . It has been an Exodus without
a Moses; and yet the pillar of fire by night, and the pillar of cloud
by day, did not cease to direct the footsteps of our pioneer pilgrims.

The story is full of noble heroic enterprise, not always military,
nor chiefly so; it is checkered with many mournful and tragic
events; yet the self-denial, the fortitude and bravery, the wisdom
and enterprise displayed in their history, may well be studied by
the descendants of the pioneers. . . Their history will ever form a
record of daring and gallant exertions, over which admirers of such
actions will rejoice, and whose study ought to give delight.

True, there has been no favorite chief at the head of a great
expedition. —No Caesar, no Rollo, nor Hengist or Horsa headed
these wide and scattered movements. It was too grand and gi­
gantic a project for such means to effect. The wilderness of North
America has been conquered, and reduced under the dominion of
the axe, and the plow, by handfuls of men, sometimes individuals,
each moving on his own footing, and by his own suggestions, or in
the popular idiom, “on his own hook.”

The progress of the American republic, in no one of its great
sections can well be said to have been a mere conquest, a military
achievement only, altho’ its history is very far from destitute of
heroic renown. Still, it has not been entirely banned into being by “conquest's crimson wing.” It has mainly originated in more moral efforts. It is the first born of freedom and commerce in America.

The early annals of the United States neither boast, nor are stained with the cruel and bloody footsteps of a Cortez, or a Pizarro. They present heroes of another and higher order—soldiers of advancing civilization—pioneers of liberty and a great social reform. The moral grandeur of this movement throws the bloodstained triumphs of mere military conquest, for conquest's sake, far into the shade. It behooves Americans to elevate their conceptions to the intrinsic dignity of their country's efforts, to extend the civilization of the world, and to spread over it the blessings of liberty, religion and law.

Let our countrymen cease to worship the Moloch of mere military devastation and death; and may they realize the great debt which civilized life owes to the American pioneer!

It is the purpose of this work to pursue this train of thought, and rapidly to portray the efforts of the pioneers of Western America, to reduce the fair and fertile region watered by the Ohio and its tributaries, to the dominion of civilized life—to convert the region in question from the rule of savage barbarity to that of enlightenment and humanity, of religion and freedom.

The scene shall be laid (as I have already intimated) on the waters of the Ohio River; and the time shall extend from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, to the Peace of Ghent, as ratified by the U. S. in 1815.

The treaty first above mentioned had left the region in question a great debatable land between the British and French crowns. Yet this smiling and most fertile section of country was, about the middle of the last century, the undisturbed forest home of the red man. True, there were scattered French villages of much earlier date, as Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Still the vast region stretching from the northwestern lakes to the Cumberland mountains, and from the heads of the Ohio to the Mississippi was essentially and undisputably the dominion of the North American savage.

Still this vast tract of country was but dotted over with the
towns [villages] of the warlike tribes. . . Of this Indian race, the confederacy sometimes denominated the Five, and subsequently the Six Nations, were decidedly the most formidable. They occupied, at the time in question, the country from the lakes Ontario and Erie to the undefined territory of the Wyandots or Hurons, tho' their territorial claims extended to the Tennessee River. These latter were the most eastern tribe of the Miami, or as they pronounced it, the Mi-a-mi-ah confederacy; as the Senecas were the most western of the Six Nations. "The Iroquois," or Six Nations, "were formerly confined, with the exception of the Tuscarorras, to the region south of the lakes Erie and Ontario and the peninsula east of lake Huron."4

Loskiel tells us (Note Part I, p. 130, III Bancroft p. 239, Boston, 1841), that the Delawares, as they were called by our countrymen, Loups by the French, and Lenni Lenape, or original men, by themselves, were the parent stem of the Algonquin race of Indians. This tribe of Indians was seated round the Delaware Bay, in the present States of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Jersey, at the time of William Penn's visit to America. They seem to have been gradually driven from their ancient seats, during the earlier colonial times, to the country immediately west of the Allegheny mountains. Beyond this tribe came the Shawanoes of the French writers, who also call them Chawanous; they were known to our countrymen as the fierce and warlike Shawnees. They were a tribe of most daring, ferocious and wayward character among all the vagrants of the forest. Fugitives from the victorious arms of the Five Nations, they fled about 1672 to the borders of the Carolinas and Florida. Returning thence, they were said by Governor Harrison to have been adopted by the Miami confederacy (Gallatin, and Drake's Life of Tecumseh. Pioneer History, 239.) It was of this tribe, so celebrated for their marauding invasions on the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, that Governor Dunmore [John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1732-1809] said, in a proclamation of 1775, that "the most dreadful effects were felt." (See Virginia Gazette, 23d January, 1775). They afterwards became as distinguished for their attacks upon the settlements in Kentucky and Ohio. They . . . occupied the country watered by the Scioto. Descending the Ohio, the tribes of the
Miami confederacy next presented themselves; they are sometimes called Twightwees. After them came the tribes of the Illinois confederacy, embracing the Kaskaskias and Peorias.

Such were the most important tribes located on the northern shores of the valley. Between them and the southern tribes lay the country since denominated Kentucky. This region abounding most eminently in game and salt licks . . . seems to have been reserved, by some tacit consent of the adjacent tribes, as a hunting or battle ground, as their wants or passions inclined them. Certain it is, that although at various points in the interior, there were inclinations of different, perhaps superior races of natives, having occupied the country, there were no permanent Indian towns located in Kentucky. They were unknown to our oldest hunters and travellers.

The tribes bordering the valley on the south consisted of the Cherokees (on the upper valley of the Tennessee River . . . and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia and Alabama) and the Chickasaws. The latter tribe, ever distinguished by friendship to the white man, were situated on the lower waters of the Tennessee, and upon the Mississippi.

These were the aboriginal inhabitants of the valley of the Ohio, about the time of the irruption of the whites into this most desirable region. The numbers of this savage people have been variously estimated by the colonial writers varying . . . as from 5,000 to 6,000 warriors.

This estimate would, at the common allowance of one-fifth for warriors, make the Indian population of this portion of the western country . . . amount to 25,000 or 30,000 souls.

Nor does this calculation differ proportionately from that of Bancroft . . . at the time of the discovery of British America. Their diminution, he thinks exaggerated: “They have been exiled, not exterminated.” Indeed the testimony of all the missionaries and hunters shows the existence of frightful solitudes in the Indian country. They seem indispensable to furnish the game which supports a savage and hunter state of society. Doctor Franklin calculated that a mile square was necessary to support every individual in a savage state of society; while 50,000 acres are esti-
mated by another necessary to support an individual in the hunter state.  

But the tribes which were scattered over the western country of the United States, at the first visit of our countrymen, were much more formidable by their arts of war than their mere numbers might indicate. Their ferocious customs of warfare are mournfully impressed on the traditions of the early immigrants to the Indian wilderness—the great battle ground between the white and the red man. Acknowledging no object in their hostilities, superior to the destruction of their enemies and everything connected with them, in the most savage manner, there was no exemption from the horrors of war, for the helpless female or children still more helpless. Tenderness and smiling innocence, whose appeals are paramount to all others in the breast of a civilized warrior, were utterly disregarded in the merciless barbarities of Indian war. Every stratagem which the most perfect discipline of concealment could suggest, to effect the surprise of an enemy—every privation which the most enduring fortitude could bear . . . every mode in which prisoners of war could be most cruelly tormented, were the constant attendants of our frontier warfare. Yet it must not be concealed that these cruelties were not always confined to the Indians: They were too often and far too exactly retaliated by our own countrymen, who boasted of more civilized manners, and of a religion merciful and true. But to creep up by night to a fort-gate, or a cabin door, and shoot down the first comer that should venture forth, at the break of day—to fire the log cabin over its sleeping inmates—to strike the tomahawk into the brains of the infant sleeping at its mother's breast—to burn the wretched victims of war, by slow consuming fires, after exhausting all the refinements of mutilation and torture, have been familiar atrocities in the hostilities which have raged between the aborigines and the white men.

To these horrors of their own native suggestion must be added the formidable assistance derived by the northwestern Indians from European arms furnished them, by foreign rivals for American dominion, in their more recent contests with one another and with our own countrymen. This made them a much more formidable foe to the western pioneers, than the natives proved to our fore-
fathers, who had battled with them on the Atlantic border. These tribes were an insignificant enemy, in comparison with the well-armed and often provisioned forces which defended the western country from the intrusion of the white man. They formed, in the opinion of our own most experienced military men, a corps of light troops, unexcelled in the world. They neither wanted roads nor baggage. The formidable character of these troops is established by the slaughters rather than defeat of the finest armies of Europe, and even of our own country. This signal superiority of the more modern Indians in war, to their primitive ancestors, and in the northwestern region of our country more particularly, was, in no small degree, derived, as has been observed, from foreign assistance. Still to the Indian must be freely allowed great personal bravery on his own system of tactics for saving native life. . . Unexampled hardihood, indomitable perseverance and fortitude in pursuing the object of his craft, or his vengeance to the direst extremity, are undeniable characteristics of the Indian race. Added to those qualities, their systematic aversion to work, on a principle of honor, and they would almost seem doomed to utter extermination, before the sure and solid progress of agricultural society. . .

These aids of foreign arms and provisions seem first to have been received by the Indians in the wars which took place between Canada and the British provinces. With these exceptions, and some traffic in peltries, the country west of the great mountain chain of the Allegheny was in its aboriginal condition as late as the middle of the last century.

This state of occupation and barbarian independence was not long permitted to continue, owing to the conflicting claims of France and England to this desirable region. Both these powers had peculiar claims to this great central region of North America. France certainly preceded Great Britain in exploring the northwestern country of North America. The missionaries of France had penetrated the far Northwest—the entrance to Lake Superior, Detroit, Michilimackinac; the waters of the Mississippi to their mouth had been explored by the French [during the seventeenth century]. France had erected forts at Detroit, Le Boeuf, Presqu’ile and at Venango; at Vincennes, on the Wabash, and Fort Chartres on the Mississippi. Still the British government claimed these
northwestern regions, or at least set up what has recently been termed a protectorate over them, by virtue of ancient conquests of these regions by the Six Nations who became the fast friends of Great Britain, and acknowledged by treaty in 1701, a species of dependence upon her, more nominal than real. The truth is [that] the covenants of treaties, beyond simple peace and war, are not likely to be well understood or critically examined by a race of savages.

Presents, immediate gratification of wants, and promises for the future, are the most efficacious instruments of influence in negotiations with barbarians. Mere faith, independent of its immediate fruits, has but little influence on the minds of a people in a savage state of society. Yet the settlements of the British colonists were not only incomparably superior in population, but they were more immediately contiguous to the disputed country lying adjacent to the provinces of Pennsylvania and Virginia. And although between the native proprietors of the soil and the European colonists of either France or England, this might be immaterial . . . yet between the European rivals for dominion in America it might have some reasonable weight. While the French were confined to the banks of the St. Lawrence, or had only explored, not settled the region on the Ohio river, the English had crossed the Blue Ridge and were ready to climb the Alleghenies.

NOTES

CHAPTER I


2. William Darby, View of the United States, Historical, Geographical and Statistical, 298-308.

3. Ibid.


CHAPTER II

BRITISH AND INDIANS IN THE VALLEY; CHRISTOPHER GIST; TREATY OF LOGSTOWN; GEORGE WASHINGTON'S WESTERN PENETRATIONS; EUROPEAN RIVALS IN THE REGION.

The region in question was so plainly within the natural and probable expansion of the British colonies — so directly in the current of their increase as reasonably to forbid, by all the interests of civilization, any other civilized people from interrupting their natural course. Nor could this principle of actual occupation as between France and England be fairly urged to extend the French trading posts, at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, to embrace a country so remote from them. The fleeting and partial occupations in the heart of the Indian country by the French could not reasonably be alleged to stop the continuous progress of the British settlements, a thousand miles apart; however, they might be extended to the surrounding country on the Wabash and the Mississippi. The obvious interests of social progress and improvement, the diffusion of arts, learning and religion, in fine, the paramount claims of the civilization of the world condemn so unreasonable an abuse of the principle of occupation. Both these great European powers, then the arbiters of the civilized world, adopted measures to assert and maintain their claims to North America west of the Alleghenies, in spite of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle so recently concluded in 1748. By it, "the boundaries between the British and French provinces in America were left unsettled, neither party acknowledging the right of the other, to the basin of the Penobscot, or of the Ohio."¹ In pursuance of this policy on the part of the French, the Governor of Canada directed the erection of forts at Presqu’île, on Lake Erie, at the head of French creek, or Le Boeuf, about fifteen miles from the lake, and a third at the mouth of French creek, called Fort Venango. Nor were the British much behind their ancient European rivals in
occupying this cradle of a mighty empire. The year after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had been concluded between the two crowns, a land company, denominated the Ohio Company, obtained from the Privy Council of Great Britain an instruction to the Governor of Virginia to grant it 500,000 acres of land on the Ohio river, in the heart of the disputed country. This company shortly after obtaining its grant of territory, employed Christopher Gist, better known as the fellow traveller and guide of Washington, “to explore the country, examine the quality of the land, keep a journal of his adventures, draw as accurate a plan of the country as his observations would permit and report the same to the Board.”

On a second route, which this adventurous agent undertook in 1751, he descended the Ohio to the Falls of that river, and ascended the Great Miami to a town of the Twightwees on the Miami, one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. Gist spent the winter of 1751 in exploring the country and reconciling the Indians to the extension of their formidable neighbors, on the western sides of the great mountains, which had scarcely kept them apart. On the 18th of June, 1752, some of the northwestern tribes agreed with Virginia commissioners not to disturb any settlement that might be made on the southeastern side of the Ohio river. This was called the treaty of Logstown, from an Indian village some seventeen miles below the head of the Ohio where it was negotiated. It is the earliest I can find negotiated between our countrymen and the northwestern Indians respecting the western country. There had been a treaty formed at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, as early as 1744; but the Indians insisted that its grants of territory were limited to the eastern side of the Allegheny mountains. The Indian chief said “they had not heard of any sale west of the warrior’s road, which ran at the foot of the Allegheny ridge.” Notwithstanding this remarkable protest of the western Indians, on the 13th of June, 1752, they consented to a treaty confirming the treaty of Lancaster in 1744 and to the establishment of a settlement southeast of the Ohio guaranteeing that it should not be disturbed by them. In consequence of this treaty, Gist, who had been appointed the company’s surveyor, proceeded to lay off a town at Shurtee’s, or more properly, Chartier’s creek, a little below the present flourishing, ingenious and industrious city
of Pittsburgh, on the east side of the river. What became of Christopher Gist, after these adventurous services, scarcely second to the much more famous Boone, is unknown. It is, however, no mean fame to have been the very earliest known colonial explorer of the western country, and the guide of the illustrious Washington.

These advances of our countrymen did not escape the watchful eyes of the French: they were quickly followed, by the erection of the posts previously mentioned, on the waters of the Allegheny River.

In 1752, Major Washington was sent by Governor Dinwiddie (guided by Christopher Gist) to remonstrate against these military encroachments on what was deemed British dominion.

In pursuance of this commission, Washington penetrated to the posts of the French at Venango and Le Boeuf. There he received an indecisive answer from the commandant of the latter post, M. St. Gardeur St. Pierre, and returned with it to the Governor of Virginia, accompanied by a report of this most adventurous trip, full of evidence to the hardihood and bravery of its author—A noble model to excite the emulation of his young countrymen, for whose freedom and rank among the nations of the earth Washington labored so early and so late.

On learning the result of this mission, and that the French were making these hostile demonstrations in the valley of the Ohio, claimed by England, ostensibly in behalf of her ancient allies, the Six Nations, the British government issued orders to the Colonial governors in North America to maintain his majesty's rights to these regions at the hazard of the extremities of war.

Yet notwithstanding these two distinguished nations were ready to go to war, and shortly did so, neither the one nor the other was the proprietor of these fair and wide regions. The nations of the forest, whose ancestors for ages might have lived upon these lands, and who were themselves the actual occupants of them at the time of these disputes, were the proprietors. Their title . . . seems to have been almost disregarded by these foreign and civilized competitors any farther than the merest military policy of the moment might dictate.

The French claimed the valley of the Ohio by virtue of the ancient explorations, made by the expeditions of Marquette and
Joliet, and also by La Salle, through the lakes down the Mississippi; and, as the court of France alleged, down the Ohio in 1739.

"The English," said the Duke of Mirepoix, the French negotiator at London, "have not any settlement on that river (the Ohio), and when the British ministry asserted that the heads of that river were full of ancient settlements of their nation, they too readily gave credit to false relations. The French have ever looked upon that river as belonging to Canada, and it is essentially necessary for the communication of Canada with Louisiana. They have frequented it, at all times and with forces. It was also by that river that the detachment of troops passed who were sent to Louisiana, about the year 1739, on account of the war with the Chickasaws.⁴

These assertions were all either contradicted, or if admitted, were denied to have any validity against Great Britain. "What the court of Great Britain asserts and insists upon, is, that the five Iroquois Nations, acknowledged by France to be dependants of the British crown,⁵ are either originally, or by right of conquest, the lawful proprietors of the territory of Ohio in question. And as to that part of the territory, which these people have ceded and transferred to the British nation (which must be acknowledged to be the most lawful and equitable manner of acquiring it) they claim it as their property, which they have not ceased to cultivate for twenty years and more; and upon several parts of which they have formed settlements from the very sources of the Ohio, as far as Pichac-Villiams, which is the centre of the territory situated between Ohio and Ouabache."⁶ Washington's Journal (London, 1784) has a map on which this name is printed Pickawalinna. The name is possibly some variation of Piqua or Pickaway, in 1773 written by the Reverend David Jones Pickaweke.⁷ It was the same spot on the Great Miami afterwards called Laramie's Store; it is constantly referred to in the treaties between the United States and the northwestern Indians.

Such is a brief summary of the pretensions of these European rivals to the valley of the Ohio. It may, after the lapse of a century, be a matter of some amusing speculation to review this strife of cabinets and conflict of ambassadors. The French government offered to "stipulate that all the territory between the Ohio and the mountains which bound Virginia, shall remain neutral, and
that all the commerce in, or passage through the same, shall be prohibited, as well to the French as the English." That government further proposed "to destroy within the space of six months, to begin from the date of the present convention, or sooner, if possible, all forts built upon the peninsula, in the Lake Erie and upon the rivers Le Boeuf and Ohio." Special lines for the neutral ground were proposed on the part of France to run from the eastern side of the Bay of Catawhaqui, (possibly Cayahoga) upon the southern shore of Lake Erie, directly to the South as far as the fortieth degree of north latitude, and from thence continued along the said river to its confluence with the Ohio, and from thence continued to the Southwest till it touches the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude. And also that a line to begin from the mouth of the river Miami (now Maumee) on the south side of Lake Erie, be drawn to the South or Southwest as far as the source of the Ouabache (Wabash or Saint Jerome) and from thence continued along the said river, to its confluence with the Ohio, and from thence in a straight course as far as the above mentioned thirty-seventh degree of north latitude. This would have given a neutral ground between the Province of Pennsylvania and the French settlements on the Wabash, embracing the present States of Ohio and Indiana. Had this neutral ground been agreed upon, it could only have suspended the progress of our countrymen for a few years while they gathered strength for a new irruption. The great torrent of civilization could have been stopped by no government. Its march is indeed over the mountain, and its home in the depth of the wilderness.

CHAPTER II

NOTES

2. Jared Sparks, The Writings of George Washington, II, 480. Humphrey Marshall, The History of Kentucky, (Frankfort, Henry Gore, 1812), 281. S. P. Hildreth, Pioneer History, 281. This is probably the earliest official memorial of the western country written by our own countrymen. It is due to the scrutinizing scholarship of the indefatigable biographer of Washington that this ancient memorial of the West has been brought to light. The original is said to exist among the Mercer papers in Virginia.
Editor’s Note: Gist’s plantation and settlement were between the Youghogania and Monongehela Rivers. His plantation lay in Augusta County, Virginia. Later it was located in Yohogania County, Virginia. After the transfer of what is now southwestern Pennsylvania to that state in 1780, the land lay in Fayette County Pennsylvania. Gist died of small pox on the road from Williamsburg to Winchester on July 25, 1759. He was well to do, prominent, a true patriot, a close friend of Washington. He had served Britain and Virginia far beyond the ordinary call of duty. Jean Muir Dorsey and Maxwell Jay Dorsey, *Christopher Gist of Maryland* (Chicago: John S. Swift Company, Inc., 1958), 16 et seq.

5. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.
7. Cist’s *Cincinnati Miscellany*, 1, 265.
CHAPTER III

THE IROQUOIS AND THE SIX NATIONS; VIRGINIA'S EXERTIONS WESTWARD; MAJOR WASHINGTON AND FORT NECESSITY; GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

The title of the Iroquois to the western country, whether north or south of the Ohio River, which was much dwelt on by the British government, and even by Doctor Franklin, with the colonial writers generally, seems to be doubtful at the times familiar to our countrymen, whatever it may have been in more ancient times. Upon any claim of recent dominion or conquest on the part of the Iroquois over the region in question, the title of these tribes may well be pronounced devoid of all force against the rights of the numerous warlike tribes of the northwest and south. These tribes never, within historical knowledge, admitted any claims of the Six Nations to the valley of the Ohio. [For different view, see Connelley and Coulter, History of Kentucky, Vol. I, (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1922), 15-40.] They confederated with the Senecas of those nations in the common war against the British, and subsequently against our own countrymen, upon a footing of thorough unquestioned equality, they occupied the northern side of the valley of the Ohio, and they hunted or marched in war parties through the country on its southern side, without a question of right or any controversy beyond the local feuds of border barbarians with one another. If the Six Nations had exercised the supremacy over the northwestern tribes, which they sternly did over the Delawares of Pennsylvania, in favor of that province to enforce the “walking purchase,” as it was called, there would have been evidence of it in the long transactions which for nearly three quarters of a century took place between them and the English, together with our own countrymen.

In consequence of the instructions from the British ministry to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, previously mentioned, two com-
panies of a hundred men each were raised by the province and placed under the command of Washington as Major; they had orders to finish, in the best manner they possibly could, the fort, which was expected to have "been already begun by the Ohio company on the present site of Pittsburgh." A Captain [William] Trent had command of one of the Virginia companies; and he dispatched Ensign [Edward] Ward with forty-one men to execute the order of the British government, and of Virginia.

This movement on the part of the colony immediately produced an attack upon the unfinished fort and a summons to surrender from M. Contrecoeur, in the French service, at the head of "upwards of one thousand men, who came from Venango, with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty bateaux and three hundred canoes." To this overwhelming force submission seemed inevitable, and the officer, after capitulating, "marched up the Monongahela, to the mouth of Redstone creek."

This hostile step made by subordinates, in the remote frontiers of two European states then by treaty at profound peace, was succeeded by vigorous preparations, on the part of Virginia, for hostilities. It was too much like the rash steps taken by a late President of the United States in our difficulties with Mexico, which might possibly have been adjusted without the dread alternative of war. Very different was the policy of President Jefferson in our controversy with Spain about the boundaries of Louisiana in 1806. Then the military commanders of both countries could agree upon a neutral line, afterward sanctioned by their respective governments, by which war with Spain was avoided. Indeed notwithstanding our numerous tedious and exciting controversies with that power, the United States have succeeded in avoiding open hostilities from the birth of our Republic to the present time.

A regiment was now raised, and confided to the command of Joshua Fry, as Colonel, and George Washington as Lieutenant Colonel. At the head of this regiment (for Colonel Fry had not taken the field) Washington marched into the neighborhood of the Monongahela. It was here nearly north of the subsequent site of Fort Necessity that a French party of observation, under the command of M. Jumonville, [Coulon de Jumonville. ensign in
command] was surprised by a detachment from the Virginia regiment and killed in open battle; not assassinated, as strangely represented by the French officers, and still more so by French historians.\(^5\)

This slight affair of posts would be every way unworthy of notice were it not for the erroneous representations of French historians, and the exalted reputation to which . . . the American commander subsequently arose. These unfavorable and unjust criticisms have been comparatively unknown to our countrymen, reposing in their own enthusiastic admiration for their great patriot chief. They thought the world had entirely agreed with them in this sentiment. . . These depreciating remarks have been fully discussed by the accomplished and devoted editor of the *Writings of General Washington*, and the falsity of this obsolete calumny established forever.\(^6\)

Shortly after this encounter of the 28th day of May, 1754, Washington was informed by his Indian scouts of the advance of a French party of greatly superior numbers; a retreat was therefore made to the Great Meadows.\(^7\)

At this point the fatigue of his men from dragging the swivels over the mountainous roads, and the exhaustion of much of their provisions (for they had been without bread for eight days), compelled Washington to halt and to fortify. A small fort was erected out of the adjacent timber, with the readiness and expertness with the axe characteristic to the American backwoodsmen. It was denominated Fort Necessity ("from the circumstance of its erection and original use"). In this hasty fort or stockade Washington was soon surrounded by a superior body of French, under the command of M. Contrecoeur, [Coulon de Villiers, brother of Coulon de Jumonville; Contrecoeur commanded at Fort Duquesne] and after a defense of nine hours, surrendered with the honors of war. The French flag now waved over the western country, from Detroit to Fort Chartres. Yet the Indian proprietors of this vast region were treated with indifference or contempt flagrantly unjust to their rights.

The two great belligerents rapidly prepared to carry on a war in these remote western wilds yet undeclared to the world.

In June, 1755, General Braddock, at the head of an army of
more than 2,000 effective men, of whom about 1,000 belonged to the King, and the remainder furnished by the colonies, a force unexampled in the forests of America, marched from Fort Cumberland (now the town of Cumberland in Maryland) for the capture of the French fort Du Chesne, [Fort Duquesne] and the recovery of what was deemed British territory. So harassing were the obstacles to the march through the unbroken and mountainous wilderness that on the 8th of July, 1755, a body of twelve hundred men, with light baggage, proceeded on as advance leaving Colonel [Thomas] Dunbar to bring forward the rear division. This overwhelming force proceeded uninterrupted on their march, and in most imposing order. The difficulties of transportation and delay were almost invincible to the British troops, so little used at that day to the embarrassments of a new country and to a theatre of action, at once both mountain and wilderness. It took the army nearly five months to get from Alexandria, on the Potomac, to within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Although the troops had landed on the 20th of February, they did not begin their march until the 20th of April, 1755.

On approaching the Mongahela River, the army was compelled by the abrupt nature of the ground to cross a little below the junction of the Youghiogheny to the southern bank of the former stream. This was early in the morning of the 9th of July, 1755. All things were at length in readiness, and the troops “all in full uniform, the soldiers arranged in columns, and marching in exact order, set out, the sun gleaming on their burnished arms, the river [flowing] tranquilly on [their] left. Officers and men were equally inspired with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.” Well might Washington say that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the British troops on that eventful morning. About noon the army crossed again to the northern bank of the river and came upon a level plain elevated but a few feet above the surface of the river . . . [where began] a gradual ascent . . . which terminated [in] hills of a considerable height . . . The road to Fort Duquesne led over this plain and up this ascent. By the order of march a body of three hundred men, under Colonel [Thomas] Gage, composed the advanced party, which was followed by another of two hundred; next came the General [Edward
Braddock] with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. In the meantime, while the British army are left crossing the Monongahela in this beautiful order, it becomes necessary to notice the movements of the French to resist so overwhelming a force. From his unequalled scouts both French and Indian, M. Contrecocouër, the French commandant of Fort Duquesne, received constant intelligence of the British force and its daily marches. By these, Braddock’s army was represented as amounting to three thousand men. From a force so superior, the French commandant was preparing to retreat, when M. de Beaujeu, [Daniel-Hyacinth-Maniede Beaujeu] a captain in the French service, proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians, and meet the enemy in their march.” The Indians were then applied to for their co-operation; they refused, on account of the superiority of the enemy. But at the earnest solicitation of Beaujeu, they agreed to assemble in council upon the proposition; the Indians again refused. This disappointment only excited anew the ardent spirit of this true son of France, and he addressed them in these words: “I am determined to go out and meet the enemy. What! Will you suffer your father to go out alone? I am sure we shall conquer.” This ardor of the French officer overcame the wily caution of the natives of the forest; on this third expostulation they agreed to accompany him.

The 7th and 8th of the month [July] were passed in making preparations for the attack and reconnoitering the ground over which the enemy, now within sixteen miles of the fort, must pass. Two other captains, [Jean-Daniel] Dumas and [Francois des] Liguery, with some inferiors, now joined Beaujeu at the head of about six hundred Indians. This is the medium, at least, of the different French accounts, so different from the conjectures of the English, and even of the sagacious Washington and Franklin. The former stated, that there were no more than three hundred, and the latter, at most, not exceeding four hundred. The average force under M. Beaujeu amounted to about eight hundred and fifty or eight hundred and sixty-seven, while their opponents, in the advanced division, were about twelve hundred.

But there was a much more fearful difference between the two
armies than numbers. It was skill in the commanders; the one fettered the spirit by which he was surrounded, the other allowed it full play; the one adapted his movements to the ground and the country in which he actually was, the other governed himself by tactics suited to quite different scenes — to the low countries of Europe, where Braddock had principally seen service.  

To understand this disastrous action it is essential to know the nature of the ground. This is most perspicuously described as a hill, which, commencing about half a mile from the river, descended in the gentlest manner. Along each side of this inclined plain, a ravine covered with long grass and timber extended; [it was] eight or ten feet deep... Here, between these two places of natural ambuscade, capable of concealing at least ten thousand men, the British troops advanced with the most unsuspecting or presumptuous confidence. In vain the experienced [George] Croghan, who had for many years been the deputy Indian agent for the Six Nations, attended with a body of friendly natives; they were treated with so much neglect that they all deserted, one after another. Washington, who was much consulted by the General, but whose advice was not regarded, importuned him in vain to employ these Indians as scouts along the route of the army. Orders from superiors were equally lost upon this misguided officer, as advice from inferiors. The Duke of Cumberland, distinguished in history as once intended for the monarch of the British colonies, had, in his instructions to General Braddock, carefully cautioned him “to beware of an ambush or surprise.” In this situation of the ground, the British were crossing the river just below where the French and Indians posted themselves, and were waiting till Braddock’s advanced guard came up the ascent. It had been the intention to meet the British at the ford of the river, and then after annoying them as much as possible, to retreat to the ravines on the sides of the road, a spot which had been selected the previous evening. This had been prevented by delay and the French plan was now limited to a surprise from their ambuscade. The attack by the allied troops was commenced upon the British advance as it reached the rising grounds passing between two ravines occupied by the French and Indians. “It was repelled by so heavy a fire that the Indians, . . . thinking it proceeded from
artillery . . . began to waver. At this moment, M. Beaujeu was killed, and the command devolving on M. Dumas [who] showed great presence of mind in rallying the Indians. He ordered his officers to lead them to the wings, and attack the enemy in flank, while [he] with the French troops, would maintain the position in front.” These orders were well seconded; and, though the battle raged with great fierceness for a time, the random direction of the British fire against the unerring aim of an enemy, only discernable “by the smoke of their guns,” made little impression. The Indians fired from the edge of the ravines, where the greatest part of them fought, and their horrid yells, with which the woods resounded, struck terror into the hearts of the British soldiers. The general moved “speedily to the relief of the advance, but before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way, and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, . . . as well as panic. . . The general and the officers behaved with the utmost courage but were unable to rally the men. In this state, they continued nearly three hours, huddling together, in confused bodies, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops that seemed to retain their senses; and they fought with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought, each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the general, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been maneuvering on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines, and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unerring discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half the army that had moved in so proud an array, only three hours before, were either killed or wounded.” “The general had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died on the 13th of July.” The same officer represents the men as “so extremely deaf to the exhortation of the general and the officers, that they fired away . . . all their ammunition . . . then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till
they got as far as Gist's plantation... The officers were actually sacrificed by their good behavior, advancing sometimes in bodies, sometimes separately, hoping by such an example to encourage the soldiers.” Colonel Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places; [he behaved]... the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution.19 “I expected every moment to see him fall,” [wrote]... Dr. [James] Craik, his faithful surgeon unto death. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him.20 “Some potent Manitou,” exclaimed an Indian chief, who had singled him out with his rifle, and bade his warriors to do the same, “protects his life.”21 “Death,” wrote Washington,22 “was levelling my companions on every side of me; but by the all-powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected.”

The loss in this battle was tremendous: “ten captains were killed, and five wounded; the whole number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen... one-half killed.” “The Virginia troops showed, [wrote] Colonel Washington, “a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed; for I believe, out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men are alive. Captain [William La] Payronie and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Captain [William] Polson had nearly as hard a fate, for only one of his was left.”23 While this destructive slaughter was committed on the British troops by themselves and their enemies, the loss of the French, from an imperfect return, was stated at three officers killed, and four wounded; about thirty soldiers and Indians killed and as many wounded.

The routed troops hastened over the river and did not intermit their flight till they reached Dunbar's camp, seven miles from the Great Meadows, and about fifty miles from Fort Cumberland, at Will's creek. At this camp the artillery was destroyed, and the “public stores and heavy baggage were burnt, by whose orders was never known, declared one officer,24 while another represents that he plead the orders of his dying general.25 It is better explained by his own determination to abandon the frontier to the savages,
evacuate Fort Cumberland, and march to Philadelphia for winter quarters in the month of July.

On the 13th of this month, the troops moved forward on their disgraceful retreat, reflecting greater dishonor upon the British arms than Braddock's bloody field. General Braddock died the same day after having roused from his lethargy to say, "we shall better know how to deal with them another time." His grave is still pointed out, near the National road about a mile west of Fort Necessity.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

1. Franklin's Writings, Vol. IV, "Ohio Settlement."
3. Mouth of French Creek, the old Riviere aux Boeuf; or Beef River, as it is translated upon the map attached to the account of Bouquet's Expedition.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. West of the Youghiogheny, near a fort at Laurel Hill, and a spot known as Braddock's Grove.
8. Sparks, II, 469.
9. This information, thanks to the ardent labors of the editor [Sparks] of the Washington writings [The Writings of George Washington] has been first laid before the American public, as obtained from the archives of the War Department, or Bureau de Guerre, at Paris. In this repository of the military deeds of France, the above indefatigable writer found three brief accounts, one of which appeared to be written on the spot from which the above narrative is condensed. Sparks's Washington, Vol. II, App.
10. Ibid., II, App.
14. Captain George Croghan, the experienced Indian agent of the British government, and Deputy under Sir William Johnson; not Colonel William Croghan, of Kentucky, the father of the gallant defender of Fort Stephenson in more recent times.
17. Bancroft, IV, 188.
19. Sparks, II, 87.
21. An Indian chief confirmed this account on meeting Washington upon his visit to the West in 1772.
22. Sparks, II, App.
CHAPTER IV

INDIAN ACTIVITIES AFTER BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT; WASHINGTON APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; OCCUPATION OF FORT PITT BY THE BRITISH AND BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY OF THE VALLEY! FRENCH AND INDIAN.

At Fort Duquesne a scene of barbarian triumph and ferocity is well described by a prisoner in the Fort. From this author we learn that the French commandant did not expect to defeat the enemy but only annoy them.

The tortures inflicted on the prisoners by the Indians after this bloody defeat confirm most indisputably the necessity of conquering and expelling a people so savage. The prisoners brought were out . . ., after being tortured by every possible mode that diabolical cruelty could suggest, were burned at the stake amidst the horrible parade of their tormentors in Indian paint and European regiments.

The resemblance of this sad defeat to that of our own [General Arthur] St. Clair, and, on a smaller scale, to the destructive battle of the Blue Licks, in position as well as effect, at a still later period of our history, irresistibly strikes the attention. All these encounters, as well as the whole military history of the whites and Indians in recent times, show the astonishing superiority which European arms have given the latter over their ancestors. At the first landing of the Europeans on this continent, the opposition of the natives was insignificant: but by firearms furnished by their civilized visitors the aborigines have frequently and effectually reversed the early contests with the foreigners. Unfortunately for the western country, it has had to encounter and overcome the superiority lent to the savages by the arts of Europe.

The defeat of Braddock brought the Indians in vengeance on the exposed frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, [which were] abandoned by the royal troops in a cowardly panic.
The devastations committed by the savages were greatly aggravated by this dastardly abandonment of his duty and the public defense by Colonel Dunbar. This officer seems to have been so panic-stricken by the defeat of his general ... [that he forgot] ... all thoughts of staying the public misfortunes. ... But while Colonel Dunbar could go into winter quarters at Philadelphia, in midsummer, neither the people of the frontiers nor the backwoods troops of Virginia (who had been despised by the British general, and their officers degraded below those in the royal service) could thus dishonorably abandon their country. In proportion as the royal commanders neglected the public defense, so did the governments of the colonies redouble their exertions to maintain it. The colonial troops of Virginia were raised to about 1,200 men, though Colonel Washington urged the number of 2,000.²

On the 14th of August, 1756, a little more than a month after the battle in which senseless prejudice had only allowed him to act as a volunteer aid to General Braddock, George Washington was appointed Colonel and Commander in chief of the forces of the colony, with the high privilege of naming his field officers. This he determined to insist upon ... previous to accepting any command. Such a degree of authority was necessary to efficient service in a colony, so little used to the emergencies of war upon an extended scale. The first use Washington made of this renewed and distinguished confidence of his native country, in his abilities and worth, was to make Adam Stephen the Lieutenant Colonel, and Andrew Lewis the Major of the new regiment. This command, though principally exercised on a theater somewhat removed from the valley of the Ohio, whose settlement and conquest form the immediate subject of this work, has too intimate connections with it to be quite omitted.

Nor was the post of commander in chief one of easy honor, at this time, but painful, in a high degree, and its perplexities trying to all his resources of temper and management. They, however, under the providence of God, bred up our heroic chief to conquer similar difficulties, on a grander scale, and to lead his countrymen to liberty and independence. The French war on the Ohio, as well as in Canada, most happily furnished a school for the preparation of the officers and soldiers of our great revolution.
The wants, the insubordination, the diversity of counsel, attending the military operations of Virginia, at least, make this border war a miniature picture of the embarrassments which perplexed the continental service against Great Britain. Still, amid these difficulties, Colonel Washington applied himself indefatigably to the defense of the extensive frontier of Virginia, assailed by the superior forces of the Indians at every point. This state of things continued until a change of ministry in the central authority in England produced a change of counsels and officers, to the great relief and joy of the British empire.

The clouds which had so long hung over her banners were about to [be dispersed] under the administration of the most brilliant and triumphant of British ministers of state.

In June or July, 1757, William Pitt, the Elder, became, for the second time, principal secretary of state. By the following December, measures of the most vigorous and liberal character were adopted, in regard to America, and indeed all over the theater of war around the globe. There has rarely been an administration in the most popular form of government which more signally animated the energies of any people, and which brought into greater activity their hearts and talents for the public service, than under the government of this sagacious and commanding statesman. He was eminently possessed of the high qualities which enter into the lofty, though proud and imperious character of a British statesman of the old aristocratic school. Too liberal for a court, and not supple enough for populace, Pitt was an illustrious instance of a British statesman who could touch the sympathies of his countrymen, in every chord, without becoming either a republican or an unscrupulous courtier.

Americans may well look back with delight to this brilliant period of British history. On this continent, it emblazons the exploits of our fathers, under a government then common to them and their British compatriots in the field. The proud triumphs over the House of Bourbon, on this side of the Atlantic, form an inheritance of fame, for both America and England. The blood and treasure of both countries were freely contributed to one great purpose of national aggrandizement; and both deserve honor, allayed as it is in the mind of every generous man, by the mis-
fortunes of their gallant and most enterprising French antagonists. To this war America must look for the source of her western empire now stretching, in the language of the old royal charters, from sea to sea. This is the empire which an illustrious statesman and eloquent writer\(^4\) pronounced “a prize, the capabilities of which are now unfolding themselves with a grandeur and magnificence unexampled in the world; but of which, if the nominal possession had remained in either of the two princes, who were staking their kingdoms in the issue of the strife, the buffalo and the beaver, with their hunter, the Indian sage, would, at this day have been, as they then were, the only inhabitants.”

On the 30th of December, 1757, the [Prime] Minister [William Pitt] of Great Britain wrote circular letters to the governors of Pennsylvania and the contiguous colonies, requesting the hearty cooperation of the provincial assemblies with General [John] Forbes’ expedition. This was intended for the recovery of Fort Duquesne; aids of arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions were promised for the colonial troops, in the same manner, as for the British regulars and at the king’s expense. The only charge developed on the colonies was for levying, clothing and paying their troops. Another circumstance which illustrates the liberal and expanded policy of the Pitt Administration was the abrogation from “colonels downwards” of the irritating distinction which had been drawn between officers serving under royal commissions and others under provincial arms.

The defense of Virginia (and that was the western country of . . . Virginia . . .), assumed a new aspect under the command of General [James] Abercrombie, who had succeeded Lord Loudon [John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudon] in the chief command of the British forces in America on the return of the latter nobleman to Great Britain. Six thousand troops were assigned to Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, as their quota of the provincial troops to be raised in this section of the colonies. Of these, Pennsylvania undertook to raise 2,700, Maryland 1,000, leaving 2,300 for the quota of Virginia. But the troops actually employed by General [John] Forbes were 1,200 Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, about 2,700 from Pennsylvania, 1,600 from Virginia, 200 or 300 from Maryland, and two or three companies from North Carolina,
making in all, including the wagoners, between 6 and 7,000 men.\textsuperscript{5} The Assembly of Virginia, in 1757, raised £80,000 for the extraordinary expenses of the colony,\textsuperscript{6} and twelve hundred and seventy men, in addition to three companies of rangers who were employed on the southwestern frontier. Still these vigorous preparations, against an enemy that had desolated Virginia, and still more the adjacent colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, seemed to die away, without any effect. The army consumed the prime of the season for military operations by advancing, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of Colonel Washington\textsuperscript{7} . . . by a new route to Fort Duquesne. This ill judged procrastination was so dispiriting to Virginia . . . [that] she despaired . . . of any effectual attempt on the French stronghold, at the head of the Ohio, this season. . . On the 14th of September, 1757, the Assembly determined to withdraw their regiment, and station it upon their own frontier. . . The restriction or the employment of the regiment was . . . suspended till the 1st of January, 1758.\textsuperscript{8} Colonel Washington was now ordered by General Forbes to proceed with the advance in opening the road from Raystown to Loyal Hanna. Previous to this, at what time does not appear, Major [James] Grant was detached with 800 men to reconnoitre Fort Duquesne. On reaching the neighborhood of the fort he formed a plan “to tempt the enemy into an ambuscade, and at day break of the 14th September, 1758, . . . [revealed] himself by beating his drums.”\textsuperscript{9} The salute was not disregarded, and Major Grant was soon attacked by the gallant Charles Philippe Aubry, who had lately brought a reinforcement of 400 men from the Illinois; the British party was defeated, and its commander taken prisoner. The Indians passed into the rear of the assailants under the covert of the banks of the Monongahela and Allegheny.

The only adventure connected with this disgraceful gasconade is the gallant defense maintained by Major [Andrew] Lewis, at the head of the Virginia rear guard. Though send back two miles into the rear, hearing the fire in front, Major Lewis hastened to the assistance of his commander, leaving Captain [Thomas] Bullitt with fifty men to defend the baggage. The reinforcement was, however, ineffectual. Both Grant and Lewis were taken prisoners, the whole detachment being defeated. The enemy now rushed
on to consummate their vengeance upon the rear guard. Captain Bullitt now made the most effectual preparation to meet the enemy. So gallantly was this executed that out of eight officers five were killed, one taken prisoner, and one wounded. Bullitt was the only officer who escaped unhurt with the residue of his party and baggage to the main army. So honorable a specimen of Colonel Washington's training, (for Bullitt it seems was one of his officers) was complimented in public by General Forbes. Colonel Washington remarked in a letter to Governor Fauquier [Francis Fauquier, Royal Governor of Virginia] that Bullitt's behavior [was] a matter of great admiration.

At the camp at Loyal Hanna, a council was held on the 9th of November, 1758, when it was determined, as both Virginia and Washington had too well forboded, to suspend further operations until next season, after having consumed another five months in approaching the Ohio. Nothing but the accidental capture of three prisoners, who communicated the weakness of the French garrison, prevented the fulfillment of this prediction. The intelligence thus obtained by Washington, who commanded the advance, changed the determination of the general, and the troops were ordered "to march on, without their tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery."

On the 28th of November, 1758, the British troops reached Fort Duquesne, the source from which, for four years, had flowed streams of Indian massacre over the frontiers. This formidable stronghold of French influence over the Indians, and power in the wilderness, was now converted into one more advanced post in the sweeping march of American population into the valley of the Ohio.

The name of this fort was most justly changed to Fort Pitt, in honor of the illustrious minister of that name, under whose inspiring auspices this signal conquest had been made—only second to the capture of Quebec. Fort Duquesne was indeed the citadel of French power in the West, and the constant nursery of Indian hostility against the British frontiers.

The maintenance of this important post was imposed on the Virginia troops, when "they had hardly rags to cover their nakedness"... In vain, Colonel Washington remonstrated against this
addition to the burdens of the zealous colony, to which he belonged. The general told him that, as he had no orders from the ministry, he could not station the royal troops at this fort. So great was the scarcity of provisions that enough could not be collected for a garrison of two hundred men alone; “and these,” the Colonel wrote to the Governor of Virginia, “must, without great exertions, I fear, abandon the place or perish.”

Less than a century ago this was the destitution of a region, which now, by the united auspices of freedom and intelligence, under the providence of God, is an overflowing granary of provisions and one great school of the arts.

We have now reached an era in the history of the Ohio valley—the occupation of Fort Pitt by the British. It may be considered the first great advance post in the conquest of the valley; here, for a series of years, the migratory hordes which pressed over the deeper West, drew breath and recruited their strength for more distant and perilous movements into the West.

A succession of brilliant victories from Ticonderoga and Quebec to Fort Duquesne, compelled the French, after nine years of most active and military management of their enormous disparity of population and of domestic means of warfare, to surrender all the fruits of national enterprise for nearly a century and a half to the British arms and those of our own countrymen. The participation of the British colonists, and particularly those who lived on the northern frontier, in the memorable expulsion of the French from Canada, was most material. Not only their blood flowed freely in the different expeditions which ended in the capture of the proud castles of St. Louis and the Moro before Quebec and Havana; but their knowledge, the domestic resources of men and provisions, and above all their experience in Indian fighting, rendered incalculable service to the British arms in effecting these exploits. The colony of Virginia alone raised in the course of this war, from February, 1754, to May, 1760, the sum of £233,000 currency, it is supposed; and from the same time to November, 1762, she maintained 13,470 men. Her force in the field varied from 1 to 2,000. Nor was the British Parliament unmindful of these zealous advances of the “Ancient Colony and Dominion of Virginia”; nor of the efforts of her sister colonies.
In the energetic and patriotic exertions which resulted so honorably to the British name, the colonies of New England moved proudly in the van; the spirit of their Puritan ancestors, the compatriots of Hampden and Milton and Cromwell, as ever since, animated them to be foremost in the noble race of life. The British Parliament, in testimony of their sense of the colonial measures, in 1757, voted £50,000 sterling “for the use of his majesty’s subjects in the several provinces of North and South Virginia”; and in 1758, the same body granted £200,000 sterling, “to recompense the respective provinces in North America, for the expenses incurred by them in levying, clothing and pay of the troops raised by the same; according as the active vigor and strenuous efforts of the respective provinces shall be thought by his Majesty to merit.” Of these two sums, the king assigned £52,814 to Virginia as her proportion; still leaving her own expenditure during the war without relief from the British treasury, $517,213. Yet, notwithstanding the cheering prospects that might have been anticipated by the British colonies in North America from the peace, which had been concluded between the great belligerents, France and Great Britain, on the 10th February, 1763, still, it had little effect upon the hostilities of the Indians who had been engaged in the war against the latter. These never admitted any transfer of their rights or territory, by any acts either of war or of peace, between Europeans, whether allies or enemies. They very justly maintained, as they continued to do, in their latest negotiations with our countrymen down to the treaties of 1815 . . that they were bound by their own acts only, and not by the treaties made by the white claimants of the lands which they occupied. This spirit of independent nationality was systematically displayed and exercised by the Six Nations in their long negotiations and wars with both the French and the English. They were indeed the only well defined confederacy among the aborigines of North America; and they presented, in consequence of it, a more formidable front to all their enemies than any other native tribes. Their history shows, and all the early traditions confirm it, that they exerted a most potent influence over the Europeans, as well as upon their own neighbors. The spirit of confederacy among the Indians against the whites seems to have originated with the Six
Nations, encouraged, no doubt, by their own power and success; and thus they may have impressed it upon the other tribes. It entered most deeply into the native counsels after the Revolutionary War, and led to the embassy of the celebrated [Joseph] Brant [Iroquois chief] (or Thayendanegea, in his native tongue) to London in 1776. An extensive combination of the northwestern Indians, partly excited by ancient French influence and partly provoked by British neglect and the aggressions of the British colonies, took place. This combination was formed under the leading influence of Pontiac (or Pondiac, as he is called by Colonel Croghan). It seems to have been principally aimed at the English, who had succeeded the French by occupying the military posts in the western country, at Fort Pitt, Detroit, Presq’isle, Le Boeuf and Michilimackinac. Neither the English, nor ourselves, have possessed the tact and management over the native savages which the French have so repeatedly shown over these wily and ferocious people. We, if not the British also, want too much land—we are too eager to convert the forest into the farm, ever to be friends with tribes of hunters, otherwise than by superior power and fear of its exercise over themselves. This inviting ground has been so well and thoroughly trod by the accomplished author just mentioned that the present writer will only refer to the results of this great and formidable combination.

This outbreak seems to have been a continuation of the old French war with the English, which had been only lulled for a time by the occupation rather than the capture of Fort Duquesne by General Forbes in 1758, and Detroit in 1760 by Major Rogers. The hostile temper of the Indians broke forth most violently from the head of the lakes Michigan and Huron to the forts at Niagara, Fort Pitt and Ligonier. The intermediate posts at Presq’isle, Venango and Le Boeuf, including Michilimackinac, were all captured and most of their garrisons put to death with unexceeded barbarity and treachery. Never did it appear more likely that the native tribes would repossess the western country. Detroit, Forts Pitt, Ligonier and Niagara alone escaped their destructive fury. Fort Pitt, which properly comes within the plan of this work, was reduced to sad straits for provisions. But the hard and well fought battle at Bushy Run, on the 5th August, 1763, saved
There an obstinate engagement took place which continued for two days, when the enemy being defeated and driven to a retreat enabled Colonel Henry Bouquet to enter the fort with supplies of provisions conveyed on pack horses. This seems to have dealt the finishing blow in that quarter to a confederacy of the native tribes unexcelled for its subtility and efficiency by any combination known to our countrymen. It may be well to remark, on this occasion that, at this eventful crisis, Pittsburgh was distant two hundred miles from the settlements of Pennsylvania.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

1. Smith's An Account, etc. (see Bibliography)
3. Jeremy Bentham, Works, IV.
5. Sparks, Washington, II, 289.
7. Sparks, II, 88-92.
11. Ibid., II, 325.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
15. This remarkable transaction or series of transactions, had been most ably and faithfully narrated by Francis Parkman, in his History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac. I cannot resist the opportunity of again inviting the reader's attention to this most interesting work, the ablest, in my judgment, which has appeared on this subject of our colonial history.

Editor's Note: Captain Joseph Brant, Iroquois chief and British Indian Agent, served England in the French and Indian War. In his capacity as agent and chief, he was influential. His Iroquois name was Thayendanegea.
CHAPTER V

POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN THE VALLEY; COLONEL BOUQUET AND FORT PITT; SITUATION ON NORTHERN OR NORTHWESTERN SIDE OF THE OHIO; SITUATION ON SOUTHERN OR SOUTHWESTERN SIDE OF THE RIVER; DOCTOR WALKER, CHRISTOPHER GIST AND JAMES SMITH IN KENTUCKY.

The British government seems to have been much struck by the disaffection of the Indians, founded at it was on irresistible reason and right upon their part. It may have been jealous of extending its authority on the western side of the Alleghenies. Its policy seems, however, to have been vaccillating in this respect. While a grant to the Ohio company for 500,000 acres of land, on the Ohio River, had been made in 1749, yet in 1763 a royal proclamation was issued declaring “the royal pleasure that no governor, commander in chief, do presume until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West or Northwest, or upon any lands whatever which not having been ceded or purchased by us, are reserved to the Indians or any of them.” Proclamations of princes are not always obeyed within the precincts of their own palaces, and in their own presence; how much less so, at a distance of three thousand miles from the metropolis of power. Exertions were made by the military forces to prevent the intrusion of the whites upon the lands of the Indians, but in vain. No sooner had the British troops removed from the lands from which they had forcibly ejected the unlawful settlers or squatters... than they returned at full liberty to prosecute their settlement. Stringent legislation against settlers, in favor of Indians, was at war with the notions of the country and its sentiments toward the Indians, and no government could effectually execute it. Not-
withstanding this fluctuating policy, the hostility of the Indians was met on the part of the British by two military expeditions, one under the command of General Bradstreet, to march into the country upon Lake Erie, and another under Colonel Bouquet, who so gallantly relieved Fort Pitt, for the country upon the Ohio. The inefficient conduct of the former has been well illustrated by other writers and hardly falls within the plan of this work. The march of Colonel Bouquet is truly memorable in the annals of the West. These troops assembled at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and about the 25th of July, 1763, after surmounting the difficulties of a mountainous wilderness affording to an enemy incessant opportunities for ambush and surprise, reached Fort Bedford, about one hundred miles from their rendezvous and the same distance from Fort Pitt.

On the 5th of August the army, disencumbered of its wagons, got within half a mile of Bushy Run, between twenty-two and twenty-five miles from Fort Pitt. Here an obstinate engagement with the Indians, who had abandoned the siege of Fort Pitt, took place. This was hotly contested from about one o'clock of the 5th, till night put a suspension to the ferocious hostilities; they were resumed on the 6th by day break and continued till 10 in the morning, when the Indians gave way. This battle has been well pronounced "one of the best contested actions ever fought between white men and Indians." It may well be ranked with the subsequent battles of Point Pleasant and the Blue Licks: they were all most bloody encounters between the two races, and most fiercely fought.

Colonel Bouquet marched from Carlisle with 500 men through the same wilderness against an enemy, which had defeated Braddock, at the head of 1,200 men, (and many of whom were our countrymen), with a loss of 700 men. One fifth of the Virginia provincial troops were killed. It behooved a commander alive to the high duties of his situation to scrutinize his steps most anxiously. Yet with all his precaution, and the intrepidity and skill with which this expedition was so eminently managed; the loss of the whites, as usual, exceeded that of the enemy; the British lost in the two battles 8 officers and 115 men; after the first encounter there were sixty dead or disabled bodies in the British camp. The
Indian loss amounted to the uncommon amount of sixty "among whom were the corpses of several prominent chiefs, while the blood which stained the leaves of the bushes showed that numbers had fled severely wounded from the field. The soldiers took but one prisoner, whom they shot to death like a wolf."5

On the 10th of August, the army reached the long beleaguered Fort, relieving . . . dangers and wants . . . and with a pack train . . . loaded with provisions. . . But the relief of Fort Pitt bounded the exertions of Colonel [George] Bouquet at this time. His force was utterly too inadequate to penetrate further into the wilderness. In the meantime, although the Fort had been relieved, and the enemy defeated with a severe loss to the sparse population of hunter tribes, the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia suffered all the atrocities of a war with savages. The tribes most contiguous to the frontier removed their families west of the Muskingum, confident in the protection which the intermediate forest and streams would offer them. Under this imaginary security, the warriors threw themselves with all the fury of barbarian hate on the frontiers, which had been temporarily refilled by the inhabitants after the first successes of Colonel Bouquet.6 These frontier calamities seem at length to have aroused the Assembly of Pennsylvania from their charter disputes with her proprietaries to unite with Virginia in rescuing her people from the murderous rifle, tomahawk, and torch. The distracted and forbearing government of the province issued a proclamation promising $150 for every Indian male prisoner above the age of ten years, for every female of the same age $130; for every male scalp $134, and for every female scalp $50. [This caused a] sad and melancholy aggravation of the horrors and corruptions of war. . .

On the 5th of August, 1764, the anniversary of the bloody and momentous contest of Bushy Run, the troops assembled once more at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania. [This force] "consisted of five hundred regulars, a thousand Pennsylvanians, and a small but invaluable corps of Virginia riflemen."7 On the 17th of September, 1764, the army arrived at Fort Pitt. Well and interestingly does the writer [Parkman] just named narrate the march of this gallant body of men destined to avenge the injuries of their country. The
results of this march . . . immediately concern the plan of this work. . .

Colonel Bouquet marched his troops with all the precaution suggested by his experience of the subtle foe with whom he was contending. So well prepared and commanded were the troops, so compact and thorough was the terror of the Indians, that to save their towns, all within striking distance of the enemy, they surrendered to the stern demands of Colonel Bouquet two hundred and six prisoners with hostages for the faithful observance of the treaty between the parties, and the liberation of the white prisoners yet remaining among the Shawnees. These were too distant to be brought in immediately, but they were faithfully returned the next spring, to the number of one hundred, at Fort Pitt.

These were no common fruits of military energy; it has only been at great and critical periods in the history of our Indian wars that they have been so completely humbled. Yet these were the very Indian tribes who had massacred the army of Braddock. For massacre, and not merely defeat, is the word descriptive of the overthrow and destruction of the army under that brave, but rash, obstinate, and impracticable commander. And Colonel Bouquet well earned the thanks given him by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the promotion by his own government. This unparalleled success of the British arms over savage enemies on this continent, and which was still more signal over the French and Spanish branches of the house of Bourbon, did not yet fully reach the Indian tribes in the Illinois, as the French termed their possessions on the Upper Mississippi, even on both sides of that river. The contiguity of these tribes to the French settlements on the western side of the Mississippi, the existence of the old French villages, and the presence of their fur-traders in the very heart of the Indian country, all combined with old and long cherished attachments for the French and hatred and hostility to the British, to prolong the war and procrastinate the delivery to the British of the distant posts of the French, at Vincennes, on the Wabash, and at Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi. For this purpose, no little tact and management were necessary with the Indians to facilitate the transportation of troops and stores to these remote points of the former empire of France in North America.
Without the management and experience of well known Indian agents, it may well be doubted, whether the whole power of the British Crown could, without enormous sacrifice of both blood and money, have transported any troops to the banks of the Wabash and the Mississippi.

Two attempts were indeed made, almost fatally, by Captain Morris, under the orders of Colonel [General James] Bradstreet and Major Loftus, by way of the Mississippi. The former officer barely escaped with his life from the camp of Pontiac, on the Maumee; and the latter was so discouraged by the attack of a party of not more than thirty Indians (as the French sneeringly said) that he desisted from the attempts and returned to his headquarters at Pensacola. The repulse of this officer has left his name to the place called Loftus Heights, on the Mississippi River.

After the failure of these officers, one after another, Colonel [George] Croghan now undertook to exert his influence over the Indians, under the orders of his superior, Sir William Johnson.

In February, 1765, Croghan, with Lieutenant Frazer and party, set off on this perilous expedition of peace and mediation, with a train of pack horses loaded with goods as presents for the Indians. Negotiation with them without presents would be of but little avail. These donations to the Indians, together with the merchandise of private traders, [who] accompanied them was intended for the opening of the Indian trade at Fort Pitt. This excited the resentment of the frontier people. Jealous of this intercourse and supply to their inveterate enemies, [these settlers] determined to destroy the whole caravan of goods. This they effected most completely by waylaying the train . . . and making a bonfire of the goods, which they still would not plunder for their own purposes. Notwithstanding this interruption, owing to the reckless passions of the frontiersmen, Croghan, on the 15th day of May, 1765, having supplied, in some degree, the loss occasioned by the robbery before mentioned, set off upon the descent of the Ohio River to confer with the malcontent Indians in the Illinois country. Fortunately we have this early document of western history; [it is] the earliest written account of Anglo-American exploration of the western country anterior to the expeditions of Finley and Boone. The party proceeded very well till the 8th of June, when about six
miles below the mouth of the Wabash they were attacked by hostile Indians, and taken prisoners to Fort St. Vincent. Here they were released by the interference of friendly Indians. Shortly after [this], Colonel Croghan met with Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, together with deputies from four of the Illinois tribes on their way to Detroit to meet Colonel [James] Bradstreet in council, according to his invitation.

In the meantime, Captain Sterling, at the head of a company, descended the Ohio in order to take possession of Fort Chartres, about 25 miles above the mouth of the river Kaskaskia. This seems to have been in the month of July, 1765, when St. Ange delivered the last stronghold of his country east of the Mississippi to the British; while he repaired to the recent village of Saint Louis, so fortunately and wisely founded by Pierre Laclede, assisted by Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, for his Indian trade. On the 15th of February, 1764, this Indian factory [trading post] had been established, which has now assumed a proud and towering place in the valley of the great river whose banks it graces.\textsuperscript{12} Vincennes, or Fort St. Vincent, seems to have been taken possession of by the British, since General [Thomas] Gage's proclamation of 1772 implies it; but the precise point of time, the author has not been able to discover.\textsuperscript{13} [probably 1764]

Thus affairs stood on the northern or northwestern side of the Ohio valley. The Indians [were] imperfectly reconciled to their new masters, and the French fur traders [were] still less reconciled to the dominion of the ancient enemies and rivals of old France. The principal trade of the country was with Montreal, by way of the lakes, and with New Orleans; it was almost exclusively in the hands of the French.

Let us now turn to the southern or southwestern side of the Ohio. The old discontents between the intrusive settlers and the Indians again presented themselves—the old story of frontier grievances—the whites settling on the Indian lands, surveyors with their ominous chain and compass, patrolling the woods and marking the boundaries of new settlements for the white people.

These offences against the Indian wounded him in his most sensitive feelings, the love of his hunting grounds, of himself, and his fathers. They are referred to in many public documents of
The Assembly of Virginia was informed by the President of the Council "that a set of men, regardless of the laws of natural justice, unmindful of the duties they owe to society, and in contempt of royal proclamations, have dared to settle themselves upon the lands near Red Stone Creek and Cheat River, which are the property of the Indians." This information was based upon communications from General Gage, then commander in chief of the British forces in North America, as well as from Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian affairs. In consequence of these discontents of the Indians, and the urgency of the provincial governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia, orders were received by Sir William Johnson, "to complete the purchase of the lands from the Allegheny Mountain to the river Ohio." Some of these intrusions upon the hunting grounds of the Indians may very appropriately be introduced here.

Those on the near frontier of Virginia have just been mentioned. Others which have gradually led to the extension of the settlements to the present wonderful degree were now in contemplation.

The first of our own American race, who seems to have penetrated the canebrakes of what has since been termed Kentucky, were Doctor Thomas Walker and Christopher Gist, both of Virginia, and James Smith, of Pennsylvania. What might have prompted Doctor Walker to make so adventurous an expedition to western Virginia, as it must have been at that time, there are no means of knowing. He ranked high in the confidence of Virginia, as is proved by his frequent appointments under that colony. He was a commissioner of that colony at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768; again in 1769, and afterwards was appointed to run the line between North Carolina and Virginia, in 1780. In what direction this gentleman travelled, is not well known, but he informed the late Hon. John Brown (who is the author's authority) that in 1747 he visited the southeastern parts of the future State; gave its name (after the "Bloody Duke," the royal butcher of England) to the Cumberland River, and Louisa to the Big Sandy River, now confined to one of its eastern branches. The same name was also applied to the Kentucky River and is so used in the treaty of Watauga, in 1775. Also
spelled Watanga and Watangua. [The lives of Dr. Walker and of Christopher Gist are fairly well known today, 1971.]

Of Christopher Gist much more is known. He was the guide and companion of Washington in 1754; and he seems to have been well prepared for this employment by former adventures in woodcraft of no common daring. In 1750, he set off, in the employment of the celebrated Ohio Company formerly mentioned. 16

Beyond its title, little is to be learned from this early journal, judging from the partial extracts which are published. 17 He visited the country on the Big Miami, and the Scioto. 18 It is singularly indicative of the incurious literary spirit of the western public that the memory of so daring an explorer should have been permitted to sleep in oblivion until awakened by a New England scholar.

James Smith then presents himself as another volunteer in this hazardous travelling. This bold man appears to have been born in the western part of Pennsylvania. In early life, when only a young man, he was captured by the Indians and carried prisoner to Fort Duquesne, when in the possession of the French. He was a prisoner at the time of Braddock’s sad defeat, and witnessed the triumph of the Indians and their horrid hostilities inflicted on the prisoners. He himself was adopted into an Indian family, and remained with them for about five years. He then . . . was sent with other white prisoners to Montreal, and thence to Crown Point, from which he managed to return to his old white home in Pennsylvania. In 1766, smitten with the contagious passion of adventure in the new lands to the West, of which he had heard so much among his Indian associates, this brave woodsman travelled to the western country, and thence westward, in company with four white men and a mulatto boy. “We explored south of Kentucky, (Quere River), [he stated,] “and there was no more sign of white man there, than there is now west of the head-waters of the Missouri.” He also explored Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, from Stone’s River down to the Ohio. 19

This is a curious relic of frontier adventure; it is full of particulars of the hardships of Indian life, as well as the dangers and difficulties of a woodsman’s career. Its author was, afterwards, long distinguished in the councils of Kentucky.

43
The next class of explorers was not from Virginia or Pennsylvania by the route of the Ohio River; but from North Carolina, by the way of the Cumberland Gap, one of the celebrated routes through the wilderness. These may have been traders with the southern Indians, for peltries, which have ever been a subject of eager traffic on the frontiers. There was a route called the Warrior's Road or Path (it is delineated in Filson's map of Kentucky), "leading from the Cumberland ford along the broken country, lying on the eastern branch of the Kentucky River, and so across the Licking [River], toward the mouth of the Scioto." It was much frequented by the northern and southern tribes in their passage through Kentucky, whether for the purposes of war or of hunting. It was along this line of communication, it may be supposed, that John Finley was engaged in traffic with the Indians as early as 1767. Certain it is that Daniel Boone received his first information respecting Kentucky from Finley, upon his return to North Carolina, where they both lived. It was not, however, till May, 1769, that Boone left his home, on the Yadkin River, in North Carolina, in quest of the famed hunting grounds of Kentucky. To do this, he and his five companions, John Finley, John Stewart [or Stuart, Boone's brother-in-law], Joseph Holden, James Mooney and William Cool, were compelled to pass the broad mountain chain ridge, which separates the Atlantic waters from those of the Mississippi, after thirty-eight days of travelling, without any of the appliances of modern locomotion, but in bare woodsman's costume. [Boone explored and hunted in eastern Kentucky during the winter of 1767-68.]

This primitive route, through all the hardships, difficulties and dangers of a mountainous wilderness—the uncontested domain of the Indian—led across the valleys of the Holston and Clinch rivers, to the head waters of the Cumberland or Shawnee River; thence along the Warrior's Path, previously mentioned, by the Cumberland ford, over the head waters of the Kentucky River, to its eastern branch or Red River. But let us listen to his own words dictated to John Filson: "We proceeded successfully, and after a long and fatiguing journey through a mountainous wilderness, in a western direction, on the 7th day of June [1769] following, we found ourselves on Red-River . . . where John Finley had formerly
been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky." The first impressions made upon these rude, but skilled observers of nature, can be but interesting to their descendants and the millions who have profited by their hardy enterprise. "We found everywhere abundance of wild beasts of all sorts through this vast forest. The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains." The luxuriant canebrakes, the luscious pasturage of Kentucky, its numerous streams, stocked with fish, and, above all, its salt licks, rendered it a most favorite haunt of the game of the forest. Such is the universal description; no terms seemed grand enough to describe the fertility, the luxuriant growth and superabundant game of this Sylvan El Dorado. Is it then, wonderful that the Indian should adhere pertinaciously to his claims on this great natural park? It was the garden spot of the red man.

The party continued hunting with great success, until the 22nd of December, 1769, when shortly after this, John Stewart, one of Boone's North Carolina companions, was killed by the Indians. He appears to be the first, so far as is known, of the numerous victims slaughtered in Kentucky by the Indians during their long, desperate and ruthless struggle with the white man for their beautiful hunting grounds. This frontier war survived the revolutionary contest with Great Britain, and raged from the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774, to that of the Maumee, under General Wayne, in 1794. Still, our author says, that he and his brother Squire Boone (who had reached the country some time before with supplies for his roving relative) continued during the winter undisturbed by the Indians, until about the 1st of May, 1771, when they both returned to North Carolina.

But the solitude and danger of an Indian wilderness could not deter the heroic hunter from visiting the country again, under more propitious circumstances. Exploration of the wilderness seemed the ruling passion of Boone's soul. This was much assisted by the trodden paths and roads made by the wild beasts, and particularly the buffalo, which lay in their way; in this manner they were led to many of the salt springs at which salt has since been
made for the consumption of its present inhabitants. The fondness of the wild game for salt is as great and the condiment as necessary to the game of the forest, as to the domestic herds and quadrupeds. During 1770, a party of about forty stout hunters, "from New River, Holston and Clinch," united, "for the purpose of trapping, hunting and shooting game, west of the Cumberland mountains." "Nine of this party, led on by Colonel James Knox, reached Kentucky, and from the time they were absent from home, obtained the name of the Long Hunters." [The members of this] expedition reached the country south of the Kentucky River, and became acquainted with Green River and the lower part of the Cumberland. In addition to those parties, naturally stimulated by the ardent curiosity and love of daring novelty incident to early and comparatively idle society, the claimants to military bounty lands which had been promised from the British crown for services against the French, furnished a new and bold band of western explorers. Their land warrants, issued under the authority of Lord Dunmore, were surveyed on the Kanawha and the Ohio, as early as 1773, though most positively against the very letter of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. They were surveyed on the side of the present cities of Louisville and Frankfort, in Kentucky, and through the adjacent country. Even General Washington visited the Kanawha in 1770, for the purpose of locating western land claims. His journal shows the rapidity of settlements down the Ohio River, as low as the Kanawha.

Amongst others, Thomas Bullitt (uncle to the late Alexander Bullitt, who became the first Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky), and Hancock Taylor, engaged in this adventurous surveying.

These gentlemen were overtaken on the Ohio River, on the 28th of May, 1773, by the McAfees. This party, consisting of James, George and Robert McAfee, James McCoun, Jr., and Samuel Adams, left Stinking Creek in Bottetourt county, Virginia, and descended New River to the Ohio in canoes. [At that time, the county must have been Fincastle and not Bottetourt County. Today Fincastle is in Bottetourt County (1971)]. Captain Bullitt was elected captain of the company, which continued together until they reached the mouth of the Kentucky River. At this point, Captain Bullitt proceeded on to the Falls of Ohio, and the McAfees,
with Taylor, ascended the Kentucky, or Levisa (possibly a corruption of Louisa, which name had been attached to the Kentucky). The adventures of these hardy adventurers well deserve to be enlarged upon.

On the descent of the Ohio River, Bullitt undertook to visit the Indian town of old Chillicothe, on the Scioto. He proceeded through the woods, and arrived undiscovered by the Indians, until he was waving a white flag, as a token of peace. He was soon asked what news, and if he came from the Long Knife (the Indian appellation of the whites), as a peace messenger, why he didn't send a runner. "Would you," said he, "if you were very hungry, and had killed a deer, send your squaw to town to tell the news, and wait her return, before you eat?" This simple address to their own feelings, soon put the Indians in good humor; and at his desire a council was called to hear his talk the next day. Captain Bullitt then made strong assurances of friendship, on the part of the whites; acknowledged that these "Shawnees and Delawares, our nearest neighbors did not get any of the money, or blankets given for the land which I and my people are going to settle. But it is agreed by the great men, who own the land, that they will make a present to both the Delawares and the Shawnees, the next year; and the year following that shall be as good."

On the ensuing day, agreeably to the very deliberate manner of the Indians, in council, Captain Bullitt was informed that "he seemed kind and friendly, and that it pleased them well. That as to settling the country on the other side of the Ohio with your people, we are particularly pleased that they are not to disturb us in our hunting. For we must hunt to kill meat for our women and children, and to get something to buy our powder and lead with, and to get us blankets and clothing." In these talks, there seems a strange want of the usual sagacity of the Indians as to the consequences of white men settling on their hunting grounds, so contrary to their melancholy experience for a century and a half previous. Yet the narrative is unimpeachable. [Some authorities believe that the Indians talked to Bullitt with "tongue in cheek."] However this may be, the parties separated in perfect harmony, and Captain Bullitt proceeded to the Falls of the Ohio. Here he pitched camp above the mouth of Bear Grass creek, re-
tiring of a night, to a shoal, above Corn Island, opposite the present city of Louisville. 29

Another surveyor, by the name of James Douglas, followed Captain Bullitt during the same year, and on his way to the Falls of Ohio landed near the celebrated collection of mammoth bones which still goes by the emphatic name indicative of its contents—the Big Bone Lick, now situated in the county of Boone. This is the same collection noticed by Colonel Croghan in his descent of the Ohio in 1765. 30 The latter gentleman speaks of the access to the Lick being by a “large road which the buffaloes have made spacious enough for two wagons to go abreast.” Here Douglas remained forming his tent poles of the ribs of the enormous animals which formerly frequented this remarkable spot; and on these ribs, blankets were stretched to form shelter from the sun and the rain. Many teeth were from eight to nine, and some ten feet in length; one in particular, was fastened in a perpendicular direction in the clay and mud with the end six feet above the surface of the ground; an effort was made by six men, in vain, to extract it from its mortice or bed. The Lick extended to about ten acres of land, bare of timber, grass or any kind of herbage. It was much trodden, eaten for the saline particles, and depressed below the original surface, with here and there a knob remaining, like the pillars of earth left by excavators to show the former elevation of the surface. Thus a period seems to be indicated, however indefinite, when this resort of numerous animals had not taken place. Through the midst of the Lick ran a creek, and on each side of it, a never failing stream of salt water, whose fountains were in the open field. To this Lick converged from all parts of the neighboring country, roads made by the wild animals, which resorted thither for the salt contained in the earth and the water of the Lick.

When the McAfees visited the Lick, in 1773 with Captain Bullitt, several Delawares were present. One of these being questioned by James McAfee about the origin and nature of those extraordinary bones replied that they were then just as they had been when he first saw them in his childhood. Yet this Indian appeared to be at least seventy years of age. Collections of similar bones of animals, which have ceased to tenant the earth, are now familiar not only in the United States but in other parts of the
world; but none exceed, it is believed, the one in question of the bones of the mammoth or mastodon.

In addition to these encroachments of the whites on the hunting grounds of the Indians, the honesty of history requires the confession of repeated outrages upon the rights of the native tribes which the popular hatred would not suffer the government to punish. These enormities have sunk into deserved oblivion, and are now only adverted to that the justice of history may be preserved. Many of the inhabitants [are] now retired in the interior of the colonies.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

1. See Franklin's Works, IV. Dillon, 98.
3. See Craig's Pittsburgh, 91; and Conspiracy of Pontiac, 367.
4. Parkman, I, 368.
5. Ibid., 366.
6. Ibid., 378, 408.
7. Ibid., 482.
8. Dr. William Smith, An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Indians, in the Year 1764, under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., 46.
9. For a brief but interesting account of this great commander, [Bouquet] a Swiss by birth, the first Anglo-American in our history, who penetrated successfully into the western wilderness at the head of a large army, see Conspiracy of Pontiac, 353.
10. Parkman, I, 162 et seq.
16. This journal is quoted under its title: "A Journal of Christopher Gist's Journey began at Colonel Cresap's at the old town (now Cumberland), on the Potomac River, Maryland, October 31st, 1750, continued down the Ohio River, within fifteen miles of the Falls thereof; (now Louisville, in Kentucky) and from thence to Roanoke River, in North Carolina, where he arrived in May, 1751."
Editor's Note: Dr. Walker was engaged by the Loyal Land Company, which had been granted 800,000 acres of land in the Ohio River Valley in 1749, to explore its lands. See Filson Club Publications, No. 13. J. Stoddard Johnston, "First Explorations of Kentucky".
17. Pioneer History, 26, 32.
18. Washington Writings, II.
29. It was this gentleman who, according to the testimony of Jacob Sodowsky, a respectable farmer, late of Jessamine County, Ky., first laid out the town of Louisville, in August, 1773; and likewise surveyed Bullitt's Lick, in the adjoining county, of the same name.
30. See Appendix. (i.e., Butler, *Kentucky*, 2d ed., 22.)
LORD DUNMORE'S WAR IN 1774; BATTLE OF KANAWHA, OR POINT PLEASANT, UNDER GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS; INDIAN CHIEFS RED HAWK, SCOPPATHUS, ELLINIPISCO AND LOGAN.

Some took refuge in the forts which had been built whilst others collected in houses, which were easily converted into temporary fortresses. Fort Redstone (the present Brownsville in Pennsylvania) on the creek of that name, and Fort Pitt were the principal asylums for the people of the exposed frontier.

To avert this impending storm of barbarous warfare, a formidable expedition into the enemy’s country was now determined on by the government of Virginia. This was to consist of two bodies of troops, one to be commanded by Governor Dunmore [John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1732-1809], and the other to be commanded by Colonel Andrew Lewis. The plan of operations agreed upon was that the Colonels Charles and Andrew Lewis should raise a body of troops among the hardy, fearless and skillful riflemen of the western part of Virginia and North Carolina, who, down to our own times, have continued to form the most formidable arm of the western country of the United States. Governor Dunmore was to march a body of men from the northern and eastern counties. These two wings were to unite at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, then by treaty with the Cherokees, the western boundary of the province of Virginia. About the 1st of September, 1774, the western wing of the expedition assembled at Camp Union (now the town of Lewisburg in Virginia) [now in West Virginia]. While the troops for the main expedition were thus collecting, and arrangements were made on a considerable scale for this campaign of the royal governor, it was thought advisable to dispatch another expedition of inferior strength, and consequently susceptible of more rapid movement, into the Indian
country. It might distract the combinations of the enemy and divert his inroads from the frontiers. For these purposes, Colonel Angus McDonald raised a body of 800 men, who, early in June, 1774, assembled at Wheeling. The party succeeded in penetrating to the banks of the Muskingum, but without doing the enemy any material damage, beyond burning their slight and frail villages. So insignificant was the impression made on the Indians by this expedition, that as our men returned the savages followed their footsteps, spreading barbarities wherever the precautions of the inhabitants had not disappointed their vengeance.

The western wing of the expedition was divided into two regiments of four hundred men each, one commanded by Colonel Charles Lewis, of Augusta, Virginia, the other by Colonel William Fleming, of Bottetourt County. The chief command was confided to Colonel or rather General Andrew Lewis, the same who had been honored by Washington as Major in his first regiment in 1755. There was likewise a company of volunteers commanded by Colonel John Field, of Culpeper County, another from Bedford, under Captain Buford, and two companies from the Holston country, then in dispute between the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia.

One of these was commanded by Evan Shelby, the father of Isaac Shelby, the future governor of Kentucky, who served as a subaltern in his father's company. The latter three companies composed part of a regiment under the command of Colonel [William] Christian, who was hurrying to join the main body. This, now, amounted to eleven hundred men, and commenced its perilous march to the point of junction, which had been fixed by Lord Dunmore, at the mouth of the Big Kanawha. A march through a mountainous wilderness of 160 miles, which after a lapse of nearly eighty years still remains to a great extent, was an enterprise of no little peril and difficulty. It was to be prosecuted through a country peculiarly favorable to Indian ambuscade, and against the most warlike force of the northwestern tribes of Indians, a part of whom had, but nineteen years before, almost annihilated a British army furnished with all the apparatus of war. This was the first considerable enterprise against these Indians since the defeat of Braddock, excepting the march of Colonel
Bouquet to the Muskingum; that officer, however, brought the Indians to submission without any actual engagement. Such auspices would have been dismaying to any men but the brave and experienced backwoodsmen of the western country. They had seen the tactics of Europe fail before the sons of the forest, when their own military notions, imbibed from local and personal experience, would most probably have preserved the royal army with its general from a murderous defeat. Trusting to their own native resources of skill and courage, they transported their provisions on pack horses, all that an obstructed wilderness would permit. After nineteen days’ march, the army, under the guidance of Captain Mathew Arbuckle, succeeded in reaching the Ohio River, where the Great Kanawha enters into that stream. There, at the point between the two rivers, since known as Point Pleasant, an encampment was formed for the accommodation of the troops until the eastern wing, under the command of the governor of Virginia should arrive. Runners were immediately dispatched up the Ohio to obtain intelligence of his Lordship.

In the meantime, information was received from him that he had changed the whole plan of operations, upon the faith of which the mountaineers of Virginia and North Carolina had risked their lives through a wilderness of unequalled difficulties. Notwithstanding this pledge of military cooperation, which ought for the most obvious reasons of safety and honor to have been held sacred, Lord Dunmore had determined to march across the Indian country to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto. Of this he informed Lewis, and ordered him to join there.

It is difficult to determine whether folly or perfidy prevailed most in so unprecedented a departure from his own plan of cooperation, as exhibited by this new and dangerous scheme of the royal governor. The danger to which he exposed each wing of the army, of being successively cut off by the enemy in its separate march into the Indian country, would point to the former solution of this extraordinary military disappointment; while the madness of proposing a concentration of his forces—not before they entered the enemy’s country, but in the very heart of it, where the army must have conquered all antagonists before it would have been allowed to make such an advance as this—would seem more prob-
ably to implicate the fidelity of the governor to the colonists. It may, however, be too wanton suspicion to accuse the royal governor of an intention to sacrifice his left wing; yet his conduct was as dangerous to that body of his forces as if it had proceeded from the most deliberate treachery. Circumstances in the subsequent course of this nobleman’s official conduct almost justify these suspicions of his motives; they were, indeed, entertained by the legislature of Virginia.¹

On the 9th of October, 1774, the discouraging intelligence of altered plans was received by General Lewis from Lord Dunmore, through some Indian traders.² The next day, the devoted band, thus treacherously abandoned by their commander in chief, still taking counsel from their own brave hearts, determined to penetrate deeper into the Indian wilderness. It was not so easily done as it was readily adopted.

Early in the morning of the 10th of October, 1774, two soldiers proceeded up the Ohio bank for the purpose of killing game. They had got about two miles from camp when they suddenly discovered a large body of Indians rising from their encampment. The enemy, on seeing the two white hunters, fired and killed one of them; the other escaped to warn his fellow soldiers of the impending danger. To his commander, he communicated the fact that “he had seen a body of the enemy covering five acres of ground, as closely as they could stand.”³ General Lewis immediately ordered out a detachment of the Bottetourt troops, under Colonel [William] Fleming, and another from those of Augusta, led by Colonel Charles Lewis, while the general remained in camp with the reserve. Our troops marched up the Ohio bank in two lines and met the Indians in the same order, about four hundred yards from the Virginia camp. The battle began about sunrise with a heavy fire from the enemy which drove the Virginians back; but being reinforced by Colonel Field, the Indians now retreated, forming a line behind logs and trees from river to river. Thus our countrymen were completely hemmed in between the Ohio and the Kanawha. In this desperate position, with no chance of retreat, and but little of outflanking the foe, the battle raged with a ferocity and destruction unparalleled by any other encounter between our countrymen and the aborigines.
At the outset of the engagement Colonel Charles Lewis was killed, and Colonel Fleming was wounded; Colonel Field fell, the next victim of high rank. To these must be added five captains, three lieutenants and several other subalterns, amounting with the privates to seventy-five killed and 140 wounded. Almost every fifth man in the detachment was either killed or wounded. With this prodigious execution by the Indians retaliated by our own riflemen, scarcely at all inferior to the enemy in any of their wily arts, the hostile lines alternately advanced and receded, covering both sides of the intervening trees with bullets and blood.

In this fearful and obstinate contest, General Lewis [Colonel Andrew Lewis, later General], apprehensive of protracting the battle till night, ordered Captains Evan Shelby, George Matthews and John Stuart to proceed with their companies into the rear of the enemy, and then turn upon them. [The advance was led by young Lieutenant Isaac Shelby.] This most fortunate maneuver was effected by marching up the Kanawha as high as Crooked Creek, one of its branches, under the concealment of the high banks and the growth with which they were covered. So soon as the detachment reached its destined position and began to fire on the enemy, they, fearing as is supposed that the reinforcement under Colonel Christian, which was known to be on its march, had arrived, began to retreat about sundown, precipitately over the Ohio to their towns.

This memorable battle, which has for its importance in western history been too little known, was fought with the flower of the northwestern tribes, in the meridian of their strength, and commanded by some of their most distinguished chiefs.

Among these was Cornstalk, a chief of the Shawnees. He had the principal command, assisted by other gallant spirits of the Red men, but whom our ignorance and the early contempt of our people mixed with no little hatred for their barbarian enemies, preclude from any notice beyond their names. They were Red Hawk, a Delaware chief; Scoppathus, a Mingo; Ellinipisco, a Shawnee, and son of Cornstalk; Chiyawee, a Wyandot; and Logan, a Cayuga. The distinguished leader of these forest forces is said to have opposed the war, and wanted to go with a flag of truce on the eve of the battle, but he was overruled by the resentment
or the heroism of his people. When the battle had been determined on, the energies of this chief, like a true patriot, were all exerted for the honor, if not the benefit of his countrymen. He was frequently recognized encouraging his men, whenever they slackened in their efforts, by calling out to them in his native tongue: "Be strong, be strong." When an Indian faltered in the performance of his duty, Cornstalk instantly cleaved his head with his tomahawk, as a warning to his followers of his discipline and fierce determination.

A few hours after the battle Colonel Christian arrived with a reinforcement of three hundred men, much to the relief of this gallant and hard tried body.

On examining the battlefield, 21 Indians were found lying dead, 12 others were discovered behind logs and other concealments, besides many that were observed to be thrown into the river during the battle. It was one, indeed, which deserves a high place in the history of the ruthless contest between the white and the red races for the lovely and luxuriant land of the west—the interior world of North America—this new paradise of plenty and liberty for the children of the axe and the plough. No instance is known in our annals of so fair and pitched a battle between the two races, unassisted, on the one hand, by the peculiar military arts of Europe, and on the other, by the ambuscades which constitute the fortresses of the forest. Neither party was unequally armed, no artillery; it was an unmixed trial of native arts and familiar arms, in which a brave and skillful use of the rifle mainly decided the battle, with the exception of the happy diversion up the Kanawha. This battle may well be pronounced a pure contest of hard fighting which covered the riflemen of the west with honors as durable as the mighty section of the republic which is so essentially contributed to conquer from the savage. In this encounter were completed, if not formed, some of the most efficient commanders in the West; it proved a most invaluable military school for our population. The roll of officers in the battle of Kanawha, or Point Pleasant, embraces the names of most of those who, in after times, signalized themselves in the great contest for the valley of the Ohio and its waters. The Campbells, both William and John, Isaac Shelby, George Mathews, afterwards a governor of Virginia, John
Steele, William McKee, Charles Cameron, Bazadel Wells, Daniel Boone, and James Harrod, were actually engaged. Colonels Christian and Floyd, of future fame, tried their utmost to get up in time for the battle.6

After throwing up an entrenchment at the junction of the two streams, which had been the seat of the late battle, for the protection of the wounded, General Lewis, more true to his duty than his commander in chief, proceeded still deeper into the fastnesses of the enemy and marched his troops on the route to join Lord Dunmore, at the head of the right wing of what should have been the combined army of Virginia. This advance into the stronghold of the enemy affords the most decisive proof of the victory of the Virginians.

Dunmore was appointed to meet the Indians at Camp Charlotte, upon Sippo creek, about eight miles from the Scioto. The negotiation is said to have been conducted, on the part of the Indians, by Cornstalk, the hero of Kanawha.

This chief, at the first council of his tribe after the bloody battle of Point Pleasant, is said to have called upon his brother chiefs to declare what was to be done, when the whites were pressing upon them in two bodies? No one was prepared to give an answer to the soul-stirring interrogatory. Cornstalk then proposed that the squaws and papooses should all be put to death, and then that the warriors should march against the enemy and be killed too. Still no one would join in the appalling debate; then said the energetic chief, striking his tomahawk in the council post: “I will go and make peace.”

In the council, which was attended by the governor and the Indian chiefs, the former reproached them with their various infractions of peace and good neighborhood. Cornstalk recriminated with singular spirit and dignity. On this occasion, the eloquent chief is said, by a witness who had listened to the favorite orator of Virginia, and her first governor, the great Henry, to have drawn a lively and afflicting picture of the ancient prosperity and power of his race, contrasted with their present diminished strength and unhappy condition. He expatiated on the cheating of the Indian traders; and to avoid these evils, he proposed that no white man should be allowed to trade with the Indians for his private profit;
that his white brethren should send their goods by the hands of honest men, who should sell them at fair prices. Above all, this patriotic and enlightened chief, half a century before our modern temperance reform, implored the governor that no fire-water should be brought among them.

The governor finally arranged the preliminaries of a treaty with the Indians, the purpose of which has been represented by two writers in the western country of most ample opportunities of original information, as a truce, and surrender of prisoners with hostages, as a preparatory to a definitive treaty, to be held the next summer, at Fort Pitt. Another writer says that peace was made with the Shawnees, on condition, “that the lands on this side of the Ohio should be delivered up, and that four hostages should be immediately given for the faithful performance of these conditions.” The term, this side of the Ohio, could hardly be the language of a treaty made on the northern bank of that river, to describe lands on its southern shore. Nor do any evidences exist that are known to the writer, which determine the exact conditions of such a treaty, beyond a proclamation by Lord Dunmore, of peace with the Indians. In this instrument, dated January, 1775, it is proclaimed, “that the Shawnees, from whose incursions the most dreadful effects were felt, to remove all ground of future quarrel, have agreed not to hunt on this side of the Ohio, and have solemnly promised not to molest any passengers on that river.” This is far short of a cession of the southern side as asserted by Burke; though in yielding the right of hunting to the whites, the treaty yielded everything valuable to the Indians.

The detachment under General Lewis was not as keen for peace as either Cornstalk, or Dunmore. Nor would they stop their march, although met by a messenger from the governor to do so. This was the last thought of the brave men who had so gallantly penetrated into the Indian forests; they burned to avenge the depredations on the frontiers and the blood of their fellow-soldiers in the battle of the Point.

The Indian scouts reported to the governor that Lewis’ detachment, in spite of his orders, still continued their march; and the enemy began to fear that the Long Knives, as they called the Virginians, could not be restrained by their commander in chief.
Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Lord Dunmore, accompanied by the Delaware chief, White Eyes, visited the camp of Lewis, on Congo Creek, near where the present town of Westfall is built, in the State of Ohio, and repeated his orders in person. They were very reluctantly obeyed, supported as they were by all the weight of the royal governor, which at that day was by no means small.

Never had our people enjoyed so full an opportunity of dealing an effective blow against their barbarous foes as upon the junction of the troops of Dunmore and Lewis. The latter just fresh and reinforced, after a decisive victory over the enemy and Dunmore within eighteen miles of the Indians towns on the Scioto, commanding a force when united of about two thousand men—now indeed was the time for a home stroke against a foe that had wasted the adjacent provinces with tomahawk and fire in the most merciless manner. Yet with these outrages against the colonists unatoned for, and the fair prospect of punishing their barbarous authors, what should have been the conduct of a governor zealous in the discharge of his official duty can admit of little doubt. Certainly not to embrace the first offers of peace from a treacherous and unsubdued enemy; nor to postpone, on frivolous excuses, the consideration of these offers in detail, until another council, which was to be held the next year at Fort Pitt.

However, this peace gave some breathing time to our countrymen, and time has always been an element of influence in their favor. It has given us the undisputed navigation of the Mississippi, at one time denied us by Spain; the removal of the remnants of the Indian tribes to the West of that river; the possession of Florida, Louisiana and Texas, and finally has stretched the republic from ocean to ocean.

This time of hollow and temporary peace was actively employed by the pioneers in exploring still further the vast regions of western America. These explorations were some of them made, as we have seen before Dunmore's war, as those of Doctor Walker, Smith, Boone, Bullitt and Harrod. Another incident of singular though transitory character was the purchase made by Henderson and Company. This was a land company composed of several gentlemen of North Carolina, among whom was Colonel Richard
Henderson, a gentleman of high reputation in that State and who gave his name to the company.

This company employed Daniel Boone, to explore the western country for them, as is suggested by the latest and only authentic biographer of the unequalled woodsman. [This is no longer true. There are several authentic biographies of Boone.] This is asserted to have been the fact, though they would naturally have availed themselves of his familiar knowledge of the wilderness, like our own Carson, Leroux and Aubry. In the fall of 1774, Henderson, accompanied by Colonel Nathaniel Hart, visited the Cherokees.

On this visit, Colonel Henderson ascertained the disposition of the Indians to part with the lands which now principally compose the southwestern portions of Tennessee and Kentucky. This mission proved so far successful as to procure a meeting of the Cherokees at the Sycamore shoals, in the Wataga, or Watagua branch of the Holston River. This meeting took place in the spring of 1775. A large number of Indians attended. With a fairness and liberality on the part of this private land company, worthy of the most regular government, a treaty of purchase was concluded on the 17th of March, 1775. By this treaty the Cherokee title to the country between the Cumberland, the mountains of the same name, and the Kentucky River, and lying south of the Ohio River [was acquired] for the liberal consideration of £10,000 sterling. The title of the Cherokees had been recognized by the British officers in the treaty negotiated at Hard Labor, in 1768; and also at Lochaber, in 1770, both in South Carolina. Thus, whatever territory west of the Kanawha might have been acquired to the British crown under the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, was surrendered to the Cherokees by these treaties above alluded to. There was another treaty concluded at Watauga, . . . [For a different interpretation, see Connelley and Coulter, History of Kentucky, I, 52.]

On the conclusion of the former treaty, by which this grand land company was established, Daniel Boone was employed by them to mark a road through the southern wilderness, by way of the Cumberland Gap, to “Cantucky.” This very item stands
credited to Daniel Boone upon the books of Henderson and Company, which have been in the author's possession.  

These accounts seem to have been unclosed, showing a condition of no little indebtedness to the great proprietors of Transylvania by its colonists. Still this extinction of Indian title had never regularly been permitted to inure to the benefit of private persons. It had from a remote period, under the colonial government, been considered as its exclusive prerogative; and in later times had been used by the crown only, or its representatives.

As early as 1655 Virginia enacted "that for the future no such alienations, or bargain and sales (meaning bargains for Indian lands), be valid without the assent of the Assembly." The same policy is manifested by an act, in 1661, declaring "that for the future noe Indian king, or other, shall upon any pretence alien and and sell, nor noe English for any cause or consideration whatsoever purchase, or buy any tract or parcel of land now clayned or possesst by an Indian or Indians whosoever; all such bargains and sales hereafter made or pretended to be made, being hereby declared to be invalid, voyd and null." Again in 1705, the same policy is confirmed. Nor did republican Virginia abate one atom of the royal dignity and power to which she succeeded on the vital policy of the public lands. She declared, by the twenty-first article of her first constitution of 1776, "that no purchase of lands shall be made of the Indian natives, but on behalf of the public, by authority of the General Assembly." It seems clear that Virginia had a better claim to Kentucky than North Carolina. [In signing the Treaty of Fort Stanwix for Britain, Sir William Johnson recognized the Iroquois as rightful owners of Kentucky, which was ceded by the Iroquois to the Crown.]

Notwithstanding this clear course of colonial legislature, on the part of Virginia, and it is believed, of North Carolina, the company in question placing some reliance upon royal support for their colony, of which they had intimations from high sources of confidence, employed Daniel Boone, their former agent with the Cherokees, "to mark a road to Cantucky," and erect a fort. Hitherto the access to the country had been by hunters' paths and buffalo traces. In discharging this duty, "we proceeded," says the pioneer, "with all possible expedition, until we came within fifteen
miles of where Boonesborough was established, on the south side of the Kentucky River, and in the present county of Madison, in the State of Kentucky. When the party of choppers and markers had reached this distance, they were fired upon by Indians, who killed two men and wounded two others. Yet, though surprised and taken at a disadvantage, we stood our ground.” On the 23d of March, 1775, the party was again attacked, and lost two more men, and had three wounded; still by the 1st of April, 1775, they began to erect the fort, which was afterwards, by a just compliment, called Boonesborough. It was situated near a salt lick, about sixty yards from the Kentucky River, on its south side. Yet it is said to have been commanded from the cliffs, on the opposite side of the river, whence a ball could reach the fort. It was not until the 14th of June, 1775, that this first fort of the white man was completed in Kentucky. [Actually, the fort was not completed until the summer of 1778.] It was about 250 feet long, by 150 broad, and consisted of block houses and the cabins of the settlers forming part of the defenses. Slight as this advance was, in the art of war, it was more than sufficient against attacks of small arms in the hands of such desultory warriors, as their irregular supplies necessarily rendered the Indians. They were ever more formidable in the cane brake and the woods than before even those imperfect fortifications.

“The Indians in besieging a place are seldom seen in force upon any quarter; but dispersed, and acting individually, or in small parties. They conceal themselves in the bushes or woods, or behind trees, or stumps of trees; or waylay the path, or fields, or other places, to which their enemies resort; and when one or more can be taken down, in their opinion, they fire the gun, or let fly the arrow, aimed at the mark. If necessary, they retreat; if they dare, they advance upon their killed or crippled advisary, and take his scalp, or make him prisoner, if possible. They aim to cut off the garrison supplies, by killing the cattle; and they watch the watering places for those who go for that article of primary necessity, that they may, by these means, reduce the place to their possession, or destroy its inhabitants in detail.

“In the night, they will place themselves near the fort gate, ready to sacrifice the first person who shall appear in the morning;
in the day, if there be any cover, such as grass, a bush, a large clod of earth, or a stone as big as a bushel, they will avail themselves of it to approach the first, by slipping forward on their bellies, within gun shot; and then whosoever appears first, gets the fire, while the assailant makes his retreat behind the smoke from the gun. At other times, they approach the walls, or pallisades, with the utmost audacity, and attempt to fire them, or to beat down the gate. They often make feints to draw out the garrison on one side of the fort, and if practicable, enter it by surprise on the other.”

Such was the enemy who infested the western country and with whom the early adventurers had to contend. In the combat, they were brave; in defeat, they were dextrous; in victory, they were cruel. Neither sex, nor age, nor the prisoner, was exempted from their tomahawks or scalping knife. They saw their perpetual enemy talking possession of their Hunting Ground, to them the source of amusement, of supply and of traffic, and they were determined to dispute it to the utmost extent of their means.

Had they [the Indians] possessed the skill which combines individual effort with a concerted attack; and had they directed their whole force against each of the forts, then few and feeble, in succession, instead of dissipating their strength by attacking all at the same time, they could easily have rid Kentucky of its new inhabitants and again have restored it to the buffalo and the Indian, the wild game and its red hunters. But it was ordered otherwise, and after inflicting great distress upon the settlers without being able to take any of the forts, the approach of winter dispersed them, they having in the meantime killed sundry persons and destroyed most of the cattle round the stations.

Of the settlers, however, it is to be said that they acquired fortitude and dexterity in proportion to the occasional pressure. In the most difficult times, the Indians were obliged to retire into the woods, sometimes in pursuit of game, sometimes as to a place of safety; and generally by night they withdrew to encamp at a distance. In these intervals, the white men would plough their corn, or gather their crop, or get up their cattle, or hunt the deer, the bear or buffalo for their own food. “When traveling, they left the paths and they frequently employed the night to get out from, or return to, the garrison. In these excursions they often ex-
changed shots with the Indians, and at times, when they came to the station, found it invested.” (Marshall, I, 44, 45.)

CHAPTER VI

NOTES

1. Wirt's Henry, 148, 256.
2. Simon Kenton says: he had been so employed; but reached Point Pleasant before Lewis, and concealed his dispatch in a hollow tree. While loitering about, he was fired upon by some Indians, who dispersed his party, and he made his way back to Louder's Fort, on the west fork of the Monongahela. McDonald's Sketches, p. 208.
3. Proceedings of the Historical Society of Virginia; they contain an interesting account of this important action, by an actor in this perilous scene. Vol. I. 45.
4. Geo. Shelby's information to Col. Chas. T. Todd confirms the account in Border Warfare, 127.
5. Alexander Scott Withers, Border Warfare, 129.
6. The official account of this battle was written by Isaac Shelby, at the order of his commander, on a drum head; he had entered the battle as a subaltern, and came out a captain. This dispatch may be found in Nile's Register, about 1816, communicated by Col. Chas. S. Todd. (i.e., Niles' Weekly Register, Baltimore, XII, No. 10 (May 3, 1817), 145-146.)
7. Doctor Doddridge and Mr. Whithers, both of Virginia.
11. The father of the late Nathaniel Hart, of Woodford county, Kentucky, and an uncle to Mrs. Henry Clay.
12. Cantuckey, Chenoca, or Louisa River, in the treaty here mentioned.
13. In what part of that State, the author has been unable to ascertain.
14. Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee, 16. A story of this transaction was written by Judge John Haywood, Tennessee historian. The title of this is the Path Deed.
15. It may be amusing to note the prices of several articles in these old old account books. Gunpowder was charged at $2.66 per pound, and lead at 16 2/3; while labor was credited at thirty-three to fifty cents per day, for ranging, hunting or working on roads.
16. Hening, Statutes at Large, I, 396, II, 139.
17. Lord Mansfield is said to have given the sanction of his high authority in favor of the purchase. Granville Papers, in the possession of John Seawell Jones, of Shoe County, North Carolina.
18. See Hall's Sketches, I, for a plan of the fort.
CHAPTER VII

MIGRATION OF BOONE; McGARY AND RAY; ADVENTURE OF THREE BOYS, IN 1773 AND 1776; FORT OF HARRODSBURG; GRANTS OF LAND BY HENDERSON & CO.; SOCIAL COMPACT FOR THE COLONY OF TRANSYLVANIA, IN 1775; MEMBERS OF THE 1ST LEGISLATURE IN THE WEST.

In despite of these dangers and difficulties so graphically and truthfully portrayed by the historian Marshall, who had acted his part in all these various scenes, struggling for life with the wilderness and a wily and savage foe, "there were from a review of the records" more improvements (as cultivation and buildings are expressively termed), with a view to future settlement in this year (1776) than in any other. Nor were these dispersed parties in so wide a territory so generally exposed as in the fixed and notorious forts.

After the fort at Boonesborough had been completed, Boone returned to North Carolina a second time, in order to bring his family to Kentucky. He had attempted this in 1773, "in company with five families and forty men who joined," as he says, "in Powell's valley, 150 miles from the now settled parts of Kentucky. But on the 10th of October, 1773," says the same brave old woodman, "the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six men and wounded one; of those my oldest son [James] was one that fell in the action." ¹

This severe repulse had deterred the party from prosecuting their daring enterprise, until the time just mentioned. When McGary's party had arrived at the head of Dicks River, Boone, with twenty-one men, went to Boonesborough and left his previous associates to find their way as well as they could, by his directions, through the pathless forest to Harrodstown. At the time of our narrative, there were but four cabins at this place, and five old
soldiers in them, who had followed James Harrod from the Monongahela country. This distinguished explorer (of whom so little is known beyond the kind, affectionate character given him by Mr. Humphrey Marshall) had likewise settled a place known as Harrod's station, about six miles east of Harrodsburg on the present road from that place to Danville. [A good deal is known about Harrod now, 1971. See Kathryn Harrod Mason, *James Harrod of Kentucky* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).]

The families with [Maj. Hugh] McGary got bewildered while the horses and cattle were left with the boys (James Ray, John Denton and John Hays, then between 14 and 15 years of age) opposite to the mouth of Gilbert's Creek on the east side of Dick's River. The residue of the party attempted the route by themselves, but McGary, finding no passage at the mouth of Dick's River for the families on account of the precipitous cliffs which overhung the river, went by himself to explore the way. By accident he fell on the path between Harrodsburg and Harrod's station, and taking the eastern end, it brought him to the latter place where he got Josiah Harlan, of lamented memory, to pilot the families as well as the three boys (who had been left behind to watch the stock of cattle) in safety to Harrodsburg. Thus was formed the first domestic circle of Harrodsburg by Mrs. Denton, Mrs. McGary and Mrs. [Richard] Hogan with their families; where was lately the resort of the gayest of the gay among the fashionables of the West and the South. [Harrodsburg Springs Hotel].

The younger woodsmen, of whom mention had been made, were not, however, relieved until three weeks had lapsed, instead of three days as first promised them by McGary when they were left on this forlorn hope. Does it not speak volumes for the hardihood of the times, that three boys of such immature years should be left for three weeks by themselves in an Indian wilderness! To add to their distress, they could not have forgotten the fall of three other boys, the eldest hopes of three families, who had been killed by the Indians in 1773, at the first attempt of Boone and his company to remove their families to the wilderness of Kentucky. They had been left, almost under similar circumstances, to collect some stray horses in Powell's Valley when on their route. One of
those premature victims to Indian hostility had been a playmate of
James Ray, in North Carolina.

During the winter of 1775 and 1776 was begun the fort of
Harrodstown (or Harrodsburg, as it is now better known), of
enduring importance in the early history of Kentucky.

The second attempt of Boone to remove his family to Ken­
tucky just mentioned seems to have been made about September,
1776 [1775]. It was in company with a party consisting of Hugh
McGary [afterwards so notorious], Richard Hogan, and Thomas
Denton, with their families, constituting together with Boone and
his more immediate companions, in the language of the times,
twenty-seven guns; that is equivalent to twenty-seven fighting men.
This party assembled at Powell’s Valley, on the head of Holston
River, after having waited three months for the junction of Boone’s
company. They had sent one Joe Harman before them to raise a
crop of corn at Harrodsburg. This labor he performed, in a field
east of the present town, where John Thompson lived in 1833.
This party seems to have been unmolested and Boone only says:
“We arrived safe without any other difficulties than such as are
common to this purpose; my wife and daughter being the first white
women that ever stood on the banks of the Kentucky River.”
When McGary’s party had arrived at the head of Dick’s River
(a tributary of the Kentucky), they separated from Boone, who
with twenty-one men took their course to the new fort at Boones­
borough, leaving their previous associates to find their way to
Harrodstown.

Scarcely had the fort of Boonesborough been roughly and
loosely constructed, certainly not finished till the 14th of June,
1775, than these hardy pioneers carrying with them into the wilder­
ness the manly principles of their British ancestors, undertook to
organize a form of government in these distant and almost unin­
habited forests. This is an interesting portion of western history
little dwelt on, and not sufficiently known. It has not received
the slightest notice from the earliest historians, not even from the
well informed Marshall. The whole affairs of Henderson and
Company seem to have been ignored by this author. But, how­
ever unfounded the claims of the company were, they issued grants
of land to a great extent, so that by the 1st of December, 1775,
560,000 acres of land were entered, as is presumed, in their office. Deeds of great formality were issued by this company, calling themselves "Proprietors of the Colony of Transylvania." By these deeds, the grantees under the company bound themselves to pay them "one moiety or half part of all gold, silver, copper, lead or sulphur mines; and moreover to pay the company a rent, as might be agreed on yearly and for every year." The penalty for not paying this rent was provided for by a covenant, "that if no sufficient distress can be found on the premises, whereon it shall be lawful for said company to levy such rent, or arrears, with full costs, charges and expenses in making and levying the same, then the present grant and all assignment shall be void and of none effect." The company then reserved a right "to reenter into the said lands, and regrant the same to any other person or persons whatsoever." Had this company retained its title, they would, within their purchase, have been under a quitrent to those great proprietors forever.

It is, however, much to be doubted whether the high temper of the western people amidst the vast wilderness of uncoltivated land, would have submitted to a state of things which had been a constant source of heart burnings in the elder colonies, and has continued to our own times in the State of New York. Sooner, indeed, than have been anything less than fee simple or alodial proprietors, the hunters of the West (had they not risen in arms) would have abandoned the country to those land proprietors for lands to be freely obtained, in terms more suitable to their interests and their feelings. Symptoms of the slight hold these terms had upon the hearts of the people may be inferred from the fact that upon the earliest manifestations of Indian hostilities, 300 men are said to have left the country by July, 1776. Colonel [George Rogers] Clark intimates the same in his Memoir, which will hereafter invite the reader's attention. In this he remarks that "the company took great pains to ingratiate themselves in the favor of the people; but, too soon for their own interest, began to raise upon their lands which caused many to complain."

Notwithstanding these discontents incident to frontier life, the settlers under the company soon proceeded to organize a government for the infant colony. Nor is it one of the least curious in
the history of our pioneers, while engaged amidst the perils of wilderness life.

On the 23d day of May, 1775, the "proprietors of the colony having called and required an election of delegates or representatives to be made for the purpose of legislation," the deputies so chosen assembled at Boonesborough, on the Kentucky River.4

The colony was called, by a strange misnomer, Transylvania, as if it was beyond the woods, instead of being in them. This legislature (a cismontane one to themselves), the earliest legislative assembly that ever met on this side of the Allegheny mountains, was addressed by Colonel Richard Henderson in behalf of himself and his associates in a speech of sufficient dignity and excellent sense.5 It was decorously responded to by the assembly, and quite regally rejoined to by the Lords proprietors, as Colonel Henderson and his copartners may well be termed. But the most interesting transaction in this primitive convention was the compact between the colonists of Transylvania and its proprietors for the establishment of a free, manly system of government. This has often been the theme of speculative writers, but in this instance, a formal social compact is actually and literally presented by a report of a committee "appointed to draw up a compact between the proprietors and the people of this colony." The report represents that "whereas it is highly necessary for the peace of the proprietors and the security of the people of this colony that the power of the one, and the liberties of the other, be ascertained, we Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart and J. Luttrell, in behalf of ourselves, as well as the other proprietors of Transylvania, on the one part, and the representatives of the people, on the other part, do most solemnly enter into the following contract and agreement, to wit: Including the most important parts of this type of the Magna Charta of our noble British ancestors are, "1st, that the election of Delegates in this colony be annual; 4th, that there be a perfect religious freedom and general toleration; provided that the propagators of any doctrine or tenets widely tending to the subversion of our laws, shall for such conduct be answerable to, and punishable by the civil courts; 5th, that the judges of the superior and inferior courts be appointed by the proprietors; but be supported by the people, and to them be answerable for their malconduct; 6th, that quit
rents never exceed two shilling sterling (equal to 48 cents), per hundred acres; that the legislative authority after the strength and maturity of the colony will permit, consist of three branches to wit: the delegates or representatives chosen by the people, a council not exceeding twelve men, possessed of landed estate, residing in the colony, and the proprietors; 7th, that the convention have the whole power of raising and appropriating all public monies and electing their treasurer.”

This epitome of substantial freedom and manly national government is most honorable to the liberality of the proprietors, and the spirit of the backwoodsmen of Kentucky, posted in the heart of a wilderness, surrounded by hostile barbarians. The compact, of which the above are the most interesting features, was in full solemnity executed under the hands and seals of the three proprietors, acting for the company, and of Thomas Slaughter, chairman, acting for the colonists.

After this fundamental organization of the government, it is worth while to notice the jealousy which was displayed in this first legislative assembly of the western pioneers against intruders not identified with the interest of the colony, and not sharing its dangers. Such persons were not to partake of the game, nor enjoy its furs. The red man could not be more jealous of the trespasses of the white hunter than were these whites themselves of fellow-countrymen interloping within the unlimited forests around thm.

Accordingly, on the motion most appropriately of the veteran hunter, Daniel Boone, a bill was introduced for preserving the game; and another bill was presented to the house by Squire Boone, the brother of Daniel, for preserving the range. Both these appear to have become laws.

A ceremony took place at this convention which is not now required by ourselves — it was a formal livery and seizin and cession of the lands mentioned in a deed of feoffment then produced. For this purpose Colonel Henderson received this ancient Gothic conveyance by delivery of a turf, part of the land conveyed from John Farrow, attorney in fact for the head warriors or chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, in presence of the convention; and the deed of the Indians was produced and its boundaries entered in the journal of the convention.
This negotiation had not escaped the notice of Lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia. He issued a proclamation against "one Richard Henderson and other disorderly persons, his associates, who under the pretense of a purchase from the Indians, contrary to the aforesaid orders and regulations of his majesty, do set up a claim to the lands of the crown, within the limits of the colony." This proclamation may well rank with the one, from another royal representative, excepting those arch traitors and rebels, Samuel Adams and John Hancock from the mercy of the same British monarch. But, although the royal proclamation had little force in Transylvania, still the interregnum and disturbances of the population which now involved Virginia with the rest of her sister colonies did not divert the sagacious vigilance of the republican government of Virginia from this formidable interference with her chartered limits.

About the 16th of July, 1776, it was discovered from the sign, as the marks of the enemy's presence were termed, that a large body of Indians had come into the country with hostile intentions, and had, according to their mode of invasion, dispersed in small bands, infesting the stations at the same time.

Before, however, tracing these sad invasions which were only a prelude to the fearful calamities of Indian warfare which raged so long in Kentucky and the West, we will advert to a mission of George Rogers Clark and one John Gabriel Jones to Virginia.

They had indeed been chosen as members of the convention of Virginia, but without authority of law for that purpose. Nor was this the course intended by Clark; "he wanted," he says, "the people to choose agents charged with general powers to negotiate with the government of Virginia."

That Commonwealth was profoundly and fully engrossed by the soul stirring concerns of the opening revolution, the results of which have been told so gloriously, not only for our own countrymen but for the freedom and happiness of the world. It has indeed opened "an asylum for oppressed humanity," deserving the gratitude of the world, to God in the first instance, and to the people whom He led through privations and sufferings to these blessed results. Still amid those perilous times of social commotion, the Legislature of Virginia having on the 29th of June, 1776,
declared the State independent of Great Britain, thus anticipating the declaration of the United States in Congress assembled, on the petition of the pioneers through their envoy, George R. Clark, at the October session, established the county of Kentucky, December 31, 1776.

Clark and Jones now returned to Kentucky, having not only brought with them from Fort Pitt ammunition given by Virginia, so difficult to obtain and yet so indispensable in the woods. This party likewise brought with them the still more animating news that the "Ancient Dominion" had taken this forlorn hope in her western frontier under the guardianship of her republican constitution and laws.

At the October session of 1776, but not till the 31st December 1776, of that session, the county of Kentucky was established out of what had previously been termed Fincastle County. It embraced "all the country lying south and westward of a line beginning on the Ohio, at the mouth of Great Sandy creek (now Big Sandy River); and running up the same, and the main or north-easterly branch thereof, to the great Laurel Ridge, or Cumberland mountain; and with that to the line of North Carolina," now the State of Tennessee. The Executive Council of Virginia proceeded to organize this new county in the wilderness, hundreds of miles from her settlements, by appointing a sheriff and justices of the peace, the old officers of our Saxon forefathers, as well as officers for the militia for the county. 7

This municipal court, the principal and primitive form of western government, has proved a perfect polypous, if we regard the present almost countless municipal subdivisions into which the western country has been distributed. This court had a limited jurisdiction and might hold monthly sessions for the dispatch of ordinary business. It was under the old constitution of Virginia a fiscal, as well as a judicial, tribunal. It first went into operation at Harrodsburg in 1777.

Colonel [John] Bowman promptly arranged the citizens, whether permanent residents or not, in companies and battalions. Thus was organized the infant colony of Virginia, under the command of a county lieutenant with the rank of colonel. Nor was it an imperfect type of their ancestors who had migrated to James-
town and founded the parent Commonwealth. Let us for a moment consider the situation of our pioneers at this period of their history. They were posted in the heart of the most favorite hunting ground of numerous and hostile tribes of ferocious savages, on the north and upon the south. It was a ground endeared to these tribes by its profusion of the finest game, subsisting on the luxuriant vegetation of this great natural park, in fatness not surpassed by the flocks and herds of agricultural society. It was emphatically the Eden of the red man. Was it then wonderful that all his fiercest passions and wildest energies should be aroused in its defense against an enemy whose success was the Indians' downfall? So widespread were the enemies, into whose power our handful of hunters had thrown themselves, that they occupied the present territory of Tennessee and the whole northwestern side of the Ohio River, now embracing the states of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana. These territories, now embracing with a sparse population of five millions and a half of people, were the stronghold of the most ferocious and warlike savages on this continent. They had frequently wasted the frontiers of the Carolinas, Pennsylvania and Virginia with the tomahawk and fire. Moreover, the enemy was freely, at this time, and throughout a contest of twenty years, assisted by the arts and the treasures of Great Britain, feasted and furnished with arms by her military officers, from Detroit to Kaskaskia. Yet this little band of pioneers, so unequally matched with their enemies, was separated by three or four hundred miles of Indian wilderness from the nearest fort of their countrymen at Pittsburgh, and fully six hundred miles from the seat of government of Virginia, with forest and wilderness between them. Under such appalling circumstances may not this forlorn hope of our first settlers in the western wilderness bear some honorable comparison with the gallant, daring and noble enterprise of the fathers of our great republic, who led the way across the Atlantic waves and founded an empire of freedom for the world at Jamestown and Plymouth?

But well might the Indians have contested this fatal lodgment of ancient enemies in their fairest hunting grounds with the last drop of their blood—well might they have anticipated the evils in store for them and their whole race from this stand of the white man,
in the midst of their great western park—the great natural preserve of the game which subsisted their people. They had seen the progress of the hated race from the Atlantic to the eastern side of the Alleghenies, and what better fate could they have expected in the West from the same antagonistic race of men?

The very treaty of Watauga implies considerable amity on the part of the Cherokees: though Boone was told at this very treaty by an old Indian chief [Dragging Canoe] who took him by the hand, "Brother," said the chief, "we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it." Could the Indian have alluded to the claims of the northwestern tribes to the very grounds alienated to the whites by his countrymen? Yet the slightest reflection, much more the sagacity native to the Indian, must have suggested the fatality to them of this settlement of the white man south of the Ohio. The genius which had inspired their Pontiac, and which afterwards animated the Turtle and Tecumseh, could not have been more nobly exercised than in crushing this daring encroachment upon their forests.

But combination is difficult, if not impossible, with tribes so hostile to each other; their own internal divisions are their most destructive enemies. These have furnished every European enemy by turns with their most powerful arms against them. Never but by spasmodic efforts and by the inspiration of their most gifted chiefs have they been able to effect any combined effort against the whites.

To this remark, the celebrated confederacy of the Six Nations presents an exception, which is unrivaled among the tribes north of Mexico.

NOTES

CHAPTER VII

3. Correspondence of Col. Floyd [in Draper MSS. 5B58].
4. This assembly which tradition represents to have met under the shade of a large elm tree, near the fort wall, was composed of Squire Boone, William Coke, Samuel Henderson, William Moore and Richard Callaway, for the settlement of Boonesborough; for Harrodsburg, Thomas Slaughter, John Lythe, Valentine Harmond and James Douglas; for Boiling Spring Settlement (near Fountain Blue, near Harrodsburg),
James Harrod, Nathan Hammond, Isaac Hite and Azariah Davis; for the [settlement] of St. Asaph, John Todd, Alexander Spottswood Dandridge, John Floyd and Samuel Wood. These members formed themselves into a legislative body, by electing Thomas Slaughter chairman, and Matthew Jouett clerk.

5. See Appendix.
7. The only magistrates whose names I have been able to ascertain are David Robinson, “John Todd, John Floyd, Benjamin Logan, John Bauman [Baughman] and Richard Callaway.” All [of these] names stood the high proof of the times. Of these Benjamin Logan was appointed first colonel of Kentucky county, and Anthony Bledsoe first Lieutenant-colonel; Levi Todd as the first clerk.
8. Filson, 77.
CHAPTER VIII

MISSION OF CLARK AND JONES TO VIRGINIA;
GUNPOWDER OBTAINED FOR KENTUCKY;
SKETCH OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK; ESTABLISHMENT OF KENTUCKY COUNTY.

A strict regard to chronological order would have presented the reader with the particulars of the mission of Clark and Jones to Virginia, in 1776, previously alluded to, before stating the results of that memorable enterprise. The jealousy of the colonial governor, Lord Dunmore, seems to have been fully felt by the republican assembly of Virginia. The one was quite as much opposed to private interference with Indian title to any part of her vast wilderness domain as the other. This appears from the following state of facts.

On the 24th day of June, 1776, five days before the adoption of the first republican constitution of Virginia, the convention had declared against "any purchases of lands within the chartered limits of Virginia without the approbation of the Virginia legislature."1

This declaration seems to have been aimed at the Watauga purchase of Henderson and Company, which has been particularly detailed. Independent of this disapprobation on the part of the legislature, discontent had already arisen among the colonists of Transylvania in this remote portion of the Virginia domain. This was manifested by a petition to the legislature reciting their grievances and praying the interference of that body to redress them. In this petition the inhabitants of the colony particularly complain of the company's having advanced "the price of the purchase money from twenty shillings to fifty shillings sterling per hundred acres, and at the same time have increased the fees of entry and surveying to a most exhorbitant extent, and by the short period prefixed for taking up the lands even on these extravagant terms, they plainly evince their intentions of rising in their demands as the settlers increase or their insatiable avarice shall dictate." The pe-
tioners also subjected to the legality of the great land company's title from the Cherokees as inconsistent with the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. This petition was subscribed by the principal inhabitants to the number of eighty-eight. To give greater weight to this petition apparently, and at the suggestion of Major Clark, on the 6th of June, 1776, a poll was opened at Harrodstown for the election of delegates to the convention of Virginia and kept open until the 15th of the month. At this election John Gabriel Jones and George Rogers Clark were elected to represent in person the grievances of the colony. The former of these gentlemen soon met with his death, as will be hereafter noticed, after gallantly performing this joint duty with Clark. The latter has intertwined his memory with the most endearing services to Kentucky and the great west.

He was the son of John Clark and Ann Rogers, of Spottsylvania County, Virginia. George Rogers Clark was himself born in Albemarle County, in the same State, in the month of September, 1752, or 1753. Little is known of the early years of this most distinguished man, but the confined opportunities of this part of Virginia, though now the seat of the University of Virginia to which Jefferson, Madison and Monroe consecrated their last days, together with the stirring times of the colonial contest with the parent country, forbid the idea of much artificial cultivation beyond the elements of his native tongue and those not taught with the utmost precision. He is said to have been much devoted to several branches of mathematics, and distinguished for his accurate knowledge of geography. [More is now (1971) known about Clark's life; there are several excellent biographies.] Clark, like the great chief of the American revolution, was engaged in the surveying of land: he was a deputy surveyor under Colonel [William] Crawford, whose melancholy fate will form a mournful page of this work. There seems a fond alliance between this pursuit and military life. Free exercise in the open air and adventorous exposure to accidents "by flood and field" combine to fasten on a military spirit of fondness for an employment so active, and in the woods of North America at the times in review requiring so much fortitude and bravery.

During the performance of these duties, Dunmore's War broke
out as already narrated, and Clark, like most of the gallant spirits of the time, engaged at the head of a company attached to the right wing of the army which was commanded by the royal governor. At the close of this bloodless campaign, on the part of the governor, he was offered by him a commission in the royal service. These are evidences of early worth, when Clark was just twenty-one years of age, when public favors were charily bestowed in comparison with the lavish and easy acquisitions of more prosperous times. The royal commission was, fortunately for his country and his own fame, declined on consultation with his friends. The troubled complexion of affairs between his native country and Great Britain, then rapidly approaching an ominous crisis, no doubt had its influence in this refusal of a dazzling temptation to a young man of Clark's military spirit.

Early in 1775, he [Clark] visited Kentucky, than a favorite field of romantic adventure like the Texas and California of more recent times [1830's and 1840's]. He penetrated to Harrodstown which, after being abandoned by Colonel Harrod in 1774, in the late rupture with the Indians in which he participated, had now been repossessed by its early and daring founder. On this visit Clark either had a commission of Major, or from his previous services in Dunmore's war and prominent talents was placed at the head of the irregular troops then in Kentucky. He himself only speaks in his Memoir of settling in the fall of 1777, with accounts of the Kentucky militia. This fact would confirm the idea of his former command of these troops, besides being known as Major Clark, when titles were not so superabundant as in the more recent and less simple times of the republic. In the ensuing autumn of 1775 Clark returned to Virginia, and again came back to Kentucky in the following spring. In these visits, he says, he reflected deeply on the value of the western country to Virginia, as well as the rest of the confederacy. The result of these meditations suggested to him the importance of assembling the people of the country at Harrodstown, as Harrodsburg was then most generally called, to devise a plan of operations for the public defense. It will be recollected that at this time the claims of Henderson and Company, the claimants of the country under the treaty of Watauga, had created great discontents in the country and added no
little to the perplexities of the settlers. It was uncertain whether
the south side of the Kentucky River, on which the settlers had
mostly collected, as far west as the Tennessee or Cherokee River,
belonged to Virginia, North Carolina, or the new colony of Tran-
sylvania. These doubts and difficulties increased the necessity of
ascertaining the view of Virginia in regard to the settlements of the
pioneers. The plan adopted by the settlers was not, however, the
one contemplated by Clark. He wanted the people to appoint
agents with general powers to negotiate with the government of
Virginia; and if the people were abandoned by her, to employ the
lands of the country as a fund to obtain settlers and establish an
*independent state.* This was indeed to anticipate revolutionary
movements, which had not then become familiar to the public
mind, although the New Hampshire Grants had revolutionized
themselves into the State of Vermont. It argues much for the far-
seeing sagacity of Clark that he should have conceived in the woods
of the West a scheme of such novelty and daring spirit.

The delegates of the people of Transylvania pursued their route
through the southern wilderness by the way of the Cumberland
Gap, lying between the settlements of Transylvania and those of
the older part of Virginia—the Crab Orchard route of a more re-
cent vocabulary. It was a journey of distressing difficulties, though
not uncommon in the adventurous enterprises of the times. The
party lost one of their horses, the weather was uncommonly wet and
the danger of Indians too great to admit of kindling fires. To
these embarrassments was added a painful affliction, called by the
hunters the *scald feet,* brought on by travelling in the wet and mud.
In this complaint the feet become useless from excessive tenderness
and the skin decays, so that the weight of the body becomes in-
tolerable. While suffering under this affliction, “I endured,” says
Clark, “more torment than I ever experienced before or since.”5

The old stations near the Cumberland Gap and Martin’s Fort,
where the travellers hoped to obtain relief on their long and wearisome
journey, were found to have been abandoned by the inhabi-
tants, owing to their fears of the Indians. At the latter place, how-
ever, our desperate party determined to stay until they recovered
the use of their feet. After having effected this object, they pro-
ceeded on their journey, but on reaching the county of Bottetourt,
they learned that the Virginia convention had adjourned. Upon receiving this intelligence, Jones returned to the settlements on Holston and left Clark to prosecute the Kentucky mission. While this intrepid and able officer was pursuing his duty pregnant with every interest to the people of Transylvania, a romantic instance of the insecurity of the times, and also of the ardent sympathy which knit the people to one another, shall be presented to the notice of the reader. It is exhibited in the following narrative written by by an actor in the scene." [Col. John Floyd.]

"On the 7th of July, 1776, [Colonel John Floyd’s account] the Indians took out of a canoe, which was in the river [Kentucky], within sight of Boonesborough, Miss Betsy Callaway, her sister Frances, and a daughter [Jemima] of Daniel Boone. The last two are about fourteen years of age, and the other grown. The affair happened late in the afternoon. The trees and shrubs on the opposite bank were thick, and came down to the water’s edge; the girls, unconscious of danger, were playing and splashing the water with the paddles, until the canoes floating with the current, drifted near the shore. Five stout Indians lay there concealed, one of whom, noiseless and stealthy as the serpent crawled down the bank until he reached the rope which hung from the bow, turned its course up the stream, and in a direction to be hidden from the fort. The loud shrieks of the captured girls were heard, but too late for their rescue. The canoe, their only means of crossing, was on the opposite shore, and none dared to risk the chance of swimming the river, under the impression that a large body of savages was concealed in the woods. Boone and Callaway were both absent, and night set in before their return and arrangements could be made for pursuit. Next morning, by day-light, we were on their track; but they had entirely prevented our following them, by walking apart through the thickest cane they could find. We observed their course, and on which side they had left their sign, and traveled upwards of thirty miles. We then supposed they would be less cautious in travelling, and made a turn to cross their trace; we had gone but a few miles when we found their tracks in a buffalo path — pursued and overtook them in going about ten miles, just as they were kindling a fire to cook. Our study had been to get the prisoners without giving the Indians time to murder them, after they
discovered us. We saw each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired, and all rushed on them, by which they were prevented from carrying anything away except one shot gun without any ammunition. Mr. Boone and myself had a pretty fair shot as they began to move off. I am well convinced I shot one through the body. The one he shot dropped his gun—mine had none. The place was covered with cane, and being so much elated with recovering the three poor little broken hearted girls, we were prevented from making any further search. We sent the Indians off without their moccasins and not one of them with so much as a knife or a tomahawk.”

These are the unimbellished circumstances of a transaction which an interesting writer has with a lively fancy disfigured historically into a pretty romance. It may be necessary to add that the fastening of Boone and his companions by the Indians, to trees, the oath said to have been administered by Boone to his followers, as represented in this biography, are pure drafts upon the fancy unfounded in fact.

A continuation of such heartrending misfortunes as the one just related, and the death of the hunters in every direction, spread a dismay which may be faintly conceived from the following extracts from the correspondence with Colonel [William] Preston, of Virginia, the same gallant man [Floyd] who has just been quoted. “I want to return as much as any person can do, but if I leave the country now there is scarcely one single man but will follow the example. When I think of the deplorable condition a few helpless families are likely to be in, I conclude to sell my life as dear as I can in their defense.” Again he says to the same correspondent whose deputy surveyor he was, “I do, at the request of all the distressed women and children and the inhabitants of the place, implore the aid of every leading man, who may have it in his power to give them any relief.” Are not these sentiments of noble generosity and devotion to a gallant and enterprising people struggling for their lives and homes in the wilderness of a savage enemy! Well may his descendants be proud of their ancestor’s manly bearing, so little likely, at the time to be seen by any other eyes than Colonel Preston’s. But Kentucky was not long to endure these severe trials of the hardiest qualities of the human heart. Her political mis-
sionaries to Virginia were true to the test they had undertaken. George Rogers Clark in the absence of his colleague waited on Governor Henry at his seat, in Hanover County, where he was lying ill. To this eminent statesman, of whom Virginia is so justly proud and to whom the West owes so much, Clark disclosed the object of his journey: relief to the pioneers of the West, and adoption by the Commonwealth of Virginia. These met with the cordial approbation of the Governor, and in consequence of which he gave the western delegate a letter of introduction to the Executive Council [George Wythe, George Mason, Thomas Jefferson and the Governor, Patrick Henry] of the State which, under the first constitution of Virginia, possessed the principal authority. To this body Clark applied for *Five Hundred Pounds of Gunpowder*, in order to defend the stations in Kentucky.

The council, though well disposed to assist their countrymen remote as their situation was, and not yet incorporated with the State by an express legal sanction, said, "they could only lend the gunpowder to them as friends in distress, but not give it to them as fellow citizens." At the same time the Council required Clark to give security for the value of the powder, in case the legislature should not recognize the Kentuckians; and in the meantime he was to bear the expense of its conveyance to Kentucky. If this had only been from Fort Pitt, then under the government of Virginia, to Boonesborough or Harrodsburg, it would have been sufficiently onerous on a private individual through an Indian wilderness. This was a burden, Clark assured the Council, he was unable to bear. He represented to them that the British were trying every means to engage the Indians in the war then raging between the United States and Great Britain; that the people in the remote and exposed stations of Kentucky might be destroyed for the want of the ammunition which he, a private individual, had at so much personal hazard and hardship sought for their relief; that when the Kentucky frontier was destroyed and broken up, the fury of the savages would be felt nearer home. The Council was still inexorable; sympathy for the frontier stations was readily acknowledged, but the assistance already offered was a stretch of authority beyond which they could not go. An order was then issued to the
keeper of the public magazine to deliver 500 pounds of gunpowder to Clark.

This officer had long reflected on the situation and prospects of the country he had just left; he knew its destitution, but his resolution to reject assistance on these hard conditions "was fixed," he says, "before he left the council chamber; to repair to Kentucky and, as he had at first contemplated, to exert the resources of the country to form an independent State." He accordingly returned the order of council in a letter to the body informing them that he had weighed the matter well and found it utterly out of his power to convey military stores to such a distance, through an enemy's country. He said that the people of Kentucky must look for assistance elsewhere than to their native State. This, however, he had no doubt they could obtain; "that a country," he added, "that was not worth defending, was not worth claiming."

The deliberations of the council on this letter of Clark's are unknown; but they may easily be conceived from the sagacity and patriotism which shone so brilliantly in the government of Virginia under the administration of the great Henry, and which have never failed when a crisis in public affairs demanded their exertion. On the receipt of this letter Clark was sent for, and an order of council passed on the 23d of August, 1776, for conveying the gunpowder to Fort Pitt to be safely kept and delivered to Mr. George Rogers Clark, or his order, for the use of the said inhabitants of Kentucky."

This is the first step in the long and affectionate intercourse which has subsisted between Kentucky and her parent Commonwealth. And obvious as the reflection may be, it should not be omitted that on the transportation of 500 pounds of gunpowder to the destitute and almost desperate stations of Kentucky hung the connection between Virginia and the domain which she afterwards acquired west of the Allegheny, a domain which stretched from the Cumberland mountains to the northern lakes, and from the head of the Ohio to the Mississippi—emphatically the great valley whose American history forms the subject of this work.

To this compromise of the Council, Clark, influenced by attachment to his native state, acceded and immediately wrote to his friends in Kentucky of his success, desiring them to transport the
powder down the Ohio to Kentucky. This letter . . . was never received.

But the services of Clark to the pioneers of Kentucky and the West had only just begun. As the October session of the Legislature of Virginia, and indeed its first legislative session (for the former session was a constitutional convention) the Kentucky petition was laid before this body. . . Late in the session, on the 31st of December, 1776, in despite of the powerful opposition of Colonels [Arthur] Campbell and Henderson, the county of Kentucky was established by law, as already related. Thus, the first political organization of the pioneers of Kentucky and of the West was principally procured by the generous daring and the politic management of George Rogers Clark, who is so justly to be regarded as the founder of Kentucky and the chief of the pioneers of the West. Let honors then as proud as the noble states to which his gallant exertions mainly gave birth be entwined with his name! This measure first gave form and pressure to the nascent Commonwealth, the first born of the pioneers west of the great mountains.

NOTES

CHAPTER VIII

1. Journal of the Convention of Virginia for 1776; and Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia.
4. This is a memoir drawn up by the old hero at the request of President Jefferson, and most kindly communicated to the author at the desire of President Harrison and Judge Rowan, by Gen. William Clark, in 1833.
5. Clark's Papers formerly referred to.
7. Timothy Flint, Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone, written as the writer assured the author, for sale, and not for use.
8. The only full and truthful biography of the great western hunter is to be found in Sparks, American Biography, XIII, 59, 60, by the Rev'd. J. M. Peck. [no longer true] In this work he mentions that the account by Col. Floyd was confirmed to him in 1818 by Miss Boone, one of the captives.
9. See Appendix for a copy of this order, taken from the Clark's Papers.
CHAPTER IX

ESCORT OF GUNPOWDER FROM FORT PITT TO KENTUCKY; FIRST CONSIDERABLE INVASION OF KENTUCKY, UNDER THE INDIAN CHIEF BLACKFISH, IN 1776; ADVENTURES OF GENERAL JAMES RAY, HIS SPEED, HIS LABORS FOR THE BESIEGED; SIEGE OF HARRODSTOWN, OF LOGAN'S STATION; HEROISM OF LOGAN; REINFORCEMENT BY COLONEL BOWMAN, CAPTURE OF DANIEL BOONE AND 27 MEN; SIEGE OF BOONESBOROUGH; RETREAT OF THE CANADIANS AND INDIANS; BRITISH PROCLAMATIONS TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY.

Clark and his associate, having obtained these important benefits for his fellow-countrymen in the wilderness, were preparing to come again to the interesting colony, when they heard that the supply of gunpowder . . . still lay at Fort Pitt. Jones and Clark then determined to return to Kentucky by that place, to obtain an article so precious in the existing condition of the frontier.

At this extreme western point, there were many Indians lurking about, apparently for the purpose of making treaties, but who were in reality spies on the movements of our countrymen, whose intention to descend the Ohio they seemed to suspect and would, in all probability, try to interrupt. Under these circumstances our party resolved to prosecute their voyage without delay, and with no more than seven boatmen, with indefatigable exertions, pursued the whole way by Indians, they got safe to Limestone Creek, just above the present town of Maysville, in Kentucky. The party went up this creek with their boat, and having buried their precious cargo at considerable distances apart they then turned their boat adrift and directed their course to Harrodsburg. Here they expected to procure a sufficient escort for the gunpowder.
On their way through the woods they came to a solitary cabin, one of Hingston's [Hinkston's] on the west fork of Licking River. While resting here, some men who were sent out surveying, happened to come to the same place and informed our envoys that the Indians had not recently done much mischief; that Colonel John Todd was in the neighborhood with a small body of men, who might escort the gunpowder to its destination. Clark, however, with his usual promptitude, after having waited for this reinforcement for some time in vain, set off for Harrodsburg accompanied by two of his men, leaving the residue with Jones at Hingston's [Hinkston's]. Soon after Clark had left, Colonel Todd arrived, and upon being informed of the precious deposit on the river bank . . . marched with ten men [to effect its removal.] When they reached the country about Blue Licks they met, on the 25th of December, 1776, with an Indian party, who were following the trail of Clark and his companions. The hostile body attacked the whites with so much vigor as to rout them entirely, [killing] Jones with some others and [taking] some prisoners. Among the latter was Colonel [John] Campbell.¹

Fortunately for Kentucky, the prisoners were true to their countrymen and preserved the secret of the military stores inviolate. A party from Harrodsburg afterwards brought them in safety to their overjoyed friends.

On the 29th of December, 1776, a large body of Indians attacked McClellan's fort on Elkhorn Creek² and killed McClellan and two others, which drove the residue of the inhabitants to Harrodstown. This necessarily produced great alarm. It was soon much increased by an attack of the Indians upon James Ray, his brother and another man, who were clearing some land about four miles from Harrodstown, at the Shawnee Springs, the late residence of this venerable and distinguished pioneer, the last whom the author had the high gratification of knowing personally. The hostile party consisted of forty-seven warriors, under the command of Blackfish, a chief who will again meet our notice. Attracted by the noise of the axes they rushed upon the party of choppers, killed the younger Ray, and took the third man prisoner. The elder Ray escaped by his uncommon swiftness of foot. So remarkable was this young woodsman for his running that Blackfish
mentioned it to Boone, when he took the latter prisoner the next year at the Blue Licks. The chief remarked that some boy at one of the forts or stations had outrun all his warriors. Fortunate it was for the infant fort at Harrodstown that Ray possessed such nimbleness of foot, for without his escape to give the alarm the station might have been surprised, as the party had been at the Shawnee Springs. In consequence of Ray's information, everything was done to strengthen the forts and prepare for the expected storm. On the next morning, the Indians with the precaution usual to them not to prosecute an expedition immediately after any circumstance has happened, calculated to put an enemy on his guard against it, appeared before the fort on the 7th day of March, 1777.

The militia had been organized but two days before. The Indians began setting fire to an out-cabin, on the east side of the fort. This, the garrison not believing to be the act of the enemy, rushed out to extinguish. The Indians now attempted to intercept their return, but our people retreated until they got to a piece of woods, which then covered the hill, now [in 1833] occupied by the courthouse in Harrodsburg. Here each man took to a tree, or tree-ed, as it was called in the language of the times. In this conflict, on which so much depended in the infancy, the very formative state of the colony, one Indian was killed and four of the whites were wounded, one of whom died. Our people made good their retreat to the fort. The Indians soon after retired. The early time at which this first siege of Harrodsburg was laid, and the paucity of settlements in the country, only make this, generally speaking, an insignificant affair, hardly worthy of being related. But the capture of Harrodsburg would have incalculably delayed the settlement of the country, if it had not led to further and still more fatal triumphs of the enemy.

During this year (1777), the Indians collected in great numbers round this devoted place, so much so as to prevent any corn from being raised about the fort. During this period of danger and want, Ray, then about seventeen years of age, used to rise before day and with an old horse, the only left by the Indians out of forty brought by his father-in-law, Major McGary to the country, proceeded as cautiously as possible to Salt River, riding in the water
as well as in the bed of any stream in his way in order to conceal his route. On leaving the river, when sufficiently out of hearing, our young woodsman would kill enough to make a considerable load of meat. He would then take it to the suffering garrison by nightfall. This was accomplished, too, when older hunters, stimulated by these boyish exploits, attempting the same enterprise were often killed by the Indians. These isolated facts derived from the lips of the gallant actor, with much more that may not be introduced in these general views, are illustrative of the difficulties and privations of frontier life.

At this time (about 1777), Logan’s garrison, of St. Asaph’s, near the present town of Stanford, in Kentucky consisted of fifteen men only, that is the men capable of bearing arms. The other two principal forts were each kept in alarm by the Indians, so that no assistance could be afforded by the one to the other. The distresses of the inhabitants, particularly of the women and children, may faintly be conceived, cooped up at this period of the year in their confined stations, and surrounded by a merciless foe. “But sided by Logan, and encouraged by his example, the little handful under his command, exceeding thirty-five, the men less than half this number, would not complain, much more despair.” Of this apparently insignificant number “two were killed, and a third wounded.”

“The loss of the enemy, if any, was not known. Harrodsburg and Boonesborough were about equidistant, and the only places from which any assistance could be expected, [had they not been in equal peril themselves.]

On the 25th of July, 1777, a party of forty-five men arrived from North Carolina, and although they went to Boonesborough, the intelligence of it in some way seems to have reached the beleaguered people of Logan’s station. In this attack, the Indians made their approaches with more than their usual secrecy, or the garrison were not on the alert.

“The annoyance of the Indians still continued, after these successive sieges, in which they seem to have exerted all their arts of barbarian warfare, in vain; they infested the stations, thy intercepted the hunter and the traveller.” Some kept guard, while others labored; but while the women were milking the cows outside of the fort at St. Asaph’s or Logan’s station, they were sud-
denly fired upon by a large body of Indians, till then concealed in
the thick cane which stood about the cabins. By this fire, one
man was killed, and two others wounded, one mortally; the residue
with the women got into the fort.

When having reached the protection of its walls, one of the
wounded men was discovered to have been left on the ground.
Captain Logan distressed for his situation, and keenly alive to the
anguish of his family, who could see him from the fort weltering
in his blood, exposed every instant to be scalped by the savages,
endeavored for some time in vain to raise a party for his rescue.
The garrison was, however, so small and the danger so appalling
that Logan only met objection and refusal, until one John Martin
stimulated by his Captain, proceeded with him to the fort gate.
At this instant, Harrison, the wounded man, appeared to raise him­
self up on his hands and knees, as if able to help himself, and
Martin deterred by the obvious danger withdrew. Colonel Logan
incapable of abandoning a man under his commmand, was only
nerved to newer and more vigorous exertions to relieve the
wounded man, who by that time exhausted by his previous efforts
after crawling a few paces, had fallen to the ground. Logan rushed
forth and took him in his arms amidst a shower of bullets from the
enemy, many of which struck the pickets about the direction of
his head, brought the wounded man in safety into the fort and
restored him to his despairing family. This anecdote well indi­
cates the intimate ties of friendship among the pioneers, who would
venture everything for the rescue of a fellow-woodsman from
danger. Does such an action tell less honorably to the human
heart, than similar devotion on a larger scale? Does it weigh less
in moral estimation because two men were principally concerned,
instead of hundreds or thousands? To the mind of the author, the
essence of exalted feeling and heroic affection is the same, upon all
scales of action; and the numbers upon whom it may have oper­
ated are only one of the extrinsic accidents.

Another danger soon assailed the little garrison of Logan’s sta­
tion: “There was but little powder or ball in the fort; nor any
prospect of supply from the neighboring stations, could it even
have been sent for without the most imminent danger.”

The enemy continued before the fort. There was no ammuni-
tion nearer than the settlements on Holston, distant about two hundred miles; and if the garrison should be compelled to surrender, it would be to horrors worse than an ordinary death—the torture of the savages. Nor was the task very easy, to pass through so wily an enemy. Nor were the dangers and difficulty much lessened even beyond the circle of the besiegers, owing to the mountainous character of the way it was necessary to pass, and among a foe scattered in every direction. Still Captain Logan was not a man to falter where duty called, although encompassed by danger. With two companions he left the fort in the night, and avoiding “the trodden way (by the Cumberland Gap, which was most likely to be waylaid by the Indians,”) explored his way over the Cumberland mountains with the hardihood of a soldier and the sagacity of a hunter. Our hero went where no man had been known to travel before, through brush and cane over rocks and around precipices, difficult enough to have daunted the most fearless and hardy.

In less than 10 days from his departure, Captain Logan having obtained the desired supply and leaving it with directions to his men how to conduct their march, arrived alone and safe at his "diminutive station," which had been almost reduced to despair. The escort with the ammunition, observing the directions given it, arrived in safety and the garrison once more felt able to defend itself, and that it was master of its own fortune.

Still they were under the necessity of hunting for their support, which daily exposed them to the Indians who infested the whole neighborhood. The fort remained in this hazardous situation from the 20th of May, 1777, until the month of September of the same year, when most unexpectedly, Colonel John Bowman arrived with a reinforcement of one hundred men. A detachment, considerably in advance of the main body, upon its approach to the fort was fired at by the besiegers, and several of them killed; the rest made their way into the fort. This soon led to the dispersion of the enemy.

On the dead body of one of our men were found proclamations by the British governor of Canada, offering protection to such of the inhabitants as would abandon the rebellious colonies, and denouncing vengeance against those who refused. Thus was an-
nounced to these advanced posts of the western country, that the Indians and the British were united in the war against them. Logan, upon receiving these papers from the man who found them, thought it most prudent, in the harassed and distressed state of the garrison, rather than of the country, to conceal their contents.

The assistance of Colonel Bowman was but temporary; "his men were engaged but for a short time, and much of that had expired on the road." Thus again the garrison, deprived of its brief auxiliaries, was left to the resident inhabitants. The Indians had not withdrawn from the country, and in addition to the distress of the exposed post, its ammunition was once more nearly exhausted. "Again Logan left his family and his fort, to visit the settlements on Holston; with his usual promptitude and energy, he obtained the assistance sought, and returned in safety to his expecting friends."

Soon after his return, the force was augmented by a party under Montgomery, particularly acceptable after the departure of Bowman with his brief command. A second attack was now made upon Boonesborough on the 4th of July, 1777, by an Indian force of two hundred warriors. In this attempt of the enemy, the garrison not half their number lost one man, and had two wounded; while the Indians had seven killed, as was seen from the fort, altho' removed from the ground—it is the pious and most tenacious custom of these people. This siege lasted "two days and nights," when the Indians losing hope of success tumultuously departed, under the concealment of the adjacent hills. Notwithstanding these various sieges, the fields adjacent to the fort were cleared of their timber, and cultivated in corn and vegetables, some keeping guard while others labored and each taking his turn as a hunter, at great hazard. Yet amidst these multiplied and hidden dangers, the intrepidity of our hunters found it a relief to take an equal chance with the enemy in the open woods. "They thought themselves the best marksmen, and as likely to see the Indian first, as to be seen by him; while the first sight was equivalent to the first fire, and the most expert shooter held the best security for his life." The Indians had become shy of exposing themselves before the garrisons, and even in the woods took some precautions to avoid renencounters with equal numbers.
On the close of this most eventful year [1777], “the Indians disappeared for a while”, and the permanent settlements yet formed in Kentucky were at Boonesborough with twenty-two men; at Harrodsburg with sixty-five; and at Logan’s Fort or St. Asaph’s, with fifteen. In this army of Kentucky, amounting to 102, a few less than the first band of pilgrims who landed on “New England’s rock-bound shore,” the occasional militia, who visited the stations of Kentucky, are not counted.

With this small number of fighting men in the country, no language can describe the distress which was felt by its inhabitants, when intelligence was received that Boone — the beau ideal of a woodsman — the leader and first pioneer in the country, with twenty-seven men was captured by the enemy at the Lower Blue Licks.

The circumstances of this heavy misfortune were, that Boone with thirty men had gone about the 1st of January, 1778, “to make salt for the different garrisons in the country, where the people were in great want of that article, without the prospect of supply from abroad.” On the 7th day of the ensuing February, while Boone was out hunting to obtain meat for the saltmakers, he fell in with a large Indian party and two Frenchmen, on its march to attack, for a third time, the devoted fort at Boonesborough. At this moment the Indians particularly wanted a prisoner, who might give them intelligence; and while Boone fled, some of the swiftest warriors pursued and overtook him. [Note: Boone was on horseback, laden with buffalo meat and some beaver hides, in a blinding snowstorm. One of the best accounts is by Reuben Gold Thaites, Daniel Boone, 147-59.] Eight days afterwards they brought Boone to the Licks, where twenty-seven of his men surrendered as prisoners by a previous capitulation, in which they were promised life and good treatment. The other three men of the original party had been sent home with the salt, which had already been made. The difficulty of obtaining salt and the severe want of it which was felt in the western country, at an early day, are but little known at this advanced period of its settlement. Yet at a comparatively recent time, the interior country, remote from navigable waters, was supplied by long lines of saltpackers conveying the precious condiment from the different licks, a thousand gallons
of whose water would only afford a bushel of salt. The price of this most essential article has varied from two and five dollars per bushel to fifty cents for the same quantity, its present price at St. Louis.

To return to our captured party, the Indians, proud of their unwonted success, most fortunately for Kentucky instead of pursuing their advantage against the weakened forts, and with such precious pledges in their possession sweeping the land, by threatening to massacre their prisoners, returned to their homes, at Old Chillicothe, on the Little Miami. In justice to the ferocious foes of our countrymen, it must be acknowledged that during a march of three days in cold and inclement weather, they treated their prisoners as themselves. "The generous usage," says Boone, "the Indians had promised before in my capitulation was afterwards complied with." An instance of Indian faith, which, if it had only been continued, might have saved both belligerents many ruthless scenes. But the truth is that the Indian is not brought up to spare his enemies when in his power, or to murmur at the full practice on himself of all the torments authorized by his laws of war.

Early in June, 1778, a party of 450 warriors assembled at Chillicothe, armed and painted in their usual terrific way and bent on another expedition against the marked and signal object of Indian hostility and vengeance—Boone's Fort on the Kentucky River. Now, for the first time, Captain Boone derived pleasure from his captivity, since it gave him an opportunity of information of the utmost importance to his threatened garrison. This he determined at all hazards to convey to it, in order to save it from destruction. How much must the simple woodcraft of Boone have won upon the Indians, to have permitted him to know, much more to witness their formidable military preparations! That he was a great favorite with them, in spite of his white skin, appears from the refusal of his captors to allow of his ransom, when offered by Colonel [Henry] Hamilton, the British governor at Detroit. [Colonel Hamilton was apparently lieutenant governor under Sir Guy Carlson, Governor General of Canada.] The prisoner was too dear, even to gratify the love of tormenting a prisoner, or avidity for the tempting stores of British goods kept for liberal distribution among their red allies.
On the 10th [16th] of the month [June], before sunrise, "I de­
parted," says the pioneer, "in the most secret manner, and arrived
at Boonesborough on the 20th, after a journey of 160 miles [four
days], during which time I had but one meal." Never could an
escape have been more providential for the redemption of our
forlorn hope on the frontiers. The fort was in a bad state of de­
fense; the garrison proceeded, however, to repair its flanks,
strengthen its gates and posterns and to form double bastions, all of
which was completed in ten days. At length another of the white
prisoners, escaping from the enemy, informed our people that the
Indians on learning [of] Boone's elopement, had, according to their
customs, postponed their expedition three weeks.

The Indians had sent spies out to view our movements, and
were greatly alarmed at our increase in number and strength.
"The grand councils of the nation were held frequently, and with
more deliberation than usual." They evidently saw the hour ap­
proaching, when the Long Knife would dispossess them of their
domestic habitations, and anxiously concerned for futurity, deter­
minded utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucky. Our for­
lorn hope was not intimidated by the fearful odds opposed to
them; but in the fact of a formidable invasion impending over them,
Captain Boone, about the 1st of August, 1778, undertook an
expedition into the Indian country with a party of nineteen men for
the purpose of surprising a small Indian town on the Scioto called
Paint Creek Town. "We advanced," says the daring invader,
"within four miles thereof, where we met a party of thirty Indians
on their march against Boonesborough, intending to join the others
at Chilicothe. A smart fight ensued betwixt us; at length the sav­
ages gave way and fled." Learning from two of his scouts, who
had been sent on to the town, that the Indians had deserted it,
Boone returned with all possible expedition to assist the garrison
at home. On the 6th of August, 1778, he passed a mixed party
of Canadians and Indians, and on the 7th day the party arrived
safe at Boonesborough. [See George W. Ranck, Boonesborough
(a Filson Club publication)]

Could active enterprise have been more gallantly displayed at
the head of thousands than by this sagacious and intrepid captain
of forest rangers? In the face of an enemy twenty times his force,
Boone carried the war into the enemy's country. On the 7th of September, 1778, an Indian army (if the term is not hyperbolical) consisting of four hundred men, commanded by Captain Duchesne, with eleven other Frenchmen and some Indian chiefs, invaded Kentucky. They marched up within view of our fort with British and French colors flying. Colonel Bowman makes the number 350, and Blackfish (who had adopted Boone as his son when a prisoner among the Indians), was the commander. [Lieutenant Antoine Dagneaux de Quindre, in command of the French Canadians, twelve in number, of the Detroit Militia. Chief Blackfish was in overall command. There were 444 Indians.] The fort was summoned in his Britannic Majesty's name to surrender. Two days were requested for consideration, which were granted. It was now indeed, in the language of Boone, "a critical time" with the besieged; there numbers were small, "between 60 and 70 men, with a large number of women and children;" the army before these rude walls was "fearfully painted, marking their footsteps with desolation." Death was, however, preferable to captivity among such an enemy, and could but be their fate when the fort should be taken by storm. The beleaguered party concluded to maintain the fort to the last extremity. The horses and cattle were collected ... and brought into the fort; and on the 9th of September, 1778, Boone replied to the summons of surrender that "they were determined to defend their fort while a man was living."

Contrary to all expectation, the besieged were then informed that it was the orders of Governor Hamilton to take them captive, and not to destroy them, but if nine of them would come out and treat with them, they would immediately withdraw, and return home peaceably." Time was important to the garrison, in order to give opportunity for assistance to arrive. This had been sent for, to Colonel [Arthur] Campbell on Holston and this is, perhaps, the key to entertaining on the part of Boone (himself so experienced and prudent a warrior against Indians) so insidious a proposal, carrying deception palpably on its face. The enemy's proposition was embraced; and Boone with eight others met the opposite party "and entered into a treaty within sixty yards of the fort." The Indians then came forward and informed Boone "that it was
customary with them on such occasions, for two Indians to shake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendship. They immediately grapled us,” says Boone, “but although surrounded by hundreds of savages, we extricated ourselves from them, and escaped all safe into the garrison, except one that was wounded.” This was Squire Boone, brother of Daniel, the only one who was hurt by a heavy fire from the Indians. This escape seems extraordinary enough; yet it was personally confirmed to the industrious and latter biographer of Boone by some of the actors themselves.\textsuperscript{17}

Yet they could not recollect how it was done, tho’ they stated that the Indian was hardly ever equal to the white man in physical strength, and their party expecting mischief, was prepared.\textsuperscript{18} This treaty, and the surrender of the saltmakers at the Blue Licks, became the subject of a military investigation as to Boone’s conduct. And although not in the exact order of time, it may be well to add that the result was perfectly honorable to Boone, although the charges were exhibited by Colonel Richard Callaway and supported by Colonel Logan. So satisfactory was his defense that Boone was promoted from the rank of captain to that of major. Nor is the slightest mention [made] of the court martial in the history of the times.\textsuperscript{19}

The enemy “now attacked us on every side, and a constant fire ensued between us day and night for the space of nine days.” During the siege an attack was made to undermine the fort, which stood only sixty yards from the river bank; as soon as this was discovered by the muddiness of the water below the fort, produced by the excavated earth, a trench was cut to intersect the mine on the bank of the river. When the besiegers found out this, by the earth thrown out of the fort, they desisted from their stratagem; and on the 20th of September, 1778, raised the siege and departed.

During this formidable attack both in time and numbers, which seemed to threaten the garrison so fatally when the enemy were assisted by white men from Canada, our people “had but two men killed and four wounded; besides a number of cattle destroyed.” A degree of injury almost incredibly insignificant under such fearful odds of numbers; “while the enemy’s loss amounted to thirty-seven killed, and a great number wounded. One hundred
and twenty-five pounds of bullets were picked up about the fort, besides those which had penetrated the logs of the walls."

Thus most fortunately for the gallant band of pioneers, surrounded in the heart of an Indian wilderness hundreds of miles from the settlements of their countrymen, terminated an expedition strong enough under an energetic and persevering commander with suitable followers to have stormed every fort in the country, and have swept it clean of our countrymen. Providence ordered it otherwise, and as the author rejoices to believe, for the good of the human race. This can never be extensively or permanently promoted, under the dominion of the ignorance, brutality and ferocity incident to the savage state, all over the world. These vices were exhibited in our own barbarian ancestors before their conquest and civilization by the Romans. Sickly must the benevolence of that bosom be which sighs over the triumphs of civilized life, even in its ruder forms; for they are the harbingers of brighter and better days of diffusing light, learning and religion. These are the consolations which Heaven presents the human race for the temporary strife and distress attending the conflict between barbarism and civilization. They are the price set by Providence on the blessings of higher social happiness, humanity and peace.

NOTES

CHAPTER IX

1. The co-partner of Connolly on 2,000 acres below Louisville, bordering on the canal. [Col. Campbell lived to be a leading citizen of Louisville. See Collins, II, 360.]
2. The site of Georgetown, Scott county, Kentucky, also called Royal Spring, from its copious supply of water.
4. Ibid., I, 50, 51.
5. Ibid., I, 52.
6. Ibid., I, 53, 54.
7. Possibly John Montgomery, who commanded a company in the Illinois battalion, and became Lieutenant Colonel in the regiment of the same name.
9. Ibid., I, 54.
11. Ibid., 66.
12. Ibid., 67.
14. Peck, *Life of Boone*, 79. Editor's Note: At Boonesborough, the garrison consisted of 30 men and 20 boys. The number of women and girls, who were virtually equal in strength and courage to the men, is not known. See John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Company, 1965 reprint) 195-229.
15. The British commander at Detroit.
16. Peck, 82.
17. *Ibid*.
19. Peck (92) and the inquiries of the indefatigable Lyman C. Draper have alone furnished this intelligence.
CHAPTER X

VIRGINIA NEGOTIATIONS FOR ARMS THROUGH COLS. GIBSON AND LINN WITH THE SPANISH GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA IN 1776; 156 KEGS OF GUNPOWDER BROUGHT FROM NEW ORLEANS TO FORT PITT; 2D EXPEDITION FROM FORT PITT TO N. ORLEANS FOR MILITARY STORES, BY COL. DAVID ROGERS; HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH NEAR THE LITTLE MIAMI; EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES OF CAPT. ROBERT T. BENHAM ON THAT EXPEDITION; EARLY ANGLO-AMERICAN DESCENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI, FROM FORT PITT IN 1769 BY COL. RICHARD TAYLOR AND HIS BROTHER HANCOCK TAYLOR, FATHER AND UNCLE TO THE LATE PRESIDENT TAYLOR; A SECOND DESCENT OF THE SAME RIVER IN 1774; FOUNDATION OF LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, IN 1779

While the pioneers were thus bravely defending themselves against appalling numbers of savage enemies, the government of the parent State was not inattentive to the interests of her western children. By a stretch of diplomacy scarcely to have been expected in so young a State, just sprung out of colonial bondage yet still used to much independent care of her wide and exposed dominion, the executive of Virginia dispatched a mission to New Orleans for the purpose of procuring military supplies for her western posts. The officers sent on this perilous expedition were Colonels Gibson and Linn [Captain George Gibson and Captain William Linn], the latter the grandfather of the late Dr. Lewis F. Linn, the lamented senator from the State of Missouri. These gentlemen descended the Mississippi in 1776, from Fort Pitt to
New Orleans, by orders, it is presumed, from the governor of Virginia.

So extraordinary an adventure may well require particular confirmation for the satisfaction of the reader. It can be furnished to a most remarkable degree. John Smith, lately (that is in 1833) a resident of Woodford County, in the State of Kentucky, was in 1776 engaged reconnoitering the country in company with James Harrod. . .

On their return, the companions separated, Harrod to go to North Carolina and Smith to Potter's Creek, on the Monongahela. While travelling on the bank of the Ohio, the latter discovered Gibson and party descending the river. They hailed Smith and prevailed upon him to embark on this, one of the boldest of western adventures. The party succeeded in their object with the Spanish government at New Orleans, by obtaining one hundred and fifty-six kegs of gunpowder. This Smith helped to carry around the falls of Ohio to the mouth of Bear Grass Creek in the spring of 1777. Each man carried three kegs along the portage, one at a time. This powder was delivered at Wheeling or Fort Henry, and thence conveyed to Fort Pitt. Independent of this particularly of circumstances, learned from an old and most venerable citizen of Louisville, it was solemnly deposed to, in a suit at law by a respectable party in the transaction. It was frequently mentioned by Colonel Linn in his lifetime and is still known (1833) as his information was left in the family by this gallant and energetic man.

This remarkable adventure is confirmed by another of a similar nature, undertaken by Colonel David Rogers and Captain Robert T. Benham. The former officer had been dispatched with a couple of keelboats to New Orleans and from some point on the upper Ohio, for the same purpose as Colonels Gibson and Linn—to procure military supplies for the western posts. This is mentioned in the letter of instructions from Governor Henry addressed to Lieutenant Colonel Clark, dated 2d January, 1778. In this letter the governor refers to the supplies brought from New Orleans by "Capt. Lynn," as he calls him.

The particulars of this second expedition are equally worthy
of enumeration, resting as they do upon information of the most unquestionable authority.  

When Rogers reached the mouth of the Ozark or Arkansas, he sailed up that river some twelve or eighteen leagues to the head of back water from the Mississippi, and above the overflown ground. Here, he deposited one of his boats and stationed his men, while he proceeded with six or seven of them, including Captain Benham, down the Mississippi to New Orleans. When he arrived at this city, he found a British sloop of war in the port, the captain of which suspicious of the object of an American party from this direction [a circumstance of no common occurrence at that day] watched his movements narrowly, and impeded his business with the Spanish officers. For although these were well disposed to promote the American interests, yet, as the courts of Madrid and London were not openly at war, embarrassment was unavoidable in the presence of a British force. The situation of Colonel Rogers was truly perplexing. Under these circumstances, he found it necessary to send Benham back to Virginia through the appalling country, on the west side of the Mississippi. He, with the hardihood characteristic of the times, subsisting principally on Indian corn boiled in lye to preserve it, passed through the Indian wilderness to Kaskaskia, then under the dominion of the same wide spreading State that had sent him to New Orleans. Thence, he proceeded to the Falls of Ohio, in the spring of 1779; soon after his arrival at that place, Rogers, by some unexplained success, reached the same place with his two keel boats loaded with military supplies on his return to Fort Pitt. Captain Benham was joyfully taken on board and placed in command of one of the boats, and the little American squadron, the second escort of military supplies procured by our daring countrymen from New Orleans, moved on its destination up the Ohio. When the expedition reached the sand bar above the present city of Cincinnati, it was bare for more than half the width of the river. Here the party stopped on the Kentucky shore to prepare breakfast; it stopped a mile below the Little Miami.” A number of Indians on rafts and in canoes was then seen coming out of the mouth of the Little Miami, which was then high and shot its waters (and consequently the Indians on their rafts) nearly across the Ohio River. On seeing the enemy
Colonel Rogers ordered his men to prepare and meet them, thinking he would be able to surprise them. But on marching through the willows with which the bar was then covered, and before they had arrived at the place where they expected to meet the Indians, they were themselves surrounded by overpowering numbers. The enemy quickly dispatched the greatest portion of the crew, with their gallant commander Colonel Rogers. One of the boats, however, escaped with two men and reached the Falls. Not more than nine or ten of the party ever returned to their families.

The Indians took and plundered one of the boats, out of which they got considerable booty, consisting of ready-made clothing and munitions of war, which had been obtained from the Spaniards for the use of the forces on the western frontiers of Virginia.

It is not a little remarkable that in the course of some years afterwards, one of the periodical freshets of the river having subsided, several gross of metal buttons were found on the bar where this battle had been fought. They were deposited, by the fisherman who found them, in Dorfuille's Museum, at Cincinnati.⁶

The adventures of Captain Benham are too romantic to be overlooked, supported as they are by a most unquestionable testimony. Captain Benham, shortly after breaking through the enemy's line, was dangerously wounded in the hip.⁷ Fortunately a large tree had lately fallen near the spot where he lay, and with great pain he dragged himself among its bushy branches and lay concealed. The Indians eager in pursuit of others, passed him without notice and by midnight all was quiet. On the following day the enemy returned to the battleground in order to strip the dead and take care of the plunder. Benham, although in danger of famishing, permitted the Indians to pass without making known his condition, correctly supposing that his crippled condition would only induce them to tomahawk him upon the spot. . . He therefore lay close till evening of the second day, when perceiving a raccoon descending a tree near him, he shot it hoping to devise some means of reaching it, kindling a fire, and making a meal. Scarcely had his gun cracked than he heard a human cry apparently not more than fifty yards off. Supposing it to be an Indian he hastily reloaded his gun and remained silent, expecting the approach of an enemy. Presently the same voice was heard
again, but much nearer. Still Benham made no reply, but cocked his gun and sat ready to fire as soon as an object appeared.

A third halloo was quickly heard followed by an exclamation of distress which convinced Benham that the unknown must be a white man. The man now appeared as he had escaped from the late encounter with both arms broken. In this crippled condition, the two wounded men though wounded so differently were enabled to help each other. Benham could load his gun and kill game with readiness, while his associate would kick the game to the spot where Benham sat and cooked it. When no wood was near, the armless man would rake up brush with his feet and gradually roll it within reach of the hands of Benham. In this painful way, Benham both fed his companion and dressed his wounds, as well as his own, tearing up both of their shirts for this purpose. Their greatest difficulty was in procuring water; but Benham took his own hat and putting the rim between the teeth of his companion directed him to wade into the Licking River up to his neck, and then dip the hat in by sinking his head under the water. In this wonderful manner [it must be admitted] the two wounded soldiers are most credibly reported to have helped each other till late in the ensuing fall, about the latter part of November, 1779. The crippled party had by this time, owing to increasing strength, managed to put up a small shed or camp at the mouth of Licking River, with the hope of arresting the attention of some passing boatmen. After much difficulty and parley [for white men were often employed by the Indians as decoys to bring passengers into their power by cries of pretended distress] the helpless and forlorn couple were taken to Louisville. Their former clothes, which had been taken off by the escaping boat, were restored to them and after a few weeks confinement they recovered their health.8

But this is not the earliest exploration of the Mississippi pursued by our countrymen, and this occasion may well draw attention to this interesting navigation of the greatest river of our country, and among the largest of the earth.

The earliest Anglo-American enterprise in this direction, and indeed of wonderful boldness, which the author has been able to discover is that of Colonel Richard Taylor, late of the county of Jefferson, in the State of Kentucky, and often honored by distin-
guished public trusts. He was the father of the late President of
the United States, General Zachary Taylor. This gentleman, with
his brother, Hancock Taylor, both of Virginia, was at Fort Pitt, in
1769, and thence descended the Ohio and the Mississippi as far as
the Yazoo River. From this point, the brothers passed through
the country of the southern Indians to Georgia, and thence home.9

The second was that of John Whitaker Willis, John Ashby,
and William Bolland, of Stafford and Fauquier counties, in Vir­
ginia. These men were engaged in the battle of Point Pleasant, in
1774, and after the engagement visited Kentucky, as Boone and
Harrod and others are known to have revisited it after that memo­
rable encounter, for the novelty of the enterprise. Being afraid
to return to Virginia by land, along the usual route, they hollowed
out a pirogue from the body of a large tree and passed down the
rivers in it to New Orleans. From this point the party made its
way to Pensacola, then in possession of the British. Here they
were assisted by the Governor, and conveyed to Charleston, in
South Carolina, whence their return to Virginia was easy.10

The next effort, at this perilous navigation by our own country­
men that I have met with was the public mission of Colonels Gibson
and Linn to New Orleans already related.

No doubt the navigation of the Mississippi had been familiar
to the French, from their remotest posts on the lakes to New
Orleans. Indeed it had become a common course of mercantile
business from Quebec and Montreal to the French possessions
on the Mississippi, as well as the channel of military expeditions.

About the spring of 1779, a blockhouse was built where the
neat and beautiful city of Lexington now adorns the State of
Kentucky with her fruitful literary and scientific institutions. Here
a settlement was begun, under the lead and direction of Robert
Patterson, an early and meritorious adventurer in the West much
engaged in its defense and settlement. Colonel Patterson was
joined by the McConnels, Lindseys, and James Masterson. Soon
after them, Major John Morrison removed his family from
Harrodsburg and Mrs. Morrison is said to have been the first white
female settled in Lexington. This name, so well calculated to
awaken patriotic associations, was given by the pioneers to com­
memorate the battle of that name, so memorable at the commence­
ment of the American Revolution. A name indeed well calculated
to perpetuate the patriotic sentiments for which the citizens of
Lexington have ever been distinguished, even among a high-
spirited people.

Bryan's station, about five miles north-eastward of Lexington,
was settled by the Bryans also in 1779, and several stations were
erected in the neighborhood of the present town of Danville.
This notice must suffice for the rise of the towns of Kentucky now
merging fast into the general settlement of the country.

NOTES

CHAPTER X

1. The late Worden Pope, Esq., long clerk with untainted reputation to the
highest courts of law in Jefferson County, Kentucky.

2. Capt. [John] Donne, formerly a well known pilot of the Falls, at
Louisville, Kentucky

3. See Appendix, 448 and 449. [Reference not found. A copy of
Governor Henry's instructions to Clark is, however, carried in English,
Clark, I, 96, 97.]

4. The late Judge Dunlavy, of Ohio, and Joseph S. Benham, Esq., former-
ly an eminent lawyer of the bar at Louisville, Ky., and St. Louis, as
well as Judge [Jacob] Burnet's Notes, 292.

5. The declaration of war on the part of Spain against England took
place January 16th, 1779.

6. There seems to be some confusion in the original account furnished to
the author, by the late Judge Dunlavy, of Ohio, and Joseph S. Benham,
a son of Capt. Benham. It represents the party above stated, as com-
ing out of the Little Miami, and yet coming from an attack upon the
settlements of Kentucky. The discrepancy is irreconcilable by any
means, in the author's possession.

7. John A. McClung, Sketches of Western Adventure Containing an Ac-
count of the Most Interesting Incidents connected with the West, from
1755 to 1794 (Dayton, Ohio: Ellis, Claflin & Company, 1847).

8. This account is so wonderful that, without full confirmation, the
author would scarcely hazard its publication; but the particulars were
extensively known at the time, and came to the author from the late
Joseph Benham, Esq., a lawyer distinguished at the bar of Cincinnati,
Louisville and St. Louis, and father-in-law to Geo. D. Prentice, the
distinguished editor of The Louisville Journal. His letter to the author
contained the following additional particulars: "His companion in
distress whose arms were broken, still (1833) lives in the town of
Brownsville, Pennsylvania, which at the time he joined Rogers' expedi-
tion, was almost the Ultima Thule of western emigration. Captain
Benham left the Falls as soon as his wounds would permit, and re-
turned home by way of New Orleans. He returned to the West in
Harmar's campaign; was Commissary General to the army under General [Arthur] St. Clair, continued in the service, performing arduous and responsible duties until after the treaty of Greenville, in 1795 . . .

During St. Clair's battle, . . . when the army was surrounded by the Indians, the General led a fierce, bloody charge so determined that it broke through the enemy's lines, and opened a way to save the remnant of the army. In this battle, [Bentham] was again wounded. He was many years a useful and active member of the Territorial and State Legislatures of Ohio. His adventures may well be deemed notorious and authentic.

9. This information was obtained from a deposition in a suit at law, communicated to the author by the late Worden Pope, of estimable memory in Kentucky.

10. These men were neighbors of Capt. William B. Wallace, a worthy veteran of the Revolution, formerly of Virginia, but lately of Anderson county, Kentucky, where he died amid the regrets of a large circle of admiring friends. He had stood sentry at the tent of Governor Henry at the opening of the Revolution, although a gentleman of good estate. At that early day, it was matter of emulation and struggle not to get into commission, but to get into the ranks of the defenders of the republic. This most worthy gentleman is my authority for the above facts.
CHAPTER XI

CLARK’S NEGOTIATIONS WITH VIRGINIA FOR THE ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN; MARCH TO KASKASKIA, IN 1778; AND CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA.

A n important episode in the history of the valley now presents itself, which can no longer be omitted without leading the narrative too much out of its chronological order. It is the Virginia conquest of the Illinois [territory]. Hitherto the war in Kentucky had been carried on by the perseverance and gallantry of the backwoodsmen, themselves, with little assistance from the power of Virginia, excepting the supply of gunpowder which had been procured by the devotion of Messrs. Clark and Jones. The tremendous struggle of the Revolution, involving everything dear to a free and generous people, demanded . . . all the energies of the Commonwealth. The State had no disposable means to act on so remote a frontier as her western domain; nor does she seem to have distinctly perceived the important diversion of the Indian force from her more immediate frontier . . . by supporting the exertions of emigrants to the Kentucky frontier. Every Indian engaged on this distant quarter was, by the fact of this engagement, prevented from fighting in the parent state. . .

Nor did the public councils anticipate the rich acquisitions offered to the military ambition of Virginia by the British posts in the western country. These were views of policy too refined and distant to command attention amid the storms which assailed the heart of the State. They, however, gained force with the progress of the Revolution and the increasing population of Kentucky. . .

But they were particularly aided by the ardent and impressive representations of Major George Rogers Clark. He had witnessed the rise and growth of this section of the State from its earliest budtings at Harrodsburg and Boonesborough; he had [understood] its conditions and its relations with instinctive sagacity. . . Clark
had seen, at a glance, that the sources of the Indian devastations were to be found in the British posts at Detroit, St. Vincents, and Kaskaskia.

Artificial forts have ever been the talismans of military influence over the savages since Europeans have erected them among these barbarian tribes. The heartrending ravages spread by the barbarians of the western world... were aggravated by the ammunition, the arms, and clothing distributed at these military stations. And as if they were not sufficient to excite the furious passions of the Indians, rewards for scalps were commonly offered at the British posts. Hence they were reproached as hairbuyers by our people.

Clark thought that if these strongholds of the enemy could be taken, the streams of hostility and destruction... would be dried up and a counter influence established over the Indians.

Influenced by these views, the governor and council of Virginia, in 1778, seem to have taken into consideration the policy of an expedition, earnestly pressed on them by Clark, against the posts of the enemy, though situated many hundreds of miles from the main seat of the population and resources of the State. Still this expedition must be mainly attributed to the genius of Clark, who had first foreseen its necessity in his visits to Kentucky and urged it upon the councils of his native State.

So strongly had he been impressed with the importance of this movement, that in the summer of 1777 he had dispatched two spies of the name of Moore and Dunn [Samuel Moore and Benjamin Linn] to reconnoiter the situation of these remote posts of the enemy. From these emissaries he learned that great activity on the part of the militia prevailed, and the utmost encouragement... given to the Indians to practice their cruel ravages on the rebels.

Yet notwithstanding the enemy had resorted to every misrepresentation to prejudice the French inhabitants against the Virginians... the spies reported that strong traces of affection for the Americans existed among some of the inhabitants. These military agents of Clark were [not] acquainted with his contemplated expedition, or anybody else, till it was laid before the governor and council of Virginia. To this body Clark had determined, he tells
us, “to submit this matter,” when on the 1st of October, 1777, he
left Kentucky. “At this time,” he says, “every eye was turned
upon me, as if expecting some stroke in their favor. Some doubted
my return, expecting that I would join the army in Virginia. I left
them with reluctance, promising them I would certainly return to
their assistance, which I had predetermined.”

Clark remained a considerable time at Williamsburg, settling
the accounts of the Kentucky militia, and, as he says, “making re­
marks on everything I saw or heard that could lead me to a knowl­
edge of the disposition of those in power.”

During this period, the genius of the Republic, under the good
providence of God, had achieved the victory of Saratoga. The
spell of British regulars, like that of British ships and sailors in
more recent times, was broken. The spirit of Virginia may well be
supposed to have partaken of the general triumph; and on the
10th of December, 1777, Clark opened the plan of the Illinois
campaign to Governor Henry.

At first the Governor was captivated by the brilliant prospect
presented by such a campaign of striking a fatal blow at the enemy
and in the heart of their savage allies; yet a detachment on so dis­
tant a service appeared hazardous and daring to an alarming de­
gree, particularly as the secrecy indispensable to success forbade
the communication of the plans to the Legislature. The governor
held several private conferences on this interesting subject with
several gentlemen of high character, who inquired minutely into
Clark’s plans, and particularly into his proposition of retreating
to the Spanish possessions on the west side of the Mississippi in
case of a repulse, which seems to have been anticipated quite
naturally.

The result of these deliberations was a full approbation of the
whole scheme and in order to encourage men to enlist in the ex­
pedition some patriotic gentlemen pledged themselves by an
instrument of writing to exert their influence to obtain from the
Legislature a bounty of 300 acres of land for every person in the
expedition.

The Executive and Council now entered so warmly into the
scheme that everything was expedited with “very little trouble to
Clark.”
On the 2d of January, 1778, he received two sets of instructions: one public, directing him to proceed to Kentucky for its defense; the other secret, ordering an attack on the British post at "Kaskaskia." [It was at this time that Clark was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the Virginia militia.] The humane and enlarged spirit in which these instructions of the great Henry are penned reflect honor on the councils of Virginia amid the provocations of a relentless enemy. They form a monument of durable glory in the revolutionary annals of that noble State. Twelve hundred pounds (in depreciated paper it is assumed) were advanced to Colonel Clark, with orders on the Virginia officer at Fort Pitt (still in the possession of Virginia) for ammunition, boots and other necessary equipment. Major William B. Smith was dispatched to the settlement on Holston in the southwestern part of Virginia to obtain recruits; Captains Leonard Helm, of Fauquier [County], Joseph Bowman, of Frederick [County], William Harrod, [of the Shenandoah Valley], and several others, to other quarters. It was desirable that the troops should be raised west of the Blue Ridge, so as not to weaken the defense of the Atlantic coast.

Clark set off on this most adventurous and daring expedition, on the 4th of February, 1778, "clothed with all the authority he could wish."

At Fort Pitt, he met with some difficulties arising from the disputed dominion between Pennsylvania and Virginia over that point. Many thought the detachment of troops, even to Kentucky, was a wanton dispersion and division of the strength of the State. The secrecy of the real destination of the expedition and the ostensible one of Kentucky led some to declare that it were better to remove the Kentuckians than to weaken the country by their defense. Little did these objectors know that innate vigor and indomitable energy of the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and the West, which had led them to these outposts in the wilderness.

At this time, Clark received letters from Kentucky informing him of their increased strength since he had left them; and from Major [W. P.] Smith, that he had raised four companies for the expedition among the people in Holston. This intelligence, together with the knowledge that Captains Helm's and Bowman's companies would join him at Redstone (the present Brownsville
on the Monongahela) rendered Colonel Clark less strenuous in urging his levies about Fort Pitt.

It was late in the session before he could depart with three companies, and "a considerable number of families and private adventurers." The voyage was prosecuted, as it required, with great caution.

At the mouth of the Great Kanawha, Colonel Clark was pressed by a Captain Arbuckle commanding the fort at that point, to join him in pursuit of a party of 250 Indians who had attacked him the day before, and who had now directed their course against the settlements on Greenbrier River in Virginia. The temptation of probable success was great, but the importance of his own expedition was greater, and fortunately for his country, Clark knew his duty too well and discharged it too faithfully to be diverted from the execution of his orders. He continued his course to the mouth of the Kentucky River. Here he landed, and at first thought of fortifying a post at the mouth of that river. Looking, however, to his more western destination, he very judiciously abandoned this intention for a more desirable position at the Falls of Ohio. Here, the craft employed in the river traffic would be compelled to stop, in order to prepare for the passage of the Rapids, and which without fortification would be much exposed to the hostilities of the Indians. At the former point, Clark had the mortification to hear that but one company had arrived in Kentucky of four promised by Major Smith. He immediately wrote to Colonel Bowman, informing him of his intention to fix a post at the Falls, and requesting him to bring on the men raised by Smith with as many others as could be spared from the interior stations. Clark proceeded with his troops to the Falls, where he selected and fortified Corn Island, opposite to the present flourishing city of Louisville.

On the arrival of Colonel Bowman’s party, the forces of the country were found too small to justify taking many soldiers from Kentucky. Clark therefore engaged but one company and part of another from this quarter, expecting them to be replaced by the troops of Major Smith. Now the real destination of the expedition to Kaskaskia was disclosed to the troops and most honorably to the gallant feelings of the times the plan was ardently concurred in by all but one company. The boats were ordered to be well
secured, and sentries were placed where it was supposed the men might wade across to the main shore. The precautions did not prevent the desertion of one whole company, which was visited with the indignation of the country and great personal distress to themselves.

On the 24th of June, 1778, when the sun was in a total eclipse, the boats passed the Falls. This circumstance divided the opinions of the men in their prognostications, but without the terror and alarm that are read of in many ancient armies and states. Our backwoodsmen were either too sensual, or too spiritual, to entertain these imaginary terrors. All the baggage, except that which was necessary to equip the party in the barest Indian manner, was left behind in the fort on Corn Island. This was necessary as the commander had determined in order to mask his operations to march to Kaskaskia by land from the nearest point on the Ohio River.

Colonel Clark had for some time meditated a blow at St. Vincents, now better known as Vincennes, on the Wabash, but on reviewing his little body after a rigid selection, he found it to consist of but four companies, under Captains [John] Montgomery, Leonard Helm, Joseph Bowman and William Harrod. This weakness determined Clark to persevere in his original destination. The facility of retreat to the Spanish possessions, as well as the dispersed state of the French settlements in the Illinois, as it was called, seems to have had great weight in adopting this resolution. To this was added a hope that he might attach the French to the American interest, whose influence over the Indians throughout the remote regions of the northwest had been strengthened by time and maintained with a tact and versatility, which two centuries have not diminished. To this day, our Indian interpreters, our spies, and many of the subordinate Indian agents are Frenchmen, who discharge their duties with unrivaled success. Spaniards have always been much despised by the Indians, and are so still on the Mexican frontier; the English are not much regarded; our own countrymen are hated and dreaded; but the French are beloved. They have more successfully amalgamated with the natives of the forest than any other European nation; moreover, they have not
aimed at the conquest and possession of the Indian hunting grounds like the English and ourselves.

On the passage down the river Colonel Clark most fortunately received a letter from Colonel [Arthur] Campbell of Fort Pitt, formerly mentioned, informing him of the French alliance, an event of the utmost importance to these operations against the ancient rivals and enemies of the French name.

The party proceeded successfully on their adventurous way and when they had reached the mouth of the Tennessee, they were over taken by one John Duff with a party of hunters. These persons though Americans had recently come from Kaskaskia, and communicated the important information that M. [Philip] Rocheblave commanded at that place, and kept the militia in good order; that spies were stationed on the Mississippi; and that all Indians and hunters were ordered to keep a sharp look out for the rebels. The fort they reported to be kept in good order, as a place of retreat, but without a regular garrison; and the military defense to be kept up as a matter of parade, rather than from any expectation of a necessity to guard against attack. Indeed, who could have expected a military expedition from Kentucky at that day of feebleness and still less from the remoter parts of Virginia? Still, if this should be anticipated, the force of the place was capable of giving the Americans a warm reception. The inhabitants were said to be led by the British to entertain the most horrid apprehensions of the Bostonais (as our countrymen were called by the French) as more barbarous than the Indians themselves. But, said these informants, if the place could be surprised, there could be no doubt of our capturing it; they, moreover, offered their services to effect this result, and even solicited to be employed. The offer was readily accepted. The intelligence was most opportune, indeed, in the absence of any other since the return of Clark’s spies during the previous year.

One portion of this information particularly pleased Colonel Clark; ... it caused him to employ it to promote his purposes: It was the dread and horror in which our countrymen were held by the inhabitants. In consequence of this apprehension, he thought the more violent the shock might be, which his arrival should produce, the stronger would be the sensibility to his lenity,
so little to be expected from the notorious barbarians they were represented to be. In fact, Colonel Clark determined to turn the national prejudice, which had been excited by the enemy, in his own favor and employ it as an auxiliary to his diminutive force.

Everything being ready for the march, the boats were dropped down a short distance above the site of Fort Massac . . . forty miles above the mouth of the Ohio . . . where they were concealed; and the party took up their toilsome march through swamp and over deep and muddy creeks, Clark . . . at their head . . . They pursued a northwest direction through the southwestern portion of the present State of Illinois to the ancient French village of Kaskaskia. The march was attended by little that was unusual in these times of privation, beyond the ordinary sufferings of expeditions through the forest and the wilderness. However, game and water were scarce; this did not affect these hardy men as much as the bewilderment of their guide.

On the third day's march, John Saunders, the principal guide, became so confused that he lost all recollection of the features of the country. This excited immediate suspicion, and a general cry arose among the men to put the traitor to death. He solicited permission of the Colonel to go into a prairie, which was full in view, to try and recover himself. His application was granted, but some men were sent with him to prevent his escape, and he was sternly told that if he did not conduct the detachment into the hunters' road, which led into Kaskaskia from the east . . . leading through a country not easily forgotten by a woodsman, he should surely be hung. After an hour or two spent in examining the neighborhood, the poor fellow discovered a spot which he perfectly recollected, his innocence was established and the detachment proceeded on its route.

On the evening of the 4th of July, 1778, the expedition reached within a few miles of the town where a halt was ordered until dark. The march was then resumed. A house was taken possession of, about three quarters of a mile above the town, which itself lay on the opposite or western side of the Kaskaskia River. Here it was learned that the militia had a few days before been under arms, but no cause of real alarm having been discovered, they were dismissed and at the time everything was quiet; that there
was a "great number in the town; the Indians had, however, mostly gone." A sufficient quantity of boats for transportation of the troops was soon procured. Two divisions of the party crossed the river, with orders to repair to different parts of the town, while Colonel Clark with the third division took possession of the fort (Fort Gage, afterwards called Fort Clark) on the eastern side of the river, in point blank shot of the town. Should this detachment meet with no resistance, upon a signal given, the other two parties were directed to possess certain quarters of the town with a general shout, and to send persons who could speak French through the streets to give the inhabitants notice "that every man of the enemy, who should be found in them, would be shot." These dispositions had the most complete success. The fort was taken possession of without resistance. There was no garrison to [defend] it. Clark entered it by a western gate that had been left open on the river side of the fortification. The town of about 250 houses was surrounded, every avenue guarded to prevent communication of intelligence, and "in about two hours the inhabitants were disarmed" without one drop of bloodshed.

During the night our men were ordered to patrol the streets with the utmost tumult and whooping after the Indian fashion, while the inhabitants preserved the most profound silence. This artifice, however painful and alarming to the feelings of the inhabitants, was, at the worst, but an innocent stratagem of war. M. Rocheblave the British governor, was taken prisoner in his own chamber, but very few of his public papers could be secured, as they were secreted or destroyed (it was supposed) by his wife. During the night several persons were sent for . . . to obtain intelligence, but little could be procured . . . except that a considerable body of Indians lay at this time in the neighborhood of Cahokia, about sixty miles higher up the Mississippi, and that M. Gabriel Cerre,5 then the principal merchant of Kaskaskia, was one of the most inveterate enemies of the Americans.

This gentleman had left the town before Clark has captured it, and was then at St. Louis, on his way to Quebec, whence he had lately returned in the prosecution of extensive commercial operations. His family and an extensive assortment of merchandise
were at Kaskaskia. By these pledges in his power, Colonel Clark thought to operate upon M. Cerre, whose influence was of the utmost consequence to the American interest, if it could be brought to be exerted in its favor. With a view of gaining this gentleman over to this interest, a guard was immediately placed round his house, and seals placed on his property, as well as all the other merchandise in the place. On the 5th the troops were withdrawn from the town to different positions around it. During these movements, as all intercourse with the soldiers had been forbidden under heavy punishment, even those of the inhabitants who had been sent for by Clark had been ordered to have no communication with the rest. Distrust and terror overspread the town.

In possession of an enemy, of whom the inhabitants entertained the most horrid apprehensions, and all intercourse either with one another or with their conquerors sternly forbidden, their anticipations might well be gloomy. In this state of things, after the removal of the troops, the people were permitted to walk about freely. When finding they were busy in conversation with one another, a few of the principal militia officers were apprehended by orders of Clark and put in irons... This immediately produced general consternation and the worst consequences were expected from the enemy, whom the suspicions of the inhabitants had invested with uncommon terrors. Yet these measures were taken from no wanton cruelty, for of all men, Colonel Clark possessed a mild and affectionate disposition.

After some time, M. Pierre Gibault, the good and patriotic Roman Catholic priest of the village, got permission with five or six other gentlemen to wait [up] on Colonel Clark. Shocked as the citizens of Kaskaskia had been by the sudden and most unexpected capture of their town (and it could not have been more unexpected had their captors descended from the clouds) by an enemy such as their prejudices had painted, the deputation were evidently still more shocked when they entered Clark’s quarters at the appearance of him and his officers. Their clothes travel-soiled and torn by their voyage down the Ohio, march over swamps and through forests, their changes of clothes left at the Falls, the appearance of this little band was frightful and savage, as Clark admits, to any eyes. How much more so to this deputation may be
easily conceived by anybody acquainted with the refinement and delicacy of the ancient French. The illustrations of this character need not be pointed out to those acquainted with the polished circles of the French in New Orleans and St. Louis, on our own continent. It was some time after entering the room where Clark and his officers were assembled before they could speak, and not then, until their business was demanded. They asked with unintentional sarcasm, which was the commander? . . .

He was pointed out. The priest then said that the inhabitants expected to be separated, never perhaps to see each other again, and they begged through him to be permitted to assemble in the church together. Could they have expected worse had they been captured by Algerines! Clark, aware that they suspected their very religion to be obnoxious to our people, carelessly told the priest that he had nothing to say against the church; that it was a matter Americans left for every man to settle with his God; that the people might assemble at church if they would; but at the same time, if they did, they must not venture out of town. No doubt the caution was intended to prevent intelligence and combination abroad. Some further conversation was attempted, on the part of the Kaskaskia gentlemen, but it was repelled, by saying there was no longer leisure for further intercourse, in order to raise the alarm to its utmost height.

The whole town then assembled at the church; even the houses were deserted by all who could leave them. Orders were honorably given to prevent the soldiers from entering the vacant buildings. Western soldiers have rarely been guilty of private outrages.

The people remained in the church for a considerable time, after which the priest, accompanied by several gentlemen, again waited on Colonel Clark and expressed, in the name of the village, "their thanks for the indulgence they had received." The deputation then begged leave by request of the inhabitants to address their conquerors on a subject which was dearer to them than any other: They were sensible . . . "that their present situation was the fate of war, and they could submit to the loss of their property; but they solicited that they might not be separated from their wives and children and that some clothes and provisions might be allowed for their future support." These gentlemen assured Colonel Clark
that their conduct had been influenced by their commandants; ... nor were they sure that they understood the nature of the contest between Great Britain and the United States, difficult as it was in this remote region to obtain accurate information. Indeed, many of the inhabitants had frequently expressed themselves in favor of the Americans, as much as they could. The utmost hope they indulged was favor to their wives and children.

In this distress of the villagers, Clark who had now [excited] their terrors to the desired height, resolved to try the force of the lenity, which had all along possessed his heart. For this purpose he abruptly asked the deputation, “Do you mistake us for savages? I am almost certain you do, from your language. Do you think, that Americans intend to strip women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen,” said Clark, “disdain to make war upon helpless innocence; it was to prevent horrors of Indian butchery, upon our wives and children, that we have taken up arms, and penetrated into this remote stronghold of British and Indian barbarity, and not the despicable prospect of plunder.”

Now, he continued, that the king of France has united his powerful arms with those of America, the war would not, in all probability, continue long. The inhabitants of Kaskaskia were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without the least danger to their property or families. Nor would their religion be any source of disagreement, as all religions were regarded with equal respect by American law; that any insult, which should be offered to it, should be immediately punished. “And now, to prove my sincerity,” [he declared], “you will please inform your fellow citizens that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as formerly, without the least apprehension. I am convinced, from what I have learned, since my arrival among you, that you have been misinformed and prejudiced against us by British officers. Your friends who are in confinement shall immediately be released.”

The agitation and joy of the village seniors upon hearing this speech from Clark may well be conceived; they likewise attempted some apology for the implied imputation of barbarism, under the belief, as they said, that the property of a captured town belonged
to the conquerors. Clark gently dispensed with this explanation and, [desiring] to relieve the anxieties of the inhabitants immediately, requested them . . . to comply strictly with the terms of a proclamation, which would shortly be issued.

The [immediate] contrast of feeling . . . verified the sagacious anticipations of Clark. In a few moments the mortal dejection of the village was converted into the most extravagant joy. The bells were set ringing, and the church was crowded with the people offering up thanks to Almighty God for the deliverance from the horrors they had so fearfully expected. Perfect freedom was now given to the inhabitants to go or come as they pleased, so confident was [Clark] that whatever report might be made would be to the credit and success of the American cause and the Virginia arms.

For amidst this most unexpected triumph, it must not be forgotten that Virginia counsels and Virginia men effected this flattering and honorable result, whose influence, it will be found, brought the boundaries of the republic to the Mississippi.

Some uneasiness was still felt respecting Cahokia, some sixty miles north . . . whose capture Clark determined to attempt and gain in the same way as Kaskaskia. . . This was effected by Major [Joseph] Bowman . . . on the 6th of July. . . The alarm of the “Big Knife,” as the Virginians were called, . . . spread terror [in] . . . the little community. However, it was considerably allayed [as] soon as the people of Cahokia had an opportunity of hearing what had taken place in Kaskaskia. The dread of the people was soon changed into huzzas for freedom and the Americans, while Major Bowman took possession of . . . Cahokia. In a few days, the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance and everything promised the utmost harmony. The visit of our countrymen soon dispersed a body of Indians who were encamped in the neighborhood of Cahokia, at that time a place of considerable trade.

It may not be inappropriate here to advert to the age and condition of these ancient villages of Illinois, now for the first time subjected to the American arms. They had been founded by the French traders and missionaries, about 1690, and had borne considerable fruits of prosperity for such remote interior places. These villages had been founded some few years before the City of Philadelphia, now flourishing under the auspices of American
liberty. ... While, to exhibit the unhappy fluctuation of condition, so rare in the United States, Kaskaskia but some six or seven years the junior of Philadelphia and planted under the protection of a powerful monarchy, numbered about 1000 ... in 1842, and 315 by the census of 1850. It is at this day, what by the blessing of God is so uncommon in this most prosperous republic, a ruin, almost a deserted village, filled with the remains of the nicest masonry in its wells and other crumbling works. It has indeed been doomed to a variety of visitations by “flood and field”; yet it is seated in the heart of the richest garden of nature the earth offers, between two streams of most inviting capacity of navigation — the Mississippi and the Kaskaskia. . .

NOTES

CHAPTER XI

1. October 17th, 1777.
4. This date is verified by Ferguson’s “Tables of Solar Eclipses.”
5. Father to the late Pascal Cerre, Madame Auguste Chouteau, and others in high esteem in the City of St. Louis.
6. Perkins, Annals of the West (2d edition), 678. Editor’s Note: The best authority seems to favor 1703 as Kaskaskia’s founding date.
MISSION OF FATHER GIBAULT FROM KASKASKIA TO VINCENNES IN 1778; HIS SUCCESS IN REDUCING IT UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF VIRGINIA; CLARK’S NOTIONS OF INDIAN NEGOTIATIONS; GREAT INDIAN COUNCIL AT CAHOKIA; CEREMONIES, SPEECHES.

For the gallant and well executed movement against Kaskaska and Cahokia, Clark with his brave officers and men received the thanks of the House of Delegates of Virginia, “for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise, and for the important services thereby rendered their country.”

This is the first public testimony of Clark’s services to his native State, and the republic at large; and well and most justly did he, his officers and men deserve them.

But though Clark had met with success so much beyond his means and almost beyond his expectations, although the country was apparently subjected and even attached to the American government, yet his uneasiness was great. He was fully aware of the critical delicacy of his situation and the necessity of exerting all the address he was master of to maintain his position with service to his country and honor to himself. A close understanding was cultivated with the Spanish officers on the opposite side of the Mississippi, as every influence was required to counteract the extended influence of the British.

They [the British] had distributed the bloody belt and hatchet from Lake Superior to the Mississippi and Ohio. In this long chain of intrigue with the Indians . . . Vincennes formed an important link, owing not only to the warlike character of the adjacent tribes, but also to their contiguity to Kaskaska and the settlements of Kentucky.
Yet its capture [Vincennes'] was utterly beyond the power of the handful [of] trooops, [even if] "joined by every man in Kentucky." Clark therefore resorted to other means. The American soldiers were instructed to speak of the Falls of Ohio as the headquarters of the army, from which the present troops were only a detachment; that reinforcements were daily expected from that point . . . and that when they arrived, more extensive military movements would take place. Some such artifice was deemed necessary to excuse the apparent rashness of invading the Illinois with so small a force.

Courts of civil jurisdiction were likewise established by Clark, which were held by French judges freely chosen by the people, leaving an appeal to Clark.

About this time, M. Gabriel Cerre, . . . before mentioned, uneasy that his family and property should be alone kept under guard at Kaskaskia, and fearful of venturing into the power of an American officer without a safe conduct, procured the recommendation of the Spanish governor of St. Louis, as well as the commandant at Ste. Genevieve, supported by the influence of the greater part of the citizens, for the purpose of obtaining this security. . . Colonel Clark peremptorily refused it, and intimated that he wished to hear no more such applications. He understood, he said, that M. Cerre was a "sensible man," and if he were innocent of the charge of inciting the Indians against the Americans he need not be afraid of delivering himself up. Backwardness would only increase suspicion against him. Shortly after this expression of Clark's sentiments, M. Cerre, to whom they were no doubt communicated, repaired to Kaskaskia and before visiting his family immediately waited [up] on Colonel Clark who informed him that the crime with which he stood charged was encouraging the Indians in their murders and devastations on our own frontiers. An enormity, continued Clark, whose perpetrators it behooved every civilized people to punish whenever they got such violators of the laws of honorable warfare within their power. To this accusation Mr. Cerre frankly replied, that he was a mere merchant, and had never been concerned in affairs of State beyond the interests of his business. In fine, this eminent French merchant declared his willingness to meet the strictest inquiry into
the only heinous charge against him. This was everything the American commander required. He then desired M. Cerre to retire into another room while he sent for his accusers. They immediately attended, followed by the greater part of the inhabitants. M. Cerre was summoned to confront them. The parties were told by Colonel Clark that he had no disposition to condemn any man unheard; that the accused was now present, and [that] he (Clark) was ready to do justice to the civilized world by punishing him if guilty of inciting Indians to commit their enormities on helpless women and children. The accusers began to whisper to one another and retire until but one was left of six or seven at first. This person was asked for his proof of the charges against M. Cerre, but he had none to produce and the French merchant was honorably acquitted, not more to his own satisfaction than to that of his neighbors and friends. M. Cerre, delighted at the fair and generous treatment he had met with from Colonel Clark, immediately took the oath of allegiance and became a "most valuable" friend to the American cause.

So successful was the management of Clark that whether he bribed or whether he punished both methods were made conducive to the public interest. In this case, as in that of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia in general, he kept up an appearance of rigor for the purpose of enhancing the indulgence he wished and determined to employ. Reserve in favors was a common feature in his policy.

Post St. Vincent [Vincennes] still continued to occupy the thoughts of Clark as a point of great importance to the safety of his present position, and to the extension of the Virginia dominion. "It was never," he says, "out of my mind." It had indeed occupied his thoughts on his first descent of the Ohio River, and was only relinquished at that time from his weakness. These early inclinations were renewed by his success at Kaskaskia and he sent for M. [Pierre] Gibault, the Roman Catholic priest of this village as well as of St. Vincents.

This gentleman [Father Gibault], who subsequently received the public thanks of Virginia for his distinguished services, had been steadily attached to the American cause. He readily gave Colonel Clark every information he desired; told him that Governor Abbot [British lieutenant governor. Edward Abbott at
Vincennes], the commandant, had lately gone from St. Vincents on business to Detroit; and that a military expedition from the falls of Ohio against St. Vincents (which Clark pretended to mediate) was scarcely necessary. This patriotic priest offered, if it met the approbation of Colonel Clark, “to take the business on himself, and he had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American interest, without, he said, “my being at the trouble of marching against it.”

Nor is it unfair to believe that this patriotic clergyman may have taken into consideration the interests of his parishioners of St. Vincents, by trying to save them from the chances of military violence, as well as to promote the extension of the new country of his adoption. The generous and equal spirit justly exhibited by Colonel Clark to the Roman Catholics of the Illinois which Protestant bigotry had too rarely imitated, together with his paternal administration, all united to propagate American influence and extend its arms over these Roman Catholic villages.

To the offers of M. Gibault, Clark readily assented, for it was the fondest wish of his heart; yet he scarcely ventured to indulge it. At the request of M. Gibault, Doctor La Forge was associated with him as a temporal member of the embassy. The principal charge of the business was placed in the hands of the good priest.

On the 14th of July, the French gentlemen accompanied by a spy of Clark (an auxiliary which he seems hardly even to have omitted in the missions he employed) set off for St. Vincents, or O. Post. In two or three days after the arrival of this rather extraordinary embassy, and the enjoyment of full explanation between the priest and his flock, the inhabitants threw off the yoke of the British government, and assembling in a body at the church took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia. A commandant was elected and the American flag immediately displayed over the fort, to the astonishment of the Indians.

Thus again fell another of the French settlements, founded in all probability about 1735. This event is to be attributed to the friendly influence of M. Gibault, added to the good will of the inhabitants towards the Americans, as the friends and allies of France and now the enemies to their old antagonists, the English. The savages were told by their French friends “that their old Father,
the King of France, had come to life again, and was mad with them for fighting for the English; that if they did not wish the land to be bloody with war, they must make peace with the Americans.”

About the 1st of August, 1778, M. Gibault and party returned with the joyful intelligence of having peaceably adjusted everything at St. Vincents in favor of the American interest, no less to the astonishment of Clark than to his gratification and that of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia.

A new source of perplexity now opened in the mind of Colonel Clark. The three months for which his men had enlisted now expired. But the discretionary authority so wisely lodged with an officer acting on so remote a stage, and under such embarrassing difficulties, determined him to strain his authority to preserve the public interest, for which it was conferred upon him. He could not divest himself of the only American power on which he could rely, in any emergency, without hazarding the whole fruit of his bold and successful expedition.

He therefore reenlisted his men on a new footing; raised a company among the native inhabitants, commanded by their own officers; established a garrison at Kaskaskia under the command of Captain [John] Williams, and another at Cahokia under that of Captain Bowman [Major Joseph Bowman]. Captain William Linn, . . . who had accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, took charge of the men who wished to return. He also had orders from Colonel Clark to establish a fort [on the mainland] at the Falls of Ohio. [It is apparent that many of Clark’s men failed to reenlist, but that the loss was more than replaced by native enlistments.]

On their arrival in Kentucky, Captain Linn executed his orders by building a stockade fort at the termination of the present 12th street, on the easterly side of a large ravine, which in 1832 opened onto the river. Here was planted the thrifty germ of Louisville, now the emporium of Kentucky, which seems fairly destined to grow with the countless prosperity of this great republic. . . Captain John Montgomery was . . . dispatched to Richmond . . . in charge of M. Rocheblave, the [captured] British commandant of Kaskaskia. 5

Governor Henry . . . was informed of Clark’s proceedings through Captain Montgomery, as was his wish. a civil command-
ant ... [was] appointed, to take charge of the political affairs of [the Illinois territory].

In consequence of this recommendation, an act was passed by the legislature of Virginia in October, 1778, enacting that "all the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia who are already settled or shall hereafter settle on the western side of the Ohio shall be included in a district county, which shall be called Illinois County." The same statute authorized the appointment of a County Lieutenant, or commandant ... empowered to appoint deputy commandants and commissaries as he might think proper. In addition to this Virginia organization of Illinois, "all civil officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of the peace, and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose by the County Lieutenant ... or his deputy." Colonel John Todd, who afterwards lost his life at the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks ... received the appointment of Commandant and Lieutenant Colonel of the County of Illinois, a mark of no ordinary confidence for an appointment in a distant province of Virginia. A regiment of five hundred men was also authorized to be raised, and an opening of communications with the Spanish city of New Orleans was directed for the support of this detachment.

About the middle of August, Captain Leonard Helm was appointed by Colonel Clark, with no little grandiloquence, commandant at St. Vincents, and "agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash." This officer was particularly recommended to Clark ... [because of his general prudence and deportment as well as his courage, audacity and composure in trying situations.] In addition to these civil regulations, Colonel Clark entered into a series of Indian treaties, the first which our countrymen held with the Indians of this portion of the West. These were conducted with efficiency and dignity, as well as attended with such remarkable circumstances as to deserve particular detail. Clark had always thought that the policy of inviting Indians to treat was founded in a mistaken estimate of their character; they always looked upon such invitations, he believed, as evidences either of fear or weakness, or both. He, therefore, studiously
avoided every invitation of the sort and waited for the Indians to request a treaty. . . He had made himself acquainted with the French and Spanish modes of treating the Indians, and had been long devoted to the study of the Indian character. In consequence of this, he determined to guard against spoiling the Indians, as had been too much the case in negotiating the English treaties; to use the strictest reserve, and to grant presents with a niggardly hand, as wrung from him, rather than as spontaneous and willing gratifications. These are principles of conduct founded on a profound knowledge of our indigenous barbarians, the propriety of which is confirmed by the success of Colonel Clark. . .

These treaties began about the 1st of September, 1778, in the neighborhood of Cahokia. The parties, both white and red, had assembled when the chief who was to open the council, as the Indians were the solicitors, advanced to the table at which Colonel Clark was sitting with the belt of peace in his hand, another with the sacred pipe, and a third with fire to kindle it. After the pipe was lighted it was presented to the heavens, then to the earth, and completing a circle, was presented to all the spirits invoking them to witness what was about to be done. The pipe was now presented to Colonel Clark, and afterwards to every person present.  

After these formalities the speaker addressed himself to the Indians as follows: “Warriors, you ought to be thankful that the Great Spirit has taken pity on you, has cleared the sky and opened your ears and hearts so that you may hear the truth. We have been deceived by bad birds flying through the land . . . but we will take up the bloody hatchet no more against the Big Knife . . .; and we hope that as the Great Spirit has brought us together for good, as he is good, so we may be received as friends, and peace may take the place of the bloody belt.” The speaker then threw into the middle of the room the bloody belt of wampum and flags which had been received from the British and stamped upon them, in token of their rejection.

To this address, Clark very guardedly and coldly replied: “I have paid attention to what has been said, and will tomorrow give you an answer, when I hope the hearts of all people will be ready to receive the truth. But I recommend them to keep prepared for the result of this council, upon which their very existence as na-
tions depends. I desire them not to let any of our people shake hands with them, as peace [has] not yet made; and it [is] time enough to give the hand, when the heart [can] be given also." An Indian chief rejoined to this address that "such sentiments are like men who had but one heart, and did not speak with a forked tongue."

The council then rose, until the next day, when Clark delivered to the Indians again assembled the following address: ... "Men and Warriors. Pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hoped that as he was good, it would be for good. I have also the same hope and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed on, whether it shall be peace or war, and hence forward prove ourselves worthy of the protection of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior, not a counsellor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife and their friends to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the Red people; to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river; but to clear the roads from us to those that desire to be at peace, that the women and children may walk in them without meeting anything to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, that the Red people may hear no sound but of birds that live on blood.

I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the causes of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess yourselves to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the one which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and not show yourselves squaws.

"The Big Knife is very much like the Red people. They don't know well how to make blankets and powder and cloth. They buy these things from the English from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting, and trade as you and your neighbors the French do. But the Big Knife daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor and
hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began
to cry at seeing their children naked and they tried to make clothes
for themselves. They soon made banquets for their husbands and
children, and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this
way, we did not want to buy so much from the English. They
then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our coun­
try, (as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and
among the French). They would not let our women spin, nor our
men make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else. The Eng­
lish said we should buy everything from them, and since we had
got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used
to get for one; we should do as they pleased; and they killed some
of our people to make the rest fear them.

This is the truth and the cause of the war between . . . us,
which did not take place for some time after this treatment. But
our women became cold and hungry, and continued to cry; our
young men became lost for want of counsel to put them in the right
path. The whole land was dark, the old men held down their
heads for shame, because they could not see the sun, and thus there
was mourning for many years over the land.

At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great
council fire that [never] goes out at a place called Philadelphia; he
then stuck down a post, and [left] a war tomahawk by it and went
away. The sun immediately broke out and the sky was blue.
The old men held up their heads and assembled at the fire, took up
the hatchet, sharpened it and put it into the hands of the young
men, [and told] them to strike the English as long as they could
find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immedi­
ately struck the war post and blood was shed. In this way the
war began and the English were driven from one place to another,
until you got weak . . . and hired you Red People to fight for
them. The Great Spirit got angry at this and caused your old
Father, the French king, and other great nations to join the Big
Knife and fight with them against all their enemies. So the Eng­
lish have become like a deer in the woods; and you may see it is the
Great Spirit that has caused your waters to be troubled, because
you have fought for the people he was mad with.

If your women and children should now cry, you must blame
yourselves for it, and not the Big Knife. You can now judge, who is in the right. I have already told you who I am; here is a bloody belt and a white one, take which you please. Behave like men and don’t let your being surrounded by the Big Knife cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and you may go and join your friends, the English. We will try like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other’s way, and keep each other’s clothes longest stained with blood. If on the other hand, you shall take the path of peace and now be received as brothers to the Big Knife with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through your land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues that ought to be destroyed without listening to anything you might say.”

“As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken counsel. We will therefore part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think with but one heart and one tongue.”

The next day after this speech a new fire was kindled with more than usual ceremony, when the Indian speaker again came forward and said: “They ought to be thankful that the Great Spirit had taken pity on them, and opened their ears and hearts to receive the truth. I have paid great attention to what the Great Spirit had put into my heart to say to us, as the Big Knife did not speak like any other people we have heard. We now see that we have been deceived, and that the British have told [us] lies, and that you have told us the truth; just as some of our old men have always told us. We now believe that you are in the right; and as the English had forts in their country, they might, if they got strong enough, want to serve them, as they had treated the Big Knife. The Red people ought therefore to help us; we have taken the belt of peace, and spurned that of war; we are determined to hold the former fast, and have no doubt of your friendship, from the manner of your speaking, so different from that of the English. We will now call in our warriors, and throw the tomahawk into the river, where it can never be found. We will suffer no more bad
birds to fly through the land disquieting the women and children. We will be careful to smooth the roads for our brothers, the Big Knife, whenever they may wish to come and see us.

“Our friends shall hear of the good talk you have given us; and we hope you will send chiefs among us with your own eyes to see yourself that we are men, and strictly adhere to all we have said, at this great fire, which the Great Spirit has kindled at Cahokia, for the good of all people who have attended it.”

The pipe was again kindled and presented to all the spirits as witnesses of the transactions. It was smoked and the council was concluded by shaking hands among all the parties, both white and red. In this manner, with very little variety, treaties were concluded with many tribes with a dignity and sense of importance in their eyes, little inferior to that felt by our own countrymen at the alliance of their government with the powerful kingdom of France.

These negotiations of Clark at Cahokia . . . undermined the British influence through a large portion of these regions. The cooperation of the French inhabitants essentially contributed to these important results. The Indians implicitly trusted in the representations of their ancient allies and became thoroughly alarmed by the French accounts of the power of the Americans. Their actual force on the spot was utterly too insignificant, even added to the boasted reinforcement from Kentucky, to have had any such influence. Let the recollection of this ancient partiality of our French fellow-citizens be an additional bond of attachment between the descendants of fathers who so early had been friends.

Colonel Clark adhered resolutely to a determination of not appearing to court the Indians. He even affected to apologize for making them the few presents his scanty stores enabled him to confer. He attributed them to the great way they had traveled, and thus having expended their ammunition and worn out their moccasins and leggins. The native tribes were so much alarmed at the high and disdainful spirit of their new neighbor that the conclusion of peace, notwithstanding Clark’s reserve, and possibly in consequence of it, gave them satisfaction. This state of mind was confirmed by the report of the spies whom Clark kept among all his new allies, as well as [among] the more doubtful tribes. So well consolidated was his influence under the cooperation of French
cordiality, that a single soldier could be sent in safety among the Indians through any part of the Wabash and Illinois country to the heads of the waters discharging themselves into the lakes and the Mississippi.

[Along the lakes and upper Mississippi] the British still maintained their ascendancy . . . partly because of their forts. Indeed, many of the tribes were even now divided between them and the Americans. So . . . it required all of [Clark's] tact, united to the French influence, to preserve the first impression he had made. . . Accordingly the prospect of reinforcement from the Falls of Ohio was constantly held out, and every means adopted to attach our new fellow-citizens to the American government. . . [Too], friendly correspondence with the Spanish government on the opposite side of the Mississippi and the permission of some trade with agents, even from Canada, all contributed to maintain a controlling influence over the savages.

[Several writers have asserted that Clark, during one of his visits to St. Louis, met and fell in love with the lovely Teresa de Leyba, sister of the Lieutenant Governor. Soon after the end of the war so many calamities befell Clark that he, had it been his intention, never married, conditions becoming steadily worse. Tradition has it that Teresa de Leyba, greatly saddened and disappointed, entered a convent and became a nun. It is presumed that she continued as a nun during the remaining portion of her life. It should be pointed out that positive proof seems to be lacking.

Though de Leyba is listed as “Governor-General,” it seems logical to assume that he was Lieutenant Governor-General under the governor-general at New Orleans, considered capital of Spanish Louisiana, of which St. Louis was a part.]

NOTES

CHAPTER XII

1. This vote was as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, Monday, 23d November, 1778.

Whereas authentic information has been received that Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western part of this Commonwealth, on the
Mississippi and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the
common cause of America, as well as to this Commonwealth in
particular;
Resolved, that the thanks of this House are justly due to the said Col.
Clark and the brave officers and men under his command, for their
extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise,
and for their important services thereby rendered their country.

Test. E. RANDOLPH, C. H. D.

3. A corruption of the French. Au Post, as it was often called.
4. See an elaborate discussion of the foundation of Vincennes, by the
esteemed, truthful and inquisitive Perkins, 66, 67, 2d Edit. Annals of
the West. Bancroft, III, 346.
5. The fort here mentioned at Louisville was, in 1782, succeeded by a
larger one, built by the regular troops, assisted by the militia from all
the settled parts of the District of Kentucky. It was situated between
the present (1833) 6th and 8th streets, in the northern side of Main
Street, immediately on the bank of the river. In honor of the third
... governor of Virginia, it was called Fort Nelson. [Doubtful, as
there was great jealousy.] Seventh street passed through the first gate,
opposite to the headquarters of the then General Clark.
This early and principal military defense, in this part of the valley,
deserves a few more particulars. It contained about an acre of ground,
and was surrounded by a ditch eight feet deep and ten feet wide,
intersected in the middle by a row of sharp pickets; this ditch was
surmounted by a breastwork of log pens or inclosures filled with earth
obtained from the ditch, together with pickets ten feet high planted on
the top of the breast work. Next to the river, pickets alone were
deemed sufficient aided by the long slope of the river bank. Some of
the remains of these pickets were dug up, in the summer of 1832, in
excavating the cellars for Mr. John Love's stores, on Main street, oppo­
site to the Louisville Hotel. There was artillery in the fort, particularly
a double fortified brass piece which had been captured by Clark at
Vincennes. This piece played no inconsiderable part in the military
operations of this day of small things, insignificant as they must appear
to a regular military critic. The ground of both these forts was per­
sonally inspected by the author, in company with the late Capt. Donne,
a well-known pilot of the Falls, from whom these particulars were
learned.
6. Hening's Statutes at large, and Dillon, 150.
7. Dillon, 150, 151.
8. An ancestor of a distinguished family in Kentucky, one of whom was
lately Lieutenant Governor of the State.
Editor's Note: The fort, for which Captain Linn was responsible, was
built by Richard Chenowith; it was completed in late December of 1778,
and was known as Fort-on-Shore, perhaps to distinguish it from the fort
on Corn Island. See Filson Club Publication No. 8, Reuben T. Durrett,
"The Centenary of Louisville", 31, 32.
CHAPTER XIII

RECAPTURE OF VINCENNES BY THE BRITISH; CAPT. HELM; GOV. HAMILTON; BRITISH PLAN OF CONQUEST FOR THE WESTERN COUNTRY; CLARK'S PLAN FOR RECOVERING VINCENNES FROM THE BRITISH.

AFTER ALL THIS success in this distant and most adventurous command, Colonel Clark began to entertain great apprehensions for St. Vincents. No news had been received from that place for a considerable length of time. About the 29th of January, 1779, Colonel Francis Vigo, an Italian merchant then in partnership with the Governor at St. Louis, . . . and a most respected and patriotic citizen of Vincennes, \(^1\) brought intelligence that [Lieutenant] Governor [Henry] Hamilton, of Detroit, had marched from that place in December, 1778, had captured St. Vincents and again reduced it under the power of the British.\(^2\)

Owing to the advanced stage of the season, the British commandant postponed his [planned] operations against Kaskaskia. In order to employ his restless Indian auxiliaries . . . [numbering about four hundred, Hamilton sent] some of them against the settlements of Kentucky, . . . others to watch the Ohio River. . . . He contemplated re-assembling his forces [in the spring] for a grand campaign, which should first be directed against Kaskaskia. At this point . . . he [would be] joined by two hundred Indians from Michilimackinac, and five hundred Cherokees, Chickasaws and other tribes.\(^3\) With this force united to his own [he was] . . . "to penetrate up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky on his way," and taking light brass cannon for the purpose. So flushed was the British commander with the hopes of conquest that he made no doubt he could overrun all West Augusta [western Virginia].\(^4\)

[It was Vigo who informed Clark that Hamilton had greatly reduced his force at Vincennes] . . . , that Hamilton had not more
than eighty men in garrison, three pieces of cannon and some swivels mounted. Stimulated by this information, with the promptitude inspired by his eminent genius for war, [Clark daringly] determined to carry the war into the enemy’s country. “I knew”, [he declared,] “if I did not take him (Hamilton), he would take me.”

Clark immediately fitted out a river boat the “Willing” mounting two four pounders and four swivels, as a galley. It was placed under the command of Captain John Rogers with a company of forty-six men. This party had orders to force their way up the Wabash, if possible, station themselves a few miles below the mouth of White River, and suffer nothing to pass; [await] further orders. The expedition determined on, the French inhabitants of Cahokia and Kaskaskia raised two companies to join it. The men from the former village were commanded by Captain [Richard] McCarty, and the latter company by Captain Francois Charleville. These added to the Virginians made a party of one hundred and seventy men in the aggregate.

On the 7th of February, 1779, this [high spirited force] commenced its march toward St. Vincents, [an historic march] over the drowned lands of the [flooded] Wabash. The march was pursued along the “old Vincennes trace,” followed by the Indians from the earliest time. It is as Reynolds pleasantly says, “the Appian way of Illinois in ancient times. It commenced at Detroit, then to Ouiaitenon (or Weatowns) on the Wabash thence to Vincennes, and thence to Kaskaskia. It is yet (1852) visible in many places between Kaskaskia and Vincennes.” This dreary and fatiguing march was alleviated by the politic management of Clark, who to divert his men encouraged hunting parties and invitations from one company to another successively to feasts, or game, and to join in war dances of a night, in the manner of the Indians. In his own words, “I suffered them to shoot game on all occasions, and feast on it like Indian war dancers; each company by turns inviting the others to their feasts, which was the case every night, as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat, in the course of the day; myself and principal officers putting on the woodsmen, sporting now and then, and running as much through the
mud and water as any of them." Frequently the diversions of the night wore off the thought of the preceding day. Thus insensibly, without a murmur, were these men led on to the banks of the Little Wabash, which they reached on the 13th of February, 1779, through incredible difficulties far surpassing anything that any of [them] had every experienced.

[The forks of the Little Wabash, at which the expedition had arrived are three miles apart and the opposite heights of land five miles apart at normal water levels. At that time all of the land was flooded with no intervening land, water from two to four feet deep.] By the 18th, the party got so near St. Vincents as to hear the morning and evening guns of the British fort; and on the evening of the same day reached within nine miles of the town, below the mouth of the Embarras River. Great difficulties were now experienced in getting canoes in which to cross the river and the men required all Clark’s address and commanding spirit to keep their spirits from failing. Still there was no sight of the galley which had been dispatched under Captain Rogers to meet them on the Wabash. Canoes could not be built in time to save the party, in the destitute condition in which they were, from starving.

On the 20th, the water guard brought a boat to [and reported the] cheering intelligence . . . [that the] inhabitants of St. Vincents [were friendly towards the Americans, and that the British garrison was in complete ignorance of the imminence of Clark’s force.] There was yet a large sheet of water to cross, which proved, on sounding, to be up to the arm-pit. On the report being made, and Clark speaking seriously to an officer . . . [many of the exhausted, starving men] caught alarm; despair seemed ready to possess them. Clark, observing the depression on the faces . . ., whispered to one or two officers near him to imitate him immediately in what he was going to do. He then took a little gunpowder in his hand and mixing it with some water, blacked his face with it, raised the Indian war whoop and marched into the water; [his men quickly followed] . . . without a murmur.

Much does the conduct of men in large bodies depend upon the address and tone of a commander. This trick of backwoods invention communicated a new impulse to the party, and they stepped into the water with a cheerfulness which many troops under their
sufferings would not have shown on land. A favorite song was now raised, and the whole detachment joined in the chorus. When the party had got to the deepest part of the water, then about waist-deep, where it was intended to transport the troops in two canoes, which had been fortunately taken, one of the men said he felt a path (which is said to be quite perceptible to naked feet) and it being concluded that it kept on the highest ground, the march was continued to a place called the Sugar Camp, where was found about half an acre of ground not under water. Here the party took up their lodging for the night. From this spot another wide plain of water was to be crossed, and to heighten the difficulty [there] was [an] absence of all timber to afford support to the famishing and fatigued party in their wading. “The camp very quiet,” wrote Major Bowman in his Journal, “but hungry. Some almost in despair. At break of day on the 21st, began to ferry our men over the Wabash in two canoes to a small hill called the Mamelle. The whole party being over, we thought to get to town that night, so plunged into the water, sometimes to the neck, for more than one league, where we stopped on a hill of the same name, there being no dry land on any side for many leagues. Our pilots say, we cannot get along—that it is impossible. The whole army being over, we encamped; rain all this day; no provisions.”

The object of all their toils and sufferings, St. Vincents, was almost in sight; and after a spirited address which Clark says, “I forget, but it may easily be imagined by a person who could possess any affection for his men at such a time. I concluded by informing them that passing the plain that was then in full sight, and reaching the opposite woods, would put an end to their fatigue—that in a few hours they would have a sight of the long wished for object; and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A general huzza took place.” The ice “in the morning had formed from one half to three quarters of an inch thick. It was the coldest night we had” but “the morning was the finest we had on our march.” Before the third man stepped off, Clark ordered Captain Bowman to fall back with twenty-five men and put any man to death who refused to march, for no coward should disgrace this company of brave men. The whole gave a cry of
approbation, and on they went. They followed their fearless commander. Sometimes they were cheered with the deceptive cry of the advance guard that the water was growing shallower, and as they approached the woods, "land, land"—the favorite cry of mariners was halloed out. This stratagem had its desired effect. The men encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities — the weak holding by the stronger. The water never got shallower but in reality continued deepening. Getting to the woods where the men expected land, the water was up to their shoulders, but gaining the woods was of great consequence. All the low men and the weakly hung to the trees and floated on the old logs until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore and built fires. Many would reach the shore and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it.

While resting at a spot of dry timbered land, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was discovered and captured together with nearly half a quarter of buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc. This was indeed a grand prize. Broth was immediately made and served out to the most weakly with great care. Most of the men got a little, but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheerful to their comrades. This little refreshment and fine weather by the afternoon gave new life to the whole. Crossing a narrow deep lake in the canoes and marching some distance, we came to a corpse of timber called the Warrior's Island. We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles distance. Every man now feasted his eyes and forgot that he had suffered anything—saying that all that passed was owing to good policy and nothing but what a man could bear, and that a soldier had no right to think.¹³

Several men were observed out on horseback shooting ducks within half a mile of the American party. One of these was taken prisoner by some Frenchmen who had been sent to decoy one of them without alarming the rest. The information we got from this prisoner corresponded with what we had got from others on the river, except that the British had just completed that evening the wall of the fort, and that there were a good many Indians in town. "Our situation," says Clark, "was now truly critical—no possibility
of retreating in case of defeat—and in full view of a town that had, at this time, upwards of six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants and Indians. Our fate was to be determined probably in a few hours. We knew that the most daring conduct could alone secure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well — that a number was lukewarm to the interest of either. These were favorable circumstances; and as there was little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately; and wrote a letter directed to the inhabitants of the Post, informing them that I would take possession of their fort this night, and requesting the true friends of liberty to remain still in their own houses, and those who are friends to the King to repair to the fort, join the hair buying general and fight like men; or if any such should afterwards be discovered, they might depend on severe punishment.” The inhabitants were again requested to keep out of the streets. “For every one I shall find in arms on my arrival,” said Clark, “I shall treat as an enemy.”

Seldom has frank notice been given to an enemy of an intended attack, and choice afforded to retire to his friends. It was resorted to in hopes that its imposing character would add to American friends and increase the dismay of their enemies. So much did it operate in this way that the expedition was believed to be from Kentucky, so impossible was it deemed in the condition of the waters that it could come from Illinois. This idea was confirmed by several messages under the assumed name of persons known to be in Kentucky to their acquaintances in St. Vincents. Nor would the presence of Clark be credited until his person was pointed out by one who knew him.

To mask the weakness of the American force, the soldiers had their instructions to frame their conversation before strangers so as to lead them to believe they were at least a thousand men. There was one circumstances which occasioned much surprise to our countrymen, which was that although a great deal of bustle was perceived in the streets of the town, the great numbers running or riding into the commons to view the invaders, yet not a drum was heard nor a gun was fired from the fort. [The fort, Fort Sackville, was set off from the town.] In fact, as was afterwards
learned, even the friends of the British were afraid to give the garrison notice of Clark’s presence.

About sunset on the 23rd of February, 1779, the American party set off “in full view of the town crowds gazing at us,” to take possession of St. Vincents, marching and countermarching round some heights and displaying several sets of colors which had been brought by the French volunteers, . . . now raised on poles procured for that purpose. These might be seen, yet the elevations in the plain and their oblique direction completely prevented the troops “from being numbered.” “In this manner we moved and directed our march in such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly changed our direction, crossed ponds where we could not have been expected, and about 8 o’clock gained the heights back of the town.” Still there was no hostile demonstration on the part of the British and the impatience of the Americans to unriddle the mystery was extreme.

For this purpose, Lieutenant [John] Bayley with fourteen men was sent to command an attack on the fort. . . . The fire of this party was at first attributed to some drunken Indians, who frequently saluted the fort in this manner, until a man was shot down through a port hole, when the engagement began in good earnest on both sides. The main body of the Americans had moved in a different direction and taken possession of the strongest part of the town. Reinforcements were sent to the attacking party while other arrangements were making in town. During the fire on the fort, when the American ammunition began to grow scarce owing to reliance upon the stores in the galley, a fortunate disclosure of both powder and balls was made by the owners Colonel Legras and Major [Francis] Bosseron and others. This had been buried to keep it out of the hands of the British, who had threatened to take the whole of the goods in the town. . . . This store well supplied our wants. The son of Tobacco, a powerful chief and a warm friend to the Long Knife, and particularly of Captain Helm, then a British prisoner, offered his services together with a hundred warriors. The offer was, however, declined for fear of confounding them with the hostile Indians known to be in town; but his presence and counsel were desired and readily given.
The fire on the fort continued without intermission, except for about fifteen minutes a little before day. Our men would lie within twenty or thirty yards of the fort untouched by the enemy's cannon, owing to the awkward elevation of the platforms. They did no damage except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered, while their musketry employed against men covered by houses, pailings, ditches and the banks of the river, was of no avail.

While on the other hand, no sooner was a port hole opened by the enemy, or even darkened, than our riflemen finding its true direction would pour such volleys into it that the men could not stand to their guns. Seven or eight of them were cut down. Clark wrote: "I believe, if they had stood to their artillery, the greater part of them would have been killed in the course of the night." By this terribly concentrated fire the garrison became discouraged. Thus the attack continued until about nine o'clock in the morning of the 24th, when learning that two prisoners whom the enemy had brought in the day before had a considerable number of letters with them, Clark supposed it might be an express, which was expected about this time. Fearful of their destruction, he sent a fierce demand of capitulation and threats of vengeance for destroying papers or letters which might be in possession of the British officer or for hurting one house in town. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton firmly replied to this unmilitary demand, "that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects." Our men were eager for a storm of the fort. Clark sternly repelled such rashness. The firing was heavy through every crack that could be discovered in any part of the fort. Several of the garrison were wounded, and there was no possibility of standing at the embrasures.

In the evening, the British officer finding his canon useless, and apprehensive for the result of being taken at discretion, sent a flag desiring a truce of three days. This Clark thought imprudent to grant, although he himself daily expected a reinforcement with artillery by the arrival of his galley. He proposed in return, that the British garrison should be surrendered prisoners at discretion, and that Hamilton should with Captain Helm meet him at the church about eighty yards from the fort. In consequence of this
offered the British commandant, Major [Elihu] Hay, Superintendent of Indian affairs, and Captain Helm, their prisoner, met Colonel Clark and Major Bowman. Terms were proposed by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, one of which stipulated that the garrison should be surrendered on them being permitted to go to Pensacola, on parole. After some deliberation, they were rejected by Clark, who told the British officer that his troops were impatient and called aloud for permission to tear down and storm the fort. "If such a step was taken many of course would be cut down, and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in must be obvious to him. It would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man." Captain Helm, attempting to moderate the excited feelings of Colonel Clark, was reminded by him that he was a British prisoner, and he doubted whether he could with propriety speak on the subject. The British commander then said that Captain Helm was liberated from that moment. Clark refused to accept his release on such terms; he must return to the garrison and meet his fate. The British commander was then informed that hostilities should not begin until five minutes after the drums had given the alarm.

The officers were taking their course to their respective quarters when Governor Hamilton called to Colonel Clark and politely inquired of him what his reasons were for rejecting the surrender on the liberal terms which had been proposed to him. The American officer then with affected severity told him, "I know the principal Indian partizans of Detroit are in the fort, and I only want an honorable opportunity of putting such instigators of Indian barbarities to death. The cries of the widows and orphans made by their butcheries require such blood at my hands. So sacred," continued Clark, "do I consider this claim upon me for punishment, that I think it next to divine, and I would rather lose fifty men than not execute a vengeance demanded by so much innocent blood." If Governor Hamilton chooses to risk the destruction of his garrison for the sake of such miscreants, it was at his own pleasure. Upon this, Major Hay enquired, "Who is it that you call Indian partizans?" Clark keenly and promptly replied, "I consider Major Hay one of the principal ones." The change in Hay's countenance was instantaneous, like one on the point of execution,
"pale and trembling scarcely able to stand." Governor Hamilton blushed for his behavior, while Captain Bowman's countenance expressed as much respect and sorrow for the former as contempt for the latter. Some minutes elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment, "My resolution," says Clark, "changed respecting Hamilton. I told him we would return to our respective posts; that I would reconsider the matter and let him know the result by a flag." No offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. This was agreed to on both sides and the officers parted.

On submitting the terms to the American officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our terms. They were immediately communicated to Governor Hamilton, and acceded to by him.

This capitulation surrendered Fort Sackville to the Americans on the 24th of February, 1779. The garrison was to be considered "as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accoutrements." On the next day the fort was taken possession of by Colonel Clark, at the head of the companies of Captains [John] Williams and Worthington, [Neither Bakeless, James nor Lockridge mentions Worthington.] while Captains Bowman and McCarty received the prisoners. The stars and stripes were again hoisted over Fort Sackville which had first been elevated by Captain Helm during the last year . . . Thirteen canons to correspond with the old thirteen States, now (in 1854) numbering 31, were fired to celebrate the reduction of the most important hostile post upon the Indian frontier. It was at that day, what Detroit and Malden have been at a later period and what the European forts have always been in the hands of the possessors — keys to influence and control over the native tribes. [Clark set out from Kaskaskia on February 5. His men began firing on Fort Sackville on February 23 and Hamilton surrendered on the 25th.]

At this surrender there were only 79 prisoners received, with considerable stores; yet these facts form a very inadequate criterion of the importance of the conquest. It is not the intrinsic strength of the British garrison that is to be principally regarded; it is the horde of savages which it would have encouraged in destruction and murder on a most exposed frontier, extending their ravages, according to the hopes of the vanquished, to the Blue Ridge in
Virginia. Such is the proper point of view from which to estimate the value of Clark's exertions in the conquest of the western country, but particularly to the valley of the Ohio. Vincennes has from the time of its final reduction been one of the most important strongholds of the West — another advanced post of ... American civilization established on the frontier . . .

Colonel Clark was astonished on viewing the strength of the post at its easy surrender, but on reflection was convinced it might have been undermined, as the fort was within thirty feet of the river bank. If even this attempt had failed, his information was so exact, that on the arrival of his artillery the first hot shot could have blown up the magazine.

On the day after the surrender of the British garrison, Captain Helm was dispatched up the Wabash with a detachment of sixty men, to intercept some boats with provisions and goods from Detroit. All of these were surprised, and stores to the amount of ten thousand sterling with forty prisoners were captured.

On the return of this successful expedition with the British flags still flying at the masthead, our long expected galley, the Willing from Kaskaskia, hove in sight and prepared for an attack upon the little river squadron descending the river, which was still supposed to belong to the enemy. But soon the beloved ensign of American freedom was hoisted to the joy and triumph of our countrymen. They were only mortified to find that they had not been present to aid in the reduction of the British and Indian stronghold.

It is not suitable to dismiss this brilliant achievement of Colonel Clark and his hardy and daring followers without a passing reflection. Too much credit can scarcely be awarded to so adventurous an expedition into the heart of British influence, among hordes of warlike and hostile savages, at the head of a mere handful of men though of the hardiest stamp of hardy and heroic times. Its influence in the war then raging on the seaboard, its diversion of Indian hostility from that hard pressed portion of the republic have been less dwelt on, though not less real than its magnificent enlargement of the republic, from the barrier of the Alleghenies . . . to the wide expanse of the northern lakes and the Mississippi. This augmentation of the republic, the redemption of the valley of the Ohio from European dominion and its rescue in no small
degree from savage rule are eminently due to Colonel Clark, his gallant Illinois regiment and the brave Creoles of the Illinois.

Still, I cannot forbear remarking that the feelings of the border people exasperated by the savage war in which they were engaged entered too much into the measures pursued against the British. Our people could not look with the calm sentiments of professional and civilized belligerents upon a war prosecuted by unseen and unexpected rifles, the deadly tomahawk and scalping knife, weapons used upon all alike, men . . . women and children . . . The reader then must not be surprised when he sees the severity of Clark . . . to Cerre at Kaskaskia and Hamilton and Hay at St. Vincents.

NOTES

CHAPTER XIII

1. At this advanced age he most cheerfully instituted inquiries for the author among his compatriots, alas now gone with a long line of ancient friends to his last account.

2. There is an anecdote respecting Capt. Leonard Helm connected with the capture of that place, then under his charge, evincing a fearless intrepidity which would ill be omitted. It was communicated to me by the friendly interest of Judge Underwood [now, 1852, in the Senate of the U. S.,] and his venerable relative Edmund Rogers, Esq., of Barren County, Kentucky, a brother of Captain John Rogers, appointed to the galley called the Willing . . . The latter gentleman was personally intimate with Clark and his officers for years. When Governor Hamilton entered Vincennes, there were but two Americans there, Captain Helm, the American commandant, and one Henry. They had charged a cannon and placed it in the fort-gateway, while Helm stood by with a lighted match in his hand. When Hamilton, at the head of his troops, got within hailing distance, Helm cried out, in a loud voice, "Halt." This stopped the movement of Hamilton, and in reply, he demanded a surrender of the garrison. Helm exclaimed with an oath, no man shall enter here until I know the terms. Hamilton then told him, "You shall have the honors of war"; and then the fort was surrendered with its whole garrison of one officer and one private. Such is a specimen of the character of Colonel Clark's followers. They were the very choice men of Virginia and the western frontier, superior to the Indians in arms, equal to them in hardihood, and nearly so in the peculiar arts of the forest. Dangers they scarcely counted, and difficulties presented themselves but to be overcome. — Correspondence of Judge Underwood with the author.


4. The western part of Virginia adjoining the Blue Ridge.

145
5. The Rev. [John M.] Peck in his [1850, St. Louis] edition of the Western Annals, by the lamented [James A.] Perkins, [Annals of the West (Cincinnati, 1846)] 207, says that Clark “employed Col. Francis Vigo, then a resident of St. Louis, to make an explanation of the circumstances and strength of the enemy at Post Vincennes.” There is no intrinsic improbability in this statement; yet I have not met with any authority for it, either in the Memoir of Clark or his letter to Gov. Jefferson, [Dillon, History of Indiana, 151.] All the writers that I have seen, have rested, and very properly their statement of this matter, on the Memoir of Clark himself, first published by the author in his History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. I think I have heard of a life of Col. Vigo, but have not met with it.


7. This Ouiatenon or Wea village stood on the southern bank of the Wabash or the tract of land which is now called “Wea prairie,” about eight miles below the site of the town of La Fayette, in Tippecanoe County, Indiana. Dillon, 283.

8. Reynolds, 79.


10. Ibid.


12. Clark’s Memoir.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

Editor’s Note: There is now a biography of Francis Vigo. It is, Bruno Roselli, Francis Vigo: A Forgotten Builder of the American Republic (Boston: Stratford Press, 1933).
CHAPTER XIV

HONORS AND REWARDS OF VIRGINIA TO COL. CLARK AND THE ILLINOIS REGIMENT; FIRST OFFENSIVE EXPEDITION FROM KENTUCKY INTO THE INDIAN COUNTRY BY COL. BOWMAN; THE INDIAN CHIEFS BLACKFEET AND RED HAWK; CAPTURE OF STATIONS IN KENTUCKY BY COL. BYRD; ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT JEFFERSON BELOW THE MOUTH OF THE OHIO RIVER, IN 1780, BY COL. CLARK; SECOND INVASION OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY BY COL. CLARK; SETTLEMENT OF THE MCAFEEs IN KENTUCKY; GREAT LAND COURT OF KENTUCKY; KENTUCKY COUNTY DIVIDED INTO THREE COUNTIES OF FAYETTE, JEFFERSON AND LINCOLN; OFFICERS OF THESE COUNTIES.

AFTER THIS BRILLIANT exploit, achieved over obstacles which might well have deterred the most energetic commanders, it was only for a moment looked upon as sufficient; it was only regarded as a stepping stone to other and richer triumphs. Detroit now presented itself in full view to our bold and indefatigable officer. “Twice has this town been in my power,” he wrote to Governor Jefferson. “Had I been able to have raised only five hundred men, when I first came into the country, or when at St. Vincents, or could I have secured my prisoners and only have had three hundred good men I should have attempted it.” Recent intelligence had reached Clark that the British force at Detroit consisted of but 80 men, many of them invalids; and that the inhabitants were exceedingly well disposed towards the American interest. Indeed Colonel Clark had determined on completing his bold enterprises by an attack upon this point, when he received
dispatches from Governor Henry promising a reinforcement of another battalion to complete his regiment. In consequence of this advice it was thought most prudent to postpone so distant and hazardous an expedition until an imposing force should arrive. In the meantime Colonel Clark embarked on his galley for Kaskaskia, leaving Captain Helm once more in the command of the town and the superintendent of Indian affairs.

Subsequent events have fully confirmed the wisdom of this postponement of the expedition against Detroit, which all the disposable force of the United States could not effect though frequently meditated, and which was indeed finally only effected by the treaty with Great Britain. Had this enterprise succeeded ever so completely in capturing the fort without the naval command of the lake, it could not have been maintained, and the captors could not have escaped surrender to the great local superiority of the enemy and contiguity to the seat of his power. The experience of [Major Henry] Gladwin's siege by Pontiac and [General William] Hull's campaign confirm this opinion. For the exploits which have now been related, the Legislature of Virginia in November, 1778, voted their thanks to Colonel Clark and the brave officers and men under his command for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise, and for the important services thereby rendered their country.

In September, 1779, Lieutenant Governor [John] Page addressed the same officer a letter, accompanied with a sword, purchased by order of the General Assembly, "as a proof of their approbation," he said, "of your great and good conduct and gallant behavior." In addition to these honors . . . 150,000 acres of land were granted to the Illinois regiment, . . . located opposite to the Falls of Ohio on the northwestern side of the river, under the name of "Clark's Grant," . . . Still, there can be no doubt of the inadequacy of these rewards to the services of Colonel Clark to a great commonwealth — services by which her dominion was stretched from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, an empire exceeding the territory of Great Britain and France united. Yet, in the infancy of the western country, unenchanted by the application of steam to navigation . . . and in an unsettled and barbarous condition, its capacity of greatness could not be fully appreciated. Nor
could its conquest be ranked at its proper height in the roll of fame. The conduct to Clark of the unterrified commonwealth must therefore be viewed with some abatement of severity for not at once discovering and suitably acknowledging the full merits of Colonel Clark. These extorted the high encomium from Chief Justice Marshall, that “these bold and decisive measures, which, whether formed in a great or small scale, mark the military and enterprising genius of the man who plans and executes them.”

This is indeed laudari a laudato.

The truth is, that George Rogers Clark was the master spirit of the western country from 1775, when he first visited Kentucky, until his first unfortunate campaign in 1786, hereafter to be noticed. It was the unanimous verdict of his contemporaries, most of whom fought under his beloved banner, as Floyd and Linn, Logan and Boone. He was emphatically the founder of Kentucky as much as he was the conqueror of the Illinois. If that bold soldier was not, in the language of the late John Randolph of Roanoke, the American Hannibal, in the scale of his operations, he was so in spirit and bold purpose. If he had not the legions and wealth of Carthage to support his operations, he wielded his handful of troops, and the poverty of Virginia, in the same bold, enterprising and original manner as his great prototype. To the mind of the author, this is a better criterion of similar character and genius than equality of force.

To punish the Indians for the depredations and hostilities which they had committed with fearful ferocity on the stations and hunters of Kentucky, an expedition into their own country was now determined on. The town of old Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, was selected as the object of this first considerable invasion of the Indian country on the right bank of the Ohio by the pioneers of Kentucky. This expedition was led by Colonel John Bowman, assisted by Benjamin Logan, John Holder, James Harrod and John Bulger, as captains. George M. Bedinger acted as Adjutant, and some of the most efficient men in Kentucky engaged in this expedition, to the number of three hundred. This was the first offensive expedition undertaken from Kentucky since the spirited incursion of Boone, previous to the last siege of Boonesborough already related. It thus deserves some expatiations;
great expectations were entertained of it in Virginia. The party marched in the month of July, with their provisions about their persons. They were well acquainted with the ground where it was intended to strike the blow, and their movements were so well conducted as to escape discovery by the enemy. It was one of those spontaneous movements of the pioneers directed by their own sagacity and courage without the aid or countenance of public authority. The Indians of the northwest had not yet experienced any formidable invasion from Kentucky, and seem to have entertained no apprehensions of a retaliation for their annual attacks upon this most vexed and harassed land.

Yet it must not be forgotten, throughout this narrative, that the settlement of Kentucky was a flagrant outrage upon the rights of the northwestern Indians. No treaty with them sanctioned it, whatever pretext may be alleged under the treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, in 1768. It is only to be justified by the paramount interests of civilization to the wants of savage life.

Colonel Bowman’s party arrived within a short distance of the town, near night, and halted. It was then determined to make the attack by daybreak on the next day. For this purpose Captain Logan was detached to encircle the town on one side, while Bowman was to surround it on the other, and to give the signal for assault. Logan immediately executed his part of the plan and waited for the signal of his commander. Day began to break and still there was no appearance of the detachment in front. At length the Indians took the alarm and repaired to a strong cabin with portholes in it, while Logan’s men took possession of the cabins left by the enemy. They moreover adopted the plan of forming a moveable breastwork out of the doors and puncheons or coarse plank of the floors, and pushing it against the Indian post. While these active measures were taking it in the rear, [Colonel John] Bowman was so fiercely attacked as to prevent his getting near enough to give [Colonel Benjamin] Logan the alarm agreed upon. Such was the account given the author by the late General [James] Ray, who was himself in the engagement. Yet such an engagement one would think would have proved sufficient signal to a man of Logan’s well known promptitude, and it is difficult to suppose it to have been too remote to be heard; moreover, the
town was evidently surprised. This alertness on the part of the enemy, in addition to information received from a negro prisoner that [Simon] Girty and a body of Mingos were near at hand and had been sent for, determined the Colonel to order a retreat. This was reluctantly begun, and instead of preserving any order, the utmost confusion took place. After the loss of several lives, the party became reunited and the retreat was resumed in better order.

The Indian town was burned, a short lived suffering to the enemy; 163 horses captured and some other spoil obtained at the expense of six or seven lives. This retreat was not suffered to be made without molestation from the enemy. *Blackfeet* [Blackfish], the chief, who had headed an expedition against Harrodsburg and captured Boone with his salt makers at the Blue Licks, pursued the whites with a band of about thirty warriors. He was killed, but was succeeded by *Red Hawk*, who continued the battle. Bowman, though a gallant and somewhat experienced officer, is said to have made no detachments to repulse the enemy and our men were standing as objects to be shot at, when Captains [Colonels] Logan, [and] Harrod, [and Captain John] Bulger and a few others mounted some pack horses and scoured the woods in every direction, rushing on the Indians wherever they could find them. These offensive steps continued till Red Hawk was killed and the rest of the Indian party fled. Our men returned home with a loss of eight or nine killed in the two actions. That of the enemy was not, as it rarely happens with Indians, accurately known but owing to the intermitted pursuit was no doubt considerable.³

The expeditions into the Indian country, which had recently been prosecuted by Colonel Clark in the Illinois country and Colonel Bowman on the Little Miami, seem at length to have roused the exertions of the British in order to counteract their unfavorable influence upon their Indian allies. With this view a formidable expedition was prepared, consisting of 200 Indians and Canadians commanded by Colonel Bird, [Captain Henry Bird] an officer in the British service. Two, or as Boone states, six field pieces accompanied this party, and were brought down the Big Miami and then up Licking River. This rendered the expedition almost resistless before the stockades of Kentucky, utterly destitute of artillery as they were. The march was totally undiscovered by
our people until the 22d of June, 1780, when the enemy appeared before Ruddle’s Station, on the south fork of the Licking River. This is the more extraordinary, since the British party “was twelve days marching from the Ohio River to Ruddle’s Station, and had cleared a wagon road most of the way.” The same gentleman who furnished this statement likewise asserts that a similar expedition was expected to be directed against Louisville. These facts evince a most extraordinary state of confidence or carelessness . . . The cannons were moved up Licking on boats as far as the junction of the south fork of that river, whence the expedition proceeded against the fort by land, owing to the lowness of the water.

This station had only been settled the previous year, on the easterly bank of the above named fork, and about three miles below the junction of Stoner’s and Hinkston’s branches of Licking. A summons to the station to surrender at discretion to his Britannic Majesty’s arms was immediately made by the enemy, and dreadful as the necessity was, the only alternative was death or surrender. Resistance was hopeless. The fort gates were opened and the Indians rushed in to secure the prisoners and plunder the property.

The same scene was acted at Martin’s station, higher up the South Fork, with the same result. The prisoners and plunder were hastily collected together and the retreat was commenced with strange precipitation, so much so that many of the prisoners could not support its rapidity, among whom were necessarily most of the women and children. These, loaded with plunder according to the practice of Indians, when unable to perform their cruel task were quickly relieved from their misery by the tomahawk . . . Those who survived the trying hardships of Indian captivity were dispersed among the savages or carried to Detroit. Thence some returned after several years’ detention as prisoners. Yet deplorable as this invasion was to its immediate victims, it is a subject of astonishment, united with gratitude to Heaven, that the fury of this inroad should have been so unaccountably arrested at these two insignificant points instead of being directed against the real stronghold of the country generally. These were utterly incompetent to have defended themselves against artillery. It is most inexplicable that the first and last expeditions into Kentucky with artillery should have returned with such inadequate effect. How
proud the contrast in favor of our indefatigable and enterprising Clark! How humiliating and disgraceful to Bird! The former officer invaded the enemy’s country with rifle troops, took his strongest forts armed with cannon, and kept possession of the country during the whole war of the revolution while the latter with only small arms to oppose his artillery, confined himself to capturing two paltry stockades and hurried out of the country so fast as to compel the murder of several of his most helpless prisoners by his barbarous allies.

Such is the contrast ever existing between genius and a capacity for ordinary routine. Colonel Bird, it is said, had previously limited himself to the capture of the Licking forts and would not extend his plan, or found too much embarrassment in moving his artillery through the forest, or his Indian auxiliaries too unmanageable, after their first success (as is their custom) to prosecute the campaign any further. But there is another explanation of Colonel Bird’s retreat too honorable to its character to be passed over in silence. It is that, shocked by the irrepressible barbarities committed by the Indians, he determined to arrest his expedition and return to Detroit. [See Mrs. Maud Lefferty’s Martin’s and Ruddles’ Stations. It may be safe to conclude that either Bird’s humanity or the savages’ superstitious fear of Clark brought the expedition to a hasty termination.]

At the period of this irruption there were “not three hundred fighting men north of the river (Kentucky), and these dispersed within twenty-five to forty miles, in half a dozen stockade stations.” Could the expedition “have been kept together for a week or two, they might have depopulated the country.” On such trifling circumstances does the fate of communities appear to depend, no doubt, however, overruled by the laws of God’s providence and government of the universe.

To preserve the connection between the military expeditions of the last two years, 1779 and 1780, the civil events of the former have been pretermitted. It was during this year, 1779, that the McAfees, a celebrated family of daring explorers formerly mentioned as having visited Kentucky in 1773, finally effected their removal with their families to their new homes in the West. A series of misfortunes had prevented the execution of this inten-
tion. A loss of stores which they had been providing for several years, the destruction of fifty head of cattle which had been driven out to Salt River in western Virginia and left there only postponed this daring enterprise. Well was this persevering spirit rewarded by the subsequent settlement of the family at McAfee's Station, six miles from Harrodsburg, on lands located in 1773, amidst a luxuriant soil and a host of most attached friends. It was a family worthy of the highest praises, of noble spirit and character, acceptable in all the relations of life.

The fall of this year was memorable for the removal of a great many families from the interior of Virginia and the neighboring States. Three hundred large family boats, says Colonel [John] Floyd, arrived at the Falls during the spring of 1779; and as many as ten or fifteen wagons might be seen of a day, wending their way to the interior of the country. [Floyd who had returned to Virginia in 1776 did not return to Kentucky until October of 1779; reached the Falls on November 8.]

By this time, there were six stations on Bear Cross [Grass] Creek, in the neighborhood of Louisville, at the Falls of the Ohio, with a population of six hundred men. [doubtful]. The price of corn fluctuated from fifty dollars per bushel, in December, 1779, to $165 per bushel in January, 1780, and $30 in May of that year. The prices were given at a season of obstructed navigation, and doubtless payable in the depreciated paper currency of the times. They, however, show the increased demand of a sudden and large accession of population. This extended migration is attributed, in no small degree, to the law then adopted by the Legislature of Virginia for the disposition of their "waste and unappropriated lands," as they were constantly termed — the great domain of the West. This new land law (which is mainly attributed to the sagacity of George Mason) authorised the appointment of four commissioners "to hear and determine all disputes relative to land claims; and to grant certificates of settlement and pre-emption to such as were entitled to them, either jointly or severally. The County of Kentucky, then embracing the present boundaries of the State, was placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of this high land court. It had appropriate judicial powers for the appointment of its officers and maintenance of its authority. It had jurisdiction
over matters the most interesting to a people who had ventured everything dear to them for the new lands in the West; it embraced the final determination of the whole landed estate of the country without appeal, unless where a party could not procure the attendance of witnesses, in which case the claim was to be adjourned to the General Court of the State for its decision. Exceptions were made in favor of military claimants in the service of the United States, or of Virginia. These had a year from their resignation or discharge to perfect their claims. Parties not having notice of the meeting of this court of exalted jurisdiction and summary powers, were allowed until the 1st of December, 1780, to enter a caveat in the general court and obtain a rehearing, and if right required it, a reversal of the decree of the commissioners.⁹

The gentlemen appointed by the governor of Virginia to execute this momentous trust for Kentucky, were William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour and Stephen Trigg, all residents of other parts of Virginia, as the act most cautiously required.¹⁰

Editor's Note: Actually the court has generally been regarded as having failed to settle Kentucky's growing land problems. The big difficulty was caused by failure of claimants to appear before the court, report their claims and receive warrants for just claims. The great influx of lawyers was largely caused perhaps by land claim disputes.

CHAPTER XIV

NOTES

4. Jefferson's Correspondence, I, 163.
5. The conduct of Col. Bowman in this expedition meets with heavy condemnation from Mr. Humphrey Marshall, and his opportunities of information were of the highest character; yet in justice to this officer's memory, it must be stated that General Ray gave the author a very different account from the current one of this battle; and allowed his old commander full credit for his conduct in this retreat, as on other occasions. He seems to have enjoyed much consideration among the hardy and sagacious pioneers to be inferred from his command at Boonesborough, either after or during its memorable siege in 1778;
as well as his reinforcement of Logan’s station, in the previous year. But more information cannot be obtained of this gentleman, who seems from his letters to Colonel Clark, to have ranked quite respectably in education, much above the generality of his compeers. The command of the first regiment of militia in Kentucky County and commission of magistrate conferred upon him, confirm this character.

8. The author does not now recollect precisely, his authority for this statement; yet he is confident that he received it from some old pioneer.
10. Ibid., I, 97 et. seq.
CHAPTER XV

GREAT LAND COURT OF KENTUCKY; FORT JEFFERSON ON THE MISSISSIPPI; CLARK’S EXPEDITION AGAINST CHILlicoTHE AND PICKAWAY; KENTUCKY COUNTY DIVIDED INTO THE THREE COUNTIES OF FAYETTE, JEFFERSON AND LINCOLN; OFFICERS OF THESE COUNTIES; MAPINE OF KENTUCKY.

ON THE 13TH of October, 1779, this great land court was opened at St. Asaph’s, or Logan’s station, near Stanford, in Lincoln county, and John Williams was appointed clerk. Some specimens of their adjudications shall be furnished for the gratification of the reader curious in these matters. It may be well to precede these transcripts of proceedings by an explanation of some of the technical terms used in this memorable law. A settlement right consisted in an allowance of “400 acres, or such smaller quantity, as the party may choose to include his improvement, or cultivation, granted to any person, who should at any time before the first of January, 1778, have really and bona fide settled himself, or his family, upon any waste and unappropriated lands on the western waters, to which no other hath any legal right or claim.” For this grant two dollars and a quarter per hundred acres were required by the State of Virginia; a preemption right was a right which every person entitled to a settlement possessed to pay the State price for any quantity adjoining his settlement, not exceeding a thousand acres. These claims were to be paid for at the rate of forty dollars per hundred acres. Under this law, so unfortunate in practice yet apparently so beneficent in appearance, the following are transcripts of proceedings. “Michael Stoner this day appeared and claimed a right to a settlement and preemption to a tract of land lying on Stoner’s fork of Licking, about 12 miles above Licking station, by making corn in the country, in the year
1775, and improving the said land in 1776: satisfactory proof being made to the court, they are of opinion that the said Stoner has a right to a settlement of four hundred acres of land, including the above mentioned improvement and a preemption of one thousand acres adjoining the same, and that a certificate issue accordingly.” “Joseph Combs this day claimed a right to a preemption of one thousand acres of land lying on Comb's, since called Howard's creek, about eight miles above Boonesborough, on both sides of the creek, and about three or four miles from the mouth of it, by improving the said laid, by building a cabin on the premises, in the month of May, 1775. Satisfactory proof having been made to the court, they are of opinion that the said Combs has a right to a preemption of one thousand acres including the said improvement, and that a certificate issue accordingly.” One more instance will complete the specimens of the different classes of adjudication. “Robert Espie this day appeared and claimed a preemption of four hundred acres of land, he being a settler in this country, who made corn in the year 1778, as appears by testimony, lying on the waters of Paint Lick, near the land of William Kennedy, at a spring with the letters “R. A.” cut on each tree. The court are of opinion that the said Espie has a right to the preemption of four hundred acres according to law, and that a certificate do issue for the same.”

Such are specimens of the decisions of this court, so interesting to the pioneers of Kentucky — the foundation of their landed estate. This court assembled at different parts of the country to accommodate the settlers; at St. Asaph’s, Harrodsburg, Falls of Ohio, Bryan’s Station, and finally St. Asaph’s again, when having determined about three thousand claims of different kinds, on the 26th of April, 1780, declared the expiration of its powers and adjourned sine die. The land law under which the court sat, overflowing as it seems with charity and consideration for the meritorious settler amidst the hardships and perils of the wilderness, selling them farms even upon these low terms, or credit, was a measure of legislation most fruitful of curses and calamities to community. It has proved a perfect Pandora’s box to Kentucky, constantly tricking her industrious and enterprising citizens out of the fruits of their brave and hardy exertions, distracting the courts
and the legislature of Kentucky with its perplexities and refine­ments. But of this again.

The year 1780 was remarkable for the establishment of Fort Jefferson, on the Mississippi, five miles below the junction of the Ohio with that stream. Colonel Clark effected this measure in conformity with instructions from Governor Jefferson, in order to fortify the claim of the United States to the boundary of the left or eastern bank of the Mississippi, south of the Ohio. It is now well known that neither the government of France or Spain was friendly to the extension of the American boundary to the Missis­ippi. Every artifice of diplomacy was resorted to by these powers, on both sides of the Atlantic, to prevent this aggrandizement of the United States. The French minister at Philadelphia had not only disgracefully prevailed in the old Congress of the Confederation to instruct its ministers in France, “to govern themselves by the advice and opinion of the French government; to increase the number of plenipotentiaries in order to overrule the elder Adams, and finally obtained (no doubt through the instigation of Spanish influence on the members) and at the instance of Virginia too, an instruction to Mr. Jay (afterwards the first chief Justice of the U. S.) not to insist on the free navigation of the Mississippi below the latitude of thirty-one degrees north. Spain indeed, and not feebly supported by France, endeavored to limit these States east of the Allegheny Mountains and to divide the valley of the Ohio between Spain and Great Britain. This attempt to convert the valley of the Ohio into British and Spanish provinces will merit a further notice in another part of this work. Let it remind us of the able patriot, John Jay, who resisted, under clouds of em­barrassment at Paris and Madrid, this severance of the old British colonies as they had been acknowledged by the treaty of Paris in 1763.1

A most elaborate statement of the American claims was drawn up by a committee of Congress on the 7th of October, 1780. In this paper reference is specially made, among other weighty con­siderations, to the fact, that the United States had obtained pos­session of all the important posts and settlements on the Illinois and the Wabash, rescued the inhabitants from British dominion, and established civil government in its proper form over them.
They had, moreover, established a post in a strong and commanding situation near the mouth of the Ohio. It was in the spring of this year that this fort was established, and it has been seen that the dispatch from Congress, which is attributed by Mr. Pilkin [Timothy Pitkin] to Mr. Madison, was drawn up in the ensuing October. The express instructions of Governor Jefferson, of the 28th of June, 1778, to Colonel Clark, contained in his papers, now conclusively show that the politic measure of establishing this fort on the Mississippi and below the Ohio is due to the comprehensive mind of this statesman. Colonel Clark, on receiving these instructions, left Kaskaskia and established this post in the lands of the Chickasaws, without having obtained their consent. Although his instructions authorised him to compensate the tribe for their territorial claim, Clark had not either time nor inclination for such a work, not very agreeable to his notions of Indian management. After having effected this object, Clark with two men, Josiah Harlan and Hermon Consola, proceeded from the fort to Harrodsburg. The perils and hardships of such a march can scarcely be imagined as this day of peace and all the appliances of comfort. They had painted themselves like Indians and had advanced without interruption as far as the Tennessee River. This they found foaming with high water, and Indians hunting on both sides of the river. Our chief and his companions quickly fastened a raft together with grape vines on which to transport their rifles and clothes and dashed into the river in its state of flood. They had got some distance before they were perceived by the Indians, owing to the high banks of the river; when the enemy perceived them they quickly exchanged whoops of intelligence. But our party availing itself of a deep creek which put in on the opposite side of the river, placed it between them and their pursuers by landing below its mouth, while the Indians had to ascend the stream in order to find a passage. The white party having landed, dashed on their destinations and escaped. Their disguise was so complete that in approaching a fort on Red River, they were mistaken for Indians, and it was only the name of Clark, loudly halloed, and the knowledge of his exploits then in every woodman’s mouth, that removed the impression.

On arriving at Harrodsburg, Clark found a concourse of peo-
people from every direction waiting to enter lands in the surveyor's office, under the new land law of Virginia. The acquisition of the new lands was the engrossing subject of all men's thoughts, as eagerly and with as much avidity amidst these hostile forests as in any stock market of a peaceful commercial city. To propose a military expedition to men under such keen and potent excitement would have been worse than useless. The public interests would not be regarded under such circumstances of individual engrossment. Should the more generous listen to them, they would leave the selfish and grasping speculator behind to despoil them of the richest fruits of the country they were defending at the peril of their lives and those of their families. In this predicament, Clark proposed to Mr. George May, the surveyor of Kentucky County to shut up his office, and then all would turn their attention to the defense of the country. This Mr. May declared he had no authority to do, but if Colonel Clark would issue such an order, he would be the first man to obey it. [Clark] accordingly caused a written order to be placed on the door of the surveyor's office, notifying all persons that the office was shut by his authority until after an expedition could be conducted against the enemy. This measure, and the high military character of Clark, procured any number of volunteers, in addition to his own State regiment, then garrisoning Fort Nelson, on the Falls of the Ohio.

This expedition commanded by Clark consisted of two regiments, one under the command of Colonel B. Logan, the other under that of Colonel William Linn. The point of rendezvous was for both the mouth of Licking River, where they assembled with artillery conveyed up the river from the Falls, and in all probability brought from either Kaskaskia or St. Vincents. This force, when all assembled, amounted to nearly a thousand men. When Clark reached the Falls, he found a letter from Governor Jefferson advising such an expedition, dated the 19th of April, 1780, but not received until the 11th of the July following.

The secrecy and dispatch which had attended the movements of this most efficient officer on former commands continued to mark his progress on this. The Indian towns of Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, and Pickaway, a principal town of the Shawnees, on Mad River, a branch of the Great Miami, were surprised and
destroyed together with the crops around them. In addition to this punishment of the enemy, with a loss of seven warriors on their part, there were as many on our own, so rarely did we ever get the advantage of inferior numbers slain in our most successful encounters with Indians.

There was another favorite object. This was an old French store situated on an upper branch of the Great Miami, where a previous trading post had been established by British traders, and which had been destroyed by the French in 1752; the traders had been sent prisoners to old France. This store, well known as Lorimier's store, is referred to as such in all the early treaties of the Indians with our countrymen — in 1785 at Fort McIntosh, in 1789 at Fort Harmar, and 1795 at Fort Greenville. It was an object of particular vengeance as furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition as well as stores of every kind. It was totally destroyed. The laying waste the little vegetable patches of the Indians, and not much larger cornfields, can alone be justified as the only means of bringing home the calamities of war to barbarians who, without the intervention of a large civil body of society not partakers in the war, can only be made to feel its horrors by bringing home to them and their families the sufferings which they inflict. Colonel Logan, as usual with him, particularly distinguished himself in dealing this last blow on the enemy. It was indeed one of the principal objects of the expedition. Having effected this first highly successful irruption among the northwestern Indians from Kentucky (Colonels Bowman and Logan had headed the very first), he discharged his volunteer troops at the Ohio, and returned with his own to the Falls. Owing to these offensive measures Kentucky enjoyed some breathing time, while the Indians were engaged in rebuilding their cabins and obtaining provisions by hunting to supply the loss of their crops.

By the 1st of November, 1780, the population of the county of Kentucky, had advanced with such rapid strides that the Legislature of Virginia subdivided the county into three different parts by the respective names of Jefferson, Fayette and Lincoln. The former embraced that part of the old county which lay north of the river Kentucky, north of Green River, and west of Big Benson and Hammond's creek; the second beginning at the mouth of the
Kentucky River, extended up to its middle fork to the head, and embraced the northern and eastern portions of the present State, on the eastern side of the Kentucky River; the residue of the primitive county was called Lincoln. This increase of counties necessarily gave rise to a proportionate expansion of the civil and military organization, for each county, according to the old constitution of Virginia, required a municipal and military system of its own. For this purpose, John Floyd was appointed first Colonel; William Pope Lieutenant Colonel; Ben Logan Colonel; and Stephen Trigg Lieutenant Colonel of Lincoln county; John Todd Colonel, and Daniel Boone Lieutenant Colonel of Fayette county. A commission of "Brigadier General of the forces to be embodied in an expedition westward of the Ohio," was issued to Colonel Clark. It is preserved among his papers, under the signature of Thomas Jefferson, and dated January 22d, 1781.

Each of the counties had likewise a court of qualified civil and criminal jurisdiction, as was noticed in regard to the original county of Kentucky. There was no court, however, competent to try capital cases nearer than Richmond, the seat of government of Virginia. Fortunately, owing to the simplicity of manners, the circumscribed wants of the people, together with the equal and rude state of property, there were few temptations to violence requiring the interposition of the criminal law. The first surveyors in the new counties were George May for Jefferson, Colonel Thomas Marshall for Fayette, and James Thompson for Lincoln. The services of the two latter were loudly and, for some time, vainly called for.

The new system of defending the country by the gallant man whom we now so gladly salute as General Clark, deserves a few words. Spies or scouts were scattered over the frontier, who reported to the General, posted at Fort Nelson at the Falls of Ohio. To those was added a new galley armed with four-pounders and constructed for plying up and down the river, between the Falls and the mouth of Licking River. This served as a floating fortification, but was too limited in its sphere of duty, and too unsupported by other galleys adapted to the same purpose, to produce much effect. It is, however, said to have intimidated the Indians, so much as to prevent expeditions across its line of operations.
On one occasion it is reported to have stopped a formidable invasion near its upper station. The aversion of the militia to acting in this species of marine service, and the reduction of the regular force, compelled General Clark to lay aside the galley before the close of the year. The plan itself, so novel in the western waters, however, shows the military readiness of the author.

The severity of the winter of 1779-1780 must not be omitted. It was known by the emphatic name of the Hard Winter. It affected the wild herds of the forest, driving them, in spite of their instincts, to the habitations of man for sustenance. The distress of the immigrant families was overwhelming; “compelled to encamp and abide the storm, the pains of hunger and cold were inflicted on them in many instances in a most excruciating degree.”

The wild game, as well as the tame cattle, perished; “and it is a fact, that a part of those dead carcasses became the necessary viands of some of the unfortunate and helpless travellers.”

The establishment of Fort Jefferson formerly mentioned provoked an attack upon it by the Chickasaws and Choctaws, in whose lands it had been built, without their consent. A purchase had been positively instructed to be made of the Indians by the governor of Virginia, though the circumstances which prevented it are unknown. In resentment of this threatening intrusion, it is supposed, one [James Logan] Colbert, a Scotch gentleman who had ingratiated himself with these Indians, the ancestor of the chiefs of that name, appeared with all his warriors before Fort Jefferson, some time in the summer of 1781. The attack, it is said by one who was a boy in the fort at the time, lasted five days. The Indians principally encamped on the island now known as Island No. 1, just above Mayfield’s creek. The garrison did not exceed thirty men, under the command of Captain [Robert] George. Two-thirds of this small number being sick with the fever and ague reduced the post to the lowest extremity. Pumpkins with the blossoms yet upon them were their principal food. On the 6th day George and Colbert, the Indian chief, met under a flag of truce, to agree upon terms of capitulation. They were unable to effect this object; as Colbert was retiring, he received a wound from some of the Indians, who were with our men in the blockhouses, and fell. This treachery, according to our own usages, enraged the Indians to the
utmost pitch of exasperation, and at night they collected all their forces and made a furious assault on the fort, endeavoring to take it by storm. When the Indians had advanced in very close order, Captain George Owen, who commanded one of the block houses, had the swivels (could these have been the Kaskaskia guns?) loaded with rifle and musket balls, fired into the crowded ranks of the enemy. The consequent carnage was excessive, and the enemy dispersed.

At the same time, General Clark who was stationed at Kaskaskia, and had been sent for, arrived with provisions and a reinforcement which effectually raised the siege to the great relief of the garrison. This fort was some time afterwards abandoned, owing to the difficulty of supplying such remote and detached posts. It is worthy of remark, that the State of Kentucky goaded to madness, as she has been by Indian outrage, submitted to the occupation of the northwestern section of her territories by the Chickasaws, until their title was peaceably extinguished by the treaty of the United States, in 1818 with that tribe. The fact presents an exemplary regard for aboriginal rights, which may well dictate a lesson of forbearance with the tribes of the forest to all the members of our confederate republic.

NOTES

CHAPTER XV

3. Col. Patton, who was in the expedition, informed the author that it was exactly, by the rolls, 998.
5. The father of the great Chief Justice.
7. The wreck of this galley is said to have produced the formation of the point of Bear Grass creek, just above the present city of Louisville.
8. Ibid. I, 102.
9. Ibid.
10. Capt. John Donne, a well known Falls' pilot, late of Louisville.
CHAPTER XVI

GRAND CESSION OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY BY VIRGINIA TO THE UNITED STATES; LOUGHERY'S DEFEAT; ESTILL'S DEFEAT AFTER MOST GALLANT EFFORTS ON BOTH SIDES; THE RENEGADES, McKEE AND GIRTYS; GENERAL COMBINATION OF INDIANS AGAINST THE KENTUCKY SETTLEMENTS; SIEGE OF BRYAN'S STATION; REPULSE OF THE INDIANS; RETREAT TO BLUE LICKS; COUNSEL OF BOONE; RASHNESS OF MAJOR McGARY; DISASTROUS BATTLE OF THE BLUE LICKS, IN 1782; DEATH OF COLS. TODD, TRIGG AND MAJOR HARLAN; RELIEF EFFECTED BY WESTERN HOSTILITIES TO THE EASTERN FRONTIERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THIS YEAR [1781] is remarkable for the first act of cession from the State of Virginia to the Confederacy of her wide dominion in the northwest. The subject of this nascent empire in the west seems to have agitated the statesmen of the republic deeply; it actually, without stopping the military movements of the government, suspended the completion of the confederacy for a considerable time. This dissatisfaction, however, under the superintending providence of the Great Ruler of nations, as well as individuals, was most happily for the republic removed by the exalted magnanimity of Virginia. By successive cessions begun in 1781 and consummated on the 1st March, 1784, the whole title of Virginia to the territory northwest of the Ohio was, with certain reservations in favor of the inhabitants, her own soldiers, and expenses incurred in the conquest of any part of the said territory, vested in the United States, “for the use and benefit of such of the
United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive.” By this great act of cession, the whole northwestern or right bank of the Ohio became federal territory or domain of the United States. Ample provision was made for the future division of this territory amounting to 239,345 square miles into distinct republican States and for their admission as members of the federal union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states. The subsequent measures both civil and military to which this great cession gave rise appertain to the history of the right bank of the Ohio valley . . .

The opening of 1782 was marked by several successful enterprises on the part of the enemy with more than usual fatality to the whites. They were precursors to misfortunes of deeper dye, and more extensive calamity than had yet befallen our countrymen. Among the former must be ranked [Colonel Archibald] Lochry’s and [Captain James] Estill’s defeats. [Lochry was County Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.] The former officer [with 607 men] descended the Ohio River from Fort Pitt to join Clark in his second attack upon the Miami Indians . . . He was attacked below the mouth of the Great Miami at a creek which still retains [his] name . . . and the whole party was either killed or captured.

In the case of Captain Estill a deep interest has always been manifested in Kentucky, no less from [his] high character . . . than the very gallant and chivalric defense he made against an equal party of Wyandots. The author must in this more general view of the valley painfully repress these personal and local details. He will only add that Captain Estill and eight of his men were killed out of a party of about twenty-five. A county called after the name of the gallant commander perpetuates the grateful memory of the commonwealth for his gallantry.

The hostility necessarily incident to the hunter state against the agricultural intruders, as they naturally and justly viewed our people . . . could want but little additional excitement to direct their resentments against Kentucky. Yet the passions of the Indians, ever ferocious enough of themselves, are said to have been particularly exasperated at this time by certain refugees and traitors
by the names of [Captin Alexander] McKee and [James, George and Simon] Girty. 4

These were white men who had abandoned their countrymen about Fort Pitt and united with the British and Indians. Girty, the father, was an emigrant from Ireland, about . . . 1758, if report can be relied on. He left four sons, Thomas, Simon, George and James. The three latter were taken prisoners by the Indians. George was adopted by the Delawares, and continued with them until his death. He became a perfect savage—his manners entirely Indian. He fought in the battles of Kanawha, Blue Licks and Sandusky, and gained himself much distinction for skill and bravery. In latter years he gave himself up to intemperance, and died drunk on the Miami. . .

Simon was adopted by the Senecas, and became as expert a hunter as any of them. In Kentucky and Ohio he sustained the reputation of an unrelenting barbarian. Seventy years ago [1838] his name was associated with everything cruel and field like. To the women and children in particular nothing was more terrifying than the name of Simon Girty. At the time it was believed that he had fled from justice and sought refuge among the Indians. . . This impression was an erroneous one. It is true, he joined the Indians after being taken prisoner by them in their wars with the whites, and he conformed to their usages. This was the education he received and those who were the foes of his red brethren were his foes. Although trained in all his pursuits as an Indian, it is said to be a fact susceptible of proof that through his importunities many prisoners were saved from death. His influence was great, and when he chose to be merciful it was generally in his power to protect the imploring captive. . . He saved the life of Simon Kenton . . . an old comrade in Dunmore's war, when the latter had been condemned to death by the Indians. 5 It was his constant wish that he might breathe his last in battle. His wish was gratified; in the battle of the Thames, in 1813, Girty was cut to pieces by Coloned [Richard M.] Johnson's mounted men.

James Girty fell into the hands of the Shawnees, who adopted him as a son. . . To the sanguinary spirit, he added all the vices of the depraved frontiersman with whom he associated. It is repre-
sented that he frequently visited Kentucky at the time of its first settlement, [that] many of the inhabitants felt the effects of his courage and cruelty. Neither age nor sex found mercy at his hand. His delight was in carnage. When unable to walk, in consequence of disease, he laid low with his hatchet captive women and children who came within his reach. Traders who were acquainted with him say, so furious was he that he would not have turned upon his heel to save a prisoner from the flames. His pleasure was to see new and refined tortures inflicted; and to perfect this gratification, he frequently gave directions. To this barbarian, *James Girty*, are to be attributed many of the cruelties charged on his brother *Simon*. Yet this monster was caressed by [Captain Matthew] Elliott and [General Henry] Proctor in the second war between the United States and Great Britain. . .

Headed by these renegades, and particularly Simon Girty, on the evening of the [15th] 16th August, 1782, a body of [500] Indians from different tribes extending from the lakes to the Mississippi suddenly assembled round Bryan’s station. . . This place has been mentioned before, and would be briefly passed over now, but for its connection with the fatal battle of the Blue Licks. This fort was situated on the left of the present road from Lexington to Maysville . . . immediately on the southern bank of Elkhorn Creek. It contained about forty cabins, placed in parallel lines, connected by strong palisades, and was garrisoned by about forty or fifty men. “It had no supply of water within, but a very fine spring ran from the foot of the point on which it stood near to the bank of Elkhorn. . .”

The enemy suddenly showed themselves the next morning, [the 16th], when some of the garrison were in the adjacent cornfield, and others absent though not far from the station, with a great deal of recklessness too characteristic of the times. Some of these in the neighborhood got safely into the fort while others communicated the alarm to Lexington and other neighboring stations, whence assistance was immediately and gallantly furnished. The place was closely invested for the two ensuing days, as Boone says, “from about sunrise till about ten o’clock the next day . . . the 16th and 17th . . . supposing the Indians to have reached the neighborhood of the fort on the 15th, as Marshall says. During
this time the Indians kept up a continual fire, by which four men were killed and three wounded. The enemy made several attempts to fire the numerous cabins with their clapboard roofs and weight poles by shooting lighted arrows at them; and even attempted with more than usual boldness for Indians to fire the log walls of the fort with torches; but all ineffectually. Yet Marshall says that “nothing could have been more easy, than to have fired the place; as the height of their cabin walls did not exceed twelve feet, and their roofs of boards were fastened on, with cross poles, which afforded lodgments for combustible matter within hand’s throw of various parts, to which they could approach without being seen or exposed to danger.” After sustaining a loss of about thirty warriors in their various bold, but unskillful attempts, the Indians departed on the morning of the second day, say the 17th of August... They left their fires burning and bits of meat on their roasting sticks, which serve in the woods as substitutes for spits and other culinary utensils.

The enemy retired along the great buffalo trace, or road as the hunters termed it, by Ruddle’s and Martin’s stations, which had been laid waste two years before by Bird, although this was not the direct course to the Lower Blue Licks. Indeed their retreat showed that there was no wish to conceal their trail, or avoid a battle. On the contrary, every indication had been given so opposite to the cautious and secret tactics of Indians that they desired an encounter. While the Indians were thus ostentatiously retreating, Colonel John Todd, of Lexington, Lieutenant Colonel [Stephen] Trigg, of Harrodsburg and Colonel [Daniel] Boone, of Boonesborough, with Majors [Hugh] McGary, [Silas] Harlan and [Lieutenant Colonel] Levi Todd, at the head of about 182 men,11 repaired to Bryan’s station.

By the 18th of the month the detachments had assembled and it was concluded to proceed in pursuit of the enemy, without waiting (as [recommended] by McGary), for a large reinforcement presumed to be collecting by Colonel Benjamin Logan on the south side of the Kentucky River. It immediately struck the more experienced of the party on the march and particularly the wary, sagacious Boone, that the chopping the trees along the Indian trail showed a willingness on their part to be pursued; and at the same
time the contracting [making the camp look small] the Indian camp and using few fires where they stopped to eat indicated a design to mask their numbers. These circumstances, it was thought, called emphatically for caution; still no Indians were seen until the party reached the southern bank of Licking at the Lower Blue Licks. This was on the [morning of the] 19th August, 1782. A few of the enemy were then seen by our people in front, leisurely and apparently without any alarm, retreating over the ridge.

A halt of our troops was then ordered and a council of our officers called to adopt the best plan of operations, whether to attack immediately or to reconnoiter and wait for reinforcements coming up under a most experienced officer, Colonel Logan. Colonel Boone delivered his opinion to the officers, must less skilled than himself, that the Indians amounted to three to five hundred warriors, judging from the ambiguous sign, which they made on the road; that the main body must be near and prepared for action. He said that he was particularly acquainted with the ground about the Licks. . . The Licking River, forming an abrupt bend, includes a ridge in the north side passing between two ravines, which extend to the river like the sides of an angle, or the wings of a partridge net. Here, Boone sagaciously conjectured that the Indians had formed an ambuscade and were lying in wait for them. To counteract the Indian plan, he proposed to divide the Kentuckians into two parties, one to go up the river as high as a small creek called Elk, to cross the river outside of a ravine on the right; the other to occupy the high ground north of the Licks, to be ready to cooperate with the right wing, or else to reconnoiter the ground well before the main body crossed the river.

The council were only hesitating between the two plans when Major McGary, in defiance of all subordination, raising the war-hoop, exclaimed, “Those who are not cowards follow me; I will show them where the Indians are”; and spurred his horse into the river. The disorderly example was contagious among the fiery and undisciplined spirits assembled here, unchecked by any commanding genius, and the whole body passed the river without order or concert, following the road which McGary kept in front. Parties flocked off as the rough, naked and irregular surface would admit.
It must be noticed that the ground within the bank of the river was covered with rocks laid bare by the trampling of the buffalo which resorted to the Licks, and by the washing of the rains; it presented but a few scattering trees. Its desolate exposed condition strikes the traveler with unavoidable gloom, even at this day of advanced improvement in the surrounding region, everywhere but in this rocky waste. The body of the troops headed by McGary, Harlan and McBride formed a broken column corresponding with the ridge previously mentioned parallel with and between the ravines, which were filled with Indians concealed by a short growth of timber. No sooner had McGary entered the woods, at the head of the ravines, than the action began with great warmth and effect, returned by our men with equal vigor, while they could keep among the trees; but they were soon driven into the naked plain between two fires from the Indians, who doubled them in numbers. Soon the conflict was discovered to be desperate on our side; nearly the whole of the men had fallen, as well as Colonel Todd, Majors Trigg, McBride and Harlan. The Indians were turning the rear and rushing upon our men with the tomahawk, when the retreat was commenced. But there was but one point of escape, and that by a narrow ford at the lower part of the bend (well known to every old traveler on this road), unless by swimming the river. Here all were rushing together to avoid the horrors of Indian massacre, or captivity scarcely less dreadful. The execution was consequently prodigious in the crowded, disorderly retreat to the river, and in the water, for a battle fought by the pioneers of the west who in general were as cautious and sparing of the blood of their people, and justly so, as the Indians themselves. In this extremity the unhappy fugitives were greatly assisted by a halt ordered by one [Benjamin] Netherland, who having crossed to the southern side of the river, called to his fellow soldiers to fire on the Indians and protect the men in the river. The exhortation was regarded by a few, and checked the pursuit of the enemy for a short time. The Indians soon, however, crossing above and below, further flight became inevitable; and it continued for twenty miles without much more loss.

An instance of generous forgetfulness of self took place in this retreat, which ought not, for its intrinsic moral beauty, to be
omitted. It affords relief from the disgusting tale of slaughter and destruction, which occur with such baleful monotony on both sides in these border wars. Still, it is but another picture of the calamities which have attended the hostilities with barbarians in other ages and countries, but particularly in the marches or frontiers. Scots and English, Welsh and English, the chappows [raids, forays] of Turkomans and the forays of feudal times have ever presented the same bloody features as our Indian battles...

The incident which has reduced the author into this reflection so near his heart was as follows. Captain Robert Patterson, exhausted by the fatigue of the retreat and wounds received in former battles, was overtaken by a young man of the name [Aaron] Reynolds, on horseback. The latter immediately dismounted, placed Patterson in his saddle, and took his own chance on foot. Patterson escaped but his generous friend was seized by three or four Indians, who deprived him of his rifle and left him in charge of one of their companions, while they engaged in further pursuit. The Indian in charge of Reynolds had occasion to stoop, in order to tie his moccasin, when the latter seized the opportunity to snatch the Indian's gun, to knock him down and seek his own safety, which he happily accomplished.

In reward for this magnanimity, Patterson presented Reynolds with "two hundred acres of first rate land"; a reciprocation of good offices, which has ever constituted the essence of virtue and true excellence of heart.

The loss in this battle was heavier than ever experienced in Kentucky, or indeed in the West, excepting the disastrous defeat of Braddock, which it so much resembled both in battleground and bloody result. Out of 182 men who composed this party, 70 [68] were killed, seven taken prisoners, and twelve wounded. The greater part of the Harrodsburg men fell in the front, on the first outset. The Indian loss was reported from their towns subsequently as having amounted to 64 killed and a number wounded, and that four of the white prisoners were massacred to make the loss of their enemies according to their account equal to their own. This destruction on the part of the Indians is much to be doubted from the general fate of our encounters with our red enemies. Numbers, however, unfeeling as the remark may seem,
are by no means the same criterion of loss in an agricultural state of society, and its hunter condition... True it is, that the plenty produced by an agricultural state of society affords the cradle for nursing the arts, the morals and literature, which at once compel the defense and the happiness of civilized life. Among the victims of this sad field, Colonel Todd and Major [Lieutenant Colonel] Stephen Trigg were particularly deplored for their eminent social and private worth, distinguished intelligence and urbanity of manners, qualities which are inestimable as public models and guides to society in a forming state like the nascent Commonwealth of Kentucky. Of Major Harlan, it is affectingly said by Marshall, "no officer was more brave, or one more beloved in the field." The deaths of these men were a real public calamity, of more than common measure." Colonel Boone, too, came in for his share of the misfortunes of this unhappy day, which his advice might have obviated; he "lost his second son [Israel] and very narrowly escaped with his own life." The Reverend Mr. Peck, the ablest of the pioneer biographers, not excepting Boone himself, says, that the death of his son and the disasters of this day were never effaced from the mind of the old pioneer. Nearly forty years after the sad event, he could not rehearse the story without tears. While on the retreat with his son, a very large Indian sprang towards him with uplifted tomahawk, and when but a few feet distant, received the content's of the Colonel's gun in his body.

It is due to the memory of Major McGary (who was a man of courage almost too fierce for Indian battle, much more for civil society) to state that he is said to have counselled a delay at Bryan's station for twenty-four hours, until Logan could arrive with his powerful reinforcement. This was rather tauntingly rejected by Colonel Todd, as is alledged, who possibly with the honorable ambition of a brave man wished to distinguish himself against the mortal enemy who rarely showed himself in such numbers, and not to lose the opportunity to signalize himself, by the arrival of his senior colonel. McGary unhappily resented this treatment too fiercely and, in a spirit of lamentable revenge, determined then to force a battle at the hazard of any consequences to his fellow soldiers and his country.

This terrible scene of bloodshed and massacre in their most
horrid forms suggests a reflection, which may alleviate some of its horrors; it is that it diverted a formidable body of Indian warriors from the more settled frontiers of the United States, where they might have perpetrated tenfold more destruction than in the sparsely stationed or forted forests of Kentucky. This is a diversion of the auxiliary force of the British, not always considered, in estimating the gallant daring of the pioneers of the west.

NOTES

CHAPTER XVI

2. Land Laws, and Dillon, 197. [See Thomas P. Abernathy, Western Lands and the American Revolution (1937)]
3. They are admirably depicted in the communication of Capt. N. Hart, and the opinion of Chief Justice [George] Robertson, in the Appendix to the 2nd edition (1836) of Butler’s A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.
5. “Life of Kenton,” 228, 232, in McDonald’s Sketches.
6. Judge Campbell’s Writings, quoted by Mr. Perkins, and the Hesperian, September and October, 1838.
7. Marshall, I, 134, says 15th; Boone, 16th, in his letter to the Governor of Virginia; others have it the 14th. Appendix to Butler’s (1836) Kentucky [August 15 seems to be correct.]
8. Marshall, I, 134. There was a covered way to this, which may be well remembered, to appreciate the romance of Mr. McClung in his Sketches of this, as other points of western history. Perkins’ Annals of the West, 1st ed., 250, note.
9. Letter to Governor of Virginia. App. Editor’s note: The authoritative work upon the siege is Bryan’s Station, a Filson Club publication, written by George W. Ranck, compiled by Colonel Reuben Durrett, Louisville, 1901.
11. Clark’s Papers.
15. Ibid., 119.
16. The author has seen a vindication of McGary written by himself addressed to Gen. Clark in the papers of the latter, confirming these views. They likewise met with the concurrence of the late Gen. Ray, a stepson, however, of McGary. Editor’s note: The most complete, probably most reliable, work, The Battle of Blue Licks, was written by the late Judge Samuel M. Wilson, Lexington, 1927. Too, an excellent account of the battle is presented by John Bakeless, Daniel Boone, New York, 1939.
CHAPTER XVII

REINFORCEMENT UNDER COL. LOGAN; RETREAT OF THE INDIANS; CLARK'S FIRST [SECOND] EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS ON THE MIAMI AND SCIOTO IN 1782; NO FORMIDABLE INDIAN INVASIONS OF KENTUCKY AFTER THIS EXPEDITION; RISE OF THE MORAVIANS IN EUROPE AND PENNSYLVANIA; VISIT OF ZEISBERGER TO THE WEST IN 1767; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MORAVIAN TOWNS ON THE MUSKINGUM IN 1772; SCHOENBRUNN, THE FIRST PROTESTANT SETTLEMENT MADE IN THE VALLEY OF THE OHIO; AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN SOCIETY OF 300 or 400 PERSONS ESTABLISHED; INDIAN OUTRAGES ON THE MORAVIANS; COL. WILLIAMSON’S FIRST PARTY AGAINST THE SAME; SECOND PARTY WITH THE MASSACRE OF THE UNRESISTING MORAVIANS.

On the 20th Colonel Logan reached the battle ground, which is about thirty-six miles from Bryan’s station, with 450 men. But the enemy, as had been their practice after great success, had not stayed to follow up their advantage with other heavy blows but had retreated to their towns, and the opposite side of the Ohio. There was no longer any fresh sign, and it only remained to bury the melancholy remains of their fellow countrymen, mangled by the ferocious customs of Indian warfare, torn and disfigured by wolves and buzzards and swollen by the intense heat of an August sun. These last rites to the dead, of whom Boone says they counted forty-three, besides others scattered about... Colonel Logan re-
turned to Bryan’s Station and dismissed his troops to their respective homes. . .

But did the brave pioneers despair under circumstance of such discouragement and distress? This was what they were little inclined to. A retaliatory expedition was soon thought of under the command of General Clark, then stationed at Fort Nelson. . . Every consideration of safety and necessary retaliation dictated the measure, to keep the people from despair and abandoning the country.

A meeting of officers was called at Clark’s quarters, where all the measures necessary for an imposing expedition against the enemy were adopted. Volunteers, as has ever been the practice of Kentucky, poured in. “Soon was seen the utmost activity of preparation. Both officers and men volunteered; and beeves, pack-horses and other supplies offered by those who could not leave their home.” But in every case where property was offered or impressed (for impressment was authorised where necessary), it was valued and a certificate given the former owner, as evidence of his claim to compensation should the government make provision for payment,” which at that time was uncertain. “Bryan’s Station was appointed the rendezvous for the upper part of the country; the Falls of the Ohio for the lower; and the mouth of Licking the point of union . . . for the different attachments. General Clark assumed the command of this second expedition against the formidable tribes of the Northwest, most contiguous and dangerous to Kentucky. Colonels Floyd and Logan commanded the two regiments, into which the body composed of about 1000 mounted men was divided. They assembled at the appointed spot, about the last of September, 1782, and took up their march for the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto, on the “4th of November, 1782.”

The expedition proceeded with the efficiency ever characteristic of its chief, while in the pride of his energy, and reached the first Indian town, the principal one of the Shawnees, on the 16th inst. Immediately detaching strong parties to different quarters, in a few hours two-thirds of the town were laid in ashes, and everything destroyed except such articles as might be useful to the troops; the enemy had no time to secrete any part of their property which
was in the town. The British trading post at the head of the Miami, and the carrying place to the waters of the lake shared the same fate, at the hands of a party of 150 horsemen commanded by Colonel Benjamin Logan. The property destroyed was of great amount; and the quantity of provision burned surpassed all idea we had of Indian stores. The loss of the enemy was ten scalps, seven prisoners, and two whites retaken; ours was one killed and one wounded. After laying part of four days in their towns, and finding all attempts to bring the enemy to a general action fruitless, we retired, as the season was far advanced and the weather threatening. The expedition extended its ravages through the different towns—Chillicothe, Pickaway and Will’s—with the same desolating effect.

This campaign trifling as its execution was, in comparison with the slaughter of the Blue Licks, appears to have put a period to the formidable Indian invasions of Kentucky. After this time, she was only exposed to straggling and small parties. Such an effect may reasonably be attributed to so overwhelming a display of force immediately after the battle of the Blue Licks.

This year, which had proved so disastrous to the white settlers of Kentucky, and the last, were particularly fatal to the Moravians. These were a sect of devoted Christians, better known by their peaceful habits and kind offices than for any distinguished success of their labors. They are believed to be of German origin, one of the numerous offspring of the free mind of Germany, which, in the general agitation and excitement of the European intellect during the 16th and 17th centuries, threw off the tenets of the Roman Catholic church. This body of Christians, known by the benevolent names of Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, or Moravians, seems to have grown up about 1722 in the Upper Lusatia, a province of Saxony, and principally to have flourished among the simple mountaineers of Bohemia and Moravia. Their tenets, in their technical aspect, which are far short of characterizing the morals or even religion of any people, seem to have been “a general adherence to the Confession of Augsburg” in 1530, which constitutes, it is believed, the foundation of the Lutheran church of Germany, “as most congenial to the views of a majority.” “They insist upon individual experience of the practical efficacy of
the gospel in producing a real change of sentiment and conduct, as the only essentials of religion." But this society is chiefly known to us in America, as the unflinching friend of the Indian, and messenger of peace, mercy and industry to the benighted children of the forest. As early as 1742, not more than twenty years after the public notice of those exemplary followers of Jesus Christ, they founded an establishment of Mohicans and Wampanoags near Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, at Gnadenhutten, in 1772, and at Wyabusha on the Susquehanna. All these societies were successively and forcibly broken up, owing, it is to be apprehended, to the sympathy and devotion to the Indian, which the surrounding society was not prepared to appreciate. Still the perseverance of these true missionaries of the Cross did not relax. Christian Frederick Post, whose peaceful labors in 1758 among the Delawares has been already commemorated, in 1761 determined to exert his missionary labors among the Indians on the Muskingum, vainly calculating that this might be sufficiently removed from collisions with the white man. Upon the banks of this stream, about a mile from Beaver's Town in Pennsylvania, he built himself a cabin. In 1762, he was accompanied by the well known Heckewelder, as an assistant in teaching and civilizing the children of the red men. The Indians approved of this scheme, and Post prepared to clear a few acres whereon to raise corn. This instantly and justly excited the jealousy of these sons of nature, who had suffered so constantly and steadily by the approach of the white settler. They told him they feared that he had changed his mind, for instead of teaching their children he was clearing land, which if he did, others might do, and then a fort be built to protect them, and then the land might be claimed, and they be driven off, they said, as had always been the case. In vain, Post alleged that he did not wish to be a burden on them and only proposed to raise his own corn: the Indians replied that he must live like the French priests, who looked fat enough, though they did not raise corn. It was probable the Great Spirit would take care of him, as he did of them, if He wished him to be His minister. So they would only give him a garden spot. This Captain Pipe, the celebrated Delaware chief, stepped off for Post, and with this he had to shift as well as he could.
No other Moravian Brethren visited the West till 1767, when Zeisberger went to the Allegheny River, and established a mission — against the will of the greater part of the Indians, who “saw nothing but evil in the white man’s eye. The fruits would not ripen, the deer would not stay where the white man came.”

How expressively true and characteristic of the incompatible temper of society in the civilized and the savage condition! The Indians on the Muskingum won over by Post’s patient Christian spirit invited his brethren to come and live with him, on their favorite river, away . . . from the blasting influence of the white farmer. The Wyandots joined in this request. And after mature deliberation, the proposition was agreed to; and on the 3d of May, 1772, Zeisberger with twenty-seven of his native disciples founded Schoenbrunn upon the Muskingum River, the first Protestant settlement made within the valley of the Ohio. Here, in imaginary safety, the Christian Indians on the Susquehannah and those on the Big Beaver removed. This Protestant settlement was about sixty miles from the village of the hostile Indians, “and not much farther from the whites; hence they were called the half way houses of the warriors.” Both the parties at war (Indans and white men) passed by or through the Moravian towns, and committed whatever violations of neutrality their resentments or their caprices dictated.

Nor were the Moravians, including their converts, exempt from the suspicions of both parties for being auxiliaries of their enemies. Often, it is said, had their neutrality been violated in favor of the whites, by communicating intelligence of schemes of Indian incursion. The attack upon Wheeling Fort, or Fort Henry, in 1777, had been distinctly announced to the whites by the friendly Moravians; and might not similar warning have been conveyed to the Indians? It would have been but fair between the belligerents, and quite consistent with the Moravian abhorrence of war from all quarters. Here, these exemplary fathers of a Protestant church devoted themselves to christianizing and civilizing the Indians, with signal success. They exerted their best energies to keep down the spirit of war and devastation, so prevalent in a border country by teaching, “that it must be displeasing to the Great Being who made men not to destroy men, but to love and assist one another.”
In the perilous position which has been described, the pious and philanthropic labors of these devoted servants of humanity were blessed with success, so that they gathered a society of three or four hundred Christians out of these Ishmaelites of our wilderness. The arts of peaceful and civilized life were sown and were producing much fruit worthy of the good seed; the red man of our forests was, for the first time, becoming reclaimed from his ferocity; and the standard of Christian and practical civilization was successfully set up in the wigwams of the savages.

But a blight was coming over this goodly harvest; war with all the fury of barbarism had burst out again between the Indian and his white neighbors. This condition had continued with more or less aggravation through the Revolutionary War, until the fall of 1781. At this time the hostility of their unconverted countrymen broke out against the praying Indians, as the Moravian converts were expressively called; their towns and their property were destroyed, and the missionaries were taken prisoners to Detroit. After some confinement, the British commandant became satisfied of their innocence and dismissed them to their beloved flock, for whose religious and social interests they have braved such dangers and suffered such privations as the pure spirit of Christian philanthropy only could prepare the soul to endure. The Indian converts had, after their capture and removal from their towns on the Muskingum, been left on the Sandusky plains, on the border of Lake Erie. Here, most of their horses and cattle perished from famine. This, too, when the labor of the Christian Indian had raised abundant corn in their Muskingum fields, which they were not allowed even to gather. But the worst calamities of this band of Christian Indians, who seem so unhappily to have been before their time and out of place for the enjoyment and propogation of their peaceful doctrines, came from the men bearing the name of Christians, as well as themselves, and professing the same mild merciful worship of the Heavenly Father.

About the latter end of this year (1781) the militia of the Pennsylvania frontier (yet however in dispute with Virginia) came to a determination of breaking up the Moravian towns. For this purpose a party of men, under the command of Colonel David Williamson, proceeded to the Indian villages. They, however,
found the towns almost deserted; they had been anticipated in the work of barbarity by the suspicions of the hostile Indians. The few prisoners taken were delivered in safety to the commandant at Fort Pitt.

After a confinement of some time these prisoners were released, nothing, it is presumed, being found against them but their red skins. This excited the deep displeasure of the frontier men, infuriated as they had almost necessarily become by the horrible barbarities of Indian warfare. This release may be considered the remote cause of the subsequent atrocities which are about to be related.

In March, 1782, the militia of the same portion of the country resolved upon a second expedition against the Moravian towns. Colonel Williamson again commanded the men, if command can be applicable to such insubordinate and lawless movements. The party amounted to about eighty or ninety persons, collected without any public authority, but solely moved by the private determinations of the party, and so far and no further, is the character of our country saved from some portion of the flagrant enormities which were perpetrated by this self appointed military body. The object avowed was to remove the Moravian Indians peaceably, but certainly to destroy their houses and their crops. In this way, they wanted to break up the half way asylums for the depredators on the frontier; if they did not, as was perhaps unjustly suspected, originate in these villages. The white party took up its line of march from the Mingo bottom on the Ohio River, and on the second night thereafter they encamped within one mile of the town of Gnadenhutten, the middle town of the Moravians, which extended on both sides of the Muskingum. When they had reached the river, it was divided into two equal portions, one of which was ordered to cross it about a mile above the town and to take possession of the western part of it; while the residue of the force was separated into three divisions, one to march above, another below, and a third opposite to the middle of the towns, with orders to occupy them. The detachment intended for the western attack, on reaching the river bank, found no means of conveyance except a large sugar trough designed for holding sugar water, or the sap of the sugar maple tree; even that was on the opposite side of the
The ice was floating and the waters high, when a young man, by the name of Slaughter, Cassius-like buffeted the flood, and safely brought the trough over. But it was only capable of holding two persons. It was then concluded to place the arms and ammunition of the men in this vehicle, while they should swim over. Thus, at the very outset of the attack were the invaders placed at the mercy of the Moravians; had they intended hostilities, even in defense of their homes and their families.

When about sixteen men had effected the passage of the river, two of the sentinels who had been posted in advance discovered a Moravian Indian, by the name of Shabosh; they shot and tomahawked him. The eastern party was then ordered to commence the attack in order to anticipate the alarm which must be produced by the firing. The detachment on the west proceeded to the town on that side where they found the Indians in a cornfield gathering the crop of corn which had been left on the stalk when they had been hurried off by their own countrymen, in the preceding fall. The Indian party had obtained leave from the Delawares to return to their old town for the purpose of getting a supply of provisions to keep their people from starving. Could the situation of a people well be more deplorable than this? Permitted by the mercy of Indians to come back and collect the fruits of their own labor for the support of their suffering people; and at their own towns, while at perfect peace themselves to meet a hostile party of whites who treated them with a ferocity alone worthy of the corrupt and barbarous superstition which the Moravian Indians had in abhorrence abandoned.

On the arrival of the white men at the town, they proposed peace and good will to the Moravians, and informed them that they had come to take them to Fort Pitt for their safety. The Indians surrendered, delivered up their arms, and appeared highly delighted at the prospect of their removal; they then began with all speed to prepare victuals to subsist the white men and themselves on the journey.

After this insidious capture, another party was dispatched to Salem to bring in the Indians there who were also gathering corn. They too were successful; the Indians were all brought from Salem to Gnadenhutten. Here they were secured as prisoners, and a
council of officers was held to determine their fate. This tribunal would not decide on the matter, but with unmanly and unofficer-like dereliction of duty referred the question of life or death to the men. Upon this the private soldiers were drawn up in a line, and the awful question was degradingly submitted to the men by their own Colonel, "whether the Moravian Indians should be taken prisoners to Pittsburg, [sic] or put to death."

Those who were in favor of saving their lives were directed to step out of the ranks; upon this, sixteen, or as some say, eighteen were alone found in favor of mercy. The prisoners were then told to prepare for death. This cruel result seems to have been foreseen by the deceived Indians, when they were once confined in the guard court. They began their devotions by singing hymns; praying and exhorting one another to place a firm reliance on the mercy of the Savior of men. When their fate was announced to them, these devoted people embraced, kissed and bedewed each other's faces and bosoms with their mutual tears, asked pardon of the brothers and sisters for any offense they might have given them through life. Thus at peace with their God and each other, on being asked by some of those who were impatient for the treacherous slaughter, whether they were ready to die, they answered that they had commended their souls to God and were ready.

The particulars of this atrocious butchery in cold blood of voluntary prisoners, who had committed no offense, without form of trial or shadow of public authority are too horrible and bloody for detail. Suffice it to say, that the two houses in which the prisoners were confined, were turned into slaughterpens for these betrayed Indians, who were upon the strongest ground of presumption—the suspicions of both parties—innocent of white men's blood. There was no exception of age or sex in this massacre perpetrated by misnamed Christians; all perished "at one fell swoop" by these degenerate Americans. Ninety-six out of one hundred and fifty of these people, fatally confiding in the faith of their murderers, perished in this worse than Indian massacre—worse because committed in disregard of all the lights of religion, civilization and law. Of the number massacres "sixty-two were grown persons, one third of whom were females, and the remaining thirty-four
were children." The houses and the remains of the dead were then burned together.

NOTES

CHAPTER XVII

2. Loramie's Store, no doubt.
7. Doddridge, an author who lived among the perpetrators and witnesses of this bloody deed, p. 50. Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 230, 299.
EXTENUATIONS FOR THE MORAVIAN MAS­SACRE; FORT PITT SURRENDERED BY VIRGIN­IA TO PENNSYLVANIA, 1780; BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE TWO STATES NOT FINALLY SETTLED TILL 1788; CRAWFORD’S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS ON THE SANDUSKY RIVER; BATTLE; RETREAT; DISORDER; CAP­TURE OF COL. CRAWFORD AND DR. KNIGHT; TORTURE AND BURNING TO DEATH OF CRAW­FORD; LAND SYSTEM OF VIRGINIA.

Gladly does the author turn from an enormity which makes him blush to own its authors as fellow countrymen to some of the circumstances which may, in some slight degree, alleviate, though nothing can justify a transaction so utterly at war with justice and mercy and all the professed principles of sympathy of the American people for the children of the forest. In the first place, “very few of our men imbued their hands in the blood of the Moravians; even those who had not voted for saving their lives retired from the scene of slaughter with horror and disgust.” Still they were accessories to the foul massacre by their dastardly inactivity. In such a case of high, momentous principle, he who is not for it, is against it. There is no medium, no middle ground, in such extremities between crime and innocence; there, backwardness and neutrality become the highest guilt.

Next the country in which this expedition originated was a debatable land claimed by Pennsylvania and Virginia, and had become the theatre of many disorders. The reins of government, never held very tight on a wild frontier, were more than usually loose in this territory. The boundary between the two States claiming this tract of country, although agreed upon by commissioners of both States, at Baltimore on the 31st of August, 1779,
was not ratified by Virginia till the 23d of June, 1780, and by Pennsylvania not till 23d September, 1780. It was not finally extended until May, 1785.1 To this slight extenuation of the outrage, but still not of its accompanying treachery, must be added the fact that there were circumstances calculated to implicate the Moravians in the exasperating and heart-rending ravages of a savage enemy. These had filled the hearts of the people with bitterness; many of the soldiers were men who had recently lost relatives by the hands of the savages. Several of them had found in the cabins of the Moravians articles which had been plundered from their own houses. One man, it is said, found the clothes of his wife and children, who had been killed a few days before by the Indians. They were still bloody; yet there was no certain evidence that these Moravians had any direct agency in these fruits of barbarous warfare. “Whatever of our property was found with them, had been left by the warriors in exchange for the provisions which they took with them.”

One certain proof of the innocence of the Moravians is found in the fact that, “when attacked by our people, although they might have defended themselves, they did not. They never fired a single shot. They were prisoners, and had been promised protection, and every dictate of justice and humanity required that their lives should be spared.”

No doubt the frontier was festering with the wounds of Indian barbarity; no doubt its authors were not thought entitled to the mercy they had never shown to others; no doubt that all distinctions of friendly and Christian Indians from their hostile fellow red skins were disbelieved and disregarded. Still, there are but slight extenuations which admit the truth of a transaction, and brands its perpetrators with indelible infamy and wickedness.

There was impending over a portion of the people involved in perpetrating the bloody proceedings against the Moravian Indians just related, a retaliation deep and fierce for their perfidious cruelty. It followed another expedition which was intended for the further Moravian towns on the Sandusky River.

On the 25th of May, 1782, 480 men mustered at the old Mingo towns, on the northwestern side of the Ohio and elected
Colonel William Crawford, who had been an officer of high character in the continental service, as their commander.

This party may be considered a continuation of the infamous campaign which had destroyed the Moravian Indians, under circumstances of aggravated barbarity. It set off with a determination of indiscriminate massacre, “no quarter was to be given to any Indian whether man, woman or child.” Such were the very words of the written invitations to volunteer on this expedition. The expedition set forward on Williamson’s trail, [as the route pursued by that officer was called] until the party reached the upper Moravian town. Here the troops refreshed their horses with the corn yet hanging on the stalks, which had been raised by the unfortunate people who had been harried both by Indians and whites at these towns. Shortly after leaving this point, two Indians were discovered by a reconnoitering party. They were immediately fired upon without effect. So soon as the alarm of this firing reached the camp, more than half of the men rushed out and without any command and in the most tumultuous manner to see what had happened. An ominous indication of future behavior, which justly filled the mind of the commanding officer with gloomy apprehensions for the result of a serious conflict with the enemy. Nothing, however, material happened till the 6th of June, 1782, when the troops reached the site of the Moravian town “on one of the upper branches of the Sandusky River.” It was no longer inhabited; the high grass waved over the place, and the ruins of a few huts alone pointed out that the spot had been the abode of human beings. Its former tenants, fortunately in some degree for the character of our people and their own safety, had removed to the banks of the Scioto.

Disappointed in this first object of the expedition, a council of officers was held, by which it was determined, to march one day longer in the direction of Upper Sandusky, and if they could not reach the town in the course of the day, to make a retreat with all speed. The expedition continued on its course until about 2 o’clock the next day, when the advance guard was attacked and driven in by the Indians, who were discovered in great numbers in the high grass with which the place was covered. The enemy were endeavoring to reach a piece of wood in the midst of an ex-
tensive prairie, when they were discovered and anticipated in this movement by a rapid march of our troops. An attempt was then made by the Indians to occupy a copse on the right of our men, but they were prevented by a gallant charge of the right wing, under Major [Daniel] Leet. The battle now raged throughout the line until dark, but with little effect, if the numbers killed on our side is any criterion, for they are said not to have exceeded three, with twenty-three wounded. Both parties lay upon their arms during the night; both adopted the policy of kindling large fires in their front and then retiring some distance in their rear to avoid being surprised by a night attack. Our men continued to occupy the battle ground the next day without interruption from the enemy who were hourly increasing in numbers. A retreat was now resolved upon as the only means of saving the troops; it was ordered for the ensuing night. The enemy seemed to have penetrated this design, as about sundown they commenced a furious attack on every side, except that which led deeper into the wilderness towards Lower Sandusky. The line of march was taken up in this direction as the only open one; but after having marched about a mile on this course, the troops were wheeled to the left and recovered their former trail before day-break. The march was hurried the next day without much annoyance from the Indians; notwithstanding the most culpable negligence in not keeping out guards against surprise. The numbers who composed the main body amounted to about 300 men; they effected their retreat to the settlements with safety, if not in triumph, which could with difficulty be desired by the friends of humanity.

Very different was the fate of those who had wandered from the main body, with the vain hope of escaping the pursuit of the enemy engrossed as they thought by the principal body. These were the object of the ceaseless vigilance of the Indians; and few escaped their incessant exertions, except a body of forty that broke through the Indian line and with some loss overtook the large body of retreating troops. The enemy spread his parties from Sandusky to the Ohio, killing one man near the site of the present town of St. Clairsville. The privations and sufferings of some of the fugitives who did escape, and the torments of those who fell
into the hands of the enemy, present some of the most pathetic instances of the hardships and horrors of frontier life.

Of these none is more worthy of commiseration for the agonies inflicted, the worth of the victim, and the heroic fortitude with which he bore his sufferings, than the case of Colonel Crawford, the commander of this unfortunate expedition. At the commencement of the retreat, which had been determined on, the Colonel placed himself at the head of the troops; but he had not proceeded far, when missing his son, his son-in-law, and two nephews, he stopped and called their names as the line of troops passed him; but they were not to be found. After the body of troops had passed away, the failure of his horse prevented the Colonel from rejoining it. He then fell back with Doctor [John] Knight, the surgeon of the expedition, who continued with the Colonel, at his particular request. The party toiled on, slowly overtaking other luckless officers disabled by wounds from traveling but with the utmost pain and difficulty. In this embarrassed condition they were surprised by a party of Indians and taken back prisoners to Sandusky.

On their arrival at this place, mournfully depressed by the butchery of nine prisoners, on their route, five of whom were tomahawked before the eyes of the Colonel and Doctor by the squaws and boys; they found a fire kindled—dreadful token of their own fate. “When we were come to the fire,” says Dr. Knight, “the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and they [the Indians] beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I [Dr. Knight] was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound his hands behind his back, and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough either for him to sit down, or walk around the post once or twice, and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Simon Girty, the renegade white man, asked if they intended to burn him. Girty answered, yes. The Colonel said he would take it all patiently. Upon this, Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians consisting of about thirty or forty men and sixty or seventy squaws and boys. When this speech was finished, they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indians then took
up their guns, and shot powder into the Colonel's body from his feet up to his neck. I think not less than seventy loads were discharged upon him, and to my best observation, cut off his ears. When the crowd had dispersed a little, I saw the blood trickling from both sides of his head. The fire was six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied; it was made of small hickory poles burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up individually one of these burning pieces of wood, and apply it to his naked body already burnt black with powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him, so that in which ever way he ran around the post, they met him with the burning fagots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards upon which they put a quantity of burning coals and hot embers, and threw on him; so that in a short time he had nothing to tread on but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

"In the midst of these extreme tortures he called to Simon Girty and begged to be shot; Girty not answering, he called to him again. Girty then by way of derision said he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene. Colonel Crawford at this period of his sufferings, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three quarters, or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last, being almost spent, he lay down on his belly, they then scalped him and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me that was my great captain. An old squaw then got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes, and laid them on his back and head, after he had been scalped. He then raised himself on his feet and began to walk round the post; they then put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before." Dr. Knight was then led away, and the next which is heard of Colonel Crawford is, that on the Doctor's way to a Shawanese town, to endure the same demoniac tortures, he "came to the spot where he had been burned;" and "saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire almost burned to ashes." The Indians who had the Doctor in charge for the same
dreadful fate told him that it was his big captain, and gave the scalp halloo.\textsuperscript{12}

* * * * * *

During the comparative exemption from Indian hostilities, the energies of Kentucky were now principally directed to the acquisition of land. This was particularly facilitated by the arrival of Colonel Thomas Marshall and George May, the surveyors for the new counties of Fayette and Jefferson, which had been formed out of the primitive county of Kentucky. These gentlemen opened their offices late in November, 1782, having been delayed by the expedition under General Clark of that year. One office was opened at Lexington, and another at Cox’s Station in Jefferson County. [Cox’s Creek, now Nelson County]

Now commenced that scramble for land, which has distressed and disabled society in Kentucky almost as calamitously as pestilence or famine. The original source of this misfortune was issuing warrants for quantities of land without boundaries, to be surveyed under private direction, instead of its being done by public authority previous to any location by the purchaser. Could the public lands of Virginia have been delayed in their sale and survey until they could have been laid off by public appointment, how happily might the claims of her regular soldiers have been satisfied, as well as those of her irregular though scarcely less useless pioneers in another field of public service. The residue might have been snatched from the speculator and offered in open market, for the benefit of the treasury. If so much land would not have been sold [which never should] more indeed than the State actually possessed, it might have commanded a higher price, and thus have netted more in reality to her public finances. But other counsels prevailed, and Kentucky was laid open to the conflicting claims of innumerable locators and surveyors on the same ground, till they produced a labyrinth of legal perplexities, through which it became necessary to pursue the landed estate of the country and to place it in a state of certainty and security. It is not known to the author what States besides those of New England made their sales of land according to previous public surveys. This system was adopted by the Old Congress on the 20th of May, 1788, and has
with numerous and most popular improvements been wisely observed to this day. This subject will present itself again.

NOTES

CHAPTER XVIII


2. Rev. Dr. Joseph Doddridge, Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, from the Year 1763 until the Year 1783 inclusive. Together with a View of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country (Wellsburgh, Va. Printed at the Office of the Gazette for the author, 1824), 200, 201.

3. Ibid.


5. About forty miles below Pittsburgh by land, and seventy-five by water. Dr. Metcalf’s Narrative, in Metcalf’s Collection.

6. Doddridge, 270.

7. Heckewelder says in his Narrative, page 342, that the Indians knew this determination, which was but in conformity with their own barbarity; their spies who were constantly abroad, having found it written with coal upon the peeled and blazed trees of the camp near the Ohio. All such writings they copied, and took to someone who could read them.

8. Doddridge, 270.

9. Ibid., 270, et. seq.

10. Now (1836) of Shelby County, Kentucky, and father of Doctor Knight, of Louisville.

11. Metcalf’s Collection, 46, 47.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PROGRESS OF PUBLIC NEWS IN THE WESTERN COUNTRY IN 1783; INTRIGUES OF FRANCE AND SPAIN TO LIMIT THE U.S. ON THE WEST; PROPOSED SURRENDER TO SPAIN OF THE NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI BELOW THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE U.S.; FIRMNESS OF JOHN JAY; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY IN 1783; FIRST JAIL AT CROW'S STATION OF HEWED OR SAWED LOGS AND LOG COURT HOUSE; RISE OF DANVILLE; ITS NEGLLECT, ITS REVIVAL; RECEPTION OF AN IMMIGRANT TO THE WEST.

THE PRELIMINARY ARTICLES of peace between the United States and Great Britain, which had been signed at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, were not known in Kentucky until the spring of the next year. [This constitutes] a singular illustration of the imperfect intercourse at that time between the western section and the other parts of the country. When the History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky was written in 1833, the ordinary route of the mail from Washington City and Philadelphia to Louisville, in Kentucky, was only about a week or eight days to either place. At the present time, in 1854, it is about 2½ days to Louisville, and from 3 to 4 days to St. Louis.

This is not the place to expatiate upon the honorable termination of the labors and sacrifices of the sages and patriots of the American Revolution; they are embalmed in a more enduring manner than by any historical record—the hearts and memories of an emancipated people. The incidental operation which peace produced on our domestic hostilities most strictly appertains to the affairs of the valley. The Indians, alarmed at the approaching loss of their powerful allies, who had fed, clothed and armed
them against their most hateful enemies, who had taken possession of their hunting grounds, suspended their incursions into Kentucky.

It may be interesting to the reader, in connection with the negotiation of peace, to observe the attempts which were so artfully and perseveringly taken with all the skills of the old diplomacy of Europe to sever the valley of the Ohio from the rest of the confederacy. The first step taken in this insidious intrigue was by Count Lucerne [Chevalier de Luzerne], at Philadelphia in conformity with instructions from Count de Vergennes, [Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes], the French minister of State. On the arrival of the former gentleman in America, he lost no time in pressing on Congress certain instructions for their ministers at Paris, pursuant to the following ideas: 1. “That the United States extend to the westward no further than settlements were permitted by the British proclamation of 1763,” that is forbidding settlements west of the Allegheny mountains; 2. “That the United States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon”; 3. “That the settlement east of the Mississippi” [embracing the whole valley of the Ohio with its southern neighbors] “which were prohibited as above, are the possessions of the Crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish Crown.”

In consequence of events adverse to the American arms, Congress, on the motion of the Delegates from Virginia, authorized by a resolution of the State Legislature in 1781, and assented to by all the Southern States with the exception of North Carolina, instructed Mr. Jay, then minister to Madrid, “no longer to insist on the free navigation of the Mississippi below the southern boundary of the United States.” Still this dishonorable and destructive concession was fruitless; and Spain would neither acknowledge American independence, nor form any treaty with the United States, though she would have granted any money required by the exigencies of the United States, provided Mr. Jay would have concurred in her favorite scheme of excluding foreigners from entering the Gulf of Mexico by the rivers of the North.

The independent firmness of John Jay, in resisting these arro-
gant pretensions, under the mortifying pressure of bills of exchange drawn upon him by Congress for half a million of dollars, in expectation of Spanish assistance, must immortalize him among American patriots; they form a model for their guidance in similar emergencies. To it, we owe the vantage ground in regard to the precious right of navigating the Mississippi, which is now matured into full and indisputed sovereignty from its head-waters to the Gulf of Mexico.

But notwithstanding the failure of this favorite Spanish scheme at Madrid, it was pressed again at Paris by the Spanish minister, Count de Aranda, supported by Count de Vergennes and his secretary, M. Rayneval [Joseph Mathias Gérard de Rayneval], upon the same minister, with, however, the same honorable result. This second failure, when supported by the whole influence of the French cabinet, is still more honorable to the character of Mr. Jay, because the French minister to the United States had the adroitness to persuade Congress in a moment either of despondency or of credulous confidence to untrust its ministers at Paris, "to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence," meaning the concurrence of the ministers of the king of France, "and ultimately to govern yourselves by their advice and opinion." A step of degrading compliance and subserviency which, whenever this country shall again be prepared to take, it had better surrender in form an independence which she would no longer retain in reality.

Yet the American plenipotentiaries extricated themselves from the foils prepared for them by a foreign court armed with the perverted authority of their own government, and by a firm and sagacious concert brought their country by solemn treaty with exalted honor out of war into peace, and out of colonial subjection into national independence.

Let us now attend to some of the proposals which would have affected the future condition of the valley of the Ohio. The Secretary to the French minister of State, after a long argument to show that the rights of the United States were derived through Great Britain, and that she had acknowledged the Indians as an independent power belonging to neither party, proposed to run the boundary on the west to Fort Toulouse, and then by various
points, which the author has been unable to identify in our more recent topography, to intersect the "Cumberland River, whose course is to be followed until it falls into the Ohio. The savages to the west of the line described," that is west or northwest of the Cumberland River, should be free and under the protection of Spain; "the lands situated to the northward of the Ohio "must be regulated by the court of London." Fortunately these joint intrigues of Spain and France (too much like the two serpents in ancient mythology sent to strangle the infant Hercules in his cradle only the jealous Juno is known) were admirably counteracted by John Jay on his own individual responsibility, against his own instructions.

The definite treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, in September, 1783, but the ratification of the parties was not exchanged until May, 1784. This it was fondly hoped, would have immediately led to the surrender of the British posts on the lakes, and consequently to a control over the conduct of the Indians, which has ever followed these strongholds in their country. They have ever proved the keys to their passions of fear or attachment, whether in French, British or American hands. Mutual complaints of infractions of the treaty, and unfortunately as well grounded against Virginia for suspending the collection of British debts in her courts, as against Great Britain for retaining forts within the acknowledged boundary of the United States, protracted the execution of the treaty. In the meantime, the Indians perceiving the frontier fortifications which strike them as the most palpable marks of ascendency, still in the hands of their old friends, necessarily relied upon protection from them against the Americans. This was too readily afforded by the agents and subjects of the British government, particularly those who were interested in the monopoly of the fur trade.

Truth likewise demands the acknowledgement that many individuals in the West displayed a revengeful hostility against the Indians, not at all short of their own ferocity to the whites. In one instance, a friendly Indian was seduced into the woods by a white man and secretly murdered; yet no punishment of the law could be inflicted upon the offender, owing to the popular resent-
ment against old enemies and the unjustifiable sympathy with a shedder of human blood, though Indian.

The effect of this winking of the laws at the offenses of the white man against his red brother is said to have been instantaneous; "the amicable parties of Indians ceased, confidence was lost, friendly intercourse abated"; and retaliation became the only redress. This soon lighted up [again] hostilities on the frontiers. In estimating these conflicts, it must not be forgotten that the Indians were pre-disposed against the white man by nearly two centuries' encroachment upon everything dear to native hunters.

Previous, however, to entering on another portion of the sanguinary annals of the country, it will be interesting to notice the extension of our pacific, and the improvement of our social, condition.

Hitherto that portion of Kentucky, lying north of Licking River, had remained unsettled, as it was deemed dangerous from its contiguity to the northern Indians. Indeed, surveys had been suspended in this part of the country by order of the principal surveyor; they were afterwards resumed, and again suspended, by the appearance of Indian signs.

In March, 1783, an improvement of the judiciary in this distant part of Virginia was directed by the legislature, uniting the three counties into one district, to be called the District of Kentucky, with a court of common law and chancery jurisdiction co-extensive with its limits, and also possessed of criminal jurisdiction. This court was opened at Harrodsburg on the 3d of the month, by John Floyd and Samuel McDowell as judges; the third judge, George Muter, did not attend until 1785. John May was appointed the first clerk, and Walker Daniel was likewise appointed by the Governor of Virginia Attorney General for the District of Kentucky. This constitutes the third alteration of Kentucky: 1, the county of Kentucky; 2, the three counties sinking for a time the name of Kentucky; and now, 3, reviving the name of Kentucky in the District of that name, to go out, we trust, no more forever. This commenced the higher judicial organization; at this time no house at Harrodsburg could conveniently accommodate the court; and it adjourned to a meeting house near the Dutch station, six miles from its place of meeting. The Attorney General and Clerk
were directed to fix on some safe place near Crow's station, close to the present town of Danville, for holding the court; they were likewise authorized to contract for building a jail of hewed or sawed logs, at least nine inches thick. This arrangement . . . gave rise to the town of Danville. For the court engaged that in case the said Daniel and May at their own expense caused to be built a log house large enough for a courtroom in one end, and two jury rooms in the other on the same floor, together with a jail, "they would adjourn to the place so to be fixed on, and promised a conditional re-imbursement, in case they removed to any other place, either out of the funds allowed for the support of the court, if sufficient, if not, by using their influence with the legislature to have them paid." This had the desired effect, and Danville, in Mercer County, Kentucky, arose out of this speculation.9

Yet this ancient town . . . after having been the victim of various strange juggles of political intrigue [causing it to cease being] a county seat has again become the seat of justice for the new county of Boyle. May the sound and excellent college so appropriately denominated Centre College, and the beneficent Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, long continue to compensate the inhabitants of this delicious section of Kentucky, the primitive metropolis of the State, for the wayward tricks of which they were so long made the victims.

Society now rapidly assumed the character of older and riper communities. A fertile soil, liberty and peace soon spread their benign influences over the land. The fields smiled with the heavy crops [and] cattle and hogs throve in the rich range of the woods to an astonishing degree. Emigrants diffused considerable money, and labor was well rewarded. Mechanics, divines and schoolmasters soon filled up the picture. Several crops of wheat were raised on the south or southwestern side of the Kentucky River [and] some distilleries for the distillation of spirits from Indian corn were built.

This year (1783) was likewise distinguished by the opening of western trade with the fair and opulent city of Philadelphia. It was done by Daniel Broadhead, who brought merchandise from that place in wagons to Pittsburgh and thence in flat bottomed boats to Louisville where it was exposed for sale, and thus estab-
lished, it is believed, the first store in the State for the sale of foreign merchandise.

In Philadelphia were formed several companies of land speculators who converted their hordes of depreciated paper money of Virginia into land warrants of that State, and added a new impulse to a tide of warrant holders already at a flood.

A commercial association had likewise been formed at the above city, the active partner of which was James Wilkinson, afterwards so prominent in western affairs. This gentleman's movements... were so influential and impressive as to constitute quite an era in the history of the West. He will again present himself on the canvass in prominent attitudes and strong lights. He arrived at Lexington, Kentucky, in February, 1784, where he proposed to open a store of merchandise adapted to the wants of the country.

During this year, Simon Kenton, of distinguished fame in these heroic times of the West, re-possessed himself of improvements made by him in 1775, after an absence of nine years. The site of these improvements was near the head of Lawrence's creek [Mason County]. Here, he with others “erected a blockhouse, with a view of permanent possession, being the first established in that part of the country. They added other cabins in the course of the summer, and in the autumn of 1784 the station became inhabited by families.”

Thus was the northern portal of Kentucky fortified to protect the entrance of immigrants who might land at Limestone, now Maysville. Here also Kenton with Edward and John Waller erected another blockhouse the same year. At this time there were only three stations between Limestone and the Blue Licks, the latter made by the Messrs. Tanners, the previous year, and the first outside of Bryan's station in this direction. Thus the route soon became a favorite avenue for immigrants into the country, offering them security and much comfort for so new a frontier just snatched from the wilderness, even in comparison with what had been the case but two years before. “Now they were permitted to lodge on the cabin floor, instead of the damp, unbroken soil; now they were sheltered by strong walls and a tight roof, in the place of clouds or the more distant sky—so lately their own caravansary. While

...
the owner of the newly erected castle, not free from the apprehension of danger, felt himself and his family more secure on account of his traveling guests, bade them a hearty welcome—asked them the news—showed them where the best cane or clover grew for their horses, and when they were belled and hopped, bade their owners come in and rest themselves.”

Such is the graphic picture of an immigrant’s reception on his first entrance into a frontier settlement. It is drawn by the hand of a master who had himself witnessed all its lights and details.

CHAPTER XIX

NOTES

5. At the head of the Tombickbee, or Tombigbee, Darby’s *Gazetteer*.
8. The grandfather of the celebrated surgeon of that name in St. Louis, Mo.
OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE; FIRST ROADS; THE FRONTIER SETTLER; THE CABIN; THE FORT; MODE OF ALARMING THE SETTLERS ON AN INDIAN INVASION; THE FURNITURE OF A FRONTIER CABIN; THE CRADLE OF THE FRONTIER; THE TABLE FURNITURE; SURPRISING CONTRAST OF FRONTIER WITH MORE CIVILIZED CUSTOMS; DIET, DRESS OF THE FRONTIER; DEERSKINS AND PAPER CURRENCY OF THE FRONTIER.

The opportunity now seems favorable to notice the spirit and manners of society in these primitive times of western history. Until nearly this time, the proportion of females had been small, painfully so, to the gallantry and devotion of the males; it was now, about 1781, no longer felt. A large migration of young unmarried females took place, and a license to marry is said to have been the first process issued by the clerks of the new counties. "There was not a lawsuit known to exist at that time in the country," since so loaded with litigation about the very homes and firesides of her citizens.

Our first settlers were necessarily composed in general of those who had braved and enjoyed the perils and enterprise of settling the frontier of the adjacent States. Few others could support the hardships, or would encounter the perils and difficulties which environed a residence in these dark and bloody grounds. The duties of the household in the happy absence at that time of slaves were discharged by the white females. They milked the cows, prepared the meats, spun and wove the garments of their husbands and children, while the men cleared the land, prepared it for the future crops and hunted the woods for game.

To grind the Indian corn or maize into meal on the rude and
laborious handmill, or to pound it to hominy in a large wooden mortar was occasionally the work of either sex. The defense of the country, the building of forts and cabins fell most properly to the men. Yet it was not uncommon in these heroic times, during a siege by the Indians, for the women to cast bullets and neck them in order to fit them for the rifle. Deerskins were extensively used for dress, to compose the hunting shirt, the long overalls, the leggings, or the soft and pliable moccasins. The bear and the buffalo furnished the principal covering for the bed. Handkerchiefs tied round the head often supplied the place of hats; strips of buffalo hide were used for ropes.

Stores and shops were unknown for a long time after the settlement of the country; wooden vessels, prepared by the turner, the cooper, or their rude representatives in the woods, were common substitutes for table furniture. "A tin cup was an article of delicate luxury, almost as rare as an iron fork." Every hunter carried a knife, too aptly called a scalping knife, in the hands of the white man as much as in those of the Indian. One or two knives composed the cutlery for families, never deficient in children. The furniture of the cabin was appropriate to the habitation.

But on a subject so interesting as ancient manners in any condition of society, and particularly that of our own frontier ancestors, it may be permitted to enlarge a little more.

To the fearless and persevering efforts of the enterprising pioneers of the West we owe the conquest of this noble portion of the United States from the dominion of the fiercest and most warlike tribes of North America. The portrait of their manners is rapidly fading away, and the author feels an irresistible desire to retouch the lineaments of so interesting a picture for the admiration, may he not say for the emulation of posterity, in many noble, generous and gallant qualities.

There are no subjects on which the curiosity of distant generations delights to dwell more than on the representations of the manners of different people and differing states of society. They form the very essence and living spirit of history, presenting a key to the transactions it records in every change they undergo. Such delineations constitute an essential portion of the history of human nature; at all times a study engaging to the least inquisitive...
What ingenious pains have been exerted to disinter and to decipher the indications of such facts in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii? What gives such powerful interest to *The Last Days of Pompeii* but its weaving together into one web the habits and practices of the ancient Romans scattered in fragments over the surface of classical learning—one graphic and life-like narrative of habits and facts often eluding the searching eye of the antiquary! Can our posterity, if the term is not one of too distant existence, be incurious about the manners and spirit which animated the pioneers and founders of western society?

The author will then enter into this description assisted by the best lights he has been able to gather on this obscure and neglected portion of social history. He will arrange these materials under several heads indicative of the most interesting phases of society.

1. Early Roads in the West, and the First Road in the western country.

The first thing which strikes the notice in a country yet unsubdued by the hand of civilization is the utter absence of roads. Paths and traces or trails constantly requiring the aid of the axe to enlarge them are the only approaches to a country in such a condition, unless a friendly river offers its bosom to transport the curious explorer or bold warrior.

In the more fertile regions of the West, particularly where the cane or the salt licks abounded, the deer and the buffalo, by their constant passage in pursuit of this luscious herbage and delicious condiment, opened roads which were often by the hunters called *streets*. These *buffalo roads*, as they were termed, formed most useful avenues by which to penetrate the country. In the luxuriant canebrakes of the West, the growth of the cane was so tall and springy as often to lift both horse and rider off the ground in passing over the strong elastic stalks.

The first artificial road which the author has been able to obtain any account of is the one made by order of the old Ohio Company, about 1750. Captain Thomas Cresap, the father of Michael Cresap, immortalized by the erroneous imputations of Mr. Jefferson, was employed for this purpose. An Indian, by the name of Namacolin, is said to have been the pilot of a route so disastrous to his race. It corresponded to the route afterwards
pursued by General Braddock, and nearly conformable to the present national road. [The Cumberland Road] This is no feeble confirmation of the judgment of native engineers in the woods.

The next road in the West was one authorized by the Legislature of Virginia, in 1766, to the cut from "the North Branch of Potomac River to Fort Pitt, on the Ohio, by or near the route called Braddock's road."

In 1772, so feeble still was western population, that the government of Virginia had to lend its aid towards opening a road from the Warm Springs to Jenning's Gap. At the session of 1779,7 another great road was authorized to be made from the settlements east of the Cumberland mountains to the open country of the County of Kentucky. But these roads were, with the exception of the first, accommodations to a pre-existent population, and not the first means of approaching the country. The Cumberland Gap in the southeast and the Ohio River on the northwest, were the principal approaches to the West.

THE SETTLER.—It was along these narrow and obstructed routes which had been passed by the hunter, or the Indian warrior, that the pioneer travelled, and often with his family, their scanty stock of furniture packed on the back of a horse well called a packhorse. Pursuing his route in this primitive style, the pioneer would encamp upon the line of his direction, until his critical fancy might be pleased with some spot on which to rest for a season of cropping and hunting. Here the wanderer and his companions, if he had any, which was not always deemed necessary except in a time of Indian war, would make a clearing — that is, would cut down or girdle the trees, at least sufficiently to make as well as to place his log cabin.

THE CABIN.—This was composed of the trunks of trees bared of their branches, notched at the ends, and fitted upon one another, in a quadrangular shape to the desired height. Openings cut through the logs left room for doors and shutters. A capacious opening, nearly the whole width of the cabin, made the fireplace. By this ample width, economy of labor in cutting lengths of firewood, as well as comfort in houses not too close, were both consulted. If, however, there were any danger apprehended from Indians, then the cabin walls of different families composed one
THE FORT.—The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, with a roof sloping inwards. A very few of those cabins had puncheon floors; the greater part had earthen floors. Where the cabins did not extend, pickets were firmly set into the earth to complete the fortification. In all this work not a nail nor a spike of iron was used, for “such things were not to be had.” “Block houses were built at the angles of the fort, cabins and the stockade. Their upper stories were about eighteen inches every way longer in dimension than the under story, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story, to prevent an enemy from making a lodgment under their walls. In some forts, instead of block houses, the angles of the fort were finished with bastions, or projecting bulwarks. A large folding gate, made of thick slabs nearest the spring, closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins and blockhouses, were furnished with port holes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made bullet proof.”

Still the attachment of the people to their separate cabins on their farms were so great, the privacy, the room, in fine, all the comforts of home were so preferable there to the crowded, cramped and noisome fort, that the people seldom moved into the forts until the spring, or until some murder committed by the Indians showed too plainly there was no longer safety out of them.

When this was found to be the case, the terrors of the people, and the precautions used to guard against their enemies on these occasions, may be well judged from the following natural account given by an actor in these early scenes of western danger and privation. “I remember that, when a little boy, the family were sometimes waked up in the dead night by an express with a report that the Indians were at hand. The express came softly to the door, or back window, and by gentle tapping waked the family. This was easily done, as habitual fear made us ever watchful and sensible to the slightest alarm. The whole family were instantly in motion. My father seized his gun and other implements of war. My stepmother waked up and dressed the children as well as she could; and being myself the eldest of the children, I had to take my share of the burthens to be carried to the fort. There was no
possibility of getting a horse in the night to aid us in removing
to the fort. Besides the little children, we caught up what articles
of provisions and clothing we could get hold of in the dark; for we
dared not light a candle, or stir the fire. All was done with the
utmost dispatch and the silence of death. The greatest care was
taken not to awaken the youngest child. To the rest it was suf-
ficient to say Indian, and not a whimper was heard afterwards.
Thus it often happened that the whole number of families belong-
ing to a fort who in the evening were at their homes were all in
their little fortress before the dawn of the morning. In the course
of the succeeding day, their furniture was brought in by parties
of armed men."

THE FURNITURE OF THE CABIN.—Let us now look into
the interior of the primitive cabins, to which their owners were so
much attached amid such appalling dangers. The furniture was
appropriate to the habitation. The table was composed of a slab
roughly hewn with an axe, and stood on legs prepared in the same
manner. This latter instrument was the principal tool in all me-
chanical operations, and with the adze, the auger, and above all,
the rifle composed the richest mechanical assortment of the fron-
tier. Stools of the same material and manufacture as those of the
table filled the place of chairs.

When someone more curiously nice than his neighbors chose
to elevate his bed above the floor (often an earthen one), it was
placed on slabs laid across poles, which were again supported by
forks driven into the floor. If, however, the floor happened to be
so luxurious as to be made of puncheons, the bedstead became of
hewed pieces let into the sides of the cabins by auger holes in the
logs.

Nor ought the cradle of these times to be omitted. It was a
small rolling trough, much like what is called a sugar trough, which
is used to receive the sap of the sugar-maple tree when tapped to
discharge it. The table furniture, for many years after the settle-
ment of the country, consisted of a few pewter dishes and plated
spoons, but more generally of wooden bowls, trenchers and nog-
gins. When these were scarce, gourds and hard shelled squashes
made up the deficiency. The iron pots, knives and forks were
brought from the east side of the mountains along with the salt and iron on pack horses.¹¹

These luxuries could only be acquired, however, where the new settlements were in some degree contiguous to the older ones. In the remoter West, nature supplied the people with salt from the springs of salt water, scattered by Divine Providence over the whole western country.

It is amusing to record that the first introduction of delftware was considered by some of the old settlers as a culpable innovation — some of the "wasteful ways," as Leatherstockings would have said. This ware was too easily broken, and what was a much more weighty objection, it dulled the edge of the knives.

How forcibly the contrast of this simple furniture with that of a country more advanced in the arts must have struck the least observant. An illustration of this remark is related by Dr. Doddridge, already so freely quoted in the same graphic sketches, which principally form the sources of this account.

This gentleman, when not more than seven years old, was sent into Maryland to a relative there, in order to go to school. On his journey he says: "At Colonel Brown's in the mountains at Stoney Creek glades, I for the first time saw tame geese; and by bantering a pet gander, I got a severe biting by his bill and beating with his wings. I wondered very much that birds so large and strong should be so much tamer than the wild turkies. At this place, however, all was right except the geese. The cabin and the furniture were such as I had been accustomed to see in the backwoods, as my country (northwestern Virginia) was called. At Bedford, Pennsylvania, everything was changed. The tavern at which my uncle put up was a stonehouse; and to make the change still more complete, it was plastered on the inside, both as to the walls and ceilings. On going into the dining room, I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea that there was any house in the world that was not built of logs; but here I looked round the house, and could see no logs, and above all, I could see no joints; whether such a thing had been made by the hands of man, or had grown so of itself, I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to inquire anything about it.

"When supper came in, my confusion was worse confounded.
A little cup stood in a bigger one, with some brownish looking stuff, which was neither milk, hominy nor broth; what to do with these little cups and the little spoon belonging to them, I could not tell; and I was afraid to ask anything concerning the use of them. It was in the time of war [Revolutionary] and the company were giving accounts of catching, whipping and hanging the Tories. The word jail frequently occurred; this word I never heard before; but I soon discovered its meaning, and was very much terrified at it, and supposed that we were in much danger of the fate of the Tories; for I thought, as we had come from the backwoods, it was altogether likely that we must be Tories too. For fear of being discovered, I dared not utter a single word. I therefore watched attentively what the folks would do with their little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond anything I ever had tasted in my life. I continued to drink as the rest of the company did, with tears streaming from my eyes; but when it was to end, I was at a loss to know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I dared not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his little cup up and put his spoon across it. I observed after this, his cup was not filled again; I followed his example, and to my great satisfaction, the result as to my cup was the same.”

Diet.—“Hog and hominy” constituted a dish of proverbial celebrity, when that animal had sufficiently increased in numbers. Johny Cake, or pone, was at the outset of the settlement of the country the only form of bread in use for breakfast and dinner. At supper, milk and mush were the standard dish. When milk was not plentiful, which was often the case owing to the scarcity or the want of a proper pasture for cows, the substantial dish of hominy had to supply the want of it; mush was often eaten with sweetened water, molasses, bears’ oil, or the gravy of fried meat. Every family, besides a little garden for a few vegetables which they cultivated, had another small enclosure containing from half to
an acre, which they called a truck patch, in which they raised corn for roasting ears, pumpkins, squashes, beans and potatoes. These, in the latter part of the summer and fall, were cooked with their pork, venison and bear meat for dinner, and made very wholesome and well-tasted dishes.¹⁵

"Tea and coffee were only slops," which came into use in later times; and were said in the adage of the day "not to stick by the ribs." The idea was that they were designed only for people of quality, who did not labor, or the sick. A genuine backwoodsman would have thought himself disgraced by showing a fondness for slops. Indeed, many of them have to this day (1824) but little respect for them.¹⁶

DRESS.—From the meats and food of our pioneers we will pass to their dress. The hunting shirt, which so much delighted Colonel [Henry] Bouquet¹⁷ when he saw it on Colonel Washington's men, in the French war of 1756, was universally worn. It was a kind of loose frock reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large, and sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of another color from that of the hunting shirt itself. The bosom of this dress served as a wallet, to hold a chunk of bread, cake, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other necessary for the hunter or the warrior. In cold weather, the mittens, and sometimes the bullet bag occupied the front part of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping knife, in its leathern sheath. The hunting shirt was generally made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deer skins. These last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket were of the common fashion. A pair of drawers on breeches and leggings were the dress for the thighs and legs; a pair of moccasins answered for the feet better than shoes.

The former were made of dressed deerskin, mostly of a single piece, with a gathering seam along the top of the foot and another from the bottom of the heel without gathers as high as the ankle joint, or a little higher. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the leg by strings of deerskin, so that no dirt, gravel or snow could get within the moccasins. The moccasin in
ordinary use cost but a few hours' labor to make them. This was done by an instrument denominated a moccasin awl, which was made of the back spring of an old clasp knife. This awl with its buck horn handle was an appendage to every shotpouch, together with a roll of buckskin for mending the moccasins. This was the labor of almost every evening. They were sewed together and patched with deerskin thongs, or whangs, as they were commonly called. In cold weather the moccasins were well stuffed with deers' hair or dry leaves, so as to keep the feet warm and comfortable; but in wet weather, it was usually said, that wearing them was "a decent way of going barefoot"; and such was the fact, owing to the spongy texture of the leather of which they were made.¹⁸

These particulars and details respecting a dress still familiar in the frontiers of the United States, may at first seem unnecessary; but they are fast passing out of memory on what has once been the frontier, even to the margin of the Atlantic; and the author thinks that this record of a curious and intelligent pioneer may well be preserved for the gratification of future generations.

"Owing to this defective covering of the feet, more than to any other circumstance, the greater number of our hunters and warriors was afflicted with rheumatism in their limbs. Of this disease they were always apprehensive, in cold or wet weather; and they therefore always slept with their feet to the fire, to prevent or cure it as well as they could. This practice fortunately had a very salutary effect, and prevented many of them from becoming cripples in early life.

"In the latter part of the Indian war, young men became more enamoured of the Indian dress throughout, with the exception of the blanket. The drawers were laid aside, and the leggins were made longer, so as to reach the upper part of the thigh. The Indian breech clout was adopted. This was a piece of linen or cloth near a yard long and eight or nine inches broad. This passed under the belt before and behind, leaving the ends for flaps hanging before and behind over the belt. These flaps were sometimes ornamented with some coarse kind of embroidery work; to the same belts which secured the breech clout, strings were attached to support the long leggins. When this belt, as was often the case, passed over the hunting shirt to the front, the upper part of the
thighs and of the hips was naked. The young warrior, instead of being ashamed at this nudity, was proud of his Indian-like dress. In some few instances, I have seen them go into places of public worship in this dress. Their appearance did not add much to the devotion of the young ladies.

"The linsey petticoat and bed gown were the universal dress of our women in early times. They went barefoot in warm weather, and in cold their feet were covered with moccasins, coarse shoes, or short socks. The coats and bed gowns of the women, as well as the hunting shirts of the men, were hung in full display on wooden pegs round the walls of their cabins, so that while they answered, in some degree, the place of paperhanging, or tapestry, they announced to the visitors their wealth or poverty in the articles of clothing."

Nor was the female sex exempt from the labors of the times. "They had to handle the distaff or shuttle, the sickle or the weeding hoe, contented if they could obtain their linsey clothing and cover their heads with a sun bonnet made of six or seven hundred linen."

NOTES

CHAPTER XX

2. The term Kentuckee, or Kentucky, is said to have this meaning in the language of the Indians. The author, however, has been unable to confirm this popular etymology by the inquiries he has made of those conversant with the language of the natives. The Kentucky River is called Cuttawa by Lewis Evans, in his map of the Middle Colonies, published at Philadelphia in 1755. It is called Kentucke, or Cuttawa, in the treaty of Greenville, in 1795. Editor's note: William Elsey Connelley and E. M. Coulter, History of Kentucky, 5 vols. (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1922). Mr. Connelley, vol. I, 2, is convinced that the name came from the Wyandot Indians, who called the land Kah-ten-tah-teh and Ken-tah-teh — land of tomorrow — land of promise.
3. Ibid., I, 123.
4. Jared Sparks, Life of Washington (Boston: Charles Tappan, 1844), 89.
5. John J. Jacob, Biographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Captain Michael Creasap, 27.
6. William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large of All the Laws of Virginia, VIII, 246, 252.
7. Ibid., IX, 143.
8. A thick sort of slab, flat and split, not sawed, logs.

212
9. The Reverend Doctor Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, from the Year 1763 until the Year 1783 Inclusive.* Together with a View of the State of Society and Manners of the Western Country (17 cm. 317 pp. Leather. Printed at the Office of the *Gazette* for the author, Wellsburgh, Virginia, 1829), pp. 116, 118. Doctor Joseph Doddridge, of western Virginia, brother to the late Phillip Doddridge, of great public and professional eminence. The *Notes* of the former are the treasury of which such free use is made in this account of frontier manners.

10. The writer recollects a distinguished public character of Kentucky, the late Chief Justice [William] Logan, [son of Col. Benjamin Logan] boasting before the people, in a canvas for the governorship of the State, that “he had been born in a station, and rocked in a sugar trough.”

12. Ibid., 90.
13. Sometimes written *Journey* cake, perhaps from the rapidity with which it is cooked or toasted before the fire in time for a speedy journey.
15. Doddridge, ibid., 88.
16. Ibid., 90.
17. Ibid., 91.
18. Ibid., 92.
One of the chief occupations of frontier life was hunting. The preservation of life from day to day somewhat depended upon the skill and fortitude with which it was pursued. Hunting therefore constituted perhaps the highest dignity and enjoyment of a backwoodsman. A great hunter was his beau ideal of a man. So dependent were our females at first on the product of the hunt, “that it was no uncommon thing for them to live for several months without a mouthful of bread. It frequently happened that there was no breakfast until it was obtained from the woods.”

Moreover, fur and peltry were the people’s money. They had nothing else to give in exchange for rifles, salt and iron on the other side of the mountains. In illustration of this currency which estimated property in bucks, that is their skins, instead of dollars and pounds—“a buck was valued at one dollar, a doe at half a dollar, it is believed.” This may be exemplified by the following copy of a certificate recorded in Col. Morgan’s journal: “I do certify that I am indebted to the bearer, Captain Johnny, seven bucks and one doe for the use of the States, this 12th April, 1779. Signed: Samuel Sample, Assistant Quartermaster. The above is due to
him for pork for the use of the garrison at Fort Laurens. Signed John Gibson, Colonel.”

This is only a specimen of the paper currency of the frontier. Col. Gibson was the commander of this premature post on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, about seventy miles west of Fort McIntosh, a little below the mouth of Sandy Creek. The certificates, of which the above specimen is furnished, were redeemed most likely in other paper or goods, by the Indian agent at Fort Pitt. This traffic was denied, in a great degree, to the far West, as Kentucky and the western portion of North Carolina, and the Holston settlements, owing to its distant position and the hostile state of the country, while the French settlements on the Wabash and Mississippi carried on a trade with New Orleans, then prohibited to the more eastern parts of the Ohio valley.

The exhilarating chase, so animating at any time, but stirring indeed, when the Indians might be lurking in any canebrake, was principally followed in the fall and the early part of the winter after deer; during the whole winter and spring, for the fur animals. The season for hunting was often expressed by saying that “fur was good in every month whose name contains the letter R”. As soon as the fall of the leaf had taken place, and the rains and light snow had come on, the frontier men, after having acted the part of husbandmen, as far as the hostile condition of the country would admit, longed to be in the woods after the game with all the restless eagerness of the passion for hunting. “They became uneasy at home; everything about them became disagreeable. The house was too warm, the feather-bed was too soft, and even the good wife was not thought for the time a proper companion. The mind of the hunter was occupied with the camp and the chase. I have often seen them get up early in the morning, at this season, walk hastily out, and look anxiously to the woods, walk into the house, and cast a quick and attentive look at the rifle, which was always suspended to a joist by a couple of buck horns or little forks. His hunting dog, understanding the intentions of his master, would wag his tail, and, by every blandishment in his power, would express his readiness to accompany him to the woods. A day was soon appointed for the march of the little cavalcade to the camp. Two or three horses furnished with packsaddles were loaded with flour, Indian
meal, blankets and everything else requisite for the use of the hunter."

A hunting camp, or what was called a half-faced cabin or camp, was formed sometimes with a large log for its back; eight or ten feet from this, a couple of stakes were driven into the ground to receive the side-poles, and opposite to them two others eight or ten feet from the former. Thus the sides of the camp were formed. The roof sloped from the front to the back; this was covered with slabs, skins or blankets; and if it was the spring of the year, the bark of the hickory or of the ash tree was employed. The front was left entirely open, and the fire kindled there. The openings between the poles were stuffed with moss and dry leaves, which formed both carpet and bed.

Such were the temporary shelters from the inclemencies of the weather, [shelters] raised in a few hours. A little more labor ... might have rendered a hunting camp proof against an attack of Indians. As it was, vigilance did not always protect the white hunters in their camps from surprise and death [at the hands of] Indians.

"The site of the camp called for the aid of the best sagacity of the woodsman to shelter it from the north and west winds. Nor was the situation of his camp the only way in which a hunter could show his wood-craft; so far from it, a skillful hunter could tell by the state of the weather, before he left his permanent home, where he should meet with the game, whether in the bottom, in the sides, or the tops of the hills. In stormy weather, the deer always seek the most sheltered places, and the leeward side of hills. In rainy weather, in which there is not much wind, they keep in the open woods on the highest ground. In all situations the hunter was required to know the direction of the wind, in order to sit on the leeside of the game. For this purpose, he would put his finger in his mouth, until it got warm, and then raising it above his head, the side of his finger which first became cold would tell him the course of the wind, and the direction of the chase would be accordingly modified."³

The points of the compass too were as necessary in the waste of the woods, as in that of the waters. The instrument for pointing out the navigation of the forest was the appearance of the bark
and the moss on the trunks of the trees. “The bark of an aged tree is much thicker and much rougher on the north side.”

“These were only part of the tactics of the hunter; he was constantly on the alert with all his experience and knowledge of the ground, not only to gain the wind of the game, but to approach it without being seen. If he succeeded in killing a deer, he skinned it, and hung it up out of reach of the wolves”; the hunter then might resume his sport, and follow it till evening, when he would repair to his camp, kindle a fire and, together with his fellow-hunter, if he had one, enjoy the fruit of his day’s toil. Then after supper, the adventures of many a day’s hunting, the spike buck, the two and three pronged, the doe and the barren doe, or the surly bear, the fierce buffaloe, or the leaping panther, (or painter, as is the pronunciation of the frontier), or above all, the wild Indian, beguiled away the long evening, until the fatigues of the day wrapped the musers in an imperfect repose and wakeful sleep. After hunting for some time on the same ground, the hunter could, it is said, distinguish the different gangs of deer so as to know one flock from another. Often an old sagacious buck would, by his wary maneuvers, save his gang from the huntsman’s skill. . . Occasionally it would happen, “as time and chance happen to all animals,” that through a whole season a hunter would be foiled by some remarkable antagonist, and the antlered hero would still be left to lead his spotted descendants a little longer. If, however, the craft of the hunter brought down the pride of the woods, the victory was enjoyed with no small boast on his part, and triumph on that of his companions.

Thus the mimic war went on; but if the weather were unsuitable for hunting, then the skins and carcasses of the game were taken into the settlements, whenever sufficiently near, and disposed of.

It was pleasing to know that amidst the cares and dangers of the forest, many of the hunters would not hunt on Sunday. Some from the religious feelings of former years and other states of life, while others who entertained no particular veneration for the birth-day of creation, used to say, “that whenever they hunted on Sundays, they were sure to have bad luck all the rest of the week.”
LABORS OF THE FRONTIER.—The labors of a hostile frontier, it may well be conceived, were heavy, and yet painfully interrupted, so long as any apprehensions were entertained from the Indians. The greater part of the population were huddled together in forts or stations, as they were termed; they cultivated imperfectly some adjacent or distant fields. In these agricultural labors the rifle was used with the plough and the hoe; every man went afield with his military equipments; the arms were stacked in a central position ready to be used on the first alarm. A sentinel was stationed on the outside of the fence, when the work was going on, upon whose signal of alarm the whole company rushed to their arms, ready for mortal combat in a moment. Yet with these trying precautions and load of care upon their minds, in addition to the heavy labors of opening a farm in the country... the people still preserved their cheerfulness and spirits. The crops of the pioneers were often wasted by the horses and cattle which were let into the fields through the gaps... made by the falling of the thick timber; their sheep and hogs were often devoured by the wolves, panthers and the bears and their grain destroyed by whole troops of squirrels and raccoons. Many times, in the very height of the season, the husbandman was called off by his more imperious duties as a soldier, and the harvest of the spring's labor or the summer's ripening, was, in a great degree, lost.

MILITARY DUTIES OF THE FRONTIER.—In these truly iron times every able-bodied man was in truth by the necessity of his condition a soldier. Neither Arab nor Tartar, nor even our own native Indians, were more constantly on the lookout for the attacks of an enemy than were the backwoodsmen of the West.... Indeed, the most faithful idea that can be formed of our frontier countrymen, at this period, is that they were Indians in many respects more than their complexions. One most honorable exception to this remark, it would be cruel not to state, was their mercy to females and children in the prosecution of the relentless barbarity of war with savages. The men on the frontier of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland, bordering on the Valley of the Ohio, were often under arms, from the early spring to the late fall of the year. The marches, as they would have been termed on the
frontiers of Wales, England and Scotland, were studded over with military stations, such as have been described. From these [would issue] war parties against the Indians almost as frequently as from the Indian towns against them.

In these expeditions, the analogy to Indian manners was again displayed; the hold of officers on their men was slight; popularity was most significant. Officers might advise, but they could not command obedience; they might counsel, and those who approved of their advice, followed it, while those who did not, stayed at home. Public odium was the only punishment for their laziness or their cowardice. This was, however, a severe penalty in a state of society in which public opinion was powerful, and sympathy with each other intense.

In a state of commercial selfishness, the close relations of a society connected together by common fears and dangers into one family can scarcely be conceived. In conformity with this character of a society bound together by its social sympathies independent of coercive law, it is said, “that the instances of disobedience in families and individuals to the advice of their officers were by no means numerous. The greater number submitted to their directions with a prompt and cheerful obedience.”

Any man who without a reasonable cause failed to go and scout on campaigns, when it came to his turn, met with an expression of indignation in the countenances of all his neighbors, and epithets of dishonor were fastened upon him without mercy. “Debts, which make such an uproar in civilized life, were but little known among our forefathers at the early settlement of the country. After the depreciation of the continental paper, they had no money of any kind; everything purchased was paid for in produce or labor. A good cow and calf were often the price of a bushel of alum salt. If a contract was not punctually fulfilled, the credit of the delinquent was at an end.” This is related more especially to the northwestern part of Virginia. The only salt used in the far West, as in Kentucky, was manufactured from the salt springs of the country, which were not very productive. This was, however, long anterior to the rich supplies of the copious works on the Kanawha then buried in the mysteries of nature.

If a theft was detected in any of the frontier settlements, a sum-
mary mode of punishment was resorted to. "The first settlers, so far as I knew of them, had a kind of innate or hereditary detestation of the crime of theft in every shape or degree; and their maxim was, a thief must be whipped. If the theft was of something of some value, a kind of jury of the neighborhoods, after hearing the testimony, would condemn the culprit to Moses' law: that is, forty stripes save one. If the theft was of some small article, the offender was doomed to carry on his back the flag of the United States, which then consisted of thirteen stripes. In either case, some able hands were selected to execute the sentence, so that the stripes were sure to be well laid on. The punishment was followed by a sentence of exile; the offender was informed he must decamp in a certain number of days, and be seen there no more, on penalty of having the number of stripes doubled. For many years, after the law was put in force, in the western part of Virginia, the magistrates themselves were in the habit of giving those who were brought before them on charges of small theft the liberty of being sent to jail, or taking a whipping. The latter was generally taken, and was immediately inflicted, after which the thief was ordered to clear out. In some instances, stripes were inflicted not for the punishment of an offense, but for the purpose of extorting a confession from some suspected person. This was the torture of our early times, and no doubt sometimes very unjustly inflicted."

With all their rudeness, these people were given to hospitality, and freely divided their rough fare with a neighbor or a stranger; and would have been offended at the offer of pay. In their settlements and forts, they lived, they worked, they fought and feasted, or suffered together in cordial harmony. They were warm and constant in their friendships. On the other hand, they were revengeful in their resentments, and the points of honor sometimes led to personal combats. If one man called another a liar, he was considered as having given a challenge, which the person who received it must accept, or be deemed a coward; and the charge was generally answered on the spot with a blow. If the injured person was decidedly unable to fight the aggressor, he might get a friend to do it for him. The same took place on the charge of cowardice or any other dishonorable action; a battle must follow, and the person who made the charge must fight either the person
against whom he made the charge, or any champion who chose to espouse his cause.

Thus circumstanced, our people in early times were much more cautious of speaking evil of their neighbors than they are at present. Sometimes pitched battles occurred, at which time, place and seconds were appointed beforehand. "I remember [when a boy] having seen one of these pitched battles in my father's fort... One of the young men knew very well beforehand that he [would] get the worst of the battle, and no doubt repented the engagement to fight, but there was no getting over it. The point of honor demanded the risk of the battle. He got his whipping. The combatants then shook hands, and were good friends afterwards. The mode of single combat in these days was dangerous in the extreme; altho' no weapons were used, fists, teeth and feet were employed at will, but above all, the detestable practice of gouging, by which eyes were put out, rendered this mode of fighting frightful."

"I do not recollect that profane language was much more prevalent in our early times than at present. Among the people with whom I was most conversant, there was no other vestige of the Christian religion than a faint observation of Sunday, and that merely as a day of rest for the aged, and a play day for the young."

**MECHANIC ARTS.**—From the hunting and labors of a frontier life, the transition to an account of its mechanical aids is not abrupt. These were necessarily few and crude, yet prompted by necessity; the people achieved with their primitive and rude tools works of mechanical skill far beyond what a person enjoying all the advantages of civilization could expect from a population placed in such destitute circumstances. "No man could afford in a state of society so sparse and dangerous to rely upon any one trade or manufacture. Peace and population are indispensable to generate the variety and extent of social tastes, which lead to separate trades and the consequent perfection of the arts."

In the young West every family was under the necessity of doing everything for themselves as well as they could.

"The hominy block and the hand mill were in use in most of our houses. The first was made of a large block of wood about three feet long, with an excavation burned in one end, wide at the
top and narrow at the bottom, so that the action of the pestle on the bottom threw the corn up to the sides toward the top from whence it continually fell down to the centre. In consequence of this action, the grain was pretty equally subjected to the action of the pestle. In the fall of the year, while the Indian corn was soft, the block and pestle did pretty well for making meal for journey, or Johnny cake or mush; but when it became hard, it was rather slow. The sweep was sometimes used to lessen the toil of pounding the grain into meal. This was a contrivance similar to one used for elevating water from a well by the weight of a heavy beam supported by a pivot.” A machine still simpler than the mortar and pestle, was used for making meal, while the corn was too soft to be beaten. “It was called a grater; this was a half-circular piece of tin perforated with a punch from the concave side, and nailed by its edges to a block of wood. The ears of corn were rubbed on the rough edges of the holes, while the meal fell through them in the board or block to which it was nailed; and when being in a slanting direction, it discharged the meal into a cloth or bowl placed for its reception.

“The horse mill was better than the mortar and grater. It was made of two circular stones, the lowest of which was called the bed stone, the upper one the runner. These were placed in a hoop, with a spout for discharging the meal. A staff was let into a hole in the upper surface of the runner near the outer edge, and its upper end through a hole in a board fastened to a joist above, so that two persons could be employed in turning the mill at the same time. This was done by pulling at the upright staff, by a cross piece at right angles, which as it moved in its upper socket, drew the running stone along with it, and ground the grain. Our first mills were of the description denominated tub mills.

“Instead of bolting cloths, sifters were in general use. These were made of deerskins in the state of parchment, stretched over a hoop and perforated with a hot wire.

“Our clothing was all of domestic manufacture. We had no other resource for clothing, and this indeed was a poor one. The crops of flax often failed, and the sheep were destroyed by the wolves. Linsey, which is made of flax and wool, the former the chain, and the latter the filling, was the warmest and most substan-
tial cloth we could make. Almost every house contained a loom, and almost every woman was a weaver.

“Every family tanned its own leather. The tan vat was a large trough sunk to its upper edge in the ground; a quantity of bark was easily obtained every spring in clearing and fencing land. This, after drying, was pounded on a block of wood with an axe or a mallet. Ashes were used in place of lime for taking off the hair. Bear’s oil, hog’s lard and tallow answered the place of fish oil. The leather was coarse, but it was substantially good.

“The operation of currying was performed with a drawing knife, with its edge turned after the manner of a currying knife. The blacking of the leather was made of soot and hog’s lard. Almost every family contained its own tailors and shoemakers. Those who could not make shoes could make shoe packs. These, like moccasins, were made of a single piece of leather, with the exception of a tongue piece at the top of the foot. This was about two inches broad and circular at the lower end. To this the main piece of leather was sewed with a gathering stitch; the seam behind was like that of a moccasin. To the shoe pack, a sole was sometimes added. The women did the tailor work. They could all cut and make hunting shirts, leggins and drawers.

“With the few tools the pioneers brought with them into the country, they certainly performed wonders. Their plows, harrows with their wooden teeth, were in many instances well made. Their copper ware, which comprehended everything for holding milk and water, was generally pretty well executed. The cedar ware, by having alternately a white and red stave, was then thought beautiful; many of their puncheon floors were very neat, their joints close and the top smooth and even.

“Their looms, although heavy, did very well. Those who could not exercise these mechanic arts were under the necessity of giving labor or barter in exchange for the use of them, so far as their necessities required. An old man in my father’s neighborhood had the art of turning bowls from the knots of trees, particularly those of the ash. In what way he did it, I do not know, or whether there was much mystery in his art. Be that as it may, the old man’s skill was in great request, as turned wooden bowls were amongst our first rate articles of household furniture. My brothers
and myself once undertook to procure a fine suit of the bowls made of the best wood, the ash. We gathered all we could find on our father's land, and took them to the artist, who was to give, as the saying was, one half for the other. He put the knots in a branch (of water) before his door. A freshet came and swept them all away. Not one of them was ever found. This was a dreadful misfortune. Our anticipations of our elegant display of new bowls was utterly blasted in a moment, as the poor old man was not able to repair our loss or any part of it.”

As an illustration of expertness at various occupations, Dr. Doddridge relates the following account which may be acceptable as an individual example of the times superior to the most ample representation in vague generality. “My father possessed a mechanical genius of the highest order; and necessity, which is the mother of invention, occasioned the full exercise of his talents. His farming utensils were the best in the neighborhood. After making his loom, he often used it as a weaver. All the shoes belonging to the family were made by himself. He always spun his own shoe thread, saying that no woman could spin shoe thread as well as himself. I have seen him make a small, neat kind of wooden ware, called set work, in which the staves were all attached to the bottom of the vessel by means of a groove cut in them by a strong clasp-knife and a small chisel. He was sufficiently carpenter to build the best kind of houses then in use; that is to say, first a cabin, and afterwards the hewed log houses with a shingle roof. In his latter years, he became sickly, and not being able to labor, amused himself with tolerably good imitations of cabinet work. Not possessing sufficient health for service on the scouts and campaigns, his duty was that of repairing the rifles of his neighbors when they needed it. In this business he manifested a high degree of ingenuity. A small depression on the surface of a stump or log and a wooden mallet were his instruments for strengthening the gun barrel when crooked. Without the aid of a bow string, he could discover the smallest bend in a barrel. With a bit of steel he could make a saw for deepening the furrow (the curved groove of the rifle) when requisite. A few shots determined whether the gun could be trusted.

“Young as I was, I was possessed of an art which was of great
use; it was that of weaving shot pouch straps, belts and garters. I could make my loom and weave a belt in less than a day. Having a piece of board about four feet long, an inch auger, spike gimblet, and a drawing knife, I needed no other tools for making my loom.

"It frequently happened that my weaving proved serviceable to the family, as I have often sold a belt for a day’s work, or making a hundred rails. So that altho’ a boy I could exchange my labor for that of a full grown person for an equal length of time.”

A BACKWOODS WEDDING PROCESSION.—From the arts of frontier life, let us pass to a most amusing illustration of its manners, in a wedding celebrated in all the rude simplicty of the time. In a young society or new settlement, where the means of subsistence are easy, and manners simple, marriages became numerous, and took place early in life. Courtship was not a work of long time; first impressions soon led to matrimony. If the parties were inexperienced, they improved together; and by the happy flexibility of human nature, mutually adapted their characters to one another. Sincere love is a wonderful magician in conjuring over the sympathy of the human heart. As Dr. Franklin remarks, what early marriages may want in wisdom, they make up by affection and mutual adaptation of habit and passion to one another."

But to return to the picture of a frontier wedding. "At an early period, the practice of celebrating the marriage at the house of the bride began, and . . . seems with great propriety. She also had the choice of the priest [minister] to perform the ceremony. In the first settlement of the country (meaning the northwestern part of Virginia, tho’ applicable to the whole frontier), a wedding engaged the attention of a whole neighborhood; and the frolic was anticipated by old and young with eager expectation. This is not to be wondered at, when it is told that a wedding was almost the only gathering, which was not accompanied with the labor of reaping, log rolling, building a cabin, or planning some scout or campaign.

"In the morning of the welling day, the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father, for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon . . . the usual time for
celebrating the nuptials, which for certain must take place before dinner.

"Let an assemblage of people be imagined in a country without a store or shop, a tailor, or mantua maker within a hundred miles; and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith or saddler within an equal distance. The men dressed in shoe packs, moccasins, leather breeches, leggings, linsey hunting shirts, and all homemade. The women dressed in linsey petticoats and linsey or linen bed gowns, coarse shoes, stockings, handkerchiefs and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons, or ruffles, they were the relics of old times, family pieces from parents or grandparents. The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles, or halters, and packsaddles with a bag or a blanket thrown over them. A rope or string as often constituted the girdle as a piece of leather. The march in double file was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstructions of our horse-paths, as they were called, for we had no roads. These difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good and sometimes by the ill will of neighbors, by felling trees and tying grape vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the wayside and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so as to cover the wedding company with smoke.

"Let the reader imagine the scene which followed this discharge; the sudden spring of the horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. Sometimes, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, some were thrown to the ground. If a wrist, elbow or ankle happened to be strained, it was tied with a handkerchief, and little more was said or thought about it.

Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached the house of the bride, after the practice of making whiskey began, which was at an early period. When the party were about a mile from their destination, two young men would single out to run for the bottle." [This feat (which was really a horse race in the woods) required expert horsemanship, for the run was through the forest, over fallen trees and under low-hanging branches.]

"At the bridegroom's home, the infare consisted of nearly
every kind of food known to the frontier. There were venison, beef, pork, and fowl. Vegetables, such as cabbage and potatoes, were present in abundance. There were biscuit and hoecakes, treacle (molasses), honey, sweetened corn meal mush, and milk. The ‘bottle’ was passed freely, for the feast was a merry affair. Individuals traded witticisms; toasts were drunk to the newlyweds; jokes were told at the expense of the bridegroom; and, inevitably prophecies of large families were made—prophecies which would soon come true.

“When the wedding banqueters had finished their revels at the festal board, the musicians, led always by the fiddler, struck up a merry tune for the dance, which lasted for hours. A unique dance was developed on the frontier in the well-known ‘square dance,’ and the Virginia reel was a favorite in some communities... In the midst of the evening’s gaiety (about nine o’clock), a deputation of young ladies stole the bride away and put her to bed in the bridal chamber. This room was most often in the loft, which was reached by climbing a peg ladder to the hatch in the ceiling of the ‘big’ room. When the ladies had finished their task, a group of young men stole the bridegroom away and saw that he was placed snugly beside his bride. Then the party continued until late in the evening, when the merrymakers returned to the kitchen for sustenance. In this lull the bride and bridegroom were not forgotten. A party climbed aloft with food and ‘Black Betty,’ the bottle, to minister to the hunger and thirst of the newlyweds.

“Honeymoons were short, and bridal trips were unknown. The young couple proceeded to the business of making a home, if neither of the couple had been married before.” [Thomas D. Clark, A History of Kentucky (Lexington: 1960 reprint), 70, 71. Everett Dick, The Dixie Frontier, New York, 1948, is also a good source). The basic source seems to be Doddridge, 128-134].

HOUSEBUILDING AND WARMING.—The picture of a western or frontier wedding procession, painted in its native hues may well be accompanied with an account of the settlement of the new married pair in the duties of married life. “A spot was selected on a piece of land belonging to one of the parents for the habitation of the newly married pair. A day was appointed shortly
after their marriage for commencing the work of building a cabin. The fatigue party consisted of choppers, whose business it was to fell trees and cut them off at proper lengths; a man with a team for hauling them to the place, and arranging them, properly assorted at the sides and ends of the building; a carpenter, if such he might be called, whose business it was to search the woods for a proper tree for making clapboards for the roof. The tree for this purpose must be straight-grained, and from three to four feet in diameter. The boards were split four feet long, with a large frow, and as wide as the timber would allow. They were used without planing or shaving. Another division was employed in getting puncheons for the floor of the cabin. This was done by splitting trees, about eighteen inches in diameter, and hewing the faces of them with a broad axe. They were half the length of the floor they were intended to make. The materials for the cabin were mostly prepared on the first day, and sometimes the foundation laid in the evening. The second day was allotted for the raising.

"In the morning of the next day, the neighbors collected for the raising. The first thing to be done was the election of four corner men, whose business it was to notch and place the logs. The rest of the company furnished them with the timbers. In the meantime the boards and puncheons were collected for the floor and roof; so that by the time the cabin was a few rounds high, the sleepers and floor began to be laid. The door was made by cutting or sawing the logs in one side, so as to make an opening about three feet wide. This opening was secured by upright pieces of timber, about three inches thick, through which holes were bored into the ends of the logs, for the purpose of pinning them fast. A similar opening, but wider, was made at the end for the chimney. This was built of logs, and made large to admit of a back and jam of stone. At the square, two end logs projected a foot or eighteen inches beyond the wall, to receive the butting poles, as they were called, against which the ends of the first row of clapboards were supported. The roof was formed by making the end logs shorter, until a single log formed the comb of the roof; on these logs, the clapboards were placed, the ranges of them lapping some distance over those next below them, and kept in their places by logs placed at proper distances upon them. The roof, and some-
times the floor, were finished on the same day of the raising. A third day was commonly spent by a few carpenters, in leveling of the floor, making a clapboard door and a table. This last was made of a split slab, and supported by four round legs set in auger holes. Some three-legged stools were made in the same manner. Some pins stuck in the logs at the back of the house supported some clapboards which served for shelves for the table furniture. A single fork placed with its lower end in a hole in the floor and the upper end fastened to a joist served for a bedstead, by placing a pole in the fork with one end thro’ a crack between the logs of the wall. This front pole was crossed by a shorter one within the fork, with its outer end through another crack. From the front pole thro’ a crack between the logs of the end of the house, the boards were put on, which formed the bottom of the bed. Sometimes other poles were pinned to a fork, a little distance above these, for the purpose of supporting the front and foot of the bed, while the walls were the support of its back and head. A few pegs around the walls for a display of the coats of the women and the hunting shirts of the men, and two small forks or buckhorns to a joist for the rifle and shot pouch, completed the carpenter work. In the meantime, masons were at work; with the heart pieces of the timber, of which the clapboards were made, they formed billets for chunking up the cracks between the logs of the cabin and the chimney. The cabin being finished, the ceremony of house warming took place, before the young couple were permitted to move into it. The house warming was a dance of a whole night’s continuance, made up of the relations of the bride and groom and their neighbors. On the day following, the young couple took possession of their new mansion.”

SPORTS OF THE FRONTIER.—From the settlement of a new married pair in their frontier cabin, the transition is easy to the sports of the country, which enlivened the solitary and dangerous life of the backwoodsmen. “Let me compose the songs of a people and anybody else may make their laws” was the saying of a shrewd observer of human nature. The amusements of a people are not only highly indicative of their character, but they exert an important influence, informing and fostering peculiarities of dis-
position. Amusements exhibit the human heart stripped of much of the disguise incident to artificial life. The gladiators of Roman antiquity, the Olympic games of ancient Greece, the bull fights of modern Spain and Mexico, with the dances of "the vine clad hills of France," all illustrate this truth.

"Many of the sports of the first settlers of the western frontier were imitative of the exercises and stratagems of hunting and war. Boys were early taught the use of the bow and arrow. But although they acquired considerable adroitness in the use of them, so as to kill a bird or squirrel sometimes; yet it appears to me that in the hands of the white people the bow and arrow could never be depended upon for warfare or hunting, unless made and managed in a different manner from any specimens of them that I ever saw. Yet the prowess of the ancient bowmen of England and the dexterity of our prairie tribes, who will send an arrow through the body of a buffalo in full chase on horseback, clearly establish the efficiency of this weapon under certain circumstances. In ancient times, the bow and arrow must have been deadly instruments in the hands of the barbarians of our country; but I much doubt whether any of the present tribes of Indians could make much use of the flint arrow heads . . . generally used by their forefathers.

"One important pastime of our boys was that of imitating the noise of every bird and beast in the woods. This faculty was not merely a pastime, but a very necessary part of education, on account of its utility under certain circumstances. The imitations of the gobblings of wild turkeys often brought this keen-eyed and watchful tenant of the forest within reach of the rifle. The imitation of the bleating of the fawn brought its dam to her death in the same way. The hunter often collected a company of mopish owls to the trees about his camp, and amused himself with their hoarse screaming; his howl would raise and often obtain responses from a pack of wolves, so as to inform him of their neighborhood, as well as guard him against their depredations.

"This imitative faculty was sometimes requisite as a measure in war. The Indians when scattered about in a neighborhood, often collected together, by imitating turkeys by day, and wolves or owls by night. In similar imitations our people did the same.
I have often witnessed the consternation of a whole neighborhood in consequence of a few screeches of owls. An early and correct use of this imitative faculty was considered as an indication that its possessor would become in due time a good hunter and a valiant warrior. Throwing the tomahawk was another boyish sport, in which many acquired considerable skill. The tomahawk with its handle will make a given number of turns in a given distance; say in five steps, it will strike with the edge, the handle upward, and so on. A little experience enabled the boy to measure the distance with his eyes when walking through the woods, and strike a tree with his tomahawk in any way he chose. The athletic sports of running, jumping, and wrestling were the pastimes of boys in common with the men.

"A well grown boy, at the age of twelve or thirteen years, was furnished with a small rifle and a shot pouch. He then became a fort soldier, and had his port hole assigned him; hunting squirrels, turkeys and raccoons soon made him expert in the use of the gun. Shooting at a mark was a common diversion among the men, when their stores of ammunition would allow it; this, however, was far from being always the case.

"Dancing was the principal amusement of our young people of both sexes. Their dances, to be sure, were of the simplest forms. Three and four-handed reels, country dance, (contra dances); cotillions and minuets were unknown. I remember to have seen once or twice a dance which was called the 'Irish trot,' but I have since forgotten this figure."

**SCIENCE OF MEDICINE IN THE FRONTIER.**—This complex science, the result of many centuries of painful thought and elaborate experiment, . . . could scarcely be said to exist in the backwoods, at their first settlement. The professors of this curious art are rather the followers than the pioneers of civilization; they flourish as society flourishes; but seldom attend its first development. . . "It would be unsuitable to relate all the nostrums, which were in use among the first settlers. It may suffice to say that 'the diseases of children were mostly ascribed to worms.' For this supposed complaint, salt, scrapings of pewter spoons, sulphate of iron, or green copperas, were commonly resorted to. The Virginia
snake root, in very large doses, was a favorite diaphoretic; but if a cathartic was desired, the white walnut peeled downwards, was employed, and upwards if an emetic was wanted. 'Indian physic, a species of ipecacuanha, was frequently used for a vomit, and sometimes the pacoon or blood root.' For the bite of a rattle or copper snake, a great variety of specifics was tried. I remember, when a small boy, to have seen a man bitten by a rattlesnake, brought into the fort on a man's back. One of the company dragged the snake after him, by a forked stick fastened to its head. The body of the snake was cut into pieces of about two inches in length, split open in succession, and laid on the wound, to draw out the poison, as they expressed it. When this was over, a large fire was kindled up in the yard, and the serpent burned to ashes by way of revenge for the injury he had done. After this process was over, a large quantity of chestnut leaves was collected and boiled in a pot. The whole of the wounded man's leg and part of his thigh were placed on a piece of chestnut bark, fresh from the tree, and the decoction poured on the leg so as to run down into the pot again. After continuing this process for some time, a quantity of the broad leaves was bound to the leg. This was repeated several times a day. The man got well; but whether owing to the treatment bestowed on his wound is not so certain.'

"Gun shot and other wounds were treated with slippery elm bark, flaxseed and such other like poultices. Many lost their lives from wounds which would now be considered trifling and easily cured. The use of the lancet and other means of depletion in the treatment of wounds, constituted no part of their cure in the country in early times. The erysipelas, or St. Anthony's fire, was circumscribed by the blood of a black cat. Hence there was scarcely a black cat to be seen whose ears and tail had not been frequently chopped for a contribution of blood." Was there not more witchcraft than anything else in such notions of medicine?

WITCHCRAFT.—It will not, the author trusts, be thought any intentional derogation from the merits of the important and sanative science of medicine, to arrange the opinions of the frontier people on witchcraft with their ignorant prejudices on the subject of medicine. Both were alike, the offspring of uncultivated
minds, too much occupied by the physical wants of their condition to investigate the phenomena of nature. "The belief of witchcraft was prevalent among the settlers of the western country. To the witch was ascribed the tremendous power of inflicting strange and incurable diseases, particularly on children; of destroying cattle by shooting them with hair balls, and a great variety of other means of destruction; of inflicting spells and curses on guns and other things, and lastly, of changing men into horses and, after bridling and saddling, riding in full speed over hill and dale to their frolics and other places of rendezvous. Wizards were men supposed to possess the same mischievous powers as the witches: but these were seldom exercised for bad purposes. The powers of wizards were exercised for the purpose of counteracting the malevolent influence of the witches of the other sex. I have known several of these witch masters, as they were called, who made a public profession of curing the diseases inflicted by the influence of witches; and I have known respectable physicians who had no greater portion of business in the line of their profession than many of these witch masters in theirs. The diseases of children supposed to have been inflicted by witchcraft were those of the internal dropsy of the brain, and the rickets. The symptoms and cause of these destructive diseases were utterly unknown in former times in this country. Diseases, which could neither be accounted for, nor cured, were usually ascribed to some supernatural agency of a malignant kind. For the cure of the diseases inflicted by witchcraft, the picture of the supposed witch was drawn on a stump or piece of board and shot at with a bullet containing a little bit of silver. This silver bullet transferred a painful and sometimes a mortal spell on that part of the witch corresponding with the part of the portrait struck by the bullet. The witch had but one way of relieving herself from any spell inflicted on her in this way, which was that of borrowing something, no matter what, of the family to which the subject of the exercise of her witchcraft belonged. I have known several poor old women much surprised at being refused requests, which had been usually granted without hesitation, and almost heart-broken when informed of the cause of the refusal. "When cattle or hogs were supposed to be under the influence of witchcraft, they were burnt in the forehead by a branding iron
or when dead burned wholly to ashes. This inflicted a spell upon
the witch that could only be removed by borrowing as above
stated. Witches were often said to milk the cows of their neigh-
bors. This they did by fixing a new pin in a towel for each cow
intended to be milked. This towel was hung over her own door,
and by means of certain incantations the milk was extracted from
the fringes of the towel after the manner of milking a cow. This
happened when the cows were too poor to give much milk.”

There were some peculiarities in our early arts in the western
country, which may well be recorded. “Hats were made of native
fur and sold for five hundred dollars a piece, in the paper money
of the time. The wool of the buffalo and the bark or rind of the
wild nettle were used in the manufacture of cloth, and a peculiar
sort of linen out of the latter.”

There is another fact connected with the internal condition of
the country, which may be grouped here, although not precisely in
time. In December, 1781, the Legislature of Virginia extended
the scale of depreciation by which her issues of paper money
should be taken. . . [Instead of the rate of one and a half paper
dollars for one hard or silver dollar, it would be one thousand
dollars in paper for one in silver.]

The author has been informed by most credible witnesses . . .
[that British officers dining at a tavern in Virginia would be charged
one dollar in specie, while Americans would have to pay per
dinner $1,000 in paper.] The certificates of this depreciation,
which were issued in exchange for the previous currency, were
directed by law to be taken for taxes and for lands belonging to
the State. The price of the latter was fixed at a specie valuation,
but so reduced as to make them cost less than five dollars the
thousand acres in hard money, or the paper price of the warrant
was subjected to the scale of depreciation, so that the land was
obtained “for less than fifty cents per hundred acres.” A tem-
pitation to pour forth a flood of paper money to be invested in the
lands of Kentucky, which trebled and quadrupled the claims of the
country over and above the lands to its deep and lasting distress.
But even with this strong temptation thrown in the way of the
adventurous and the speculative, the country could not in all
probability have been maintained against the Indians, had it not
been for the ample stores of provision which the forest supplied. The enemy would never have permitted provisions to have been raised by the slow and peaceable processes of farming; and the consequence must have been that stations would have been starved into surrender. The providential supply of the deer, the buffalo, and the bear saved the pioneers from this melancholy termination of their bold enterprise. This natural supply from the woods was to be obtained by every rifleman—the white man as well as the red; and this so abundantly, that the buffalo was often shot to employ his hump or his tongue, while the residue was left to the wolves.

It may be permitted to enlarge here on the manners and general character of the first settlers of the West beyond the details which have just been furnished. Hardihood, bravery, endurance of suffering and generosity were prominent and undeniable features in the character of the first settlers of the western country. These qualities are attested by the whole history of their gallant, hardy and magnanimous deeds in the conquest which they made of this lovely land from wily, ferocious and formidable tribes of Indians assisted by the ample resources of Great Britain. Literature and science with their train of humanizing arts, and the innumerable excitements which they furnish—[these] it would be worse than folly to expect in the not misnamed barbarous and primitive times of the West. Still, there was interspersed with the rough and uneducated, many spirits of cultivated character, the offshoots of the elder colonies. . .

Government was nearly as simple as the impalpable policy which subsists among the Indians; the complexities of law were uncalled for in this condition of few wants and nearly universal means of gratifying them. Trade, beyond a confined domestic barter, there was none; for there was nothing yet to give in exchange. Did any man want land? He might occupy any quantity he could defend against the Indians. [He might occupy, but if he had no legal claim, he might be put off.] Did he want clothing or subsistence? His rifle could furnish any supply of either, which his activity and his industry could command. Avarice and the love of gain had, at first, scarcely any temptation to develop them. What a chasm must then have existed to be filled by one of the
fiercest and most insatiate passions of the human mind! Yet, let it not be supposed that our early society was one of Arcadian fiction. Though politics did not distract the community with the noisy din and the bitter contentions of our most popular government, though traffic and labor did not furnish many topics of strife and sources of discontent, still, there was no absence of rivalry, and that pursued with sufficient bitterness. They would dispute who was the best shot, the supplest wrestler, the strongest man, or in the words of the times, "the best man in a fight." Nor were these disputes always bloodless... sometimes [they] were settled with the knife or the rifle. The female sex, though certainly an object of much more feeling and regard than among the Indians, was doomed to endure much hardship, and to occupy a rank in society grossly inferior to her male partner. Much of this was incidental to living on the frontiers—watchful for life and struggling for subsistence. In fine, our frontier settlers were generally much more allied to their Indian contemporaries, in other respects, than in their complexions.

To be sure, this is but a general picture of the mass. There were among them, as has been already observed, men of finer mould and superior character and the preceding remarks must be severely restricted to the body of the earliest immigrants. It has little or no resemblance to Clark, Harrod and Boone, Bullitt and Logan, Floyd, the Todds [John and Levi] and [John] Hardin; and no doubt many others who were the lights and guides of their times. The frontier life was a state of society preemptorily extorting high physical facilities, more than mental exertions, or artificial endowments. When therefore, we learn that any of these leaders in frontier difficulties were little or at all advanced in artificial learning, let not the reader be so unjust as to treat their memory with contempt. Letters could have ill supplied the place of their manly spirit, their vigorous frames, and above all their tact in commanding the respect and confidence of a fierce and rough class of men... These gallant and magnanimous pioneers of the West will be ever sacred to the hearts of all lovers of brave and noble deeds; however, they may have wanted the polish and beauty of learning and books. Charlemagne was no less the emperor of the West Europe, and the master spirit of his time... though he... could not sub-
scribe his name. Artificial education or the learning of books, precious as it is in the accumulated experience of human existence, is too often confounded with that higher education which consists in the development of the mind, inspired by surrounding circumstances, and which is open to all the children of man, whether favored by civilization or not. The talents and dispositions of man are the endowments of his nature, not the product of schools and books. The most uncultivated state of society has its geniuses, its heroes and saints.

RELIGION.—The religion of these times must necessarily have suffered amidst the pressing privations surrounding the inhabitants; it could not have been greatly cultivated in form, or doctrine, amid the struggles with want and battles for life. Still, there is a higher worship of God, one that shows itself in kindness, mercy and self-sacrifice, above all forms and doctrines, however sublime. The hearts of the hardiest men, much more than of the softer sex, must often have melted with reverence for that Being whose secret and invisible providence watched over their weakness, and saved them from the perils of the rifle and the tomahawk. True, many fell victims to the Indians; many were burned and tortured to death with every refinement that diabolical vengeance could suggest; others were harrowed with the recollection of children's brains dashed out by the savages against trees; or the death shrieks of dearest friends and connexions; still, the consolations of Heaven might not be absent from the dying spirits of the former, or the wounded hearts of the latter. The religion of the heart, gratitude to God, and love for man, flourish in the rudest states of society, and not unfrequently with more purity than amidst the accumulated temptations of more refined life. Nor are the temples of religion, nor yet her ministers, [as] important as both are to heavenly meditations, and to seeking the moral glories of a higher and better state of being, than this life can afford; still they are not, let it never be forgotten, indispensable. In the beautiful lines of Bryant

"The groves were God's first temple. Ere man learned
To hew the shaft, and lay the architrave,
And spread the roof above them, ere he framed
The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
The sound of anthems, in the darkling wood,
Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication.”

There was in the pioneers, as might be naturally expected, a roughness of exterior, though conventional forms of society are never to be confounded with the generous self-sacrifice which constitutes the essence of genuine politeness. There was too little respect for the rights and moral claims of Indians; but to lie, to cheat, to desert a fellow hunter in distress were vices rarely found among the brave and simple men, who conquered the western forest and its savage inhabitants. A manly love of truth, an independence of spirit which would right itself “in the court of Heaven,” were almost invariable traits in their character. There was another feature in the pioneer character, that may close this sketch: it is cool deliberation, apparently approaching to the phlegmatic, but certainly very different from the fiery impetuosity too characteristic of less dangerous and trying conditions of life. The circumstances of a woodsman, whether hunter or warrior, called for the coolest caution, the most sleepless vigilance; his success in the chase or on the war-path was pursued with his life in his hand. Rashness, or impetuosity, endangered the attainment of his object at every step. Hence the impassive countenance of woodsmen, whether white or red; hence the delibration, which marks all the deportment and movements of the Indian in council and in war. Our own countrymen, in similar circumstances, resembled their prototypes in the forest. The habits and manners in war and in hunting of both races were probably inspired by the same great teacher—nature herself.

NOTES

CHAPTER XXI

1. Rev. Dr. Joseph Dodridge, Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, from the Year 1763 until the Year 1783 Inclusive. Together with a View of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country (1824), 123.

3. Doddridge, 126.

4. Ibid., 140.

5. Ibid., 268.

6. Ibid., 170.

7. Ibid., 172.

8. Ibid., 173.

9. Ibid., 140.

10. Ibid., 147.

11. Ibid., 128.

12. Ibid., 156.

13. Ibid., 149, 150.


16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., I, 125.
CHAPTER XXII

FRENCH INTRIGUES TO CONFINE THE WEST; CLARK'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE WABASH INDIANS IN 1786; FIRST FAILURE OF THAT OFFICER; CHANGE IN CLARK'S CHARACTER; HIS WRONGS; HONORS OF VIRGINIA TO CLARK; PERSON OF CLARK; DANIEL BOONE; HIS TRUE CHARACTER; COL. JOHN O'FALLON, NEPHEW OF GENERAL CLARK.

This is not the place to expatiate upon the honorable termination to the labors and sacrifices of the patriots and sages of the Revolution, but the incidental operation of peace on our domestic hostilities most strictly appertains to the history of the West. The Indians, alarmed at the approaching loss of their powerful British allies, who had fed and clothed and armed them against their most hated enemy, suspended their incursions on the white settlements for a brief period. During this rare interval of armistice between the two races in the valley of the Ohio, it may be interesting to notice again the attempts which had been made in the negotiations for peace to sever the whole valley of the Ohio from the rest of the confederacy — indeed to limit the new republic by the Allegheny mountains on the West. The first step in this insidious intrigue was taken by Count Lucern, the French envoy at Philadelphia, in conformity with instructions from the Count de Vergennes, the French minister of State [Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs]. On the arrival of the former gentleman at the seat of the American government, he lost no time in pressing on Congress certain instructions to be given their ministers at Paris, pursuant to the following ideas: 1. "That the United States extend to the westward no further than settlements were permitted by the British proclamation of 1763." 2. "That the United States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon." 3. "That the settlements east of the Mississippi (embracing Ken-
tucky with her southern neighbors) which were prohibited as above, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish crown.”¹

Indian depredations and apprehension for the navigation of the Mississippi now engaged the public mind. In regard to the first, Indian incursions began again after a short interval. From 1783 to 1790, a little later than the time of this portion of the history of the valley, “fifteen hundred persons, including women and children, had been killed or taken prisoners by the enemy south of the Ohio; besides taking two thousand horses and property to the amount of fifty thousand dollars.”²

To punish the irruptions of the Indians, an expedition into the Indian country, particularly on the Wabash, was determined on, under the old and favorite leader of the West, General George Rogers Clark. About a thousand men assembled at Louisville in the course of September, 1786.³ The provisions were sent up the Wabash in keelboats to ascend that river, as high as Vincennes, (the old St. Vincents of earlier times.) The expedition proceeded by land to this place and lay for nine days awaiting the arrival of their transports. These had been delayed by low water in the Wabash, until by imperfect curing and the heat of the weather, one half of the stores was spoiled and that which the men had taken with them was exhausted, except a few bullocks. This delay proved fatal to the expedition; with irregular troops, delay is equivalent to defeat. A spirit of discontent soon manifested itself in camp, even before the arrival of the boats and before the state of the supplies was known; afterwards it showed itself more openly. The absence of Col. Logan with his veteran followers may have contributed to this disgrace; he might have helped his old commander to keep the troops in subordination. The men were necessarily placed on short allowance; but this had not been uncommon with the pioneers, and they marched towards the Indian towns, which were situated about the mouth of Vermillion river.⁴ Previous restlessness soon became positive disaffection, “fermented by some officers of rank who were displeased with the General.”⁵

This state of things eventuated in three hundred men deserting in a body, when it was believed they were but two days march from the
Indian towns on the Vermillion river near its mouth in the Wabash. In vain the gallant veteran, who had never yet led his countrymen to defeat, addressed the mutineers “in the most soothing and earnest terms of entreaty to stay and accomplish the object of the expedition by a conquest both certain and easy.” The evil spirit of discontent possessed the troops, and they obstinately returned home without seeing an enemy or striking a blow. Still there was a residue left, greater, enormously greater than the whole Illinois regiment, and many other gallant bands, that had, in earlier times penetrated into the very heart of the country, spreading dismay and destruction before them. But there was something wanting in this expedition, more essential than numbers, without which the largest numbers only increase the spoil of an enemy: it was a manly and patriotic subordination to orders and an honorable confidence in their commander. Never had General Clark led so unfortunate a party; hitherto victory seemed to hang on his banner with delight, and for him to appear, was to conquer.

At the same time, mournful as the truth is, and reluctantly as the confession is wrung from the author, General Clark “was not the man he had been”; he was no longer the same man who had conquered Kaskaskia and captured Vincennes. His mind was wounded by the neglect of Virginia to settle his accounts for the great expedition which had stretched the republic to the Mississippi. Private suits had been brought against him for public supplies which ultimately swept away his private fortune; and with this injustice, the spirits of the hero fell. He never recovered these energies which had stamped him in the noblest mould of a commander. A too ready and extensive conviviality engendered by military and social habits completed the ruin, which ingratitude had begun. Clark, it is said by one of his officers, however, like his former self was opposed to waiting at Vincennes, the radical error of the expedition. He advised an immediate march with the provisions on hand to the Wea or Ouiatenon towns, and that the residue on the boats should be brought up by a detachment left for that purpose. Such advice bespeaks the general’s former energetic character in previous expeditions into the Indian country, when a little meal mixed with sugar composed all the rations of the men. But to have thought correctly in the former course of Gen-
eral Clark was, to have acted decisively, why was it different now? Where was the overruling spirit that had captured forts armed with cannon at the head of western riflemen? The melancholy answer is left to be made by every reader. As this is the last occasion on which General Clark will be presented to the student of western history, it may not be improper, although out of chronological order, to recount the remaining career of this renowned officer. The expedition returned to Vincennes where it was disbanded with a disgrace, which has never before or since attended the arms of Kentucky. “General Wilkinson, who was at the Falls of the Ohio, wrote to a friend in Fayette, that the sun of Gen. Clark’s military glory had set, never more to rise.”

It was learned, and the information was confirmed in Gen. Harrison’s Tippecanoe campaign in 1811, that the Indians, who had retreated from their towns on the Vermillion had selected a place for an ambush among the defiles of Pine Creek. These defiles were thus described by the former author. “This stream presents a curious spectacle in that country. For many miles before it discharges itself into the Wabash, its course is through an immense mass of rocks, the sides of which are in some instances perpendicular. Few places can be found where it can be crossed with facility.” So difficult was this passage that Gen. Harrison thought it most advisable to avoid it in his march. But the hero of Kaskaskia and Vincennes was quite as likely as any other officer not to be entrapped by the natural fortresses of the country.

It has already been mentioned that the State of Virginia had, in honor of Gen. Clark’s Illinois campaign, twice voted its thanks and accompanied them on the latter occasion with a sword. The exasperation of feeling produced by the sacrifice of his private property to make good his individual engagements for the public service in his Illinois campaign, and a high sense of public injustice to his merits, impelled him to break this sword and cast it from him. The particulars of this transaction the author has not been able to obtain; and when interrogated about it by a beloved sister, Mrs. Croghan, “the veteran was agitated, frowned and would make no distinct reply.” Although but one opinion can be entertained of the inadequacy of a sword to testify the sense of a great Com-
monwealth for such services as Virginia received from General Clark, still, there can be as little doubt, that they could not, at that day, be fully appreciated. There can be still less doubt that Virginia, magnanimous as she always has been, never did her fame more true honor than in renewing the present of a sword which had, in the anguish of a broken heart, been snapped into atoms by her heroic but mortified soldier. Well might he apply the lines of the great English bard to himself:

"Bite, bite, ye bitter winds,
Ye bite not half so keen,
As benefits forgot."

The devoted tone of the following preamble to an Act of Virginia, and the eloquent letter of Governor [James] Barbour, reflect high honor of Charles Fenton Mercer, the author, as well as the Governor, who is said to have adopted the draft of that letter. Gen. Mercer had visited the hero in his retirement at Locust Grove and had been struck with the magnitude of the old soldier’s services and the ingratitude of his native State. On returning to Virginia, at the assembling of the legislature in 1812, of which he was a member, he procured the passage of an act expressing the gratitude and friendly condolence of the General Assembly of Virginia with the following preamble: “Whereas the General Assembly of Virginia has ever entertained the highest respect for the unsullied integrity, the valor, the military enterprise and skill of GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, to whom, and to his gallant regiment (aided by the justice of their cause and the favor of Heaven) the State of Virginia was indebted for the extension of her boundaries from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; and whereas the General Assembly had been informed that the hand of misfortune has overtaken this veteran chief; and that he, whose name was once a host filling his friends with confidence, and his foes with dismay, is now himself a victim of age and disease and a dependent on the bounty of his relatives.” This preamble concluded with the enactment that the governor of the State present a sword with suitable devices to General George Rogers Clark, accompanied with an expression of the gratitude and friendly condolence of the General Assembly of Virginia, with an annual pension of $400, being the amount of his half pay as Colonel of the Illinois regiment. This
act of the Legislature, so honorable, though so tardy, was executed
by Governor Barbour, and the following most eloquent letter accompani­
ed the sword, dated at Richmond, October 29th, 1812.

"The Representatives of the good people of Virginia convened in
General Assembly, appreciating the gallant achievements during
the Revolutionary war of yourself and the brave regiment under
your command, by which a vast extension of her empire was ef­
fected, and a successful issue of the Revolution greatly promoted,
have assigned to me the pleasant duty of announcing to you the
sentiments of exalted respect they cherish for you, and the gratitude
they feel at the recollection of 'your unsullied integrity, valor, mili­
tary enterprise and skill.' Having learned with sincere regret that
you have been doomed to drink of the cup of misfortune, they have
requested me to tender you their friendly condolence. . . Permit
me, sir, to mingle with the discharge of my official duty an ex­
pression of my own feelings. The history of the Revolution has
always engaged my deepest attention. I have dwelt with rapture
upon the distinguished part you have acted in that great drama,
being always convinced that it only wanted the adventitious aid
of numbers to make it amongst the most splendid examples of
skill and courage which any age or country has produced. I feel
a conscious pride that the name of Clark is compatriot with my
own. I, too, most sensibly sympathise with you in your adverse
fate and deeply deplore that the evening of a life, whose morning
was so brilliant, should be clouded with misfortune. The General
Assembly of Virginia have placed among their archives a monu­
ment of their gratitude for your services; and as a small tribute
of respect have directed that a sword should be made in our manu­
factory with devices emblematic of your actions, and have also di­
rected that $400 should be immediately paid, as also an annual
sum of the same amount."¹⁵

It may be gratifying to another generation to know the person
and appearance of Gen. Clark. My information from personal
knowledge is very limited. The author enjoyed but one oppor­
tunity of seeing the hero, tho' intimate with many of his family.
This was in the decline of his life when he had long become the
victim of disease and misfortune, too probably flowing from public
neglect. He was staying at Major Croghan's, in his own private
apartment, where every visitor to that hospitable mansion called to pay his respects to a public officer whose merits grew brighter with their age, and the more thorough acquaintance with them by a new generation. His chamber was a public shrine, where every patriotic breast desired to offer worship. General Clark was a tall man, of robust constitution and athletic make; his countenance, when I saw him, had something grave and serene, with a thoughtful heavy brow. The countenance was rather comely, though not lighted up with that spirit which had breathed fire into the hearts of the western riflemen and fear into Indian warriors. He had ... [by amputation] lost one of his legs when the author visited him, which confined him very much to his chair. There are several portraits of this distinguished man, one in the Clark Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, at Louisville, Ky., from which a rather indifferent miniature was taken for the first edition of Butler's Kentucky; another exists in the family, taken at an earlier date. As to their fidelity, the author must refer to better authority than his own.\(^\text{16}\)

The author has thus portrayed, as he best might, the hero of Kaskaskia and Saint Vincents, the founder of Kentucky, and the great warrior of the West. He has given him the prominent and leading part in the whole drama of western conquest and settlement assigned to him by the testimony of all the pioneers, and confirmed by the records of the country. This conflicts with a popular notion extensively entertained beyond the western country, that DANIEL BOONE was the principal leader and most efficient spirit among the western pioneers. No mistake can be more profound. Not that the author would for one moment ignobly try to depreciate the real merits of Boone; he adopts and endeavors to pursue the sentiment of the poet "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice." Boone was an unrivalled hunter, an honest and kind-hearted woodsman, and in a subordinate capacity a good soldier; but at no period of his life did his abilities, either natural or acquired, rank him as a leading spirit of Kentucky or the West, either in council or in action. He came at first to Kentucky as a private hunter from North Carolina, and afterwards in all probability as an agent of the great land company of Henderson and Company, certainly so in 1774 and 1775. But
in no one expedition of higher grade than a scouting party was Boone a leader. It is true that he bravely participated in the bloody battle of the Blue Licks, as has been seen, and gave advice on that melancholy occasion, which if it had been adopted, might in strong probability have averted if it had not reversed the fortunes of that disastrous encounter. In this battle he was not the commander, but Col. John Todd, of Fayette County. Did Boone ever conceive, much more lead such expeditions, as either the mission to the Virginia Convention, in 1776, which eventuated in the establishment by Virginia of Kentucky county? Of the Illinois campaigns in 1778 and 1779, which tended so materially to the conquest of the northwestern portion of the valley of the Ohio? Or the campaigns of 1781 and 1782? In all these measures, Clark was, by the admission of all his contemporaries, the leading spirit, and after him Col’s. Floyd, Ben Logan, John and Levi Todd, Christian and Hardin.

But here the career of General Clark closes. He lived and died the honored guest of Major Croghan. His death took place in 1817 [13 February 1818].

There is one more tribute to the merits of General Clark, which may not be omitted. When in 1785, he attended as a commissioner to treat with the northwestern Indians at Fort McIntosh, at the mouth of the Great Miami, assisted by Generals Richard Butler and Samuel H. Parsons, the chiefs addressed the commissioners, when Buckongehelas, the head war-chief of the Delawares, not deigning to notice the colleagues of Clark, took him by the hand and said: “I thank the Great Spirit for having this day brought together two such great warriors as Buckongahelas and General Clark.” [The Treaty was signed on February 1, 1786.]

A more fortunate issue attended the expedition of Colonel Logan, who had been detached by General Clark from his camp at Silver creek, opposite to Louisville to return to Kentucky and raise as expeditiously as possible another party to march against the Shawnee, whose attention it was supposed would be engaged by the Wabash expedition. “This officer, at the head of four or five hundred mounted men crossed the river Ohio, at the point where the town of Maysville now stands, and penetrated the Indian country as far as the headwaters of Mad river. In the words of
one of the actors, Colonel Logan would have surprised the Indian towns against which he marched had not one of his men deserted to the enemy, and gave notice of his approach. As it was, he burned eight large towns and destroyed many fields of corn. He took seventy or eighty prisoners, and killed about twenty warriors... [including] the head chief of the nation. This last act caused deep regret, humiliation and shame to the commander and his troops.” The murder of this chief [aged chief, Moluntha, friend of the Kentuckians, by Hugh McGary] was, however, perpetrated in direct violation of the orders of Colonel Logan. In the course of this expedition, the Kentuckians lost about ten men. This as usual consoled the public mind, in some degree, for the failure of General Clark. This expedition, it should have been previously mentioned, had been prepared in conformity with resolutions of the inhabitants of the District assembled in convention at Danville, some time in 1786; the month is not mentioned in the proceedings, which are signed by William Kennedy as chairman. These resolutions, together with an order of the Executive of Virginia, were acted on by a Board of Officers, who met at Harrodsburg on the 2d day of August, 1786. These gentlemen among others adopted one appointing General George Rogers Clark “to act as general officer and to have the command and direction of the army, at this time, ordered in offensive operations against our enemy Indians.” This expedition has already been mentioned.

Doubts have been entertained about the legality of impressments for provisions, &c. These were submitted by the Board to Judges [George] Muter and Cabel Wallace of the District Court, and the Attorney General [Harry] Innes. These officers certified it as their opinion, “that the Executive have delegated to the field officers of this district all their power” in regard to impressments, and that they have a right to impress, if necessary, all supplies for the use of the militia that may be called into service.” This opinion is directed to Colonel Benjamin Logan who acted as President of the Board of officers.

CHAPTER XXII

NOTES

1. Pitkin, 2, 92.
2. Judge Innes, in Political Transactions [in and Concerning Kentucky], an interesting pamphlet [really more than a pamphlet], by the late William Littell, a lawyer of great learning, in Kentucky, published at
Frankfort, Ky., by Wm. Hunter, in 1806. [page number not found. The reference is really to Butler's own *History of Kentucky* (1834), 139.]


4. Ouiatenon, or Wea, a little below the town of La Fayette on the Wabash.


10. The mouth of Vermillion.


14. The seat of Major Croghan, near Louisville, Ky.


16. Col. John O'Fallon, of St. Louis, Mo., a favorite nephew of the General, with whom he spent his vacations, when his uncle was staying at the Point of Rock in Clarksville, opposite to Louisville, in Kentucky. Here it may be that the heart of the nephew was warmed into emulation by his intercourse with the old western hero, and prepared for his own gallant career, at Tippecanoe, Fort Meigs and the Thames. At the latter battle he was first Aide to Gen. Harrison in a campaign which finally subdued the Indians, and terminated this war of races and conditions in favor of civilization, liberty and religion. Col. O'Fallon still lives at St. Louis, enjoying the undiminished regards of his fellow-citizens for the noble spirit of liberality and honorable generosity with which he dispenses a fortune earned by his energy and enterprise.

17. Dawson's *Harrison*, App. 466, and *Olden Time*.


Editor's Note: An excellent account of Clark's campaign of 1786 against the Wabash Indians is carried in Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.) See also James Alton James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928). Too, John Bakeless, *Background to Glory — The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Philadelphia: F. B. Lippincott Company, 1957). Each of these scholarly authors is agreed that drunkenness, charged against Clark, was not the cause of the failure of the expedition. Jealousy upon the part of high ranking officers caused more than anything else, it seems, the failure. General James Wilkinson, eager to gain command, was working actively to ruin the reputation of the hero of Vincennes — and the tarnished charactered Wilkinson eventually succeeded.

Perhaps the best portrait of General Clark was executed by Kentucky's most famous painter, Matthew H. Jouett; it is owned by The Filson Club, Louisville, where it hangs.
CHAPTER XXIII

TRADE TO NEW ORLEANS IN 1782 TO 1798; NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN ABOUT THE NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI; VIEWS OF JOHN JAY, OF THE OLD CONGRESS; REJECTION OF THEM BY SPAIN; RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRESS, OF VIRGINIA; VISIT OF WILKINSON TO N. ORLEANS, IN 1787; SEIZURE OF HIS BOAT; RELEASE; SPANISH PERMISSION OF TRADE; PRICE OF TOBACCO IN KENTUCKY AND NEW ORLEANS, 1787.

TRADE OF THE WEST WITH NEW ORLEANS.—In a former portion of this work, the author noticed the first expeditions of our countrymen down the Mississippi, which have been preserved. These were engagements of individual curiosity, or of a military nature, as those of Colonels Gibson, Linn and Benham; the openings of trade down the great rivers is of no less consequence to the history of the settlement of the Ohio valley.

Among the first buddings of intercourse, rather than trade with New Orleans, from the valley of the Ohio, must be reckoned the voyages of Messrs. [Peter] Tardiveau and [John A.] Honore. The latter, my authority, was an ancient and respectable French merchant of Louisville in Kentucky. These gentlemen left Redstone, now the town of Brownsville on the Monongahela in 1782, when there were but two houses in that famous old port of departure by water for the immigrants down the Ohio. The navigation of this river, and still more of the Mississippi, was then much infested by banditti of white men, as well as of Indians. The French gentlemen just mentioned were both stopped by the Indians and the former of them robbed; indeed, the Mississippi was as much debarred to American trade by the overbearing government of Spain, as by the Indians. They acted in concert. American property was
seized and confiscated by the Spaniards on its way to a foreign market. "All who ventured on the Mississippi had their property seized by the first commanding officer whom they met, and little or no communication was kept up between the two countries." This was as late as 1798.

A negotiation on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi, as well as other matters of national difference, had commenced between Mr. [John] Jay and Don Diego Gardoqui, the representative of Spain to the United States. "Congress had expressly ordered the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to stipulate both for the territory of the United States according to the treaty with Great Britain, and for the navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the ocean. Don Gardoqui on the other hand, declared that the Spanish king would never permit any nation to use that river, both banks of which belonged to him." Under these circumstances, Mr. Jay was called before Congress to communicate his views on the negotiation. "He informed Congress that Spain was ready to grant the United States extensive and valuable commercial privileges, and that it was in her power by her influence with the Barbary States, and by her connection with France and Portugal, greatly to injure the commerce of America, and to benefit that of England. But that at present the question respecting the Mississippi and territorial limits prevented any commercial arrangements whatever; that his own opinion of the justice and importance of the claims advanced by the United States had undergone no changes but that, under present circumstances, he thought it would be expedient to conclude a treaty with Spain, limited to twenty or thirty years, and for the United States to stipulate that during that term of the treaty, they would forbear to navigate the Mississippi below their southern boundary." This had been recommended by Virginia during the Revolutionary war. This proposition of Mr. Jay was founded on the opinion "that however, imperfect the navigation might ultimately be, it would not probably be very essential during the proposed term; and that therefore, it might be good policy to consent not to use for a certain period what they did not want in consideration of valuable commercial privileges." These views of Mr. Jay were sanctioned by seven States, but opposed by the other six; still the Spanish
minister would not consent to any treaty whatever, implying a right in the United States to the navigation in question. The negotiation proved fruitless and was finally terminated by Gardoqui's return to Europe. This is an authentic account of the negotiation under the old Confederation in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, which, however incontestable to the extent of our own boundary, the United States were in no condition to extort by force of arms under the feeble government then existing. It was in weakness and insignificance closely allied to what the German empire used to be in Europe; it was, in the language of a favorite Revolutionary figure, a political barrel of thirteen staves without a hoop.

Let us reflect for a moment what would have been the effect of this cession, even for twenty years, as actually authorised, or thirty years as the utmost limit proposed by the Secretary. Twenty years from 1786 would have brought the commercial limitation to 1806, four years after the bare suspension by the local Intendant of the right of deposit at New Orleans granted to the trade of the United States by the Spanish treaty of 1795. This interruption of the navigation of this great stream blew the western country into a flame that would have consumed every tie of the confederacy had its councils slumbered over interests so precious and vital to this section of the United States. It required all the wisdom and patriotism, with the enthusiastic popularity of President Jefferson to avoid a war with Spain in support of this navigation. What, then, would have been the feelings of the country, but particularly its western section, had its trade been suspended by treaty obligation for thirty years? What would have been the discouragement to the settlement of the western country? It would doubtless have righted itself, and no longer continued under a government that could thus abandon its indispensable interests. Sagacious as the views of Mr. Jay were, and in this instance adapted to the probable condition of the western country and the encouragement of Atlantic trade, yet the gigantic progress of the West has outstripped the anticipations of our wisest statesmen. Our progress has been a race scarcely checked by any accident on the course. Yet, the enthusiasm of the acute and benevolent Berkely fancied that he saw it when he exclaimed that "Westward the star of empire takes
Rumors of this negotiation reached Kentucky, when no post office existed in the District, and when no safe or certain mode of conveyance for letters or newspapers was established between it and the rest of the Union. Nor for two years later did it reach further than Fort Pitt, and then only once in two weeks. The seat of the federal government was then the city of New York. These combined difficulties must have subjected the conduct of the government to much misconception and no little misrepresentation by intriguing or deluding candidates for political honors.

These exaggerated representations on the subject of a navigation so deeply and vitally important to the western country had produced an association at Fort Pitt, which transmitted to Kentucky a most erroneous account of the Spanish negotiation; well calculated to kindle the passions of a less excitable people than her own. This statement purported to represent that “John Jay, the American Secretary for foreign affairs, had made a proposition to Don Gardoqui, the Spanish minister near the United States, to cede the navigation of the Mississippi to Spain for twenty-five or thirty years, in consideration of some commercial advantages to be granted to the United States; but such, as the people of the western country could derive no profit from.” The truth is, that the proposition was submitted to Congress, and was supported by seven Northeastern States against five Southern ones; but the offer, if made to the Spanish minister, (which does not certainly appear) had been rejected by him. An instruction to a minister was deemed to come strictly under the clause in the articles of the Confederation requiring the assent of nine States to form treaties with foreign nations. Consequently the proposition of the Secretary fell in Congress. Whether the offer was made after the repeal of the instructions to the Secretary, of the 25th of August, 1785, . . . is not clearly exhibited, though implied by the language of Mr. Jay’s biographer, as well as that of Mr. Timothy Pitkin. The communication from Fort Pitt, or Pittsburgh as it had for some time been designated, roused the sensibilities of Kentucky to a high pitch on so exciting a subject and one involving the dearest interests of her trade. A circular letter addressed by Messrs. [George] Muter, [Harry] Innes, [John] Brown and [Benjamin] Sebastian, in March, 1787, invited a public meeting of the citizens of the Dis-
strict, at Danville, in the ensuing May. The language of this memorial has been objected to by the first historian in Kentucky [Humphrey Marshall], because it charged "Congress with proposing to cede to the Spanish court the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty-five or thirty years"; while that had failed by an insufficient majority, under the 9th article, of the 6th section of the Confederation. Yet, a previous vote had, with some doubt however on the subject, rescinded the former instruction to Mr. Jay to conclude no treaty with the Spanish minister without obtaining "the full navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the ocean"; and, moreover, Mr. Jay was at first instructed neither to make nor receive any propositions, nor to enter into any compact with the Spanish minister without previously communicating the same to Congress.

The circumstance therefore of continuing the negotiation, after the removal of the former restriction, certainly sanctions the idea of the Danville circular, that the suspension of the navigation in question had been offered by Congress, through the Secretary, though it had been disdainfully rejected by the minister of haughty Spain, as has been mentioned.

It must have been owing to want of this information (almost unavoidable in the early and rude condition of government in its operations in the West) that induced either of the meetings at Pittsburgh or Danville to procure an expression of public opinion on a matter which had died at its birth.

Nor was the mistake peculiar to these meetings, since a letter addressed from the Falls of Ohio, in December, 1786, to the Governor and Legislature of Georgia, represented "a commerce treaty" with Spain "to be cruel, oppressive and unjust." "The prohibition of the navigation of the Mississippi has astonished the whole western country. To sell us and make us vassals to the merciless Spaniards, is a grievance not to be borne." A copy of this letter and others of a similar character were laid before Congress, when on the 16th of September, 1788, this body authorized its members to contradict the reports that it was disposed to treat with Spain for the surrender of their claim to the navigation of the river Mississippi. This venerable body likewise resolved "that the free navigation of the river Mississippi is a clear and essential right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and sup-
ported as such.” Before these resolutions had been adopted by Congress, the Legislature of Virginia had also taken up the subject, in November, 1786, and had unanimously resolved 2d, “That the common right of navigating the Mississippi, and of communicating with other nations through that channel, be considered the bountiful gift of nature to the United States, as proprietors of the territories watered by the river and its eastern branches; 3d, that the confederacy having been formed on the broad basis of equal rights in every part thereof, and confided to the protection and guardianship of the whole, a sacrifice of the rights of any one part, to the supposed or real interests of another part, would be a flagrant violation of justice, and a direct contravention of the end for which the federal government was instituted, and an alarming innovation in the system of the Union; 4th, That the delegates representing this State in Congress, be instructed in the most decided terms to oppose any attempts that may be made in Congress to barter or surrender to any nation whatever the right of the United States to the free and common use of the river Mississippi; and to protest against the same as a dishonorable departure from that comprehensive and benevolent policy which constitutes the vital principle of the confederacy, as provoking the just resentments and the reproaches of our western brethren, whose essential rights and interests would be thereby sacrificed and sold; as destroying that confidence in the wisdom, justice and liberality of the federal councils, which is so necessary at this crisis to a proper enlargement of their authority; and finally, as tending to undermine our repose, our prosperity and our union itself; and that the said delegates be further instructed to urge the proper negotiations with Spain for obtaining her concurrence in such regulations touching the mutual and common use of the said river, as may secure the permanent harmony and affection of the two nations; and such as the wise and generous policy of His Catholic Majesty will perceive to be no less due to the interests of his own subjects, than to the just and friendly views of the United States.”

These resolutions deserve to be recorded, for the just and lofty views they express upon the administration of confederated States extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. They seem to have had their just effect upon the meeting at Danville; they had been
adopted by the Virginia Legislature four months before the circular inviting this meeting, and it adjourned without any definite expression on the subject. A circumstance not a little remarkable for a meeting of Kentuckians, whose temper upon subjects less indispensably important than this, has seldom been so moderate; a fire of resolutions might at least have been expected. The action of Congress and the State Legislature four months previous, must certainly have reached the District, and had this quieting effect.

In June, 1787, General James Wilkinson, who had migrated to Kentucky in 1784, descended to New Orleans with a small cargo of tobacco, determined to try his enterprise and address at the seat of the provincial government of Louisiana, in effecting the commercial intercourse of the western country down the Mississippi. In due course of time the General's boat arrived at Natchez, still in possession of the Spaniards. It was by some secret influence suffered to proceed to New Orleans. “The arrival of a boat belonging to General Wilkinson, loaded with tobacco and other productions of Kentucky, is announced in town; and a guard is immediately sent aboard of it. The General's name had hindered this being done at Natchez; as the commandant was fearful that such a step might be displeasing to his superiors, who might wish to show some respect to the property of a general officer; at all events the boat was proceeding to New Orleans, where they would then resolve what measures they ought to pursue and execute.”

The Spanish government was about to pursue its usual policy, by confiscating the General's boat and property, when a “merchant who had considerable influence there, and who was formerly acquainted with the General, represented to the Governor, Esteban Miro, that the measures taken by the Intendant would very probably give rise to disagreeable events, that the people of Kentucky were already exasperated at the conduct of the Spaniards, in seizing on the property of all those who navigate the Mississippi, and if this system was pursued, they would very probably, in spite of Congress and the Executive of the United States, obtain the navigation of the river by force, which they were well able to do.” This had long been dreaded by the Spanish government. “Hints were likewise given that Wilkinson was a very popular man, who could influence the whole of that country, and probably that his
sending a boat before him with a wish that she might be seized, was but a snare to influence the minds of the people on his return, and having brought them to the point he wished, induce them to appoint him their leader, and then like a torrent, spread over the country, and carry fire and desolation from one end of the province to the other. . . . Governor Miró, a weak man, unacquainted with the American government, . . . alarmed at the prospect of provoking an irruption of Kentuckians (who seemed to have been regarded at New Orleans worse than they had been at Kaskaskia and St. Vincents) induced the Intendant to withdraw the guard from the boat, and a Mr. Patterson, who was the agent of the General, was permitted to take charge of the property on board, and to sell it free of duty." The General, on his arrival some time after, was informed of the obligation he lay under to the merchant, who had impressed the government with such an idea of his importance and influence abroad, waited on him, and in concert with him, formed a plan for their future operations. Such is the representation of Daniel Clark, Junior, whose uncle of the same name, an old merchant domiciled at New Orleans, was the agent and alleged partner of Wilkinson. This latter character, the General denies . . . Clark was, however, fully acquainted with the government officers of Louisiana and was very likely the merchant who . . . [interceded] so adroitly with the Spanish governor. Wilkinson visited the governor, and in his interview with him, that he might support the Spanish idea of the inconsistency of trade with military dignity by not appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat load of tobacco, hams, and butter, gave him to understand that the property "in the boat belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who availing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States, by way of Orleans, wished to make a trial of the temper of this government, as he on his arrival, might inform his own, what steps had been pursued under his eye. He acknowledged with gratitude the attention and respect manifested in the favor shown to his agent; but at the same time mentioned that he would not wish the governor to expose himself to the anger of his court, by refraining from seizing on the boat and cargo, as it was but a trifle, if such were the positive orders from court, and that he had not power to relax them according to circumstances. Con-
vinced by this intercourse, that the General rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs, . . . the Governor became more alarmed.” This apprehension was increased by remembering the demand which had been made two or three years before by commissioners from the State of Georgia, who had presented the claim of that State at Natchez, for her chartered limits to the Mississippi and to the parallel of 31° N., as established by the first treaty in 1783 with Great Britain. To avoid and appease this accumulating hostility against the possessions of Spain in Louisiana and Florida, and more particularly to conciliate the barbarians of the North, who seem still to inspire the descendants of the Spaniards with fears of unbridled ferocity, Governor Miró concluded to grant the western people some limited opportunities of trade with New Orleans. “He made Wilkinson the offer of a permission to import, on his own account, to New Orleans, free of duty, all the productions of Kentucky.” This conference finally ripened into an agreement “that the Governor should insure Wilkinson a market for all the flour and tobacco he might send, as in the event of an unfortunate shipment he would be ruined whilst endeavoring to do a service to Louisiana. . . . Flour was always wanted in New Orleans, and the king of Spain had given orders to purchase more tobacco for the supply of his manufactories at home, than Louisiana at that time produced; and which was paid for at about $9.50 per cwt, “while in Kentucky it cost but $2 [$2.50] per cwt. The profit may well be supposed to have been immense on a contract of this sort. “In consequence of this, the General appointed Daniel Clark, Senior, as his agent, and returned to the United States by way of Charleston.” On his arrival in Kentucky, he bought up all the produce he could collect, which he shipped and disposed of under this contract with Governor Miró. “For some time all the trade for the Ohio was carried on in his name; a line from him sufficing to ensure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection he could desire.” In addition to this tobacco contract, which figured so conspicuously in the subsequent career of General Wilkinson, he “made an arrangement with Governor Miró for the introduction of several thousand families in that district on the Mississippi which is now called West Florida, or one to be laid out on the Arkansas and White rivers.”15 The General
likewise obtained the privilege of furnishing a considerable annual supply of tobacco for the Mexican market. These contracts were openly avowed by the General, and publicly acted upon both in Kentucky and Louisiana, as was necessarily incident to contracts so palpable and incapable of disguise. They appeared to the author twenty years ago freed from corrupt and sinister views, by the testimony of Oliver Pollock, for twenty years the confidant of the Spanish governors of Louisiana. They seemed to be corroborated by the testimony of Gilbert Leonard, the treasurer of the province; [also] the accounts current of the agents of General Wilkinson at New Orleans and their own testimony.

In 1789, Colonel Ballinger delivered two mules loaded with money from New Orleans to Wilkinson, at Frankfort, Kentucky, “in the presence of many persons, whom he found there waiting his arrival”; they were tobacco planters from Lincoln County, Kentucky, and were there to receive their money for tobacco purchased of them by Wilkinson.

These contracts he, or any other private citizen, had the most indubitable right to engage in; they in fact opened a valuable market for the produce of this infant and interior community destitute of almost every other at that day. Indeed the frequent remittances of money from New Orleans to Wilkinson, by various ways suggested by the wilderness routes to this distant market, sometimes by the interior wilderness, or Natchez trace, as it was termed, at other times by the river, seemed to be fairly and honorably explained by this tobacco speculation or contract, which was then utterly and entirely unimpeachable.

It is due to the author to declare that this subject was approached by him with strong prepossessions against the purity and patriotism of the officer. But on sifting the voluminous mass of testimony procured by one military court and four committees of Congress added to that presented to a court of inquiry, and finding the General acquitted by both courts and their sentence approved (reluctantly approved in the last instance) by two Presidents of the United States, the author was forced into the conclusion, that General Wilkinson had been wronged by the suspicions and denunciations long and bitterly indulged against his honesty.

In the whole of these transactions, no foundation was then per-
ceived for the shrewd surmise of Mr. Humphrey Marshall, an early
and embittered enemy to the general, “that this tobacco contract
was a mere cover for a pension, and the clandestine and dishonorable part was carefully concealed from all but coadjutors.”¹⁷

NOTES

CHAPTER XXIII

3. Ibid.
4. But even the veteran statesman, Choiseul, predicted the independence
   and prosperity of America, in 1765, in a memorial to his sovereign.
   Bancroft, V, 341.
6. Ibid., I, 139.
7. Ibid., 258.
9. The rise of this most thriving and interesting city, the first born of the
   arts in the West, is faithfully collected by Mr. Craig, in his History of
   Pittsburgh, a work only to be compared with Cist's Miscellany for
   Cincinnati. From this former work it appears that the lots were laid
   out and finally confirmed by the act of the proprietaries in 1784. It
   is spoken of as "What is called the town" of Pittsburgh by General
   Washington in 1770; its first incorporation as a town I have not found
   out. It was incorporated as a city, March 18, 1816. Craig's Pittsburgh,
   107, 388.
11. Timothy Pitkin, Political and Civil History of the United States from
   1763 to 1797 (1828), I, 201-208.
15. Ibid., 113, 115, 116, 197, 198.
16. Ibid., 2, 117, 119.

Editor's Note: At the time of his first writing, Mr. Butler was not aware that
Wilkinson, whose villainous machinations had brought the downfall of
General Clark, had secretly during his visit with Miro taken the oath of
allegiance to Spain and had become a citizen of that nation, that he re-
mained one, even while a general in the army of the United States, that he
had tried hard to bring about the downfall of both Generals Washington
and Wayne, that he double-crossed Colonel Burr, tricked President John
Adams and lied to President Jefferson. Marshall was more correct in his
estimate of Wilkinson than was Butler. However, Butler later became
better informed, as is revealed in Chapter XXIV.
CHAPTER XXIV

WILKINSON AND THE SPANISH QUESTION; COL. THOMAS MARSHALL; JOHN BRADFORD AND THE KENTUCKY GAZETTE; DANVILLE CONVENTIONS; KENTUCKY STATEHOOD ATTEMPTED.

IN THE ENSUING February of 1788, Wilkinson returned to Kentucky from his first adventure to New Orleans, by way of Charleston, in South Carolina. This is a fair statement of the author's former sentiments on the subject of Wilkinson's first connection with the Spanish government, which excited a keen interest in the councils of the country during the lifetime of that most deceitful and perfidious man. One whose arts and singular fascination of manners (for he was master of most polished and winning manners) have hoodwinked some of the most perspicacious statesmen of our country.

But the veil has been recently lifted, if not torn aside, from these transactions and they can now be placed before the public in the most conclusive and indubitable condition. For this unmasking of matters which have puzzled and perplexed some of the acutest minds in the country, we are indebted, in the first place, to the enlightened spirit of the State of Louisiana; and in the second place to the active and sagacious enquiries of M. Charles Gayarre of that State.

The government of Louisiana, following the liberal and generous example of the State of New York, had directed application to be made to her ancient rulers, on the other side of the Atlantic, for copies of the correspondence between her colonial officers and the court of Spain. This mission was entrusted to M. De Gayangos, who was aided by Romulus Saunders, then American minister at Madrid, and the result has been to place at the seat of government of Louisiana the Spanish originals of the colonial correspondences with the Spanish government, while Spain held pos-
session of the country. This rich work of American history furnishes the following narrative of the treachery and traitorous adherence to Spanish interests of General James Wilkinson from 1787 to 1798, if not longer.

Wilkinson on his first visit to New Orleans, in 1787, addressed a memorial to Don Esteban Miró, the Spanish governor, expatiating upon the public interests of the western country, then principally inhabited in Kentucky and Tennessee, in connection with the Spanish province on the Mississippi, the right of the people of the upper country to the navigation of that stream, and the advantages which both parties might reap from commercial intercourse. This was the character of the memorial read by General Wilkinson before a Kentucky convention. An account of this memorial was communicated by Colonel Thomas Marshall, of Kentucky, to General Washington in February, 1789.3

But it now appears that the memorial addressed to the Spanish government must have had much more significant passages than the one read before the Kentucky convention. Miró in a dispatch to his government, in 1788, says, among other matters, "that the delivery up of Kentucky into his Majesty's hands (meaning those of the king of Spain), which is the main object to which Wilkinson has promised to devote himself, would forever constitute this province (Louisiana) a rampart for the protection of New Spain."4 This idea, that passages contained in the memorial addressed to Governor Miró, were suppressed in that read to the Kentucky convention, independent of its own probability, is confirmed by the remark of Miró, in another of his dispatches to the home government, relating that Wilkinson in reading his memorial to the Kentucky convention, "has so completely bound himself that, should he not be able to obtain the separation of Kentucky from the United States, it has become impossible for him to live in it, unless he has suppressed, which is possible, some passages which might injure him."5

The treasonable disaffection of Wilkinson to his own country, and corrupt subserviency to Spain, appear more conclusively from another passage in one of Wilkinson's letters to the Spanish officers, quoted by them in an official communication of 11th April, 1788, as follows: "I pray you (meaning Gov. Miró, and Navarro,
the Intendant at New Orleans) with the assurance all my predictions are verifying themselves, and not a measure taken on both sides of the mountains (meaning the Alleghenies) which does not conspire to favor ours."  

In concert with Wilkinson to show the people of Kentucky the advantages of a trade with New Orleans, the agents of Wilkinson, Daniel Clark, Sen., of New Orleans, and Major [Isaac] Dunn, of Kentucky, were permitted to take a cargo of eatables and dry goods destined for the Kentucky market, to the amount of $18,246.75, including the proceeds of a cargo of Kentucky tobacco sent by Wilkinson under Major Dunn, to the amount of $7,000. "I have written," says the governor, "to Wilkinson not to sell the goods at a higher price than they cost here, because it is highly important that this first essay should inspire the inhabitants of Kentucky with the most flattering hopes."  

It needs little remark to show that if the goods had not been paid for by the Spanish government at New Orleans, it would not have presumed to fix the price at which they should be sold in Kentucky.

To confirm the corrupt adherence of Wilkinson to Spanish interests, another paragraph is selected from a letter addressed by him to Governor Miró of the 14th February, 1789. He speaks of the memorial, which he had been entrusted by the Kentucky convention to draft for the consideration of the old Congress, praying for admission into the Union and the navigation of the Mississippi. Wilkinson says, "You will observe that the memorial to Congress was presented by me, and perhaps your first impression will be that of surprise at such a document having issued from the pen of a good Spaniard. But on further reflection, you will discover that my policy is to justify in the eyes of the world our meditated separation from the rest of the Union, and quiet the apprehensions of some friends in the Atlantic States."  

Again Wilkinson writes to Miró, "I deem it useless to mention to a gentleman well versed in political history that the great spring and prime mover in all negotiations is money. Although not being authorized by you to do so, yet I found it necessary to use this lever in order to confirm some of our eminent citizens in their attachment to our cause, and to supply others with the
means of operating vigor. For these purposes I have advanced five thousand dollars out of my own funds, and half of this sum applied opportune-ly would attract Marshall and Muter on our side; but now, it is impossible for me to disburse it." This is amusing enough to those acquainted with Wilkinson's pecuniary delinquencies. He scarcely ever paid his own debts, was always embarrassed by them, so much so that when he descended the Ohio, in 1803, to take possession of Louisiana for the United States, he dared not land on the Kentucky shore but held a levee on the Indiana side of the river, opposite to Louisville, in high parade—that this man, in the pinching time of Kentucky frugality, should wheedle the governor of Louisiana into the belief that he had advanced $5,000 to promote the interests of the king of Spain, would be laughable, if it were not treacherous. "Good Spaniard," as Wilkinson, the former aide-de-camp of Gates at the battle of Saratoga, was not ashamed to term himself, his knavery far exceeded his loyalty. Yet so overweening was the confidence of Miró in the fidelity of Wilkinson to Spanish interest, that he formally "recommends" to his court "that the $5000 which Wilkinson declared having spent for the benefit of Spain, be refunded to him, and that he be further entrusted with the $2,500 which he asked for, to corrupt Marshall and Muter." 10

It may be necessary to apprize the young reader of western history, that Spain had no more determined antagonists in Kentucky than Colonel Thomas Marshall, the fellow soldier, the friend and correspondent of Washington, and the simple, unpretending Muter, the Chief Justice of Kentucky. They headed the Country or American Party in contrast with the Spanish [or Court] Party, in the Kentucky politics of 1788 and 1790. The memory of those men has not a stain of dishonor left upon it as patriots and good citizens. Colonel Marshall, the father of the great Chief Justice, was one of those who apprized Washington of the movements of the Spanish Party in Kentucky. Was he then likely to inform upon those who are represented by Wilkinson and his associates?

But Wilkinson was not contented with claims upon the Spanish government for advances made and funds to buy up more Spanish adherents; but, as has been previously related, he entered into a contract with Governor Miró to deliver tobacco in the king's stores
at New Orleans, at the moderate advance of $9\frac{1}{2}$ or $10$ per hundred for tobacco which had cost him $2 [\$2.50]$ per hundred in Kentucky.\textsuperscript{11}

This was the corrupt contract so artfully used by Wilkinson to blind the military courts and the public, and so confirmed by the ready testimony of Spanish officers, to establish the fidelity of an American to his own country, who was at the same time a servant and instrument of their common master and employer. It was under this contract that Miró informs the Spanish government, on the 11th of April, 1789, that he had bought from the general, for the account of the royal treasury, 235,000 pounds of tobacco, for which transaction he begged the approbation of his Majesty, on the ground that it was important to keep the General contented.”\textsuperscript{12}

The final testimony against Wilkinson is the following extract from a letter of Miró to the government at home, dated 22d of May, 1789: “Nevertheless, I am of opinion that said Brigadier General Wilkinson ought to be retained in the service of his Majesty with an annual pension of $2,000, which I have already proposed in my confidential dispatch, No. 46, because the inhabitants of Kentucky and the other establishments on the Ohio will not be able to undertake anything against this province without his communicating it to us, and without his making at the same time all possible efforts to dissuade them from any bad designs against us, as he has already done repeatedly.”\textsuperscript{13}

Miró concludes this letter with the recommendation that a pension be granted to Sebastian,\textsuperscript{14} “because I think it proper,” says the governor, “to treat with this individual, who will be able to enlighten me on the conduct of Wilkinson, and what we have to expect from the plans of the said brigadier general.”

Well does Mr. Gayarre express his indignation at this bribery and treachery in the following stern and disdainful language, “Thus everything was done according to the most approved rules laid down in the code of corruption: ‘set a thief to catch a thief, and a spy after another spy.’ Thus Wilkinson was employed to watch the Kentuckians, and Sebastian to betray his confederate Wilkinson; not a link wanting in the chain of infamy.”\textsuperscript{15}

But if anything were wanting, after these details, to establish
the corruption and treachery of Wilkinson in his connection with
the Spanish government at New Orleans, it may be found in the
following language of Governor Miró to Wilkinson. The latter
had said in one of his letters, “that he had become an object of
suspicion to his government, and that his situation was mortally
painful, because while abhorring duplicity, he was obliged to dis­
semble, wherefore he was seeking for the occasion of professing
himself publicly the vassal of his Catholic Majesty, in order to
claim his protection in whatever public or private measures he
might desire to promote the interests of the crown.” To this
candid and loyal address Miró replied, “I much regret that Wash­
ington and Congress suspect your connection with me, but it does
not appear opportune that you declare yourself a Spaniard for the
reasons you state. I am of opinion that this idea of yours is not
convenient, and that, on the contrary, it might have prejudicial
results, therefore continue to dissemble and to work as you prom­
ise, as I have above indicated.”

But as if debasement still had a lower depth than this hypocrisy,
Wilkinson in 1790 writes to Miró, “You may be assured that the
constant persecution of Congress cannot produce the slightest im­
pression on my attachment and zeal for the interests of Spain,
which I shall always be ready to defend with my tongue, my pen
and my sword.” It is only necessary to recollect that this lan­
guage of subserviency to Spain proceeded from one who had stood
high in the confidence of his country, had shared her honors, still
professed himself a citizen of the United States, and officiously
claimed the trust and confidence of his fellow-citizens of Kentucky
in the political conventions of that harassed and embarrassed
colony of Virginia.

This perfidy, under a most fair exterior, most prepossessing
manners and brilliant talents, is sickening enough. Still there is
another dark thread in the web of Wilkinson’s treachery to the
Kentuckians. They confided, almost spontaneously confided in
the honor of a revolutionary officer; they were panting for the en­
joyment of the navigation of the Mississippi, to save the produce
of their labor from rotting on their hands; they were oppressed
and harassed by Indian depredations. Wilkinson readily offered
himself to try and procure the one, and protect them from the
other. He risked his life gallantly and successfully as a leader against the savage enemy of the country, and he professed to have procured from the Spanish government at New Orleans commercial privileges without intimating, in the slightest degree, that it was corruptly done, and for the purpose of separating them from the sacred league of the States. Yet while apparently exerting himself most strenuously, as he said, both at Danville in Kentucky, and New Orleans, for the western enjoyment of this vital navigation; urging its indispensable importance on the minds and hearts of the people of Kentucky; pouring into their memorials to Congress and Virginia the most impassioned appeals; he was countermining himself with the governor of Louisiana in the following manner.

At the opening of this Spanish intrigue near the United States, through an agent sent to Kentucky, every means was used to persuade the people to emigrate to Louisiana, by promising lands without price, and liberty to import into New Orleans "property of any kind on paying a duty of 25 per cent." This duty of importation was further reduced by Miró "to 15 per cent, which he reserved to himself the right of lowering as he might please, on behalf of such men among them (meaning the western people, and particularly the people of Franklin and Cumberland, now composing the State of Tennessee) as might solicit that favor."

But while Miró was pursuing this policy, in order to avert the hostility of the western people of the United States from the Spanish possessions, and Wilkinson was urging in Kentucky with all the artifices of eloquence and intrigue her natural right to the navigation of the Mississippi, this same Wilkinson was remonstrating with the Spanish governor against his indulgence and accommodation to western trade.

On the 26th of April, 1789, Wilkinson wrote to Miró as follows: "The general permission to export the products of this country (meaning Kentucky) through the Mississippi River, on paying a duty of 15 per cent, has worked the consequences I feared; because every motive of discontent having been thus removed, the political agitation has subsided; and today there is not one word said about separation. Nor are the effects of this pernicious system less fatal in relation to our plan of fostering emigration to
Louisiana. Every year the inhabitants and landholders of these parts had ever present to their minds the terrible prospect of seeing their produce perish on their hands for want of a market; but now they no longer have any such apprehensions, on account of the ready sale they find at New Orleans for the fruits of their labor, which circumstance has diffused universal satisfaction in this district” (meaning Kentucky).

Again, “the pruriency of emigration has been soothed and allayed by the spirit of trade, which engrosses general attention, and there are many at this moment preparing cargoes for New Orleans, and who, under the pretext of settling in Louisiana, will procure to elude the payment of the aforesaid duty.”

This is the conduct of one who professes “to abhor all duplicity” — to regret being “obliged to dissemble!” — of a Kentucky advocate for the navigation of the Mississippi, and a Spanish pensioner urging the governor of Louisiana by the most pressing motives of policy to prohibit that navigation. An old soldier of the American republic eager to avow himself a vassal of his most Catholic Majesty and a good Spaniard!

Such were the first humble steps in a trade which has now, in 1853, swelled to the enormous amount of 1,664,864 bales of cotton, of tobacco 93,715 hhds, or sugar 321,934 hhds. Then sneaking by connivance and corruption on its way along an enemy's country on the right bank of the Mississippi, and also on both banks, below the 31st degree of N. L. though occupied as high as Walnut Hills, or the present Vicksburg, until 1798; now pursuing its triumphant and overburdened course through our own country, on both banks of the great river — the real Rio Grande of the North from its head to the Gulf of Mexico.

To present this sketch of the opening of the valley trade with New Orleans, the narrative has led the author past the establishment of the first printing presses in the valley of the Ohio, the backwoods of America, an era almost as worthy of commemoration as the German invention of the divine art. If there are any characteristics of American liberty — of the passion of the people in all their various conditions of life and sources of descent, they are a peculiar capacity for handling the axe and the rifle with an insatiable love of news conveyed by all imaginable methods of con-
veyance. To our republic, to the efficacy and formation of public opinion, which is so absolute in our popular form of government, the printing press is the very life blood, animating the heart and the whole system into sound and healthy movement. To injure or degrade this mighty machine of freedom ought ever to be viewed as high treason to the republic. The first press west of the Allegheny mountains was established in July, 1786, at Pittsburgh, by JOHN SCULL and JOSEPH HALL, two poor young men. The first number of this first western paper appeared July 29, 1786, under the title of the Pittsburgh Gazette. In addition to this important mechanical enterprise at Pittsburgh, JOHN BRADFORD, an ingenious and enterprising citizen of Lexington, Kentucky, not brought up to the business of a printer, undertook this high step in political and intellectual improvement. There was not then a press on the western waters, but the one just chronicled, at Pittsburgh. Nor was this more western establishment destitute of originality. Several of the type were cut out of dogwood, and with this imperfect apparatus, on the 11th of August, 1787, JOHN and his brother FIELDING BRADFORD published the Kentucky Gazette. It was first a weekly paper, printed on a demi-sheet. This size was altered on the 1st of September following into a medium sheet, and afterwards it assumed one of greater dimensions. This name is still retained among the journals of the State, which in 1850 amounted to 62. [Discontinued in 1848].

On the 17th of September, 1787, the fifth convention assembled at Danville, and unanimously decided for separating the District of Kentucky from Virginia, on the terms and conditions which had been prescribed by an Act of that State. An address was made to Congress to admit the new State into the "Federal Union by the name of Kentucky, and the last day of December, 1788, was fixed for the termination of the authority of Virginia and the commencement of the new republic. This convention "requested the delegates to use their endeavors to have an inhabitant from the District appointed a delegate to Congress for the ensuing year." Under this recommendation, Mr. JOHN BROWN was chosen the first and only member of the old Congress under the Confederation from Kentucky—a testimonial of high confidence and honor worthy of proud recollection by his posterity.
This affair of popular conventions ran through many years, and has created some complaint of confusion (of, which the author, however, is not sensible) in the account given by him in another work, that it is thought best to gather them under one point of view, without waiting for their exact chronological order.

The first informal assemblage of the people of the District took place in 1784, procured mostly at the instance of Colonel Benjamin Logan, in order to adopt measures to resist a threatened invasion by the Cherokees.

Upon taking the situation of the District into consideration, this assembly discovered that no legal authority existed here to call out the militia for offensive purposes; there was no magazine of arms or ammunition beyond private supplies, nor any provisions or public funds to purchase them. The property of individuals was no longer subject to be impressed at a time of peace, as it had been during the late state of general war. The government of the State had already complained of expense, might refuse to pay for the expedition, “or even to compensate for real losses.” Under these embarrassments the enterprise against the Cherokees was abandoned. The meeting, however, produced an effect much more important to the welfare of Kentucky, than any temporary military party could have done. In consequence of the discovery of the absence of any suitable legal and political organization for the necessary purposes of so isolated a community, it was thought advisable to invite a convention of the representatives of the whole District in the next ensuing month. The invitation was complied with and the representatives assembled at Danville, the temporary capital of the District, on the 27th of December, 1784. They organized themselves by electing SAMUEL McDOWELL as President and Thomas Todd as Clerk, officers repeatedly honored by similar appointments and other honors to the close of their lives.

This convention thought that the principal grievances resulting from its great distance from the seat of government, and consequent difficulty of military defense, could only be removed by a separation of the District from the parent State, and its erection into an equal and independent member of the American confederacy. They resolved by a decided majority in favor of applying to Virginia for an act to render Kentucky independent of Vir-
ginia, still with a deference due to the feelings and interests of a free people. As the convention were not elected with a view to a political charge so fundamental, it forbore to make the application to Virginia. It, however, earnestly recommended the measure to the District (and to elect members at the ensuing general election) to meet in the following May (1785). Our confederacy had not yet performed the process of moral swarming, in mutual harmony and peace, which it has since so often repeated. In Europe, accession and separation of States has always been a work of strife and blood, with the exception of the union of Scotland and Ireland with England. Strange to relate at is time . . . no printing press yet existed in Kentucky. The circulation of the address of the convention was therefore a written invitation for the election of members to a second convention. April, 1785, brought together the double election for the legislature of the State [Virginia] and for a convention. By the 22d of the following May, the members assembled again at Danville, and resolved unanimously: 1. That a petition be presented to the Legislature of Virginia, praying that this District may be established into a State separate from Virginia; 2. That another convention be elected to meet at Danville on the second Monday of August, "to take further into their consideration the state of the District." By a third resolution, it was recommended that the election of deputies for the proposed convention ought to be on the principles of equal representation, by numbers, it is presumed, as the representation in the General Assembly of Virginia was founded on a territorial principle, in disregard of population.

NOTES

CHAPTER XXIV

2. Daniel Clark in the Memoir previously quoted.
5. Gayarre, 254.
6. Ibid., 206.
7. Ibid., 220.
8. Ibid., 246.
9. Ibid., 240.
10. Ibid., 256.
12. Ibid., 256.
13. Ibid., 286.
14. Judge Sebastian of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky; afterwards convicted before the House of Representatives of Kentucky, in 1806, of receiving this pension, while on the supreme bench of justice in the State.
15. Gayarre, 119, et. seq.
16. Ibid., 284.
17. Ibid., 284.
18. Ibid., 197.
19. Ibid., 260.
20. Ibid., 277, 278.
22. American State Papers, XX, 710.
THIRD CONVENTION OF KENTUCKY, AUGUST, 1785; FOURTH CONVENTION OF KENTUCKY, AUGUST, 1786; FIFTH, AUGUST, 1787; SIXTH, SEPTEMBER, 1787; SEVENTH, NOVEMBER, 1788; LETTERS OF JOHN BROWN TO JUDGES MUTER AND MCDOWELL, ENCLOSING THE COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS OF THE SPANISH MINISTER, DON GARDOQUI, TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY; COMMENT ON THESE LETTERS; SPANISH SEIZURE OF WESTERN BOATS, AND CONFISCATION OF WESTERN PRODUCE; DEFENSE OF KENTUCKY STATESMEN UNDER THE OLD CONFEDERATION.

The early and unanimous indication of the democratic or popular spirit in one of the earliest public assemblies of Kentucky affords a key to her political complexion . . . [Awareness of the fervid character of her people caused some observers to fear that this spirit might be carried to extremes,] . . . like those which hurried the republics of history to an early tomb in military despotism.

Not that the author controverts the application of the principle of equality to the popular suffrage; he believes that no excellence of organization, no nice adjustments of parts, with all the skill of political architecture can protect a people from their own ignorance and vice. The most complex, as well as the simplest fabrics of government must receive their character from their tenants and occupants, and not from the inanimate materials of which they are composed. Forms and constitutions of government may be idolized, when the spirit, which ought to give them life and health, has departed from the people, for whose use and benefit they were adopted. It is not therefore of much import to the community that
a few more or a few less should be admitted to the right of suffrage under a political constitution, but of infinite importance to the voters themselves. There must be an overruling mass of virtue and intelligence to constitute the true conservative power of society, otherwise no political arrangements can preserve it from falling into anarchy. While an exclusion of large classes independent of prudential disqualifications, as those of minority, residence and sex, [which] keeps up a constant discontent and ill blood in the community, much more mischievous than the admission of all to a political voice in the management of public affairs. . .

This convention with a spirit of passiveness and dependence uncalled for by their delegated authority, declined acting promptly and efficiently, but referred the question of separation to another convention, to meet in the ensuing August of 1786.

This third convention assembled on the 8th of the month, at its usual place of meeting, and came to a unanimous resolution "that it is the indispensable duty of the convention to make application to the General Assembly, at its ensuing session, for an act to separate this District from the present government forever, on terms honorable to both, and injurious to neither." This resolution with an eloquent preamble was followed by an address to Virginia and the people of the District, in a style of dignity and ornament hitherto unprecedented in the rude and simple proceedings of Kentucky. They were certainly the production of General Wilkinson, at the time in question a member of the convention from the county of Fayette.¹ The Legislature of Virginia received the petition of Kentucky with the liberality which has generally marked that great and magnanimous State. It passed an act providing for the election in the ensuing August, 1787, by the free white male inhabitants of the District, of five representatives from each of the counties who should determine whether it be expedient for, and the will of the good people of the District, that it should be erected into an independent State on certain conditions.

It was moreover enacted that, if the convention should approve of separation, a day should be appointed posterior to the 1st of September, 1787, when the authority of Virginia should cease, provided, Congress should, prior to 1st of June of the same year, assent to said separation, relieve Virginia from her federal obliga-
tions arising therefrom, and admit the said State into the federal
Union.

The expedition of General Clark, formerly mentioned, pre­
vented the assemblage of this convention at the proper time. A
memorial explaining these embarrassments was forwarded to Vir­
ginia by John Marshall, the late pre-eminent Chief Justice of the
United States, praying an alteration in the terms of the separating
act.

This memorial was granted according to its prayer, and an act
in conformity was passed, which arrived at Danville in January,
1789, after a formal vote had been taken in favor of separation.
Thus fell the fourth convention of Kentucky to give birth to a
fifth. The new act of Virginia continued her assent to the separa­
tion, but required another convention to be elected in the ensuing
August, and to signify its assent to the political divorce by a ma­
jority of two-thirds of its members; its operation was also post­
poned until the 1st of January, 1789. Thus then had the people
of the District been tantalized from December, 1784, to January,
1789, tossed from one political assembly to another, and their
most interesting feelings kept in the highest agitation. It is indeed
a high and honorable proof of political order and obedience in
Kentucky that an impetuous people should, under circumstances
of great irritation and disappointment, have preserved the peace
of the State.

The fifth convention of Kentucky assembled at Danville, and
unanimously decided for the separation of the District, upon the
terms and conditions prescribed by Virginia as previously men­
tioned. It also directed a convention to be elected with full power
and authority to frame and establish a fundamental constitution
for the proposed State.

In conformity with this direction, a convention assembled at
Danville on the 29th of July, preparatory to the separation of the
District from Virginia. While the sixth convention were sitting,
information was received that Congress had determined to refer
the question of admitting Kentucky into the Union to the new
governors about to be established for the whole Union. This
was indeed a cruel blow to the hopes of an independent govern­
ment which had so often been excited, repeatedly voted upon by
Kentucky, and as often assented to by Virginia. It is no matter of wonder that "there was now observed the most deep felt vexation, a share of ill temper bordering on disaffection and strong symptoms of assuming independent government.

The navigation of the Mississippi and the trade to New Orleans, now just tasted for the first time, were strenuously pressed into the argument in favor of completing the constitution, and organizing government without delay." It was even proposed to submit the state of the District, and the course to be pursued, to each militia company. This proposition, which would indeed have amounted to the disorganization of the representative government and have resolved it into an elementary and unmixed democracy, like the Grecian Ecclesiai, or the Roman Campus Martius, was most judiciously rejected.

This body after protracted debate, came to the following recommendation, that the people of the District should elect another assembly to meet in the following November, and continue in office until the 1st of January, 1790; "that they delegate to their said representatives full powers to take such measures for obtaining admission of the District as a separate and independent member of the United States of America; and the navigation of the Mississippi, as may appear most conducive to those purposes; and also to form a constitution of government for the District, and organize the same, when they shall judge it necessary; or to do and accomplish whatsoever on a consideration of the state of the District may in their opinion promote its interests." From the breadth and plenipotentiary character of this commission . . . the temper of the District may be inferred. Nor can there, in the whole history of the American governments, whether during the disturbances in the New Hampshire Grants, which gave rise to the State of Vermont, or during those in the Southwest territory, which produced the short-lived State of Franklin, be found a career of such multiplied disappointments, and abortive assemblies, as in the labors of Kentucky to be admitted into the Union of the American States. All parties seem to have been well disposed; still, as if under the influence of some evil spell, consent was given to be almost as soon withdrawn; act was passed after act, and assembly met after assembly, only to give birth to a successor, as

276
remote as ever from obtaining what had been the favorite wish of the people for years.

Nor ought the party desiring immediate organization to be branded with obloquy any further than it may have been mixed with views of political divorce; by a majority of two thirds, its operation was moreover postponed until the 1st day of January, 1789.

On the 17th day of September, 1787, the sixth convention assembled at Danville, and unanimously decided for the separation of the District, upon the terms and conditions prescribed by the law of Virginia. An address was made to Congress for the admission of the new State into the Federal Union by the name of Kentucky; and the last day of December, 1788, was fixed for the termination of the authority of Virginia and the commencement of the new republic. This convention requested “the Delegates from the District in the Legislature of Virginia to use their endeavor to have an inhabitant of the District appointed a delegate to Congress for the ensuing year.”

It was under this recommendation, that Mr. JOHN BROWN was chosen the first and only member of the Old Congress, from Kentucky, under the Old Confederation.

Still the conduct of the party desiring an immediate organization of the government should not be condemned any farther than it may have been mixed with views of Spanish dependence; now so much better understood than at the time of those transactions, and until the appearance of M. Charles Gayarre’s admirable work on the Spanish domination in Louisiana.

For had a domestic government been organized, after the repeated and harmonious co-operation of the great contracting parties, and the repeated and unavoidable disappointment of their intentions, it is not to be supposed that it would have been so technically misconstrued as to be deemed treasonable by Virginia or hostile to the Union. The magnanimity of that venerable State would have cured all formal and technical difficulties. Should any such unjust imputation have been put upon the independent attitude of Kentucky, it must have soon been removed by her fidelity and attachment to the confederacy of the States, immovably fast, as it is confidently believed to have been.
Vermont continued without the pale of the Union, during the whole Revolutionary war, until March, 1791; yet no indictment was brought against her for treason, and she was joyfully received at her own time into the confederacy.

At this distance of time, the protracted delays and repeated disappointment of the people of the District seem inexplicable. It is not known what better to compare this long succession of fruitless conventions with than the card edifices of children, which are no sooner erected than at a breath they are demolished. The assertion may safely be made that no community in these States would now be so tantalized as were the people of the District of Kentucky. Some auxiliary resolutions directing the election of the 7th convention closed the labors of this addition to the ineffectual assemblies of Kentucky.

So excited had public feeling become in consequence of this provoking course of things that disunion seems to have been at least proposed, as its “idea was formally combatted in the public prints of the time, while nothing more open or formal than the actions of the convention is recollected in its favor.”

A letter from the Chief Justice of the District, on the 15th of October, 1788, may best represent the opinions of the more considerate. “Forming a constitution of government,” he says, “and organizing the same before the consent of the Legislature of Virginia for that purpose first obtained, will be directly contrary to the letter and spirit of the act of assembly,” and involving the perpetrators in the guilt of high treason, that the new State could only be admitted by consent of Virginia, under the federal constitution. But the most pregnant part of this letter is that he represents “the resolution of the late convention, if adopted by the people, that is, acted on by electing a convention, might fairly be construed to give authority to the next to treat with Spain, to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi, if they should think such a measure to their interest.” He then recommends the people “to direct their delegates not to agree to the forming a constitution and form of government, and organizing the same, till the consent of Virginia for that purpose be first obtained — not to agree to make any application whatever to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi, other than
[prescribed by] the Legislature of Virginia and the Congress of the United States."

Everything proceeding from GEORGE MUTER will be treated by the author with all the respect inspired by a lively recollection of his venerable, mild and worthy character. The concurrence of THOMAS MARSHALL, the compatriot and friend of Washington and fellow soldier of Muter, adds still greater weight to this letter, which was indeed his measure. Yet, notwithstanding this most respectable authority, some political feeling not at all dishonorable . . . seems to have prompted this public address, unless these gentle­men had a knowledge of foreign intrigues which have since been fully developed in regard to Wilkinson and Sebastian.

As has been before remarked, the separation of Kentucky from Virginia was an agreed case between the high contracting parties; the difficulty was one of form and accident only. In such a state of things, it would have been cruel mockery and iniquity in Vir­ginia to have so far misinterpreted a separation of Kentucky or­ganized without the full present consent of Virginia, but which had been the subject of repeated and mutual agreements as to consider it treason. . .

The jealousy of the country could not, however, have been too keenly alive to any attempts to fasten dependence on Spain, or any other foreign power, upon the rising fortunes of Kentucky. Such dependence is never admitted into the creed of any enlightened patriot until the last extremity of domestic misfortune extorts this dangerous alternative; and then to be sleeplessly watched.

Why the patriotic Marshall and Muter were so apprehensive of a foreign connexion, it now becomes a painful duty to develop, although it affords a most interesting passage in western history. That feelings may still be lacerated by the recital, the author la­ments; and which he will studiously avoid, consistently with the faithfulness of history, and the discharge of his own duty, in the words of Doctor [William] Robertson, as a witness in a court of Justice. Motives shall not be impeached, but upon strong and conclusive testimony, guilt shall not be tortured into existence by misrepresentation or unfair construction.

On the 29th of February, 1788, JOHN BROWN, then a mem­ber of the Old Congress, presented to that body the address of the
Kentucky convention praying for admission into the Union of the States; but it was not until the 3d of July that the petition was finally acted on, and then referred to the new government about to be organized for its ultimate decision. The reasons for this course, so vexatious to the people of the District of Kentucky, are set forth with great gravity and cogency in the preamble to the resolution. The principal and most weighty was that the admission of Kentucky “could have no effect to make the District a member of the Union, under the federal constitution, then ratified by ten States.” The process of adopting the new constitution, and admitting the new member of the Union would both have to be gone over again.

The author cannot hesitate to concur in the opinion expressed by the first historian of Kentucky, that “considering the time and circumstances under which these proceedings took place in Congress, there is no hesitation in pronouncing them every way worthy the high character which that honorable body had acquired for wisdom and virtue.”

Mr. Brown then wrote to the President of the July convention, giving an account of this additional failure of Kentucky expectations, notwithstanding his best exertions to gratify them. In this letter was enclosed a detached script of paper headed confidential in these words: “In a conversation which I had with Don Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, he stated that if the people of Kentucky would erect themselves into an independent state, and appoint a proper person to negotiate with him, he had authority for that purpose and would enter into an arrangement with them for the exportation of their produce to New Orleans, on terms of mutual advantage.” In addition to this ominous enclosure to Judge McDowell, a letter was written by the same gentleman to Judge Muter, then Chief Justice of the District, dated New York, July 10th, 1788, from which the following extracts are taken referring the reader to the appendix [no appendix found] for the entire letter. After mentioning the delay of Congress in acting on the application of Kentucky, owing to the absence of the members during a great part of the winter and spring, and when finally committed “to a grand committee, they could not be prevailed upon to report—a majority of them being opposed
to the measure. The Eastern States would not, nor do I think they ever will, assent to the admission of the District into the Union as an independent State, unless Vermont, or the province of Maine, is brought forward at the same time. The change which has taken place in the general government, is made the ostensible objection to the measure; but the jealousy of the growing importance of the western country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition; and I am inclined to believe that they will exist, to a certain degree, even under the new government, to which the application is referred by Congress. The question which the District will now have to determine upon, will be whether or not it be more expedient to continue the connexion with the State of Virginia, or to declare their independence, and proceed to frame a constitution of government? 'Tis generally expected that the latter will be the determination, as you have proceeded to think of relinquishing the measure, and the interest of the District will render it altogether inexpedient to continue in your present situation, until an application for admission into the Union can be made in a constitutional mode to the new government. This step will, in my opinion, tend to preserve unanimity, and will enable you to adopt with effect such measures as may be necessary to promote the interest of the District. In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister at this place, I have been assured by him in the most explicit manner, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he had authority and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege never can be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe. As there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, I have thought proper to communicate it to a few confidential friends in the District, with his permission, not doubting but that they will make a prudent use of the information—which is in part confirmed by dispatches yesterday received by Congress from Mr. Carmichael, our minister at that court, the contents of which I am not at liberty to disclose.
 Upon this letter, as well as that to Judge McDowell on the same subject, comment is unavoidable. It is an essential duty of the historian of the times; it is an important part of western history; and it has been the subject of most angry and exasperated controversy. This commentary is undertaken, when the passions which embittered these disputes have died away; when the author, who was a witness, alas! almost the only surviving one, of their fiercest storms, undertakes these remarks, governed as he claims to be, by a sense of historical duty. He feels, at this time, nearly half a century from the raging of this political storm as he did when in the midst of it, uninfluenced by its rage. On any other occasion than this, which arrayed the people of Kentucky in most acrimonious parties, such a declaration might be uncalled for.

The first idea that strikes the mind in considering this letter to Judge Muter, in connexion with the enclosure to Judge McDowell, is that Mr. Brown, and in all probability many others of the ancient statesmen of Kentucky, did incline to discuss, if not adopt, a connexion with Spain independent of the feeble and disgraceful union which then existed; one more in name than fact, disobeyed at home, and despised abroad. Under these circumstances the author thinks that such a measure so far from furnishing matter of reprobation and reproach, was consistent with patriotism to Kentucky, and may have even been demanded by its most sacred duties. The denial of any meaning in the letters to the judges, beyond being “forwarded for information,” as supposed by Judge McDowell in his certificate of the 7th of August, 1806,9 strikes the author as unworthy of the grave subject of the communication and the dignity of the correspondents. The information ought to have had an object beyond its mere communication.

But what is more important, it is inconsistent with the only manly and triumphant justification of which the enclosure is susceptible. To try the conduct of Kentucky statesmen in 1788, always excepting the corrupt conduct of Wilkinson and Sebastian, under a confederation in ruins and factions, by the same principles which should now govern the mind, under an efficient and beneficent government, would at once be both unjust and absurd. The peculiar circumstances of the times must be adverted to, in
order to arrive at any just estimate of the measure, or of its friends. What then were these circumstances? They are eloquently and no less truly narrated by General Wilkinson: “Open to savage depredations; exposed to the jealousies of the Spanish government; unprotected by that of the old confederation, and denied the navigation of the Mississippi, the only practicable channel by which the productions of their labor could find a market.” In addition to this, as has been already mentioned, all western property found on the Mississippi was seized by the first Spanish officer that chose to execute his orders, between New Madrid and New Orleans. Was this a condition of things for any community, much more for one of high spirited freemen with arms in their hands, just fresh from hunting down the British lion and his Indian allies, to bear any longer than it was unavoidable? When these grievances are fairly estimated, which must have blasted the industry and the dearest hopes of the country; have driven the immigrants back over the mountains they had scaled with peril and privation; condemned the fertile lands of the West to waste their richness in uncultivated forests, to become again an Indian wilderness rather than continue a civilized country; and add to these heart burnings on the subject of yielding the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty or thirty years to the arrogant and haughty demands of Spain, the reader may then have some idea of the feelings of the western people on these matters. From these considerations, some faint notion may be conceived of the necessity which the statesmen of Kentucky must have felt, to look to some other protection for the vital interests of the country than the tottering and imbecile confederacy which then deluded the country under the pretense of a government; a confederacy, which threatened to jeopardize all the fruits of the late glorious revolution by anarchy and disunion, if not by foreign conquest. Can circumstances be imagined more imperative on Kentucky statesmen and patriots to turn their attention to a foreign connexion for that protection for the fruits of their enterprise and industry, which their own government could not give, and without which all government is a mockery and a perversion of its rational purposes? To the mind of the writer the circumstances of the case may have had this justification in the view of the parties.
The above (Chapter XXV), in continuation of the *History of the Valley of the Ohio*, was placed in the hands of our compositor but a day or two before the decease of the author, and the present seems to be a proper occasion for acknowledging the many kindnesses which we have received at the hands of our highly esteemed and much lamented friend. While we forbear to give utterance to our profound sense of personal bereavement, we may be allowed to record our testimony of the private and public virtues of the deceased.

MANN BUTLER was one who lived and delighted to labor for the benefit of the human family at large. He was admitted to the bar as a lawyer, but his literary taste gave a different direction to his life, which was devoted chiefly to teaching, and to collecting facts of Western history. He published, many years ago, a *History of Kentucky*, and at the time of his death had nearly completed the great work of his life, a history of "The Conquest and First Settlement of the Valley of the Ohio by Americans."

This is a work of no ordinary merit, and we sincerely hope that some competent individual will prepare it for the press at an early day.

MANN BUTLER belonged to a class of individuals of whom there are but few living at the present time: He was, in the best meaning of the term, "a gentleman of the old school," and won the esteem and affectionate regard of all with whom he associated. He was taken away by the accident at the Gasconda bridge, on the Pacific railroad, on the first day of November, 1855. Mr. Butler was about 72 years of age, but retained his mental faculties in full vigor, and possessed to the last a cheerfulness of spirit which threw a pleasing charm around his venerable and dignified person.

Senior Editor

*The Western Journal and Civilian*

Volume 15, No. 1, December, 1855

NOTES

CHAPTER XXV

1. Marshal, I, 212.
4. Ibid., 296.
5. Ibid., 297.
7. Mr. Brown informed the author that the Spanish minister used in joke to call him neighbor.
9. Littell, Political Transactions, 39.

Bentham, Jeremy. *Works (Selections from His Correspondence and a Biography)*. Published by Dr. Bowring, 1838-1843. 11 vols.


———. *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, from its Exploration and Settlement by the Whites, to the Close of the North-western Campaign, in 1813; with an Introduction Exhibiting the Settlement of Western Virginia . . . in 1736, to the Treaty of Camp Charlotte . . . in 1774*. 2d ed.; rev. and enl. by the author. Cincinnati: J. A. James and Company, 1836; Louisville, the Author, 1836.


———. *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-84* (Springfield, 1926), *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, vol. XIX, *Virginia Series*, Vol. IV. Butler had George Rogers Clark's papers in his possession when he was writing his *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (1834). Lyman C. Draper amassed the largest known collection of Clark papers and notes of his time. His gigantic collection is in the Library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society (which owns it), Madison, Wisconsin. The original *Memoir* is in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. "It consists of 128 pages of manuscript and purports to give a detailed account of events with which Clark was connected in Virginia, Kentucky, and the Northwest from the close of the year 1773 to September, 1779. Attention was first called to the *Memoir* by Mann Butler in his *History of Kentucky* (1834)." It is thought that Mann Butler at one time owned the original. Per-
haps it should be assumed that Draper acquired the Memoir from Butler. See James Alton James, The Life of George Rogers Clark (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 474.]


Dawson, Moses. A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major General William H. Harrison and a Vindication of His Character and Conduct as a Statesman, a Citizen, and a Soldier. With a Detail of His Negotiations and Wars with the Indians, until the Final Overthrow of the Celebrated Chief Tecumseh and His Brother the Prophet. The whole written and compiled from original and authentic documents furnished by many of the most respectable characters in the United States. Cincinnati: Printed by M. Dawson, at the Advertiser Office, 1824.


Flint, Timothy. Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone, the First Settler of Kentucky. 16.5 cm. 267 pp. portrait. illustrations. N. & G. Guilford & Co. Cincinnati: 1833. ["There are fourteen different editions of this early work on Boone. The title varies with the different editions, all of which were published in Cincinnati from 1833 to 1868. George Conclin appears to have been the publisher of some of the earlier additions, including the first."]

———. The Life and Adventures of Daniel Boone, the First White Settler of Kentucky. 19.5 cm. 256 pp. portrait. illustrations. Published by U. P. James. Cincinnati: 1857. Also: 1868. This is also a revised edition with change of title of the author's Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone, to which was added "An Account of Capt. Estill's Defeat," with a map and three plates.


Haywood, John. The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its Earliest Settlement up to the Year 1796, Including the Boundaries of the State. Knoxville: [Printed for the author by Heiskell & Brown], 1823.

---

A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohican Indians, from Its Commencement, in the Year 1740, to the Close of the Year 1808. Comprising All the Remarkable Incidents Which Took Place at their Missionary Stations During That Period. Interspersed with Anecdotes, Historical Facts, Speeches of Indians and Other Interesting Matter. Philadelphia: Published by M'Carty and Davis, 1820.

---


---


---


---

Jacob, John J. *Biographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Capt. Michael Cresap.* Cumberland, Md.: Printed for the Author by J. M. Buchanan, 1826.

---


---


---


---

McClung, John A. *Sketches of Western Adventure: Containing an Account of the Most Interesting Incidents Connected with the Settlement of the West, from 1755 to 1794.* Maysville, Ky.: L. Collins, 1832. Other editions in 1832, 1836, 1851.

---


---


Metcalfe, Samuel L. *A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Indian Warfare in the West, Containing an Account of the Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone, One of the First Settlers of Kentucky, Comprehending the Most Important Occurrences Relative to Its Early History. Also, an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Indians, Their Traditions and Religious Sentiments, Their Police or Civil Government, Their Discipline and Method of War: to Which is added, an Account of the Expeditions of Gen'l's Harmar, Scott, Wilkinson, St. Clair, and Wayne: The whole compiled from the best authorities.* Lexington, Ky.: Printed by William G. Hunt, 1821.


Ramsey, James Gettys McCready. *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century: Comprising Its Settlement, as the Watanga Association, from 1769 to 1777; a part of North Carolina, from 1777 to 1784; the State of Franklin, from 1784 to 1788; a part of North Carolina, from 1788 to 1790; the Territory of the United States, South of the Ohio, from 1790 to 1796; the State of Tennessee, from 1796 to 1800.* Charleston: Walker and James, 1853.


Smith, James. *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith (now a citizen of Bourbon County, Kentucky), During His Captivity with the Indians, in the Years 1755, 56,


INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbott, Edward, British Lieutenant Governor at Vincennes</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abercrombie, General James</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, John</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Samuel</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of</td>
<td>iv, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranda, Count de</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbuckle, Captain</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argus, The</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashby, John</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aubry, Charles Philippe, French Governor at New Orleans</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakeless, John</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballinger, Colonel John L</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bancroft, George</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbour, Governor James</td>
<td>155, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayley, Lieutenant John</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear Grass Creek</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaujeu, Captain Daniel-Hyacinth-Marie de</td>
<td>20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedinger, George M</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellerive, Louis St. Ange de</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benham, Captain Robert T., adventure of</td>
<td>101-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Big Knife”</td>
<td>128, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Miami</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird, Captain Henry, invasion of</td>
<td>151-53, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackfeet (Blackfish, Shawnee Chief)</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackfish, Shawnee Chief</td>
<td>86, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Licks</td>
<td>26, 37, 87, 96, 151, 168-69, 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolland, William</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone and Calloway girls, capture of</td>
<td>80-81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the salt-making expedition</td>
<td>92-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone, Israel</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone, Jemima</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone, Squire</td>
<td>45, 70, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boonesborough</td>
<td>61, 65, 67, 80, 82, 88, 91-92, 94, 107, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assembly of</td>
<td>67-71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siege of</td>
<td>95-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosseron, Major (Captain Francois Bosseron, a French leader at Vincennes)</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bostoniais</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouquet, Colonel (later Brigadier General) Henry</td>
<td>35-39, 53, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowman, Colonel John</td>
<td>73, 90-91, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expedition of</td>
<td>149-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowman, Major Joseph</td>
<td>110, 112, 119, 125, 137, 142-43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Braddock, Edward .................................. 18, 20-21, 24, 26-27, 37, 39, 43, 52, 173, 205
defeat of .............................................. 17-24
Bradford, John ....................................... 269
Bradford, Fielding .................................... 269
Bradstreet, Colonel John ............................ 37
Brant, Joseph, Iroquois Chief Thayendanegea .... 34
Broadhead, Daniel .................................. 199
Brown, John ............................................ 42, 253, 269
Brown, Colonel (Captain Oliver Brown) .......... 208
Bryan (William, Samuel, Daniel, George, Morgan, Jr., Joseph) .................. 105
Bryan's Station ....................................... 158, 176-77
establishment of ..................................... 105
siege of ............................................... 169-70
Bryant, William Cullen ............................. 237
Buckongehelas ....................................... 247
Buford, Captain Thomas, (died of wounds the night following
the battle of Point Pleasant) ...................... 52
Buford, Napoleon Bonaparte ......................... viii
Bulger, John ........................................... 149, 151
Bullitt, Alexander ................................... 46
Bullitt, Captain Thomas ............................ 30-31, 46-48, 59, 236
Burke, Edmund ....................................... 58
Bushy Run ............................................. 34, 37-38
Butler, General Richard ............................ 247
Byrd, Colonel (Captain Henry Bird) ................. 151, 153

Cabins of frontier ................................... 205-06
Cahokia ................................................... 119, 121, 127, 131, 135
Callaway, Betsy ....................................... 80
Callaway, Frances ..................................... 80
Callaway, Colonel Richard ......................... 80, 96
Cameron, Charles .................................... 57
Campbell, Colonel Arthur .......................... 84, 86, 95, 113
Campbell, Colonel John ............................ 56, 86
Campbell, William ................................... 56
Carleton, Sir Guy, British Governor General of Canada ............... 93
Carlisle (Pa.) .......................................... 37-38
Carmichael, William .................................. 281
Carson, Christopher .................................. 60
Cauagahoqui (Cayahoga) ......................... 14
Central Pacific Railroad ........................... x
Cerre, M. Gabriel .................................... 115-16, 122, 145
Character of frontier people ....................... 247-48
Charlemagne, the Emperor ......................... 236
Chartier's Creek ...................................... 11
Cheat River ............................................ 42
Cherokee Indians .................................... 134
Chickasaw Indians .................................. 13, 160, 164-65
Chouteau, Auguste ................................... 41
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chouteau, Pierre</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian, Colonel William</td>
<td>52, 55-57, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Daniel, Sr.</td>
<td>258, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Daniel, Jr.</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark's Grant</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, George Rogers</td>
<td>5, 68, 71-72, 85, 100, 149, 151, 153, 159-61, 163-65, 192, 241-44, 246-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark and Jones mission to Virginia</td>
<td>76-84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark's Illinois Campaign</td>
<td>107-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second Vincennes campaign</td>
<td>135-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second invasion of Indian country</td>
<td>147-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782 expedition</td>
<td>177-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786 expedition</td>
<td>241-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>character of</td>
<td>242-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, John</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Thomas D., author</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colbert, James Logan</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins, Richard H.</td>
<td>iv, v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial defense (1757)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combs, Joseph</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Commentator, Frankfort</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress (old)</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connelley, William Elsey</td>
<td>16, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consola, Herman</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention, 1786</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cool, William</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn Island</td>
<td>48, 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornstalk, Shawnee Chief</td>
<td>55, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coulter, E. Merton</td>
<td>16, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courier-Journal, The</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cortes, Hernando</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craik, Dr. James</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, Colonel William, expedition of</td>
<td>77, 187-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cresap, Captain Thomas</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croghan, Mrs. William (Lucy Clark)</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croghan, Colonel George, Indian Agent</td>
<td>21, 40-41, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croghan, Major William</td>
<td>246-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromwell, Oliver</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown Point</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crow's Station</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland Ford</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currency on the frontier</td>
<td>214-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel, Walker</td>
<td>198-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danville circular</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danville, Rise of</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedman, Martha</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denton, John</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denton, Mrs. John</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

293
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denton, Thomas</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>7, 34, 73, 108, 124, 135, 142-44, 147-48, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick, Everett, author</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diet on the frontier</td>
<td>209-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinwiddie, Robert</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Court</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodridge, Dr. Joseph</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donne, Captain John</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragging Canoe, Indian Chief</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drake, Dr. Daniel</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress on the frontier</td>
<td>210-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duchesne, Captain (really Isodore de Chaine, not a captain)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duff, John</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumas, Captain Jean-Daniel</td>
<td>20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunbar, Colonel Thomas</td>
<td>19, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunn, Major Isaac</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education on the frontier</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early explorers and surveyors</td>
<td>44-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellinipisco, Indian chief</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott, Captain Matthew</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embarrass River</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espie, Robert</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estill, Captain James</td>
<td>167 defeat of 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falls of the Ohio</td>
<td>158, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrow, John</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette County</td>
<td>162-63, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauquier, Francis, Royal Governor of Virginia</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field, Colonel John</td>
<td>52, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fights on the frontier</td>
<td>220-21, 235-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finley, John</td>
<td>40, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleming, Colonel William</td>
<td>52, 54-55, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint, Timothy</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd, Colonel John</td>
<td>57, 80-81, 149, 154, 163, 177, 198, 236, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbes, General John</td>
<td>29, 31, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Chartres</td>
<td>7, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Cumberland</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Duquesne</td>
<td>19-20, 26, 29-32, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Gage (Fort Clark)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Jefferson</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Ligonier</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Massac</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Necessity</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Nelson</td>
<td>161, 163, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Niagara</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Redstone (Brownsville)</td>
<td>51, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Sackville</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin, Benjamin</td>
<td>5, 20, 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraser, Lieutenant John (Frazer, Frazier)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Creek</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French intrigues</td>
<td>195, 240-41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontier forts, description</td>
<td>206-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontier furniture and utensils</td>
<td>207-08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gage, General Thomas</td>
<td>19, 41-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardoqui, Don Diego</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gassonda River</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gates, General Horatio</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayangos, M. de</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayarre, Charles</td>
<td>261, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography of the region</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George, Duke of Cumberland, Commander in Chief of the British Armies</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George, Captain Robert</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibault, Father Pierre</td>
<td>116, 123-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson, Captain George</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson, Colonel John</td>
<td>215, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girty, George</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girty, James</td>
<td>168-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girty, Simon</td>
<td>151, 168-69, 190-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girty, Thomas</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gist, Christopher</td>
<td>11-12, 36, 42-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladwin, Major Henry</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnadenhutten</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant’s defeat</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant, Major James</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder from New Orleans</td>
<td>99-102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, Joseph</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor Henry</td>
<td>93, 95, 134-35, 141-43, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampden, John</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hancock, John</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardin, Colonel John</td>
<td>236, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hard Winter”</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlan, Josiah</td>
<td>66, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlan, Major Silas</td>
<td>170, 172, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmon, John</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison, Burr</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison, William Henry</td>
<td>4, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrod, James</td>
<td>57, 59, 66-67, 78, 100, 104, 149, 151, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrodstown, Harrodsburg, Fort Harrod</td>
<td>65-67, 72, 77-78, 82, 86, 88, 92, 107, 151, 154, 158, 160, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrodstown attacked</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrod, Captain William</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hart, Colonel Nathaniel .................................................. 60, 69
Hay, Major Jehu .............................................................. 142, 145
Hays, John ........................................................................ 66
Heckewelder, John ............................................................. 179
Helm, Captain Leonard ...................................................... 110, 112, 126, 141-42, 144, 148
Henderson, Colonel Richard .............................................. 59, 68-70, 76, 78, 84, 247
Henry, Patrick ................................................................. 82-83, 100, 109, 125, 147
Hercules (in Greek mythology) ........................................... 197
Hogan, Mrs. Richard ........................................................ 66
Hogan, Richard ................................................................ 67
Holden, Joseph ................................................................ 44
Holder, John ..................................................................... 149
Honore, John A. ................................................................ 250
Housebuilding and housewarming on the frontier ................ 227-29
Hull, General William ...................................................... 148
Hunter life ........................................................................ 215-17

Indian tribes ...................................................................... 4-8
Indian negotiations conducted by Clark ............................. 127-31
Innes, Attorney General Harry ........................................... 248, 253
Iroquois Indians .................................................................. 13, 16, 61

James, James A., author ................................................... 143
Jay John .......................................................................... 159, 195-97, 251
Jay’s treaty ........................................................................ 196
Jefferson County .............................................................. 162-63, 192
Jefferson Seminary ........................................................... viii
Jefferson, Thomas ............................................................. 17, 77, 82, 115, 147, 159-61, 163, 204
Jennings Gap ...................................................................... 205
Johnny, Captain .................................................................. 214
Johnson, Colonel Richard M. ............................................. 168
Johnson, Sir William, His Majesty’s Agent to the Iroquois ... 40, 42
Joliet, Louis ....................................................................... 13
Jones, John Gabriel ........................................................... 71, 76-77, 80, 85-86, 107
Jumonville, Coulon de, Ensign .......................................... 17
Juno (mythological character) ............................................. 197

Kaskaskia ......................................................................... 10, 73, 108, 110, 113-18, 120-23, 125, 134-35, 143-45, 148,
.................................................................................. 160-61, 165, 242, 246

Kendall, Amos ................................................................ vii
Kennedy, William ............................................................ 248
Kenton, Simon ................................................................... 168, 200
Kenton’s Station, on Lawrence Creek, in Mason County .... 200
Kentucky County .............................................................. 72, 161
Kentucky Gazette .............................................................. 269
Kentucky Historical Society .............................................. ix
Kentucky Seminary, Frankfort .......................................... vii
Knight, Doctor John ........................................................ 190-91
Knox, Colonel James ....................................................... 46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labor on the frontier</td>
<td>214, 217-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laclede, Pierre</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafferty, Mrs. Maud</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Forge, Doctor (Apparently Mr. Butler confused the name La Forge with that of Dr. Jean Laffont who accompanied Father Gibault on the mission to Vincennes)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Court of Kentucky</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land system of Virginia</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Payronie, Captain William</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Boeuf</td>
<td>7, 12, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leet, Major Daniel</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legras, Colonel (J. M. P. Le Gras, a French leader at Vincennes)</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard, Gilbert</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leroux, (may be Joseph Gapard Chausse-Gros de Lery (1721-1797))</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis, General Andrew</td>
<td>27, 30, 51-55, 57, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis, Colonel Charles, killed in battle of Point Pleasant</td>
<td>54-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexington, beginnings of</td>
<td>104-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leyba, Fernando de, Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana at St. Louis</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leyba, Teresa de</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lignery, Captain Francois des</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limestone (Maysville)</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln County</td>
<td>162-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsey, James</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsey, Joseph</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linn, Benjamin</td>
<td>108, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linn, Dr. Lewis F.</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linn, Captain William</td>
<td>100, 125, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Turtle, Miami chief</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Wabash River</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lochry, Colonel Archibald, defeat of</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lockridge, Ross</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loftus Heights</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loftus, Major</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan, Benjamin</td>
<td>88, 90-91, 96, 149-51, 161-63, 170-71, 176-78, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan's campaign against the Shawnee</td>
<td>247-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan’s Fort (St. Asaph), attacked</td>
<td>88-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan, Mingo Indian chief</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logstown</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Hunters</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Long Knife” (Clark’s Virginians)</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loramie’s Store</td>
<td>13, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loskiel, George Henry</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loudon, Lord (John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis XVI, King of France</td>
<td>125, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>154, 194, 241, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyceum</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyal Hanna (Loyalhanna, Pa.)</td>
<td>30-31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Loyola College ........................................................ vi
Lucern, Count, proposals of ......................................... 195, 240
Luttrell, John .......................................................... 69
Lyne, Edmund ......................................................... 155

McAfee, George ....................................................... 46
McAfee, James ........................................................ 46, 48
McAfee, Robert ....................................................... 46
McBride, Captain William ......................................... 172
McCarty, Captain Richard ........................................ 135, 143
McClellan, John ...................................................... 86
McConnell, Andrew ................................................ 104
McConnell, Francis ................................................ 104
McConnell, William ................................................. 104
McCoun, James ....................................................... 46
McGary, Major Hugh ................................................. 65-67, 87, 170-72, 174
McGary, Mrs. Hugh ................................................. 66
McKee, Captain Alexander ........................................ 168
McKee, William ...................................................... 57
McDonald, Colonel Angus .......................................... 52
McDowell, Samuel .................................................. 198, 270
Madison, James ....................................................... 77, 160
Madrid ...................................................................... 159, 195-96
Malden .................................................................. 144
Mamelle, near Vincennes ............................................ 137
Manufactures of the frontier ....................................... 234
Marquette, Jacques .................................................. 12
Marshall, John, Chief Justice .................................... 149, 264
Marshall, Humphrey ............................................... v, xi, 64-66, 68, 169-70, 174, 254, 260
Marshall, Colonel Thomas ....................................... 163, 192, 262, 264
Martin, John ................................................................ 89
Martin’s and Ruddle’s stations .................................. 152-53, 170
Mason, George ......................................................... 82, 154
Mason, Kathryn Harrod ........................................... 66
Masterson, James ..................................................... 104
Matthews, Captain George ....................................... 55-56
May, George .......................................................... 161, 163, 192
May, John .................................................................. 198-99
Mechanic arts on the frontier ..................................... 221-24
Medical knowledge of the frontier ............................ 231-32
Mercer, General Charles Fenton ............................... 244
Michilimackinac ....................................................... 7, 34, 134
Military duties on the frontier ................................... 218-20
Milton, John ................................................................ 33
Mirepoix, Duc de ...................................................... 13
Miro, Esteban .......................................................... 256, 262-67
Mississippi River ....................................................... 240-42
Missouri Historical and Philosophical Society .......... x
Mode of alarm on the frontier ..................................... 206-07

298
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Point Pleasant</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>battle of</td>
<td>57, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollock, Oliver</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polson, Captain William</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac, Ottawa chief</td>
<td>34, 40-41, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pope, William</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post, Christian Frederick</td>
<td>179-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell's Valley</td>
<td>65-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presqu'ile</td>
<td>7, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston, Colonel William</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proctor, General Henry</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public news in the western country</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punishments on the frontier</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quabache (Wabash or Saint Jerome)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranck, George W.</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph, Edmund, Clerk, Virginia House of Delegates, later Governor of Virginia</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Notes, Chapter XII]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph, John</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rastel, Lieutenant Governor Philippe Francois, Sieur de Rocheblave</td>
<td>113, 115, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray, James</td>
<td>66-67, 86-87, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayneval, M.</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raystown</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Hawk, Shawnee Indian chief</td>
<td>55, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Stone Creek</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion of the frontier</td>
<td>237-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds, Aaron</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds, John</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads, first</td>
<td>204-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, Dr. William</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Ann</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Colonel David</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Captain John</td>
<td>135-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Major Robert</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rusk, Ralph Leslie</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample, Samuel</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandusky Indians</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saratoga, victory of</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunders, John</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunders, Romulus</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scioto</td>
<td>43-44, 57, 59, 94, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scopopathus, Indian chief</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebastian, Judge Benjamin</td>
<td>253, 265, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation and constitutional conventions</td>
<td>269-83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>