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May P. Ewing

"Mother"

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Martin

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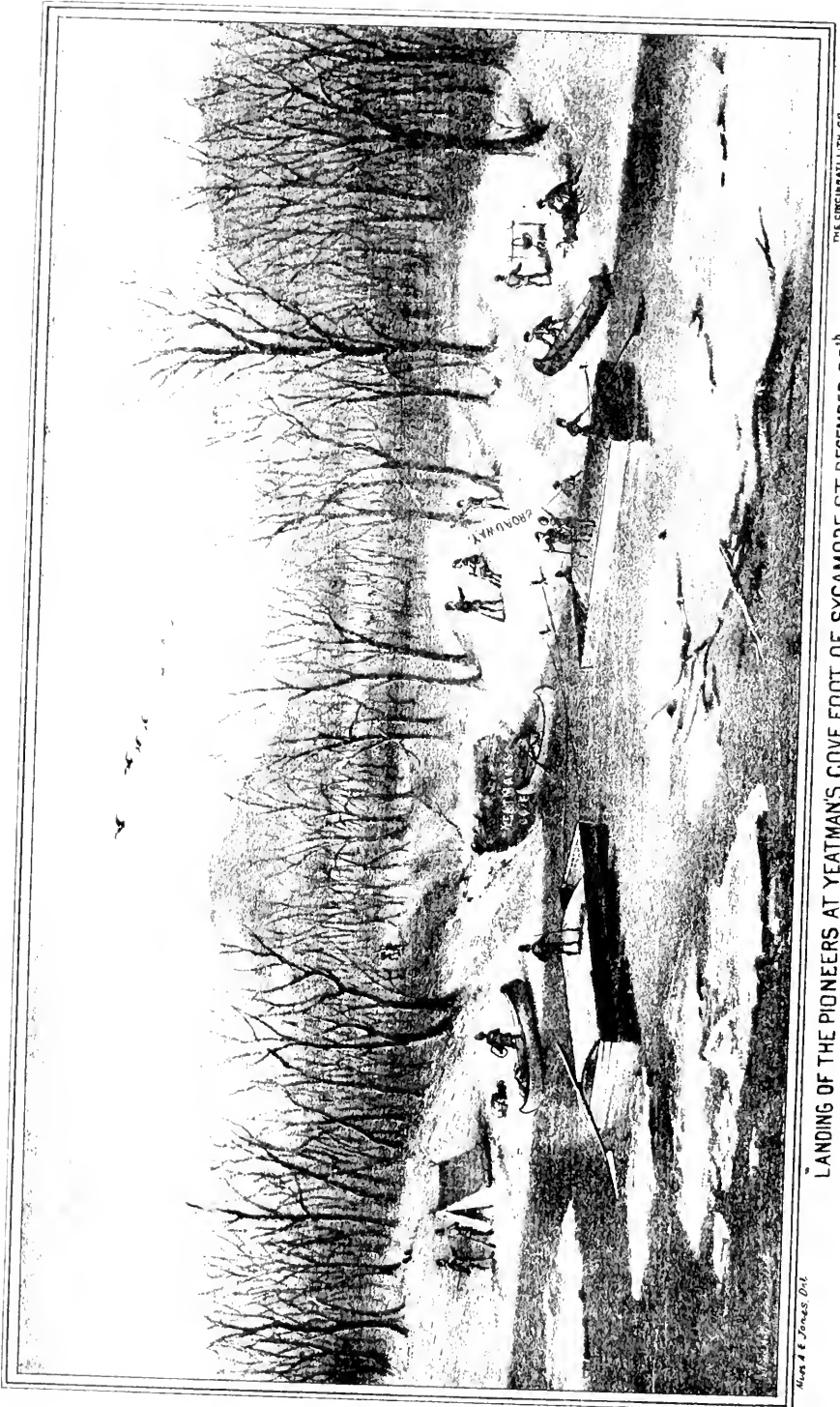


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Wm. A. L. Jones, Del.

LANDING OF THE PIONEERS AT YEATMAN'S COVE FOOT OF SYCAMORE ST. DECEMBER 28th 1788
OR CINCINNATI 100 YEARS AGO.

THE CINCINNATI LITH. CO.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

History of Cincinnati

AND THE

TERRITORY OF OHIO,

Showing the Trials and Hardships of the Pioneers in the
Early Settlement of

CINCINNATI AND THE WEST.

1912-1913
1914-1915
By A. E. JONES, A. M., M. D.

CINCINNATI:
COHEN & CO.
1888.

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PREFACE.

WHILE it is doubtless true that the story of the settlement of Cincinnati has been often told, yet it must be admitted that but comparatively few of our citizens have any definite knowledge of the events which first led to the exploration of the Ohio Valley, the causes which for so many years deferred its settlement, and the perils and hardships endured by the pioneers; while most of them are familiar with the more important historical epochs. The ancient landmarks are being swept away by the demands of an ever increasing population. The old pioneers are falling like ripe grain before the sickle. Events of purely local interest are rapidly passing from memory; and the fact that the settlement of Cincinnati marked an era in the history of our common country full of interest to all, has been lost sight of or disregarded. To remedy this, to present a truthful, impartial, and readable account of the historical events which gave the first impetus to settling the great Northwest; the explorations of the Ohio Company; the border wars, which so long prevented its actual occupancy; its final settlement; the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne; the hardships, the trials, and struggles of the pioneers, and their mode of life; the names of the founders of the city; its rapid growth and brilliant future, the author has devoted much time during the past several years, and the result of his labors are soon to be published in two large volumes. From the collection of historical facts colated for that purpose, the narrative contained in the following pages has been extracted, condensed, and published in a cheap form, to place within the reach of all matters of peculiar and particular interest in this centennial year.

A. E. J.

EXTRACTS
FROM THE
HISTORY OF CINCINNATI.

CHAPTER I.

RIVAL CLAIMS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO THE TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO—INTERFERENCE OF INDIAN TRADERS WITH FRENCH INFLUENCE WITH THE INDIANS.

PRIOR to the treaty between England and France, in 1763, the title to the territory northwest of the Ohio River, between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River, was claimed by both the nations. England claimed it by virtue of a treaty said to have been made by the Commissioners of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland with the Iroquois, or Six Nations, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744.

These Indians owned, or pretended to own, all the Northwest Territory as far west as the Mississippi River. and that southwest of the Ohio River as far south as the Carolinas and Georgia. According to their traditions, these lands came into their possession and were held by right of conquest, their fathers, many years before, having conquered all the tribes possessing them. The right of the Six Nations to dispose of this territory has been a subject of much discussion; but whether they had such rights is but of little consequence now, either to its present inhabitants or to the purpose of this work, further than will assist in showing by whom, and under what circumstances the city of Cincinnati was first explored, and the difficulties that followed that exploration previous to its settlement.

It is, however, certain that all the Indian tribes of the Northwest did not recognize as binding, the treaty of Lancaster, that of Logetown in 1752, that made at Winchester in 1753, nor yet that of Fort Stanwix in 1768. That such a treaty was entered into at Lancaster in 1744, by the parties already mentioned, there is no doubt, although it has been charged that it

was signed by the Indians while under the influence of spirituous liquors, a bounteous supply of which was furnished at the time by the Commissioners.

The English strenuously insisted that the treaty was deliberately and fairly made, and that the Commissioners of Maryland paid two hundred and twenty pounds in gold, and those of Virginia two hundred and twenty pounds in gold, and the same amount in goods for the territory ceded.

The French, on the other hand, as stoutly maintained that the same territory belonged to the Crown of France by right of discovery, claiming that La Salle, in 1682, and Padre Marquette and his colleague, Jolliete, subjects of France, had crossed from Canada to the Mississippi in 1683, and descended that river as far south as the Arkansas River; and that this, according to an alleged maxim of international law, gave France a valid and indisputable title to all lands watered and drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries; and as Ohio was one of these, therefore all the territory drained by the Ohio and its tributaries belonged of right to the Crown of France; and furthermore, that the discovery of Marquette was nearly a century before the treaty with the Iroquois at Lancaster.

To this claim of the French, England answered that John Cabot and his son, Sebastian, explored the Atlantic coast, in North America, from Labrador to Chesapeake Bay, in 1497, and had taken possession thereof in the name of the Crown of Great Britain; and that by reason of this discovery all the lands from the Atlantic west to the Pacific Ocean belonged to Great Britain, and that in 1684 Lord Howe made a treaty with the Five Nations, when they placed themselves under the protection of the British Government, and at the same time executed a deed of sale to the British Government of a vast tract of land south and east of the Illinois River, extending north across Lake Huron into Canada; and that another deed was made by the Chiefs of the Indian Confederacy in 1726, by which these same lands were conveyed in trust to England, to be protected and defended by his Majesty for the use of the grantors and their heirs; and that France, at the treaty of Utrecht, had agreed not to invade the lands of the allies of Great Britain.

The dispute, however, finally resolved itself into the questions: whether the tribes forming the Indian Confederacy were the allies of England, and whether they had conquered the tribes owning the territory in dispute.

At the date of the treaty of Utrecht they were, unquestionably, allies of

Great Britain; and the French, by invading these lands, violated one of the stipulations of that treaty, if the territory rightfully belonged to them.

The evidence of their title, even by conquest, however, rested only on tradition, as they did not occupy the lands in dispute. Their claim may or may not have been just, and is one of those questions in history which can never be satisfactorily solved.

Such were the flimsy foundations upon which England and France determined to maintain their respective claims, and which led to a long and bloody war.

The most valuable part of the territory in dispute was between the great Lakes of the North and the Ohio River, inhabited by mixed tribes of savages, consisting of Delawares, Shawnees, Senecas, Mingoes, Iroquois and Miamies, over whom the French also pretended to hold a protectorate.

French influence had, however, been seriously interfered with among them by traders from Pennsylvania, who had penetrated far into the western wilds, and becoming thoroughly acquainted with the Indian character, had established a lucrative traffic with them, carrying blankets, bright colored cloths, trinkets and ammunition (not forgetting whisky and rum) to the Indian towns, exchanging them for valuable furs, deer and buffalo skins.

The traders, as a rule, were rough, lawless men, dressed in semi-Indian costume, and little better in their manners and habits than the Indians themselves, and were exceedingly jealous of the interference of the French with what they claimed as their rights, acquired by the treaty of Lancaster between the Iroquois and the Commissioners of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZATION OF THE OLD OHIO COMPANY—LAWRENCE AND AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, BROTHERS OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, MEMBERS OF THE COMPANY—LAWRENCE WASHINGTON'S LIBERAL POLICY.

EARLY in 1749, a grand scheme to colonize the western country was conceived by some of the most prominent men of Virginia, among whom were Thomas Lee, President of the Council of Virginia; Augustine and Lawrence Washington, elder brothers of George Washington; and John Hanbury, a wealthy merchant of London.

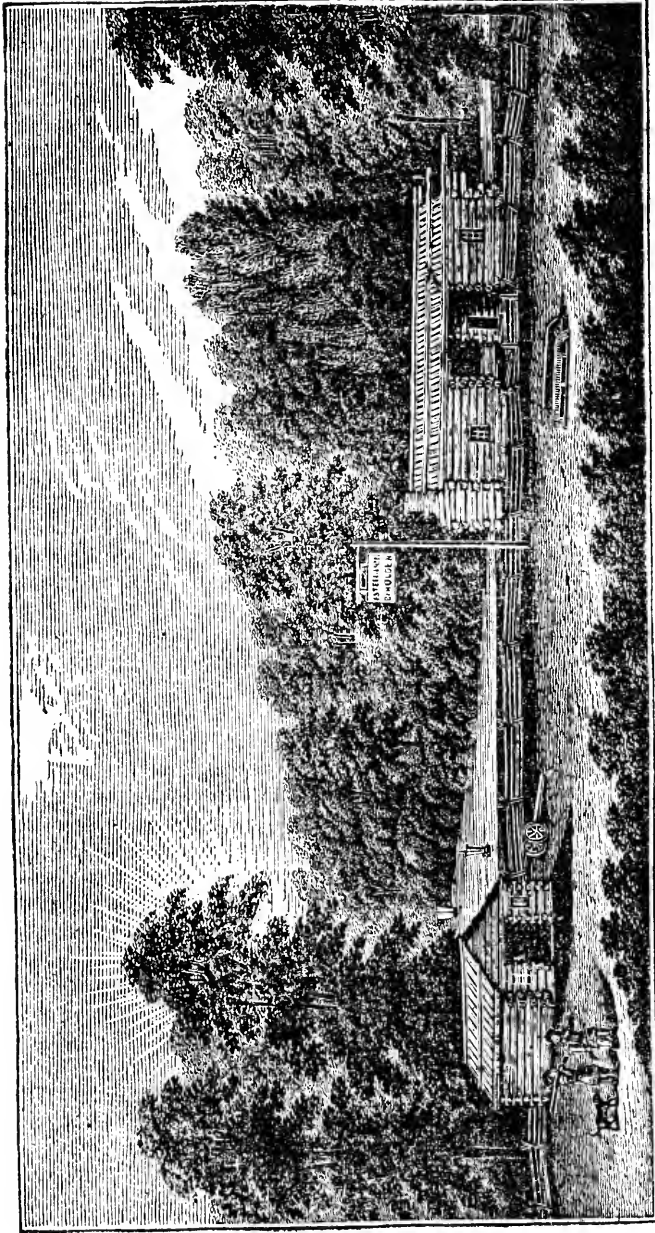
An association was organized by these gentlemen under the name of the Ohio Company, now known as the Old Ohio Company, in contradistinction to another which adopted the same title, organized in Boston in 1786, composed principally of ex-revolutionary soldiers.

The mother country encouraged this enterprise as one which would, if successful, enable it to possess itself of the coveted prize, and thereby more firmly establish the claims of England, by actual occupancy.

A charter was issued to the company, and a grant made of six hundred thousand acres of land on the southeast side of the Ohio River, between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers, with the privilege, however, of taking a part of it on the northwest side of the Ohio. The conditions upon which the charter was issued, were that the company should settle one hundred families on the grant within seven years from the date of the charter, build a fort and maintain a sufficient force to protect the settlers, who were to pay no quit rent for ten years.

Thomas Lee, one of the Commissioners who had made the treaty with the Iroquois at Lancaster in 1744, was the leader in the movement until his death, which occurred soon after the organization of the company. After his death the management of its affairs devolved upon Lawrence Washington, the elder of the brothers.

The wise and liberal policy adopted by Mr. Washington as manager gave great promise of success to the enterprise, and preparations were actively inaugurated to perfect the necessary arrangements to take possession and



WESTERN TAVERN, 1790.

commence the settlements. It was his desire to form colonies of Germans from Pennsylvania; but here a difficulty presented itself which could not be easily overcome. The grant was within the jurisdiction of Virginia, in which the Church of England was established by law and maintained by tithes, and therefore settlers would be compelled to pay parish rates for the maintenance of the clergy; and the Germans of Pennsylvania, being dissenters, were not willing to submit to this condition. Lawrence Washington sought to have them relieved from this tax, but without success. A single quotation from his writings at the time will serve to show his liberal and enlightened views:

“It has ever been my opinion,” said he, “and hope it ever will be, that restraints on conscience are cruel in regard to those on whom they are imposed, and injurious to the country imposing them. England, Holland and Prussia, I may quote as examples, and much more Pennsylvania, which has flourished under delightful liberty so as to become the admiration of every man who considers the short time it has been settled.

“This colony—Virginia—was greatly settled in the latter part of Charles the First’s time, and during the usurpation, by the zealous churchmen, and that spirit which was then brought in, has ever since continued, so that, except a few Quakers, we have no dissenters. But what has been the consequence? We have increased by slow degrees, while our neighboring colonies, whose natural advantages are greatly inferior to ours, have become populous.”

While it is true that Lord Baltimore had promulgated and established the principles of religious freedom in Maryland, and it was tolerated in Pennsylvania previous to this, still the sentiments expressed in the foregoing quotations from Mr. Washington are remarkable as coming from a member of the Established Church of England; and it is a striking coincidence that they should be almost identical with the principles contained in the ordinance of 1787, under which the Northwest Territory was organized nearly thirty years afterward, and in the Constitution of the United States and State of Ohio, leaving to every man the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

General George Washington was then a youth under the guidance and influence, in a great measure, of his brother, Lawrence, who took a parental interest in the education and direction of his youth. May not the early

teachings he then received have resulted in that liberal policy and love of liberty he ever manifested in his public life, and developed that remarkable character which so eminently qualified him to lead his countrymen to victory in their struggle for independence.

CHAPTER III.

THE OHIO COMPANY EMPLOY CHRISTOPHER GIST TO EXPLORE THE LANDS NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO RIVER AS FAR WEST AS THE GREAT FALLS—GIST EXPLORES THE LANDS BETWEEN THE TWO MIAMIS, AND ON THE KENTUCKY RIVER.

IN the meantime the Ohio Company had been making preparations to carry out their scheme of colonization, and employed Christopher Gist, of Virginia, a hardy pioneer, and noted hunter and woodsman, who had much experience in dealing with the Indians, to explore the country on the northwest of the Ohio River, as far west as the Falls of the Ohio, now Louisville.

He started from Virginia on the 31st day of October, 1750, traveling through an unbroken wilderness over the mountains, and crossed the Ohio River near Beaver Creek, below Pittsburg, and struck boldly out into the wilderness through the country now forming the great State of Ohio, examining it as he traveled, until he reached Muskingum, a town of the Wyandots and Mingoes, where he met George Croghan, the agent of the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Gist was well received by these tribes, as he was also by the Shawanees and Delawares, whom he visited with Croghan, at their town on the Scioto River. From the Shawanee town, at the mouth of the Scioto, Croghan and Gist traveled northwest near two hundred miles, crossing the Great Miami on a raft, swimming their horses, and arrived at the Indian town of Piqua, the principal town of the Twigtrees, a tribe of the Miamis, on the 17th day of February, 1751.

In this journey Gist had favorable opportunities for examining a wide extent of territory, which, on his return to Virginia, he described as incomparably fertile, covered with magnificent timber, watered by abundant creeks and rivulets, the forest and plains everywhere abounding in game and the streams with excellent fish, saying, "there was nothing wanting but cultivation to make it a delightful country."

From Piqua Gist and Croghan returned to the Shawnee town, on the Scioto, from whence Gist pursued his course toward the Great Falls, noting

carefully the fitness of the country for cultivation, and the course and size of the streams emptying into the Ohio River.

It was at this time, between the 10th and 14th of March, 1751, he explored the country between the two Miamis, including the present site of Cincinnati, going up the Great Miami as far as Loramic Creek, forty six miles above the now city of Dayton, Ohio, and about one hundred miles above the mouth of that river.

The country in the neighborhood of Loramic Creek was the hunting ground of the Piankashas, another tribe of the Miamis. The English erected a fort and trading post on this creek the next year, 1752.

Gist had been warned by the Shawnees not to go to the Falls, as there was at that time a party of warriors, allies of the French, hunting in that vicinity; and that if he did, he would surely lose his scalp. Notwithstanding this warning, he came down the Miami, and proceeded toward his destination; but when within about fifteen or twenty miles of the Falls, he discovered unmistakable evidences of the proximity of savages, and seeing their traps and hearing the report of their guns, he changed his course, crossed the Ohio, and for six weeks followed up the Kentucky River, exploring the country bordering on its waters as far as Bluestone. This was nineteen years before Daniel and 'Squire Boone visited the same country.

From Bluestone, Gist wended his weary way to Virginia, crossing the Kanawha on a raft, reaching his home, on the Yadkin River, in May, only to find that the Indians had attacked the settlement and destroyed his house and property, but he soon learned that his family had escaped to a neighboring settlement and was safe.

It is possible, indeed highly probable, that French voyagers had navigated the Ohio River in its whole length in their canoes prior to this time, as they had several trading posts below the Great Falls, on its banks; but of this there is no authentic account, and at best is mere conjecture.

So far therefore, as is known, Christopher Gist was the first white man, either French, English, or American, who set foot upon, and explored, and published an account of the country between the two Miamis, in Hamilton County, where John Cleves Symmes made his purchase in 1787, thirty-six years afterward, upon which Mathias Denman, Robert Patterson and Israel Ludlow surveyed the next year, 1788, the town of Losantiville.

After Gist's return a report of his explorations was published in London in 1755, and in Philadelphia in 1756, which was the first authentic account given of the territory now composing the great State of Ohio, and created a great desire among colonists and emigrants to settle northwest of the Ohio, and especially in the Miami country.

Many efforts had been made by the colonists and English to establish settlements in the territory now comprising our great State after Gist's exploration, but all were unsuccessful. Thousands of pioneers had been murdered or captured and held prisoners. The borders of Pennsylvania and West Virginia had time and time again been almost totally depopulated by the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the ruthless and bloodthirsty savages, instigated, as was probably justly believed, by the French, to prevent the colonists or English from permanently occupying any part of the territory. And thus it continued until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. Hardships, trials and sufferings are sometimes, when we know it not, "blessings in disguise;" and in looking back over the early history of our country and realizing the blessings we now enjoy, he who does not see the hand of providence in all this must indeed be skeptical, for had the British Government been enabled to establish permanent settlements in the northwest with people loyal to the crown of Great Britain, and to have erected forts manned by British soldiers previous to the struggle for independence, with their navy and army attacking our country in the east and north and loyal subjects in the west, aided by the hordes of savages then occupying it, coming upon the rear, the patriots of '76 could never have achieved the independence of the colonies. And even after the independence of the colonies had been acknowledged, and the coveted territory had been ceded to the United States, there seemed to be a higher power than man preventing its occupation for some wise purpose. And not until the ordinance of 1787, making it an absolutely free territory where the clanking chains of slavery or involuntary servitude should never be heard, and establishing civil and religious liberty had been adopted as the fundamental law of the land, where every man could worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; where there were none to molest or make them afraid; and declaring that religion, morality and education were necessary to the happiness of a free people—not until that had been adopted was there permitted any settlement to be made in our glorious State.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH EMISSARIES INCITE INDIANS TO MURDER SETTLERS IN THE NORTHWEST—MAJOR STITES EXPLORES TERRITORY BETWEEN MIAMIS—DETERMINES TO MAKE PURCHASE—VISITS CONGRESS AT NEW YORK—PREVAILS UPON JOHN CLEVES SYMMES TO MAKE PURCHASE.

WHEN the Revolutionary War broke out the English incited the savages to hostility against the Americans, furnishing them with arms and ammunition to murder those who might attempt to settle northwest of the Ohio; and during that long struggle no settlements were formed within the limits of the State of Ohio. When the war was over the whole of the northwest had been ceded to the United States of America by the treaty of Paris in 1783, and men again began to cast their eyes to this land of promise; disappointment for a time, however, as before, was to be their doom.

The Indians disregarded every treaty they had made, declaring the land was their own and did not belong to England, and that the British Government had no right to cede it to the United States. To this course there was no doubt they had been instigated by English emissaries who had still some hope that a republic would prove to be a failure and that they would once more possess our fair heritage; and thus affairs continued until after the Indian titles had been extinguished by the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Fort McKintosh, Muskingum and Fort Finney, and the ordinance of 1787 adopted. Virginia had on the 1st of March, 1784, magnanimously ceded her right and title to the Northwest, insisting upon this condition only, that contracts made with her continental soldiers should be held inviolable, and reserved for their benefit all the lands on the Ohio between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers.

From the first exploration of the Miami country, made in 1751, the fertility of its soil had been well-known, and many were the pioneers who longed to settle thereon, but were prevented by the hostility of the Indians, incited by the English; but now, as these difficulties had apparently disappeared, explorers were again seeking it.

In 1786 a company was organized in Boston by Generals Putnam, Par-

sons and the Rev. Dr. Cutler, composed principally of Revolutionary soldiers, to purchase territory on the Ohio River. They selected the mouth of the Muskingum, where they landed on the 7th of April, 1788, and made the first permanent settlement within the limits of the present State of Ohio.

In 1786 Captain Benjamin Stites, of Red Stone (Brownsville), Pa., came down the river with provisions from the Monongahela River for the settlers, stopping at Lime Stone (Maysville, Ky.) While there the Indians had stolen many horses from settlers in Kentucky, and a party was organized and sent out to recapture them. Captain Stites joined the party and followed on their track to the mouth of the Little Miami, thence up that stream for a considerable distance to Old Town, then across the country to the Great Miami above Hamilton, and down the Great Miami and Mill Creek to the Ohio River. In this expedition he noted the beauty of the country and fertility of the soil in the valleys of both Miamis, and was so pleased with what he had seen that he determined to make application to Congress for a purchase of land between the two. He could not obtain any east of the Little Miami, because that had been reserved by Virginia as a military district for soldiers on the Continental establishment (as it is designated in deeds and records). To make this purchase he traveled to New York on foot, as is claimed, where Congress was in session.

Whether on foot or on horseback, he "got there all the same" and made the acquaintance of John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, whom he requested to assist him in securing the purchase.

After Judge Symmes had heard Captain Stites' glowing description of the Miami country he concluded the purchase had better not be made until he (Symmes) had seen it. In 1787 he visited the west and examined the territory between the two Miamis and found, like the Queen of Sheba, that lo! "the half had not been told him," and immediately went back and made application in his own name to purchase two million acres between the two Miamis, and secured a contract for one million acres, which, after being surveyed between the designated boundaries, was found to contain less than 600,000 acres. Of this tract he sold to Captain Stites 20,000 acres, as is shown by the following curious contract copied from the records of Hamilton County:

"WHEREAS, Congress, by the resolutions of the 22d day of October, 1787, directed the Commission of the Treasury Board to contract with John

C. Symmes for all the lands lying between the two Miami Rivers to a certain line which forms the north bend thereof, these may certify that if Captain Benjamin Stites shall raise certificates to pay for 20,000 acres of the same, or any larger quantity, he shall have it at the price agreed with the Treasury Board, which is five shillings per acre, making payment therefor, and in all things conforming to the conditions of the contract, with the Treasury Board, and also with the articles or conditions of the sale and settlement of the land, which will be published by John C. Symmes. On Captain Stites purchasing 20,000 acres, or any larger quantity, he shall have the privilege of appointing one surveyor to assist in running out the country, so far as the proportion he purchases shall be to the whole contract.

“This surveyor shall be entitled to receive the same fees for his services as the other surveyors employed in that survey shall receive, as soon as credit or time of payment can be given, agreeable to the contract. Captain Stites shall have the benefit thereof as all other purchasers shall have, but this is not till after the two first payments.

[Signed.]

“JOHN CLEVES SYMMES,
“New York, 9th of November, 1787.”

This was followed by another contract made at Brunswick, N. J., on December 7, 1787:

“Captain Benjamin Stites enters 10,000 acres and the fraction on the Ohio and Little Miami Rivers, and is to take in Mr. John Carpenter as one of his company, to be on line or sections on the Ohio and Little Miami from the point, and 10,000 acres on equal lines and sections at the mill stream falling into the Ohio between the Little and Great Miamis, which, when the certificates therefor are paid and the record book open, shall be recorded to him and to such of his company as join therefor.

[Signed.]

“JOHN C. SYMMES,
“New Brunswick, 7th of December, 1787.”

Then there seems to have been a supplement without date or signature:

“The last ten (10,000) thousand acres is to be taken in the following manner: Two sections at the mouth of Mill Creek, and the residue to begin four (4) miles from the Ohio up Mill Creek. Captain Stites takes four (4) sections on the Little Miami, with the fraction adjoining the ten (10,000) thousand acres where it comes to the Little Miami, and four sections with the section next above the range of township taken by Daniel —, Esq., on the Little Miami.”

On the 8th of February, 1793, Captain Stites paid in full for his land, as will appear from the following receipt :

“CINCINNATI, February the 8th, 1793.

“Received of Benjamin Stites, Esq., at different payments, certificates of debts due by the United States, to the amount of ten thousand six hundred and fifty-two dollars and twenty-three one-hundredths of a dollar, in payment for different parts of the Miami purchase lying, as may appear by location of Mr. Stites, ten thousand acres round Columbia, seven sections on the waters of Mill Creek for different people, as will appear by the Miami records, and about three or four sections in the neighborhood of Covalt’s Station, and in cash orders and other articles to the amount of one hundred and fifty-eight pounds, eight shillings and eight pence, for which lands, accommodated to the several locations, I promise to make a deed in fee simple, as soon as I am enabled by receiving my deed from the United States.

[Signed.]

“JOHN C. SYMMES.

“Attest: JOHN S. GANO.”

In the summer of 1788 Captain Stites and his party launched their broad-horn boats on the waters of the Monongahela, and started on their journey to their future homes at the mouth of the Little Miami, and arrived in July at Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky.

There he made clap-boards for roofs of their cabins, and drew up an article of agreement (which we have not been able to find), signed by thirty persons, agreeing to form a settlement at the mouth of the Little Miami. Some of them, however, backed out on account of reports circulated, as was said by Kentuckians interested in settlements in that territory, to the effect that a large party of hostile Indians were encamped at the Miami. Those who remained faithful to their contract started from Limestone on the 16th day of November, 1788, and landed below the mouth of the Miami on the 18th.

Before arriving at the mouth of the Miami they sent forward three men in a canoe as scouts to ascertain if there were any Indians there encamped ; if there were, they were to signal those in the flatboats to keep near the Kentucky shore and pass on without landing, and if there were no Indians found those in the canoes were to land and the flatboats were to land also. One of the three in the canoe was Hezekiah Stites, brother of Captain Benjamin Stites, who, when the canoe struck the shore, immediately jumped on the land and therefore claimed to be the first settler who landed on the site of

Columbia. The boats all having landed and been fastened to the shore, they all joined in prayer, returning devout thanks for the safety of their perilous journey and arrival at their future home. After taking the necessary precautions to prevent surprise by the Indians, they proceeded to erect a "block house" on the 19th of November in front of the present residence of Athen Stites, Esq., which is said to be the spot where they landed.

A part of the men stood guard while the others worked on the block house. On the 24th of November it was about completed, and the women and children with their goods were moved into it. In the first directory of the city of Cincinnati, published in October, 1819, the names of the "First Settlers of Columbia" are given as "Major Benjamin Stites, James H. Bailey, Hezekiah Stites, Daniel Shoemaker, Elijah Stites, Owen Owens, John S. Gano, three women, a number of small children, and several other persons whose names are forgotten." In a work published by Robert Clarke, Esq., of Cincinnati, in 1872, and kindly furnished me by that gentleman, the following appears as the names of "The Early Settlers of Columbia:"

James H. Bailey, Zephu Ball, Jonas Ball, James Bowman, Edward Buxton, W. Coleman, Benjamin Davis, David Davis, Owen Davis, Samuel Davis, Francis Dunlavy, Hugh Dunn, Isaac Ferris, John Ferris, James Flinn, Gabriel Foster, Luke Foster, John S. Gano, Mr. Newell, John Phillips, Jonathan Pitman, Benjamin F. Randolph, James Seward, William Goforth, Daniel Griffin, Joseph Grove, John Hardin, Cornelius Hurley, David Jennings, Henry Jennings, Levi Jennings, Ezekial Larned, John McCullough, John Manning, James Mathews, Aaron Mercer, Elijah Mills, Ichabod Miller, Patrick Moore, William Moore, John Morris, Benjamin Stites, Thomas C. Wade, John Web, Wickersham.

Some of these, no doubt, made up the number of those who came down with Captain Stites. They found no Indians on their arrival; there was, however, an encampment of Indians some six miles back from the Ohio River, who soon discovered the boats of Captain Stites. They had with them a white man called "George," who had been taken prisoner twelve years before, when a boy. They sent "George" near the block house to have a talk with their white brothers. He called in English to some men at work, but they, supposing him to be one of their own party, gave him a rough answer, when he and the Indians with him fled to their encampment. In a few days afterward several engineers went out hunting, and, when some

distance from the block house, a party of Indians on horseback discovered their trail and soon came up with them.

The engineers thought they were hostile, and prepared for defense. John Hamson and Mr. Cox leveled their guns at them, and one of the Indians trailed his gun, took off his cap, and extended his hand in a friendly manner, "George" telling Hamson not to shoot, they were friendly, and wanted to be taken to the block house. Becoming satisfied that they had no hostile intentions, they took them to the block house, and the whites and Indians soon became very friendly, the hunters lodging frequently in their camps when out hunting, and the Indians spending days and nights in the block house and cabins of the settlers, with their squaws and papooses, regaling themselves on "old Monongahela whiskey."

The pioneers had already suffered many hardships, to be followed by still greater trials and sufferings; of this hereafter.

CHAPTER V.

THE PURCHASE AND SETTLEMENT OF CINCINNATI.

IN January, 1788, Mathias Denman, of Essex County, New Jersey, purchased of John Cleves Symmes, fractional No. 17, and section No. 18, in the fourth township, and first fractional range east of the Great Miami River, lying on the northwest side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking River. Denman, it appears, claimed to have warrants for the section, but failed to enter them until after Judge Symmes had made his Miami Purchase of Congress, in which they were included. He paid Judge Symmes five shillings, New Jersey currency, or sixty-six and two-thirds cents, per acre, in Continental certificates for the land.

Fractional section No. 17 laid along the Ohio River, extending from the present gas works property to a point on the river south of the corner of Front and Broadway; thence to said corner; thence west crossing Second, Third, and Fourth Streets diagonally, to a point near the middle of the square bounded by Smith, Park, Fourth, and Fifth Streets, near the southwest corner of the Holy Trinity church and school property, which fronts on Fifth, between Smith and Park Streets; thence south through the gas works property to the Ohio River, two thousand feet west of Central Avenue.

Section No. 18 laid immediately north, and adjoining fractional No. 17, and extended north to Liberty Street.

These two sections composed the territory upon which Denman proposed to lay off a town, and from which he also proposed to establish a ferry across the Ohio to the mouth of the Licking River, in Kentucky—the latter, probably, the greater inducement to make the purchase, for the reason that the old Indian trail from Detroit to Kentucky struck the Ohio at this point; it was also where the troops under General George Rogers Clark crossed the Ohio on their raids against the Indians on the Miamis, and would, in all probability, be on the line of communication between settlements that would be made on the Miamis, and those already established at Lexington, Boonesboro, and other places in Kentucky, there being at that

time no other prominent crossing between it and Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky.

In the summer of 1788 Denman, with several other parties, left New Jersey and New York for the purpose of settling his purchase and laying off the town, arriving at Limestone in the early part of August. On the 25th of August Denman sold the undivided two-thirds interest in his purchase to Colonel Robert Patterson and John Filson, both then residing in Lexington, Kentucky, for the price, and on the terms and conditions contained in the following covenant and article of agreement :

“A covenant and agreement made and concluded this 25th day of August, 1788, between Mathias Denman, of Essex County, New Jersey State, of the one part, and Robert Patterson and John Filson, of Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky, of the other part, witnesseth: That the aforesaid Mathias Denman having made entry of a tract of land on the northwest side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking River, in that district in which Judge Symmes has purchased from Congress, and being seized thereof by right of entry, to contain six hundred and forty acres, and the fractional parts that may pertain, does grant, bargain and sell the full two-thirds interest thereof, by an equal, undivided right, in partnership unto the said Robert Patterson and John Filson, their heirs and assigns; and upon producing indisputable testimony of his, the said Denman’s indisputable right and title to the said premises, they, the said Patterson and Filson, shall pay the sum of £20, Virginia money, to the said Denman, or his heirs, or assigns, as a full remittance of money by him advanced in payment of said lands; every other institution, determination and regulation respecting the laying off of the town and establishing a ferry at and upon the premises to the result of the united advice and consent of the parties in the covenant aforesaid, and by these presents the parties bind themselves to the performance of these covenants to each other in the penal sum of £1000, specie, hereunto affixing their hands and seals, the day and year above mentioned. Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Henry Owen, Abe McConnell.

“MATHIAS DENMAN,

“R. PATTERSON,

“JOHN FILSON.”

The boundaries of the purchase were as follows: Beginning at the Ohio River at the foot of Broadway, thence north to the intersection of Hunt and Liberty Streets, at the northeast corner of the property and late homestead of Hon. George H. Pendleton; thence west along Liberty Street to a point two

hundred feet west of Central Avenue; thence south on a parallel line to the eastern boundary to the Ohio River at the southwest corner of fractional section No. 17; thence east along the Ohio River to the place of beginning, at the foot of Broadway.

According to the land warrants held by Denman and entered in his behalf by Colonel Ludlow in 1790 and 1791, fractional No. 17 contained 107 8-10 of an acre, and section No. 18, being a complete section, contained 640 acres. The records of Hamilton County show these entries to have been made as follows:

“May 22, 1790, Israel Ludlow, on behalf of Mathias Denman, of New Jersey, presented for entry and location a warrant for 640 acres of land, by virtue of which he locates the eighteenth section in the fourth township east of the Great Miami, in the first fractional range, being the first mile from the Ohio River, number of warrant 538.”

“1791, April 4th, Captain Israel Ludlow, on behalf of Mr. Mathias Denman, of New Jersey, presented for entry a warrant for one fraction of a section of 107 8-10 acres of land, by virtue of which he locates the seventeenth fractional section in the fourth township east of the Great Miami, in the first fractional range of townships on the Ohio River, number of warrant 192.”

Appended to this last entry on the records is the following significant note:

“Cincinnati stands partly on this fraction. There is a great deal more in this fraction than 107 8-10 acres, and nearer 160 acres, and which has not been paid for all over 107 8-10 acres.”

If these warrants represent the correct number of acres in fractional No. 17 and section No. 18, there were in the purchase and original town plat 747 8-10 acres, instead of 740 acres as has been stated, making the aggregate cost, at five shillings, or sixty-six and two-thirds cents per acre, New Jersey currency, \$498.53½. But as the payment was made in Continental certificates, worth at that time only five shillings to the pound, the actual cost in specie was \$124.63, or sixteen and two-thirds cents per acre; but the cost to Denman may have been, and probably was, much less, as he no doubt purchased these certificates at a heavy discount.

On the 6th day of September, 1788, the proprietor of the Denman tract

issued the following notice in the *Kentucky Gazette*, published at that time at Lexington :

NOTICE.

The subscribers being proprietors of a tract of land opposite the mouth of the Licking River, on the northwest of the Ohio, have determined to lay off a town on that excellent situation.

The local and natural advantages speak its future prosperity, being equal, if not superior, to any on the banks of the Ohio between the Miamis.

The in-lots to be each half an acre, and the out-lots four acres, thirty of each to be given to settlers upon paying \$1.50 for survey and deed of each lot. The 15th day of September is appointed for a large company to meet at Lexington and make out a road from there to the mouth of the Licking, provided Judge Symmes arrives, being daily expected. When the town is laid off lots will be given to such as may become residents before the 1st of April next.

MATHIAS DENMAN,
R. PATTERSON,
JOHN FILSON.

LEXINGTON, September 6, 1788.

John Filson, one of the proprietors, was a surveyor and schoolmaster, and made some pretensions to classical knowledge. He suggested that the name be Losantiville, as significant of its location. This word he composed of the French "ville," town or village, the Latin "anti," opposite, and the "os" mouth, L for Licking. Putting these together in a peculiar manner he formed the word "L-os-anti-ville," to signify the town or village opposite the mouth of the Licking. Although composed of words from three different languages it was, as a whole, original, and very clearly an Americanism. His suggestion was accepted by the other proprietors, and Losantiville adopted as the name of the proposed town, by which it was known until changed by General Arthur St. Clair, January 2d, 1790.

Upon this point, however, there has been considerable controversy, it having been asserted that subsequent to the death of John Filson, which occurred before the settlement was made, it was not called by that name. This assertion is evidently erroneous, for we find in the articles of agreement made between Denman, Patterson and Ludlow (proprietors after Filson's death) and those proposing to become settlers, it is called Losantiburg and Losantiville; and in the report of the drawing of the thirty in and out donation lots on the 7th day of January, 1789, it is called Losantiville by the proprietors. Judge Symmes, the original purchaser of the territory between

the Miamis, in his letters to Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, one of his associates, dated North Bend, May 18th, 19th and 20th, 1789, mentions the town frequently, and in every instance calls it Losantiville.

Dr. Daniel Drake, a very early settler, and one of the most learned, influential and reliable citizens, in a letter to Mr. Charles Cist, dated January 2d, 1841, says "that from the date of settlement until the 2d day of January, 1790, the place bore the name of Losantiville, and no other. It was then changed to Cincinnati by Governor St. Clair." With such testimony it can scarcely be doubted that the town bore the name invented by Filson, and adopted by the other proprietors until changed, as suggested by General Arthur St. Clair, then Governor of the Northwest Territory, as stated by Dr. Drake.

Judge Symmes did not arrive on the 15th, and it was therefore postponed to September 22d, 1788. John C. Symmes, Israel Ludlow, Colonel Robert Patterson, Mathias Denman, John Filson, Benjamin Stites, with some sixty other persons, met at the mouth of the Licking and embarked for the Great Miami, where they landed and spent several days exploring the country in that vicinity.

One party, led by Colonel Ludlow and Denman, proceeded to explore and survey the meanderings of the Ohio between the two Miamis. While Judge Symmes and others, John Filson among them, went back from the Ohio to examine the country on the Great Miami.

By some means John Filson got separated from the party. Judge Symmes states that he feared the Indians and started alone to return to the mouth of the Licking, that he got lost and was murdered by the Indians.

Whatever may have been the cause of separation, or his fate, it is certain that he never was heard of afterward.

Whether killed by savages immediately or carried far away into the interior to suffer all the tortures of savage barbarity, or bewildered and lost, and perished in the wilderness, can now never be known. It is, however, a singular, indeed, a remarkable fact, that although the settlers had intercourse with all the tribes of Ohio and the Northwest, from the time of the first settlement until their final removal from the State, no tidings could ever be gained of the fate of Filson; and from this fact it might be conjectured that he was not murdered by the Indians, but lost in the wilderness, and perished from hunger and exposure, and his body devoured by wild beasts, or, per-

haps, may have been drowned in the Great Miami. Filson was a surveyor, and was to lay off the projected town, as well as act as a general agent for Denman and Patterson. His loss, therefore, was a serious impediment to the enterprise, and necessitated the employment of another surveyor.

Colonel Patterson, in the case between Joel Williams and Cincinnati, in 1807, testified that—

“When it became certain that John Filson would never return, they found it necessary to secure the services of another surveyor, and as Filson’s brother and heir had said to him that he was satisfied his brother had been killed, and had paid nothing on his interest, he (the brother) would relinquish all claims to any interest in the land as Filson’s heir. They, therefore, took Colonel Israel Ludlow as a partner, on the same conditions they had Filson, as a surveyor and general agent; and in this way Colonel Ludlow, who had come out as a surveyor for Judge Symmes, became a joint and equal owner with himself and Denman in the land purchased by Denman.”

This arrangement having been entered into, preparations were made to begin the settlement, and the proprietors before leaving Limestone proposed the following agreement to be entered into between themselves and the parties proposing to settle on the land:

ARTICLE OF AGREEMENT.

“The conditions for settling the town of Losantiburg are as follows, viz.: That the thirty in and out lots of said town to as many of the most early adventurers shall be given by the proprietors, Messrs. Ludlow, Denman and Patterson, who, for their part, do agree to make a deed in fee simple, clear of all charge and incumbrances, except the expense of surveying and deeding the same, as soon as Judge Symmes can obtain a deed from Congress.

“The lot-holders, for their part, do agree to become actual settlers on the premises. They shall plant and attend two crops successively, and not less than an acre shall be cultivated for each crop; and within two years of the date hereof, each person who receives a donation lot or lots, shall build a house equal to twenty-five feet square, one and one-half stories high, with brick, stone or clay chimneys; which house shall stand on the front parts of their respective lots, and shall be put in tenable repair, all within a term of two years. These requirements shall be minutely complied with on penalty of forfeiture, unless it be found impracticable on account of savage depredations.”

Although not signed at Limestone, these conditions appear to have been tacitly agreed to by both parties; and, assured by frequent messages from

Major Stites to Judge Symmes that the settlement at Columbia was successful and not molested by Indians, the proprietors resolved to begin the settlement "opposite the mouth of the Licking," and on the 24th of December, 1788, Colonel Robert Patterson, Israel Ludlow, William McMillan, Wm. Connell, Francis Hardesty, Matthew Fowler, Isaac Tuttle, Captain Henry, Evan Shelby, Luther Kitchell, Elijah Martin, James Carpenter, John Vance, Noah Badgely, Thomas Gizzle, Joel Williams, Sylvester White, Matthew Campbell, Samuel Mooney, Henry Lindsey, Joseph Thornton, Samuel Blackburn, Scott Traverse, John Porter, Daniel Shoemaker and Ephraim Kibby embarked on their "broad-horn" boats, cut the grapevine cables and fearlessly pushed out into the current, amid heavy floating ice which filled the river from shore to shore, and were borne down the Ohio to their place of destination, after many perilous escapes from the heavy floating ice, where they landed in a cove on the northwestern shore on the 28th day of December, 1788. The place where the landing was made, for many years afterwards, was known as "Yeatman's Cove," at the foot of Sycamore Street, because Yeatman's Tavern was situated there. Then and there, in the chilling winds of December,

"Amid the sea-like solitude,"

these hardy pioneers began the settlement and founded the village of Losantiville—the town opposite the mouth of the Licking—now the great and beautiful City of Cincinnati, the "Paris of America."

CHAPTER VI.

CHARACTER OF SETTLERS—FIRST HOUSE BUILT.

CHEERLESS indeed was the prospect before these brave men; the earth covered with snow, the river full of heavy floating ice, the fierce winter blasts whistling through the unbroken wilderness, that on every side seemed impenetrable, the night made more hideous in its winter solitude by the growl of the bear, the scream of the panther, or the howl of the hungry wolf, made their situation unpleasant in the extreme. Men less courageous, less determined, would have shrunk from the dangers and hardships they knew must be met and endured for months, perhaps years, in this, their far-off land, before they could enjoy the most ordinary necessaries of life, much less its comforts and luxuries. But with danger, deprivation, and fatigue they were familiar.

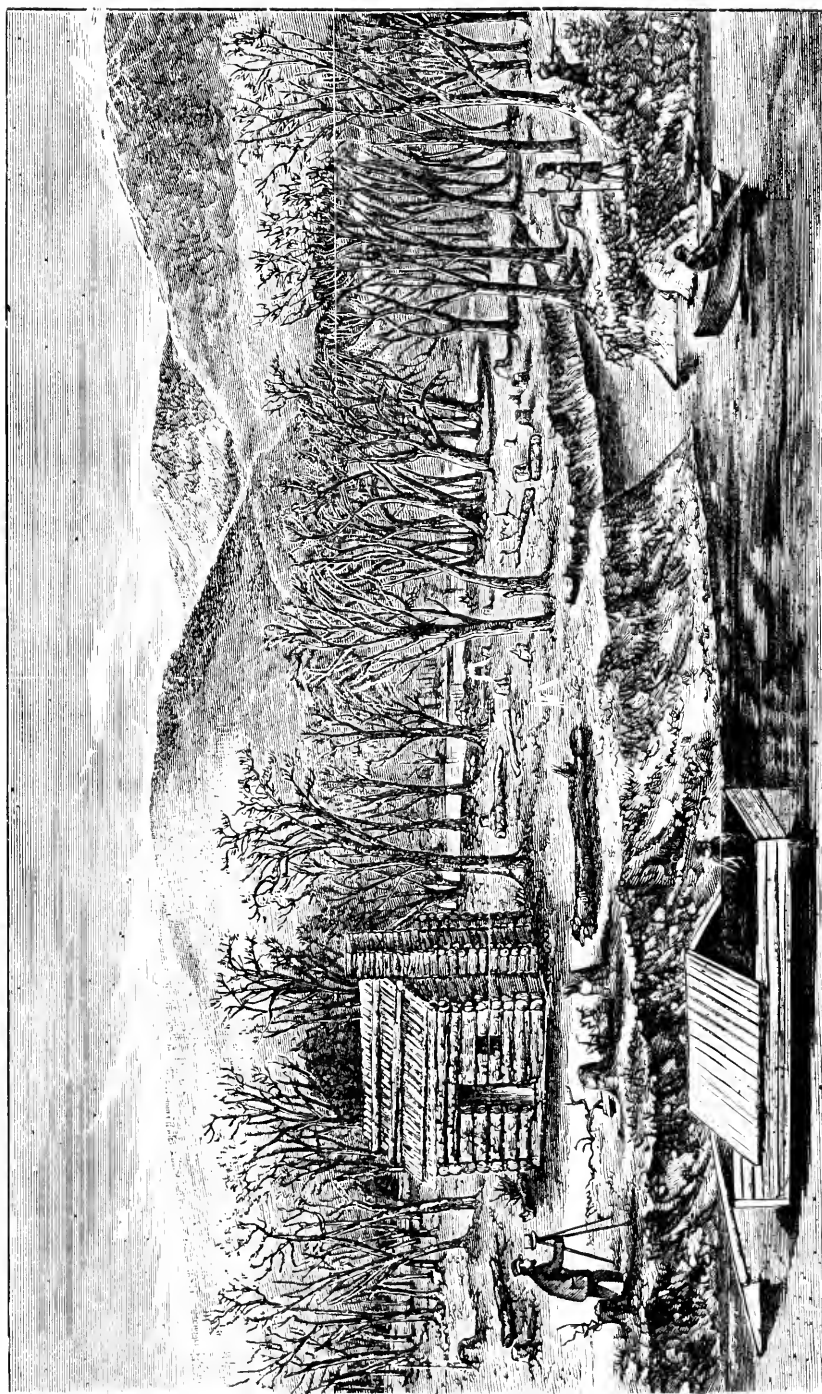
Humble the lot, yet their's the race
 When Liberty sent forth her cry,
 Who thronged in conflict's deadliest place,
 To fight, to bleed, to die;
 Who cumbered Bunker's height of red,
 By hope through weary years were led,
 And witnessed Yorktown's sun
 Blaze on a nation's banner spread,
 A nation's freedom won.

The hardships endured in the war for independence by the pioneers of the west, in which nearly all of them had participated, had inured them to deprivations, and prepared them for whatever trials and sufferings might be incident to the settlement of an unbroken wilderness far away from civilized life. They had experienced the perils of a seven year's war. They had mingled in the smoke of the contest. They had endured summer's heat, and the frosts and storms of many winters, with the earth for their couches and the heavens for their covering. They had spent their fortunes in the service of their country, and had nothing left but their lives, stout hearts, willing hands, and indomitable energy. Business of every kind was prostrate in the older States; commerce had been destroyed by the war, and at that time there were no manufactories. They had, therefore, no resource

left by which to gain an honorable living but that of agriculture, and nowhere could they find so favorable prospects for this as in the Northwest Territory, with its incomparably fertile soil and genial climate.

The ordinance of 1787 had made it absolutely free. Slavery and involuntary servitude were forever forbidden, and could not be introduced to compete with honest free labor. It had provided for the education of their children; it established liberty of conscience. The lands belonged to the general government they fought to establish. They needed no capital but the rifle and the axe, and their unconquerable pluck. With the rifle they could defend themselves from savages, and procure food from the wild game that abounded in the forests, until the land could be cleared and crops raised. With the axe the mighty forests could be felled to open farms, and prepare the material with which to erect their dwellings. Accustomed as they were to exposure, they needed not fine residences. Cabins would be palaces to them; their humble fare, luxuries when seasoned by the consciousness that they were independent, and that beneath the banner of civil and religious liberty every man could worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, where "there were none to molest or make him afraid." Such were the men who landed at the cove at the foot of Sycamore Street, on that bleak and cold 28th day of December, 1788, and founded this beautiful city.

Securing their boats to the shore, they spent their first night in them, and on the next day (the 29th) they built a kind of shelter of boards on the beach, under the bluff bank, as shown in the frontispiece, felled trees, and began the erection of a small cabin on the south side of Front Street, just east of Main, for the use of Colonel Ludlow and his assistant surveyors. This was the first house built in Cincinnati as a dwelling, and stood for a great many years afterward, having a board nailed on the stick chimney marked 1788. What year it was torn down there is no means of ascertaining, although several of the old pioneers still living, remember the house, or more properly speaking, the old cabin, very distinctly. There does not seem to have been but two others built for some time afterwards, from such testimony as can be gathered. There are, however, traditions that there had been cabins built on it before the landing of the pioneers. In the reminiscences of Mr. Abraham Thomas, he says that he was in the first expedition of General George Rogers Clark against the Indians on the



THE FIRST HOUSE BUILT IN CINCINNATI, ON FRONT EAST OF MAIN.

Great Miami, in 1780; that in that expedition they built a stockade fort; that he was also in the second expedition of General Clark, in 1782. They crossed the Ohio at the present site of Cincinnati, where their stockade had been kept up, and a few people lived in log cabins. The stockade was built at the foot of Sycamore Street for the purpose of storing provisions and to shelter the wounded of McGary's command. As the expedition ascended the Ohio River from the great falls, McGary crossed on to the Indian side, as it was called, to hunt, contrary to the advice of General Clark, and when near North Bend was fired upon by savages, and several men were wounded, some killed and scalped. General Clark crossed to their assistance as speedily as possible, but the Indians gave the scalp halloo, and disappeared over the hills. To protect these wounded and their prisoners the stockade was built and left in charge of Thomas Vicroy, commissary of Clark's army, whilst he marched against the Indians at Pickway.

Who the few people were Mr. Thomas fails to tell us; but nowhere else in the history of Clark's expedition, or any history found, is there any account of cabins having been built on the site of Cincinnati before 1788. But as he says the stockade of the previous expedition had been kept up, it is probable that the cabins were built by parties whom General Clark may have left in charge of it. Whether there were cabins or not built in 1782, it is certain that when the founders of Cincinnati landed in 1788 there were no evidences of buildings other than the remains of the stockade, and that the cabin shown in the cut, and the location designated, was the first built in the city with the purpose of establishing a permanent settlement.

CHAPTER VII.

INCIDENTS WHICH OCCURRED ON THE SITE OF CINCINNATI BEFORE THE SETTLEMENT.

SEVERAL interesting incidents occurred on the site of Cincinnati and in the vicinity previous to the settlement. The first of which we have any authentic account was the battle with the savages on the southern bank of the Ohio, where Dayton, Ky., is located, in 1779.

The Governor of Virginia sent Colonel Rogers to New Orleans for arms for that colony, and when on his way up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, in pirogues, when rounding the bar opposite Fulton, he saw Indians coming out of the Little Miami on rafts and in canoes and crossing the Ohio, landing where Dayton now is.

Colonel Rogers had seventy-nine men (soldiers) with him, and, of course, well armed. He determined to capture the Indians he had seen crossing the Ohio and going into the dense forests, not dreaming that there was any considerable number of them. He landed his boats and marched his men into the forests, where, to his astonishment, he was attacked by five hundred savages, and he and seventy of his men killed. Major Benham, who lived for many years after the settlement of Cincinnati over on the Taylor Bottoms, was one of the party; he was wounded, and concealed himself by crawling under a large fallen tree, where he laid suffering from his wounds without food or water for two days before he made any effort to procure food. He was wounded through the hips and could not walk, and although almost perishing for water, was unable to reach the beautiful river so close and in sight of where he laid. After suffering thus for two days he saw a coon coming along the tree under which he had hidden, and fired at and killed it. The crack of his rifle had scarcely resounded through the woods before some one called out to him. Loading his gun immediately—a precaution always taken by the pioneers of that day—he drew back to his hiding place. Again a voice was heard saying, “Where and who are you? Be you white man or Indian? Tell me where you are. I am a wounded, starving, helpless white soldier.” Major Benham then called to him to come

to him, and when they met found it was one of his comrades, who had been wounded in both arms. He could walk, but could not use his hands. Both were suffering for water and food. Benham put the rim of his coon-skin cap in his comrade's mouth, who went down to the river, and kneeling down filled it with water, and carried it to him.

Benham would shoot game, the other would kick it to him, when he would dress and cook it. Thus they lived for six weeks before their wounds were sufficiently healed to enable them to move down to the mouth of the Licking, where they lived in a bark shanty they had constructed, and were finally taken on board a passing emigrant boat and carried to the Falls—Louisville.

This was the most disastrous battle to the whites ever fought with the savages, seventy out of seventy-nine men killed, and two badly wounded.

Another was when General Wm. Lytle, father of the late General Wm. Lytle, emigrated with his father from Pennsylvania in 1780. They descended the Ohio with doubtless the largest fleet of boats and greatest number of emigrants that ever left the upper country at one time. They had sixty-three boats and one thousand fighting men in the party, beside the women and children.

At Limestone (Maysville, Ky.), three boats with families landed and remained. On the morning of April 11th, at ten o'clock the next day, two boats which were ahead as pilots and scouts, signaled that an encampment of Indians had been found on the northern bank, or Indian side, opposite the mouth of the Licking, where Broadway intersects Front Street now. The bank at that time was a high bluff, rendering them clearly visible from their boats. Three boats, at a concerted signal, landed half a mile above, and half the fighting men were in readiness to spring ashore, form and march down where the Indians were. The number of the savages scarcely exceeded one hundred and fifty, and seeing such a greatly superior force marching down upon them they fled in great haste and disorder, leaving most of their movables behind them. They followed the bank to Mill Creek, then up the bottom of that creek, where they were pursued beyond the present site of Cumminsville. Many of them being mounted they fled faster than their pursuers could follow. The whites returned to the boats and floated without interference to Bear Grass Creek, Louisville.

Just previous to the settlement of Cincinnati in 1788, five hunters from

the station near Georgetown, Kentucky, landed at the mouth of Deer Creek in two canoes, and after hiding them in the willows and weeds that grew thick and rank upon this stream, they went up the creek along the west bank. They halted about a hundred and fifty yards from the mouth under the shade of an elm to partake of their rude repast. It was in the month of September, clear and warm, and near sunset. Having finished their humble meal, at the suggestion of one of the parties named Hall, as a matter of safety and comfort, they concluded to go to the northern hills and encamp until morning. They started along a deer path through dense iron weeds, through which they walked single file, entering one after another upon a grassy weedless knob. The deer path crossed the knob and entered the weedy thicket again. The hunters did not pause; as the last man was about to enter the deer path on the north of the knob he fell simultaneously with the sharp crack of a rifle discharged from among the weeds on the western slope.

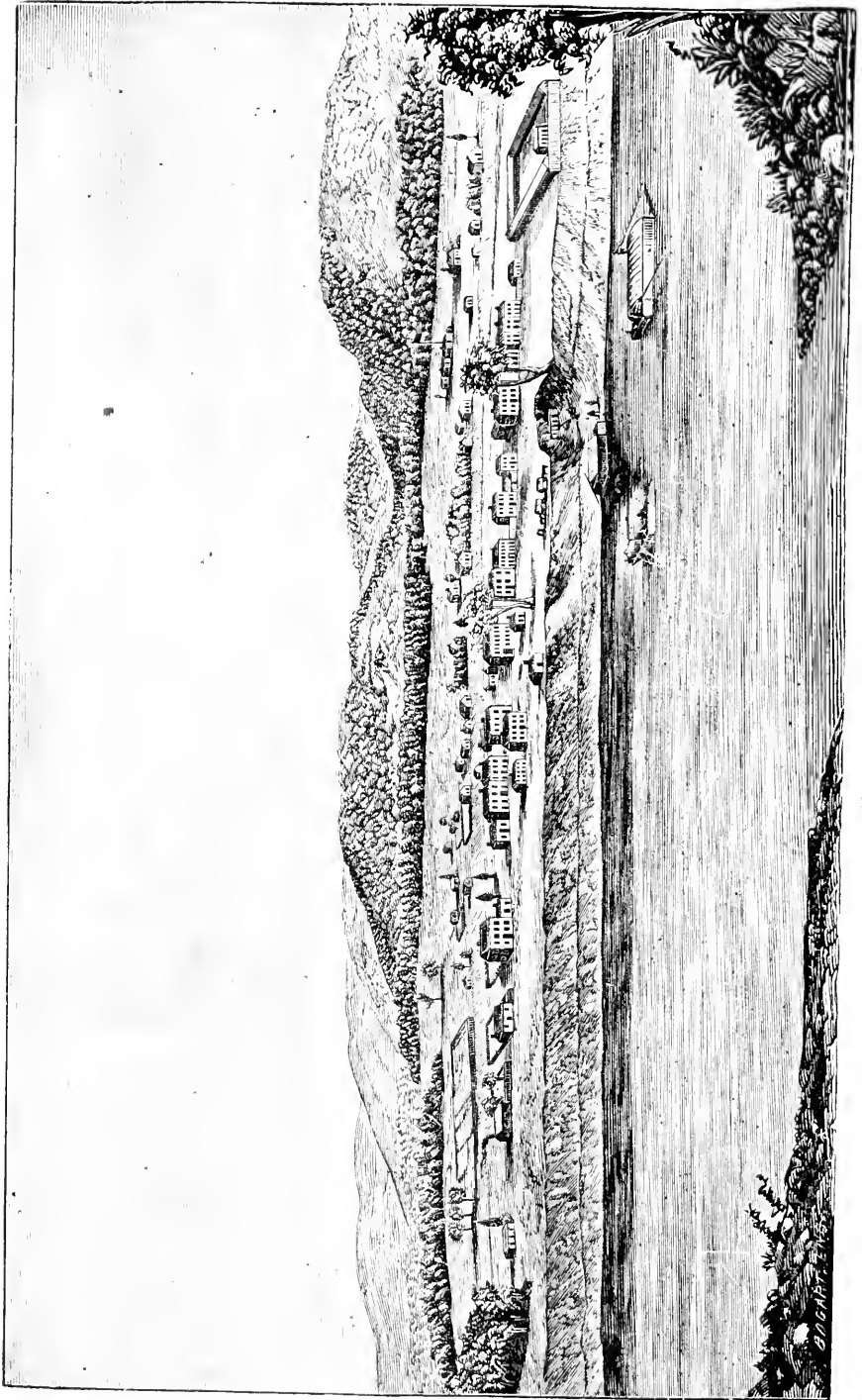
The whole party dashed into the thicket of weeds on either side and squatted with their rifles cocked ready for an emergency, where they waited quietly until nightfall. Everything around being still and no further demonstration being made, one after another returned out into the path and started towards the opening.

Hall, who was a bold fellow and a relation of Baxter who had been shot, crawled to where he laid on his hands and knees and found him dead, a bullet having entered his skull, forward of the left temple.

Baxter laid some ten feet from the thicket's entrance, and Hall, after getting out of the thicket, rolled slowly to the side of the dead man, lest he should be observed by the skulking savage if in an upright position. As nothing could be heard indicating the presence of the enemy the party cautiously approached the dead man, and after consulting in whispers concluded to bury him.

Baxter was carried to the bank of the river where they dug his grave with their tomahawks beneath a beech tree, a few feet from the bluff. Having performed the last sad duties to the dead they prepared to leave when they were startled by a sound upon the water. "A canoe" whispered Hall. He crawled to the spot where they had hidden their canoes, and one was gone. Quick to decide, three of the hunters armed and determined upon revenge, were in less than five minutes darting through the water in their canoe in the





CINCINNATI IN 1802.

direction of the sound. About one hundred yards below the mouth of the Licking, on the Kentucky side, they came within rifle shot of the canoe, and fired at the person who was paddling it, scarcely visible in the dim starlight. A sharp exclamation of agony evidenced the certainty of the shot, and paddling up to it they found but a single old Indian writhing in the death struggle, the blood gushing from his shorn scalp. In the bottom of the canoe they found a rifle, a pouch of parched corn and a gourd about half filled with whisky. He was scalped and his body thrown into the river. The party returned to the mouth of the creek, camped near Baxter's grave, and in the morning pursued their journey home.

Forty years afterwards some boys digging for worms at the mouth of Deer Creek, just below the bridge, discovered a skeleton with a bullet hole in the skull and the ball inside; it was supposed to be that of Baxter.

This calls to mind a story told us by the late Joseph Coppin. He said that soon after his arrival in Cincinnati he with some other boys were looking at some men digging a drain in front of the old red tavern, which stood on Water Street below Main, near where the suspension bridge lies on this side. The old tavern had a porch along the entire front, and on it sat a very old man, the oldest looking man he had ever seen; his hair was as white as snow, literally.

He got up and leaned on the banister a few minutes, looking at the men digging in front, and then tottered to where the men were at work. Leaning upon his cane, he asked what they were digging for? They told him they were making a drain. "Well," said he, after looking over at Licking and all around him, as if getting the points of the compass, "within six feet of where you are digging there is a man buried," and pointing with his cane said, "dig right there and you will find it; if it is not rotten, you will find a bullet hole over the right eye." Rather to gratify the old man, than from any confidence in what he said, they dug where he had indicated, and sure enough, about three feet under ground they found the skeleton, and the bullet hole over the right eye, in the skull; and the ball rattled in the skull when they pulled it up. Astonished, he was asked how he knew the skeleton was there. He replied: "In 1764 I was a British soldier in General Boquet's army when he made his expedition on the Muskingum, and after we returned to Fort Pitt, a squad was sent down the Ohio to see if the French had established any trading posts north of

the Falls. We landed right here one evening, and pitched our tent there," pointing to a certain spot with his cane. "We built our fire here to cook our supper, and while sitting around the fire, eating, a shot was fired from the direction of the corner of Main and Front Streets, and one of our men was killed. As it was dark we were afraid to move far away to bury him; we put out our fire, and dug his grave and buried him where you found his skeleton." This was a burial "away back," and is probably the first white man buried within the limits of our city; Baxter, at Deer Creek, was the second, and Major McGrath, of Clark's expedition, in 1782, the third, who died while coming over Key's Hill, at the head of Main Street, and was buried near the stockade fort, at the foot of Sycamore Street, and logs put on his grave to prevent the Indians from mutilating his body.

CHAPTER VIII.

PIONEERS EXAMINE THE SITE OF THE PROPOSED TOWN—DR. DRAKE'S ACCOUNT OF MOUNDS—JUDGE BURNETT'S DESCRIPTION OF THEM.

HAVING provided a shelter by the erection of the small log cabin for the use of Colonel Ludlow and his assistant surveyors, and occupying their boats and a temporary camp built on the beach, the pioneers began an examination and survey of the site of the proposed town of Losantiville, destined to become the great city of Cincinnati of the present day. They found it to be on a high and bluff bank on the northwest side of the Ohio River, in the extreme northern part of an extensive and beautiful valley, twelve miles in circumference, surrounded by picturesque hills from three to four hundred feet above low water mark, and bisected by the Ohio River, leaving nearly an equal portion of this valley on either side in Kentucky and the Northwest Territory.

The place in which the town was to be laid out consisted of two plains, as at present. The first, or that from the river bank back to Third Street, an average distance of eight hundred feet, then rising abruptly about fifty feet, as high as the present Fourth Street; the second table (comparatively level) extended back nearly a mile to "Hamilton Road" (now McMicken Avenue), to the foot of the hill, thence up the hill to Liberty Street, the eastern part draining into Deer Creek, the western into Mill Creek, the middle or central directly into the Ohio River through numerous ravines. The first level or plain was covered with a dense forest of beech, walnut and sycamore trees, with a thick undergrowth of spice wood. A large swamp occupied the land from Ludlow to Main Street, where the first settlers amused themselves by shooting snipe and wild duck. The second or upper plain was also thickly wooded with large trees of sugar, oak, walnut, hickory and in some places poplar trees, but was comparatively clear of underbrush. On different parts of the upper tableland ancient earth-works were discovered constructed by that mysterious and unknown race, designated as "Mound Builders," who have left throughout the west, and especially in Ohio, so many evidences of their work of defense, and higher state of civilization than

existed among the Indians. Here were different remains of their works, consisting of embankments or walls, mounds and excavations of various forms and dimensions composed entirely of earth; no stone appeared to have been used in their construction, and if wood had formed any part of the materials the lapse of time, perhaps many centuries, had obliterated all traces of it.

Dr. Daniel Drake in his "Picture of Cincinnati," published in 1815, thus describes them and their contents found by excavation: "Among these there is not a single edifice nor any ruins which prove the existence in former ages of a building composed of imperishable materials. No fragments of a column, no bricks, nor a single hewn stone large enough to have been incorporated into a wall has been discovered.

"The fabrics of wood must have long since mouldered away; and the only relics which remain to inflame the curiosity and excite speculation, are composed of earth, with which rude and undressed masses of stone have been sometimes combined. These vestiges consist of mounds, excavations, and embankments, or walls of various forms and dimensions. Cincinnati affords specimens of each. They are extensive, and complicated, but not conspicuous, and have, therefore, attracted less attention than relics at some other places. The principal wall or embankment encloses an entire block of lots and some fractions. It is a very broad ellipsis; one diameter extending 800 feet east from Fifth Street; but this figure is not mathematically exact. On the east side it had an opening nearly ninety feet in width.

"It is composed of loam, and exhibits, upon being excavated, quite a homogeneous appearance. Its height is scarcely three feet, upon a base of more than thirty. There is no ditch on either side. Within the wall the surface of the ground is somewhat uneven or waving; but nothing is found that indicates manual labor. On each side of the gateway or opening, exterior and contiguous to the wall, there is a broad elevation or parapet of an undeterminate figure. From one of these may be traced a bank not more than twelve inches in height, on a foundation nine times as great. It extends southerly about one hundred and fifty feet, till it reaches within one or two rods of the border of the upper plain or hill, where it turns to the east, and terminates in a mound at the junction of Main and Third Streets, distant nearly five hundred feet from the parapet of the opposite side; no

walls of this kind can be traced; but immediately north of it, and at a short distance, are two other shapeless and insulated elevations more than six feet in height, which it seems probable could not have been formed on an alluvial plain but by the hands of man. Upwards of four hundred yards east of this, between Broadway and Sycamore Streets, there is another bank of nearly the same dimensions with the one last described. It can be traced from Sixth to the vicinity of Third street; and is evidently the segment of a very large circle, the center of which would lie within or immediately south of that already described. From near the southern end of this segment to the river, a low embankment, it is said, could formerly be traced, and was found to correspond in height, direction, and extent, in the western part of the town, but neither of these are now (1815) visible. In Fifth Street, east of all that have been described, there is a circular bank enclosing a space sixty feet in diameter. It was formed by throwing up earth from the inside. It is not more than a foot in height, but twelve or fifteen in horizontal extent. In the northern part of town, between Vine and Elm Streets, at the distance of 400 yards from the ellipses first described, there are a couple of convex earthen banks, 760 feet long, and less than two feet high connected at each end. They are exactly parallel, and forty-six feet asunder, measuring from their centers for two-thirds of their distance, after which they converge to forty. In the southern of these banks, about the point where their inclination to each other commences, there was an opening thirty feet wide. The direction of these elevations, as ascertained by the compass, does not vary two degrees from a true east and west line.

“The site of our town exhibits many other inequalities of surface, which are no doubt artificial, but they are too much reduced, and their configuration is too obscure to admit of their being described.

“It is worthy of notice that the plains on the opposite side of the river have not a single vestige of this kind. Of excavations, we have but one. It is situated more than half a mile north of the figure first described, and is not perceptibly connected with any other works. Its depth is about twelve feet; its diameter, measuring from the top of the circular bank formed by throwing out the earth, is nearly fifty. Popular speculation could not fail to make a half filled well, but no examination has yet been undertaken.

“The mounds or pyramids found on this plain were four in number. The largest stands directly west of the central enclosure so often referred to at the distance of five hundred yards. Its present height is twenty-five feet, and about eight feet were cut off by General Wayne in 1794 to prepare it for the reception of a sentinel. It is a regular ellipse, whose diameters are to each other nearly as two to one. The longer runs seventeen degrees east of north. Its circumference at the base is four hundred and forty feet. The earth for thirty or forty yards around it is perceptibly lower than the other parts of the plain, and the stratum of loam is thinner, from which it appears to have been formed by scooping up the surface, which opinion is confirmed by its internal structure. It has been penetrated nearly to the center, and found to consist of loam gradually passing into soil with rotten wood. The fruits of this examination were only a few scattering and decayed human bones, a branch of a deer’s horn and a piece of earthenware containing mussel shell.

“At the distance of five hundred feet from this pyramid, in the direction of north eight degrees east, there is another about nine feet high of a circular figure and nearly flat on the top. This has been penetrated to the center of its base without affording anything but fragments of human skeletons and a handful of copper beads which had been strung on a cord of lint.

“Northeast of the last, at the distance of a few hundred yards, is another of the same figure, but not more than three feet in height, which, upon being partially opened, has been found to contain a quantity of unfinished spear and arrow heads of flint.”

“The mound at the intersection of Third and Main Streets has attracted most attention, and is the only one that had any connection with the lines which have been described. It was about eight feet high, one hundred and twenty long, and sixty broad, of an oval figure with its diameter lying nearly in the direction of the cardinal points. It has been almost obliterated by the graduation of Main Street, and its construction is therefore well-known. Whatever it contained was deposited at a small distance beneath the stratum of loam which is common to the town.

“The first artificial layer was of gravel, considerably raised in the middle; the next, composed of large pebbles, was convex and of an uniform thickness; the last consisted of loam and soil. These strata were entire and must have been formed after the deposits in the tumulus were completed.

Of the articles taken from thence many have been lost; but the following catalogue embraces the most curious:

“1. Pieces of jasper, rock crystal, granite and some other stones—cylindrical at the extremities and swelled in the middle with an annular groove near one end.

“2. A circular piece of cannel coal with a large opening in the center, as if for an axis, and a deep groove in the circumference suitable for a band. It has a number of small perforations, disposed in four equidistant lines, which run from the circumference towards the center.

“3. A smaller article of the same shape, with eight lines of perforations, but composed of argillaceous earth, well polished.

“4. A bone, ornamented with several carved lines, supposed to be hieroglyphical.

“5. A sculptured representation of the head and beak of a rapacious bird, perhaps an eagle

“6. A mass of lead ore (galena), lumps of which have been found in some other tumuli.

“7. A quantity of isinglass (*mica membranacea*), plates of which have been discovered in and about other mounds.

“8. A small ovate piece of sheet copper, with two perforations.

“9. A larger oblong piece of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges.

“These articles are described in the fourth and fifth volumes of the ‘American Philosophical Transactions,’ by Governor Sargent and Judge Turner, and were supposed by Professor Barton to have been designed in part for ornament and in part for superstitious ceremonies. In addition to these I have since discovered in the same mound:

“10. A number of beads or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell.

“11. The teeth of a carnivorous animal, probably those of the bear.

“12. Several large marine shells, belonging perhaps to the genus *buccinum*, cut in such a manner as to serve for domestic utensils, and nearly converted into the state of chalk.

“14. Several copper articles, each consisting of two sets of circular concavo-convex plates, the interior one of each set connected with the other by

a hollow axis, around which had been wound a quantity of lint, the whole encompassed with the bones of a man's hand.

“Several other articles resembling this have been dug up in other parts of the town. They all appear to consist of pure copper covered with the green carbonate of that metal.

“After removing this incrustation of rust from two pieces, their specific gravities were found to be 7.545 and 7.857. Their hardness is about that of sheet copper of commerce. They are not engraven or embellished with characters of any kind.

“15. Human bones. These were of different sizes; sometimes inclosed in rude coffins of stone, but oftener lying blended with the earth, generally surrounded by a portion of ashes and charcoal.

“The quantity of these bones, although much greater than that taken from the other mounds of the town, was smaller in proportion to what was expected, the whole tumulus not having contained perhaps more than twenty or thirty skeletons.”

The description of these earthworks, given by Judge Jacob Burnet in his letters to the Historical Society of Ohio, page 35, differs in some particulars from that of Dr. Drake, but is substantially the same. He says:

“When I first came here the town had advanced but very little from a state of nature (1796). The surface of the site on which it stands was undisturbed, except where some rough houses and humble cabins had been erected to shelter its inhabitants.

“The works referred to were in a perfect state of preservation, though depressed in height by the natural causes which had operated on them for ages. Within the limits of the town as originally laid out there were two large circles, one near the eastern boundary and the other in a western direction, near the center of the plat. The former, though sufficiently distinct to be traced, was not as elevated or as perfect as the other.

“It was about the same diameter, and was uniform in its curvity. The circle near the center passed through the block which I owned, south of Fourth, and between Vine and Race Streets. It was an exact circle, about six hundred feet in diameter. The earth which composed it had been gradually washed down till its base had spread about twenty-five feet and its apex was reduced to about eight or ten feet above the plane of its base. On

the north side, near Fifth Street, there was an aperture ten or twelve feet wide, and there might have been another which has escaped my memory.

“The arc within my enclosure, subtended by a chord of about three hundred feet, was preserved with care while it was in my possession.

“On that part of it I am confident there was no break or opening. These works were entirely on the upper level of the town plat, and did not approach the break of the hill nearer than four hundred feet. About one hundred and fifty rods west of the circle last spoken of stood a beautiful mound thirty-five or forty feet high, at Mound and Fifth Streets, constructed with great exactness, and standing on a base unusually small compared with its height. When the army, under the command of General Wayne, was encamped at this place in 1792-3, he had a sentry box on its top, which commanded an entire view of the plain. In the neighborhood of this structure two or three smaller ones were standing, which were found to contain human bones, as is the fact with regard to most of them. Besides these there was another of a medium size compared with the others, standing on the brow of the hill, about midway between the circles and in advance of them, in the direction of the river, about three or four hundred feet.

“By digging down and grading Main Street this structure was entirely removed many years ago. While that process was going on many articles which it contained were found; some, if not all of which, were probably deposited there after the country had been visited by Europeans. Among them were marine shells, pieces of hard earthen ware, a small ivory image finely wrought of the Virgin Mary, holding an infant in her arms, which had been much mutilated; also a small metallic instrument, complex in its construction, much corroded and decayed, and supposed by some to have been intended to ascertain the weight of small substances. The skeleton of a man was also found under its apex, a few feet below the surface, contained in what might be called a coffin, composed of flat stones so placed on all sides as to protect the body from the pressure of the earth. Other discoveries were made, which my memory does not retain with sufficient accuracy to enable me to describe them.”

CHAPTER IX.

SURVEY MADE TO DISTRIBUTE DONATION LOTS—CONDITIONS ON WHICH DISTRIBUTED—AGREEMENT BETWEEN PARTIES—DRAWING MADE JANUARY 7, 1789—NAMES OF PERSONS WHO DREW LOTS.

ON the 7th day of January, 1789, the survey had been sufficiently accomplished by Colonel Ludlow, to enable the proprietors to distribute the thirty in and out lots to the first thirty settlers, when the following agreement was entered into between them and the proprietors, as recorded by Colonel Israel Ludlow, and as also found in the papers of Colonel Robert Patterson after his death :

CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE DONATION LOTS IN THE TOWN OF LOSANTIVILLE ARE HELD AND SETTLED.

The first thirty town and out-lots to so many of the most early adventurers shall be given by the proprietors, Messrs. Denman, Patterson, and Ludlow, who for their part do agree to make a deed free, and clear of all charges and incumbrances, excepting that of surveying and deeding the same, so soon as a deed is procured from Congress by Judge Symmes.

The lot-holders, for their part, do agree to become actual settlers on the premises, plant and attend two crops successively, and not less than one acre shall be cultivated for each crop, and that within the term of two years each person receiving a donation lot or lots, shall build a house equal to twenty feet square, one story and a half high, with brick, stone, or clay chimney, which shall stand in front of their respective in-lots, and shall be put in tenantable repair within the term of two years from the date hereof. The above requisitions shall be minutely complied with under penalty of forfeiture, unless Indian depredations render it impracticable.

Done this seventh day of January, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-nine.

ISRAEL LUDLOW.

It will be observed that the above agreement is identical with the one issued at Limestone in December, with the exception, that instead of

Losantiburg, the town is called Losantiville, and instead of requiring that the houses shall be equal to twenty-five feet square, the last stipulates that each house shall be twenty feet square, and is signed by Israel Ludlow.

These stipulations having been agreed to by both parties, the drawing proceeded on the 7th day of January, 1789, the same date on which the agreement was made, and resulted as follows, as is shown by the following certificates, found among the papers of Colonel Robert Patterson, after his death, and also in the records of Colonel Ludlow.

The following names, with the numbers of lots thereunto annexed, are, according to the lottery, drawn for the first thirty settlers in the town of Losantiville, January 7, 1789, under the direction of Messrs. Patterson and Ludlow :

Number of Lots.	In-lots.	Out-lots.	Number of Lots.	In-lots.	Out-lots.
Joel Williams.....	79	3	Ephraim Kibby.....	59	4
John Porter.....	77	2	John Vance.....	4	24
David McClure.....	26	6	Jesse Fulton.....	6	23
Samuel Mooney	33	14	Henry Bechtel....	56	16
Sylvester White	2	15	Isaac Freeman.....	51	20
Joseph Thornton.....	3	28	Samuel Blackburn.....	1	29
James Carpenter.....	32	1	Scott Traverse.....	52	9
Matthew Campbell.....	28	8	Elijah Martin.....	7	26
Noah Badgely.....	31	22	Archibald Stewart.....	57	12
Luther Kitchell.....	58	13	James Campbell.....	34	21
James McConnell.....	30	5	— Davison.....	27	19
Jesse Stewart.....	54	30	James Dumont	5	11
Benjamin Drement.....	53	25	Jonas Menser	29	10
Isaac Vanmeter.....	8	18	Thomas Gizzel.....	9	17
Daniel Shoemaker.....	78	27	Harry Lindsay.....	76	7

The following named persons who drew lots at the above distribution transferred them as follows: Joseph Thornton, Lots 3 and 28 to Robert Caldwell. Matthew Campbell, Lots 28 and 8 to Nathaniel Rolstein. Benjamin Dumont, Lots 53 and 25 to Enoch McHendry. Davison, who drew Lots 27 and 19, was erased from the records.

The town, or in-lots, distributed by the above drawing were located between Front and Second Streets, and between Main and Broadway, from Second and Third Streets, between Sycamore and Broadway, as shown in the accompanying map.

In the following May these further donations were made :

LOTS GIVEN BY THE PROPRIETORS ON THE SAME CONDITIONS AS THE FIRST THIRTY DONATION LOTS.

	No.		No.
Robert Caldwell	84	Elijah Martin.....	82
John Cutter.....	92	David Logan	263
Seth Cutter.....	89	Samuel Kennedy	112
James Millan.....	94	Malign Baker.....	138
Levi Woodward.....	34	Cobus Linsicourt	114
Thaddeus Bruen.....	32	Wm. McMillan.....	27
Nathamel Rolstein.....	30	Richard Benham.....	90
Rev. James Kemper.....	65	Wm. McMillan.....	53
Peyten Cook & Winters.....	61	Henry Reed.....	88
William Cammel.....	85	George Adams	129
Abraham Garrison.....	86	Captain Pratt.....	9
Francis Kennedy	151	Captain Ford.....	11
Luther Kitchel.....	80	Levi Woodward.....	34
John Cummings.....	106	Robt. Benham.....	62
Robert Benham.....	17	John Covert.....	85
Joshua Findlar.....	37	Enoch McHendry.....	67
Henry Bechtel, Jr.....	57	James Dument.....	108
Robert Benham.....	63	John Terry, Sr.....	116
Joseph Kelly.....	113	Joel Williams.....	126
Isaac Bates.....	60	Joseph McHendry.....	79
James Campbell.....	154	James Cunningham	128
Dr. John Hole.....	227	Samuel Kitchel.....	205
Jabish Philips.....	91	Colonel Robert Patterson.....	127
Captain Furguson.....	13	Fraction	4
Lieutenant Ford.....	10		

CHAPTER X.

LUDLOW SURVEYS AND LAYS OFF LOTS FROM BROADWAY TO WESTERN ROW, AND FROM RIVER TO NORTHERN ROW (SEVENTH STREET)—PIONEERS CLEAR LAND—LETTER OF MRS. REBECCA REEDER—SALE OF LOTS IN 1789 AND 1790.

NOTWITHSTANDING the earth was covered with snow and the weather became intensely cold, Colonel Ludlow and his assistants proceeded to complete the survey and platting of the town as soon as the distribution of the first thirty lots had been made, and finished it during the winter as far north as Northern Row (Seventh Street), and from Eastern Row (Broadway) to Western Row (Central Avenue), marking the course of the streets by blazing the trees. Whilst the surveyors were thus engaged, others of the pioneers were chopping down the beech, sugar and other larger trees on the lower level from Walnut Street to Broadway.

The supply of provisions which they had brought with them was soon exhausted, and none were to be obtained except from the settlements in Kentucky, from sixty to a hundred miles distant up the Licking, or from Lexington. To procure them from these stations or settlements was exceedingly difficult, because the Licking River was frozen over or full of ice, preventing navigation with canoes, and to bring a sufficient supply from either place by land required pack horses, which were very scarce. Added to these difficulties everything was very high in price, and the purses of the first settlers were by no means plethoric with money. Subsistence must therefore be sought by some other means. Fortunately they were all familiar with the use of the rifle, and wild game, such as deer, bears and wild turkeys, was abundant in the forests around them, and buffalo and elk across the river in Kentucky.

Whilst the surveyors and woodchoppers were busy surveying and felling the forests, the hunters, with their rifles, procured provisions from the forests, and this furnished almost exclusively their subsistence during the winter and succeeding summer.

The wild game not only furnished food for these resolute men, but also clothing.

Rude was the garb and strong the frame
 Of him who plied his ceaseless toil.
 To form that garb the wild wood game
 Contributed their spoil.
 The soul that warmed that frame disdained
 The tinsel, gaud and glare that reigned
 Where men their crowds collect;
 The simple fur, untrimmed, unstained,
 This forest tamer decked.

—*Street.*

The situation is graphically described in a letter written to the Pioneer Association of Hamilton County in 1858 and still among the papers of that association, by Mrs. Rebecca Reeder, then residing at Pleasant Ridge.

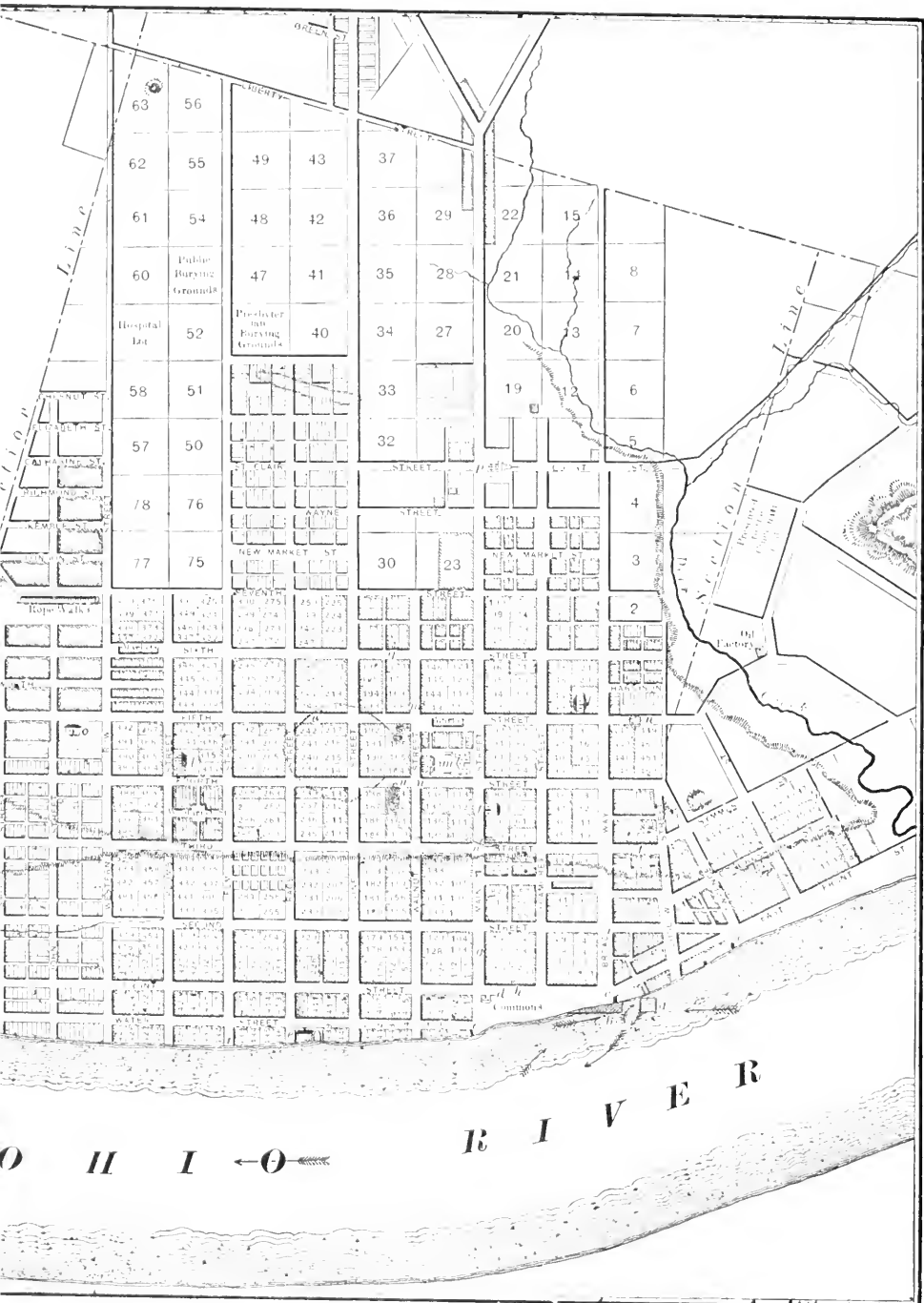
Mrs. Reeder was the daughter of Francis Kennedy, who landed at Cincinnati on the 8th day of February, 1789, forty-one days after the landing of the first pioneers. She writes:

“My father, mother and seven children landed at Cincinnati on the 8th of February, 1789. The first persons we saw after landing were Mr. McMillan and Mr. Israel Ludlow, one of the proprietors of the place. There were three little cabins here when we landed, where the surveyors and chain carriers lived. They had no floors in these cabins. There were three other women here beside my mother. Their names were Miss Dement, Mrs. Constance Zenes (afterward married to Mr. McMillan), Mrs. Pesthal, a German woman, and my mother, Mrs. Rebecca Kennedy, which made four women at that time. There were but two families that had small children; they were the German family and my father’s family.

“Mr. Ludlow came down to our boat and invited my father and mother up to stay in their cabin until we could get one built, but my mother thought they could remain more comfortably with their small children in their boat. So we lived in our boat until the ice began to run, and then we were forced to contrive some other way to live. What few men there were here got together and knocked our boats up and built us a camp. We lived in our camp six weeks. Then my father built us a large cabin, which was the first one large enough for a family to live in. We took the boards of our camp and made floors in our house.

“Father intended to have built our house on the corner of Walnut and Water Streets, but not knowing exactly where the streets were, he built our house right in the middle of Water Street. The streets were laid out, but the woods were so very thick, and the streets were not opened, so it was impossible to tell where the streets would be.

“At the time we landed the army was stationed at North Bend. The



FIRST PLAT OF CINCINNATI.

army was in a suffering condition from the want of bread. They heard that we landed with a considerable quantity of flour and corn meal. There were several soldiers sent up to my father to get a few barrels of flour for the benefit of the army. Father told them he did not bring flour here to sell, but to save his children's lives here in the forest. They had their guns with them, and said they were sent to take it by force, if he would not give it up. My father took down his gun, and told them he would stand in defense of his flour. They then went back to North Bend, and Judge Symmes, who lived near the fort, then wrote my father a letter, and told him to roll the soldiers out as many barrels of flour as they required, and he would see it replaced. My father then gave them as much as they wanted, and it was replaced in due time.

“The first summer after we came here, which was in 1789, the people suffered very much from want of bread, and as for meat, they had none at all only as they killed it in the woods. That was all they had to eat.”

When spring opened more cabins were built, principally between Walnut Street and Broadway, and the population had increased by the 1st of May to eleven families, besides twenty-four unmarried men, all dwelling in twenty log cabins, and nearly all of the large trees had been cut down between Walnut Street and Broadway, south of Second Street, although the logs, or many of them, remained on the ground for several years afterward, as is well remembered by some of the older citizens still living.

Colonel Ludlow had by this time (May, 1789) about completed the survey. Lots were offered for sale, and disposed of during the years 1789 and 1790 as follows, to the persons named, and for the prices set opposite each name; as is shown by the record of Colonel Ludlow, published by Robert Clark, Esq, in 1870, to whom we are under obligations for a copy. Price in pounds, shillings, and pence.

LOTS SOLD BY THE PROPRIETORS OF THE TOWN OF LOSANTIVILLE.

	No.	Price.		No.	Price.
		s. p.			s. p.
Doctor Hole.....	93	25 0	Nehemiah Hunt.....	40	30 0
Jno. Ludlow.....	118	45 0	Nehemiah Hunt.....	39	30 0
Jonas Seaman.....	105	40 0	Jonathan Ross.....	62	30 0
Zachariah Hole.....	94	37 6	Captain Strong.....	12	30 0
Seth Cutter.....	64	30 0	Captain Strong.....	38	30 0
Levi Woodward.....	33	25 0	Captain Pratt.....	9	30 0
Robert Caldwell.....	84	30 0	Lieutenant Ford.....	10	30 0
Judge Turner.....	160	30 0	Jacob Van Doran.....	201	50 0
Judge Turner.....	185	37 6	Samuel Blackburn.....	177	50 0
William Rusk.....	161	30 0	Samuel Whiteside.....	187	45 0

	Price.			Price.	
	No.	s. p.		No.	s. p.
James Campbell.....	153	70 0	William Ross.....	163	30 0
Judge Turner.....	188	30 0	W. McMillan, Esq.....	135	30 0
John Ross.....	186	30 0	James Goald.....	203	35 0
Robert Terry.....	162	37 6	James Goald.....	204	40 0
John Terry.....	95	25 0	John McGloughlen.....	351	50 0
Uriah Hardesty.....	68	30 0	Henry McGloughlen.....	352	50 0
Wm. Gowen.....	70	30 0	Luke Mellen.....	148	30 0
Thomas Brown.....	96	30 0	Jacob Warwick.....	228	40 0
Wm. Gowen.....	69	30 0	John Murfey.....	277	40 0
James Millan.....	75	30 0	Jacob Fowler.....	242	30 0
Jabish Phillips.....	202	40 0	Presley Peck.....	253	40 0
David Logan.....	226	50 0	Presley Peck.....	254	40 0
John Griffen.....	171	30 0	Presley Peck.....	112	30 0
John Griffen.....	170	30 0	Thaddeus Bruen.....	31	35 0
Samuel Blackburn.....	177	50 0	Malign Baker.....	138	30 0
Joseph Kelly.....	113	30 0	Doctor John Hole.....	216	30 0
D. C. Cooper.....	251	50 0	John Lore.....	87	30 0
John Ludlow.....	252	50 0	Enos Terry.....	136	30 0
Margaret Martin.....	276	50 0	James Lyon.....	137	30 0
Samuel Kitchell.....	176	60 0	John Tharp.....	217	80 0
Israel Hunt.....	66	30 0	Jerum Holt.....	218	30 0
Jabish Phillips.....	47	40 0	James Wallace.....	301	50 0
James Millan.....	48	30 0	Benj. Vanecep.....	219	30 0
James Millan.....	49	30 0	John Cummings.....	236	30 0
James Millan.....	50	30 0	John Van Eton.....	260	45 0
William Kelly.....	72	30 0	Stephen Barnes.....	235	30 0
William Kelly.....	73	30 0	Nathaniel Kolstein.....	213	30 0
Enos Porter.....	74	30 0	Nathaniel Kolstein.....	212	30 0
William Kelley.....	75	30 0	Abraham Garrison.....	155	40 0
George Niece.....	44	30 0	Abraham Garrison.....	156	35 0
George Niece.....	45	30 0	Abraham Garrison.....	157	35 0
George Niece.....	46	30 0	Mr. Nielson.....	210	30 0
Jonathan Fitss.....	58	30 0	Mr. Nielson.....	211	30 0
Tapping, Esq.....	131	30 0	Mr. Nielson.....	214	30 0
James Millen.....	81	35 0	Mr. Neilson.....	215	30 0
Russel Farnum.....	147	30 0	Israel Hunt.....	158	30 0
David Welch.....	146	30 0	Israel Hunt.....	159	15 0
David Welch.....	172	30 0	Israel Hunt.....	239	37 6
Brunton & Doharty.....	122	30 0	George Greves.....	107	30 0
Brunton & Doharty.....	123	30 0	Widow Terry.....	240	60 0
Brunton & Doharty.....	124	45 0	John Tharp.....	241	60 0
Brunton & Doharty.....	125	45 0	Moses Miller.....	132	60 0
D. C. Orcutt.....	145	30 0	Moses Miller.....	133	50 0
John Wiant.....	169	60 0	John Tharp.....	134	22 6
Reuben Rood.....	82	25 0	Daniel Bates.....	194	30 0
Joel Hamblin.....	155	40 0	Daniel Bates.....	195	30 0
Darius Orcut.....	35	37 6	Samuel Pierson.....	22	30 0

	Price.			Price.	
	No.	S. P.		No.	S. P.
Darius Orcut.....	36	37 6	Matthias Pierson.....	23	30 0
Ephraim Coleman	180	40 0	Enos Potter.....	24	30 0
— Truman.....	195	30 0	Wm. McMillan.....	144	45 0
— Truman.....	196	30 0	Richard Benham.....	243	60 0
Mr. Welch.....	193	30 0	Richard Benham.....	244	60 0
Edward Holland.....	195	30 0	William Beazley.....	14	35 0
Edward Holland.....	196	30 0	William Beazley.....	15	30 0
James Campbell.....	179	35 0	Levi Sayre.....	119	30 0
John Vance.....	168	30 0	David Joice.....	268	35 0
Wm. McMillan, Esq.....	143	60 0	David Joice.....	269	30 0
Hezekiah Hardesty.....	267	35 0	Moses Ross.....	203	
Thomas Black.....	310	35 0	Wm. McMillan.....	143	52 6
Thomas Black.....	311	30 0	James Cunningham.....	181	37 6
Uriah Gates.....	308	30 0	James Cunningham.....	182	37 6
Uriah Gates.....	309	30 0	James Miller.....	120	37 6
Uriah Gates.....	333	30 0	Daniel Bates.....	37	30 0
Uriah Gates.....	334	30 0	Captain Furguson.....	13	30 0
Uriah Gates.....	307		James Dument.....	25	37 6
John Terry.....	109	25 0	James Dument.....	50	37 6
Isaac Bates.....	264	37 6	Daniel Kitchell.....	205	40 0
Isaac Bates.....	265	30 0	Daniel Kitchell.....	206	30 0
Francis Kennedy.....	112	30 0	Robt. Moore.....	207	40 0
Daniel Bates.....	195	30 0	Robt. Moore.....	208	40 0
Samuel Martin.....	41	30 0	Samuel Kitchel.....	209	
Samuel Martin.....	42	35 0	Judge Turner.....	183	37 6
John Coulson.....	261	30 0	Judge Turner.....	184	37 6
John Cummings.....	237	37 6	Robert Benham.....	62	
John Gaston.....	238	37 6	John Covert.....	85	
J. Turner.....	163	37 6	Robert Benham.....	126	
Jacob Tapping.....	130	35 0	— Heooleson.....	107	30 0
John Cummings.....	263	37 6	John Blanchard.....	16	45 0
James Lowry.....	45	37 6	Casper Sheets.....	17	45 0
Ben. Voluntine.....	46	37 6	Nehemiah Hunt.....	68	
Moses Burd.....	170	37 6	Jonathan Davis.....	288	
Moses Burd.....	171	60 0	Benjamin Flinn.....	289	
John Adams.....	145	37 6	Benjamin Flinn.....	99	
John Adams.....	146	37 6	Darius Hole.....	232	35 0
Nathan Danalds.....	97	37 6	William Hole.....	233	
Nathan Danalds.....	98	37 6	Jonathan Davis.....	235	
Nathan Danalds.....	72	37 6	* Zebba Stibbins.....	194	40 0
Nathan Danalds.....	73	57 6	Daniel Hole.....	231	60 0
Nicholas Johnston.....	122	37 6	Wm. McClure.....	13	
Nicholas Johnston.....	123	37 6	John McClure.....	14	
George Murfey.....	47	37 6	Daniel McClure.....	15	
James Colwell.....	21	37 6	George McClure.....	16	
Stephen Reeder.....	20	37 6	James McClure.....	17	
Ben. Voluntine.....	20		Mary McClure.....	18	

	No.	Price.		No.	Price.
		s. p.			s. p.
Robert Benham.....	3	60 0	John Riddle.....	61	30 0
Joel Williams.....	2	60 0	James Wallace.....	60	30 0
James Dument.....	25	37 6	Henry Taylor.....	64	30 0
William Harris.....	262	45 0	Mun McKnight.....	65	30 0
Nicholas Jones.....	149	30 0	Luther Kitchell.....	58	30 0
Nicholas Jones.....	150	30 0	Doctor Hole.....	62	25 0
William Harris.....	259	37 6	Doctor Hole.....	63	25 0
William Harris.....	286	28 0	Doctor Hole.....	66	30 0
William Harris.....	229	60 0	Doctor Hole.....	67	30 0
Dr. Morrel.....	7		Robert Benham.....	17	
Jonathan Davis.....	256	35 0	Robert Benham.....	18	
Jonathan Davis.....	257	60 0	Robert Benham.....	39	25 0
Enos Terry.....	121	80 0	Samuel Freeman.....	59	30 0
Jonathan Davis.....	258	60 0	William Harris.....	262	
Daniel Hole.....	233	60 0	Frances Kennedy.....	5	
Daniel Hole.....	234	60 0	J. Phillips.....	10	4 00 0
William Harris.....	285		John Hole.....	12	4 00 0
Uriah Gates.....	284		Niles Shaw.....	178	6 15 0
Henry McLaughlin.....	352		Captain John Munn.....	201	
Rev. James Kemper.....	19	4 00 0	Benj. Vancleave.....	63	\$10
Henry Taylor, frac. range..	7	4 00 0	Abraham Garrison.....	64	
Samuel Freeman.....	228		Elijah Davis.....	358	\$16
Captain Strong.....	38	25 0	Jonathan Davis.....	383	\$16
Captain Pratt.....	44	25 0	John Chceck.....	288	
William McClure.....	45	25 0	Elijah Davis.....	356	60 0
George McClure.....	46	25 0	Jonathan Davis.....	381	60 0
Daniel McClure.....	50	25 0	William Beedle.....	279	7 00 9
John McClure.....	51	25 0	John Dorough.....	376	
James Scott.....	52	25 0	A soldier.....	267	60 0
William Beedle.....	53	25 0	Ziba Stibbins.....	196	60 0
Levi Woodward.....	22	35 0	Ziba Stibbins.....	169	60 0
Seth Cutter.....	40	25 0	Samuel Freeman.....	203	52 6
James Blackburn.....	41	25 0	Bethuel Kitchel.....	156	37 6
Samuel Freeman.....	42	30 0	William Beedle.....	277	60 0
Lieutenant Ford.....	36	25 0	Elijah Davis.....	224	75 0
Henry Reed.....	43	30 0	James Pursley.....	289	\$ 9
Colonel W. Sargent.....	37	25 0	David Scott.....	315	17
James Burns.....	35	30 0	Adam Funk.....	317	17
John Riddle.....	47	25 0	William Hedger.....	339	9
Isaacs Bates.....	35	25 0	Abraham Ritcheson.....	292	10
Samuel & Matthias Pierson	15		Henry Atcheson.....	213	14
John Cumming.....	54	5 25 0	William Diven.....	160	4
Daniel Shoemaker.....	48	25 0	Isaac Bates.....	58	28 6
Benjamin Van Cleave.....	56	25 0	Jonathan Mercer.....	264	\$20
John Riddle.....	55	25 0	Jonathan Mercer.....	265	20
Samuel Kitchell.....	49	25 0	Richard Benham.....	268	16
Lieutenant Kingsbury.....	57	25 0	Richard Benham.....	269	16

	Price.			Price.	
	No.	s. p.		No.	s. p.
Garret Carvender	376	10	James Wallace.....	301	50 0
Dr. John Hole.....	227	50 0	John Riddle.....	302	80 0
James Millan.....	71	\$10	Seth Cutter....	64	80 0
Richard Benham.	244	16	Thomas Persons.....	268	60 0
John Adams.....	146	12	John Ludlow	118	
John Adams.....	145	10	Jonathan Davis.....	380	
James Campbell.....	154	45 0	Elyajah Davis.....	355	

CHAPTER XI.

JUDGE JOHN CLEVES SYMMES DETERMINES TO BEGIN THE SETTLEMENTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT MIAMI—ADDRESSES A FRIENDLY LETTER TO THE WYANDOTTES AND SHAWNEES—HIS REASONS FOR SELECTING THE LAND AT THE MOUTH OF THE MIAMI FOR HIS CONTEMPLATED GREAT CITY—PREVAILS UPON CAPTAIN KEARSEY TO SEND TROOPS TO ESCORT AND PROTECT SETTLERS—THEY ARRIVE SAFELY AT COLUMBIA, WHERE THEIR BOATS ARE CRUSHED BY THE ICE AND NEARLY ALL OF THEIR ANIMALS ARE DROWNED, AND MOST OF THEIR PROVISIONS LOST—JUDGE SYMMES LEAVES LIMESTONE WITH HIS FAMILY JANUARY 29, 1789, ACCOMPANIED BY CAPTAIN KEARSEY AND THE REST OF HIS SOLDIERS.

FROM several messages received from Major Stites that the Indians were friendly and anxious to see him he determined to begin the settlement at the mouth of the Big Miami, and prevailed upon Captain Kearsey, who at that time commanded the United States troops at Limestone, to detail a sergeant and twelve men to escort some settlers who had arrived at that place on their way to settle at the mouth of the Great Miami. The weather became intensely cold and the river was filled with heavy floating ice. The party, however, arrived safely at Columbia, where they landed, intending to proceed to the old fort at the mouth of the Miami without delay, but the ice soon forced their boats from the shore, staving in the sides of one of them, and it was with great difficulty that any of their stock was saved, many of their animals being drowned and most of their provisions lost entirely. This defeated for a time the design of settling at the Old Fort.

He had on the 3d of January addressed the following friendly letter to the Wyandottes and Shawnee Indians:

“Brothers of the Wyandottes and Shawnees, Hearken to your brother who is coming to live at the Great Miami. He was on the Great Miami last summer, when the deer was yet red and met with one of your camps; he did no harm to anything which you had in your camp; he held back his young men from hurting you or your horses, and would not let them take your skins or meat, though your brothers were very hungry. All this he did because he was your brother, and would live in peace with the red people. If the red people will live in friendship with him and his young

men who came from the Great Salt Ocean to plant corn and build cabins on the land between the Great and Little Miami, then the white and red people shall be brothers and live together, and we will buy your furs and skins and sell you blankets and rifles and powder and lead and rum, and everything that our red brothers may want in hunting and in their towns.

“Brothers! A treaty is holding at Muskingum. Great men from the thirteen fires are there to meet the chiefs and head men of all the nations of the red people. May the great spirit direct all their councils for peace! But the great men and the wise men of the red and white people cannot keep peace and friendship long unless we, who are their sons and warriors, will also bury the hatchet and live in peace. Brothers! I send you a string of white beads, write to you with my own hands that you may believe what I say. I am your brother and will be kind to you while you remain in peace. Farewell!

JOHN C. SYMMES.”

January 3d, 1789.

By adopting this course he followed very closely the example of William Penn, but he must have differed very materially from Penn on the temperance question. Penn, in his letter to the Pennsylvania Indians, says: “Nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell rum to make your people drunk.” Whereas Symmes says he *will* sell his red brothers rum. But whether his intention was to make them drunk is not stated. Be that as it may, it is certain he did supply them bountifully afterwards with fire water, with what results may appear hereafter.

From the hasty examination Judge Symmes had made of his purchase in September, 1788, when John Filson was lost, he had selected the point between the Ohio and Great Miami Rivers as the site on which he would lay out and found his great city.

His reasons, as given in his letter to Colonel Dayton for the selection of this location, were (1) that there would be a large number of towns located on the Ohio above and below the Great Miami from Pittsburg to the falls, and even lower down the Ohio, and the trade would be divided between them; and (2) that the extent of country along the Miami, spreading for many miles on both sides, has superior qualities in point of soil, water and timber to any tract of equal area to be found in the United States, as he believed. From this “Egypt of the Miami,” as he styled it, the produce of the country would be poured down that stream for two hundred miles above its mouth, which would be collected there if the city was built at that

point; whereas, if built above, at North Bend, the settlers could not work their boats eight or nine miles up the Ohio above the mouth, and the produce would pass down the Ohio to towns below.

As already stated, several expresses had been sent Judge Symmes by Major Stites assuring him that the Indians were friendly and were anxious to see him, and as the settlements at Columbia and Losantiville had been so far successful, he determined to begin his settlement at the mouth of the Great Miami; and accordingly on the 29th day of January, 1789, he left Limestone with his family and Captain Kearsay and the remainder of his troops, having previously collected what flour and salt he could, and that at enormous prices.

The river at that time was higher than it had ever been known by the whites, and when they arrived at Columbia they found it submerged, but barely one cabin situated on high ground out of the water. The soldiers, in the block house they had built near where the toll-gate on the California pike is located, were driven to the loft, then to the roof and escaped in a boat they had fortunately preserved from destruction.

Judge Symmes and his family remained but one night at Columbia, when they proceeded to Losantiville, which had not been entirely submerged by the raging waters of the Ohio. Here they remained until the 2d day of February, when the waters, having rapidly receded, they went on to North Bend, where they arrived safely, as Judge Symmes says in one of his letters, "at 3 of the o'clock on the afternoon of the second day of February, 1789." all of Captain Kearsay's men having joined the party at Columbia. Immediately on landing they erected what was then called in the West "a camp," by placing two forked saplings in the ground at such distance as required, connecting by a ridge pole, against which boards were leaned. One end was closed, the other left open for an entrance where the fire was built. The weather was intensely cold, and Judge Symmes says in this camp he lived six weeks before he could build a log house so as to get into it with his family and property.

Captain Kearsay, it seems, was not pleased with the place, and insisted on going on to the old fort at the mouth of the Miami, and was ever after displeased because the party did not go there.

From the fact that Columbia was submerged, Judge Symmes became fearful that the land he had selected for the site of his magnificent city might

be subjected to the same inundations; and in a few days after landing, accompanied by Captain Kearsay and Captain Henry, they went down in a small boat to examine it, and found by the ice on the trees that the water had fallen about fifteen feet, and still the site was several feet under water.

Disappointed, he was compelled to abandon his project of founding a great city at that point, and returned to North Bend, resolved to lay out a number of house lots at that place to form a village. Forty-eight lots of one acre each were laid off, every alternate one of which was given away on condition that the recipient would immediately build thereon. These donation lots were soon taken, and he increased the number of lots to one hundred, the whole extending a mile and a half up and down the river. This town was called North Bend from the fact that it was the most northerly bend in the Ohio River from the Muckingum to the Mississippi. The encouragement he met with by the lots being so promptly taken at North Bend, and the number of cabins being erected, and the applications multiplying for more, induced him to lay out another town seven miles further up the Ohio River, at Muddy Creek, which he called South Bend, as it was the most southerly point of land in the Miami purchase. South Bend had a frontage of one mile on the Ohio.

In the meantime he continued prospecting for a suitable site for the magnificent city he contemplated would yet be built on his purchase, but does not appear to have thought that there was a suitable location anywhere else than in the immediate vicinity of the confluence of the Ohio and Great Miami Rivers. At this point he found it impracticable, but urged the propriety of founding the city a short distance up the Miami, where it would be safe from the high waters of the Ohio, and urged it for the same reasons given for the location at the mouth.

CHAPTER XII.

INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS, AND MURDER OF CITIZENS—REMINISCENCES OF
MRS. JOSEPH JONES.

AS has already been stated Major Stites found no Indians at the mouth of the Miami when he and his party landed, and but very few were seen either about Columbia, Losantiville, or North Bend for some time, and they appeared friendly until the next spring after the conclusion of the conference at the Muskingum, where the greater part of the tribes had been congregated at the solicitation of Governor St. Clair and the citizens, with the hope of concluding a lasting peace with them. But as they dispersed from Fort Harmar during the winter, the settlements lower down the river, at Columbia, Losantiville, and North Bend, but principally at Columbia, became much annoyed by straggling parties encamping in the vicinity, and mingling with the whites on the pretense of trading, but soon developed their intentions by petty thefts; clothes hung out to dry were stolen, axes and tools, bridles and saddles left in insecure places disappeared. A short time after some Wyandottes, who had been encamped early in the spring of 1789 near Columbia, left their encampment, several horses were suddenly and mysteriously missing. Entertaining the opinion of an Indian then prevalent among the settlers, it was very natural that they should attribute the disappearance of their horses to their agency. In a short time afterwards another attempt was made to steal horses, but failed. A third attempt was more successful, and several more horses were spirited away by a party of Shawnees, who had been on a visit to Judge Symmes, at North Bend. This so enraged the settlers that a company was organized to pursue them, to recapture the horses, under the command of Lieutenant Bailey, then in command of the troops stationed at the block house, in Columbia. Among the number who volunteered was Captain James Flinn, a brave and powerful man.

The party followed their trail some eighty miles, when they discovered that they were in the immediate vicinity of Indians. Captain Flinn went forward to reconnoitre, and whilst on this duty, found himself suddenly

surrounded by a party of savages. Seeing that resistance would be vain, he surrendered with the best grace possible under the circumstances, and was quietly led to their encampment, but a short distance from where he had been captured.

He was treated kindly by them, but seeing a warrior preparing some tugs or strings, and from other indications, he became convinced that he was to suffer personal violence, and, having great confidence in his agility and endurance, he determined to escape. Watching a favorable opportunity he sprang from among them, darted into the forest and was soon out of their reach, and continued on his course until he found his companions. They took some of the horses belonging to the Indians and made their way with all possible speed to the block house at Columbia. In a few days after their return some Wyandottes, who were among those previously encamped around Columbia, came to the block house with their squaws, bringing Captain Flinn's gun, protesting that they were not the Indians or tribe who had stolen the horses, and begging Major Stites to give them their horses which the men had taken from them. After considerable parleying their horses were given up and friendly relations were restored, and they left seemingly well pleased with their white brothers, vowing everlasting friendship.

Judge Symmes in a letter to his associate, Colonel Dayton, of New Jersey, dated at North Bend, May 20, 1789, attributes the cause of the depredations to a spirit of retaliation for the injuries inflicted by worthless traders, who occasionally moored their boats at Columbia, and most villainously cheated the Indians in trading with them. In one instance, he says, they sold them whisky which froze in the casks before they reached their camp; in another, these traders compelled them to pay forty buck skins and a horse worth seventy-five dollars for a single rifle. A gunsmith at Columbia required an Indian to leave two bucks before he would agree to repair his gun lock by putting on a chop to hold the flint, worth at most $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents, and when it was done compelled the Indian who came after it to give him two more bucks before he would give it up. The Indians complained bitterly to Judge Symmes of this treatment, and it may have been the exciting cause of those depredations at Columbia, as an Indian believed what one white man does all are responsible for.

But it will be seen that this was only the outcropping of that spirit which very soon devastated, and stained with the blood of pioneers, the hills and

vales of Ohio. There still remained that jealousy which had ever existed against the white man occupying their hunting grounds. So far the savages had confined their depredations to stealing horses and other property, but every day they were becoming more troublesome, and on the 9th day of April, 1789, a party of Judge Symmes' surveyors, headed by John Mills, were fired upon as they were leaving camp early in the morning. Holman and Wells, of Kentucky, were killed and scalped; Mills and three others made their escape.

In a memorandum kept by John Dunlop, a surveyor employed by Judge Symmes, the following record of farther Indian depredations appears:

“May 21, 1789: Ensign Luce, with eight soldiers and some citizens, going up from North Bend to a place called South Bend (Riverside), was fired upon by a party of Indians; the tribe they belonged to we never could learn. There were six soldiers killed and wounded, of which one died on the spot, another died of his wounds after going to the Falls of the Ohio for the doctor. There was a young man named John R. Mills in this boat who was shot through the shoulder, but by management and care of some squaws he recovered entirely.”

“September 20th: The Indians visiting Columbia, at the confluence of the Little Miami and Ohio, tomahawked one boy and took another prisoner. They were sons of a Mr. Seward, lately from New Jersey.”

“On the 30th of the same month they took another prisoner from the same place.”

“On the 12th of December following, a young man, son of John Hilliers, of North Bend, going out in the morning to bring home the cows, about half a mile from the garrison, the Indians came upon him. They tomahawked and scalped him in a most cruel manner, took away his gun and hat and left him lying on his back.”

“On the 17th inst. following, two young men, one named Andrew Vaneman, the other James Lafferty, went on a hunting excursion across the river. When they encamped at night and had made a fire they were surprised by Indians and fell a sacrifice into the hands of the savages, being killed by the first fire. They were both shot through the back, between the shoulders, the bullets coming out under their right arms. The Indians tomahawked and scalped them in a most barbarous manner, stripped them of their clothes and left them lying on their backs, quite naked, without as

much as one thread on them. Next day myself and six others went out and buried them in one grave."

The Seward boys spoken of, Obadiah about twenty-one and John fifteen, were sons of James Seward, who resided on the hillside at Columbia. He had leased a part of the six hundred and forty acres in Turkey Bottom of Captain Stites, which the whites found cleared when they arrived. They were going unarmed from their father's house in Columbia to work on their land, no danger being apprehended; and when in the act of jumping over a large hickory tree, which Abel Cook had cut down to procure the nuts, they were attacked by two Indians who had concealed themselves in the tree top. Obadiah at once surrendered, and was fastened with thongs, but John made a desperate effort to reach home. The Indian on his side of the tree gained on him, and when within striking distance hurled his tomahawk, cleaving his skull behind the ear, and ran up and struck him again on the head, scalped and left him for dead, part of his brains oozing from his wound. But he was found by neighbors and lifted on the back of John Clawson, and carried home, where he lived thirty-nine days, becoming conscious at times and reciting all the circumstances.

Obadiah was carried off a prisoner to their towns near Sandusky, where he was held captive for some months. The Indians becoming tired of holding their prisoner, started with him and others to Fort Pitt, where they hoped to get them ransomed; but on the way, whilst Obadiah was driving some pack-horses, he accidentally took the wrong trail, whereupon a drunken Indian became very angry and shot him dead. His head was cut off, with a part of the skin of the breast adhering, and stuck upon a stake on the side of the road.

The other spoken of by John Dunlop as captured the same week at Columbia was a hired man of John Phillips, captured while topping corn. Mr. Seward heard nothing of his son until the return of this man, who was one of the party on the way to Fort Pitt, and witnessed the barbarous murder of Obadiah Seward.

The same year, 1789, Abel Cook, who had been on a visit to his friends at Columbia, when on his return home to Covalt Station, near Milford, was attacked by Indians and killed. His body was found immediately afterwards and interred at Covalt Station.

About the same time a party of men were out on a hunting expedition

from Covalt Station, composed of A. Covalt, Jr., R. Fletcher, Levi Buckingham, Jacob Beagle, and Mr. Clemmons. They had gone but a short distance from the station, when Covalt discovered signs of Indians, and so apprised his companions, and advised a return to the fort to warn the inmates of their danger. They started back, but as yet had seen no Indians. Beagle and Clemmons had separated from the others. When they came to Shawnee Run they saw two Indians sitting on the bank, taking off their moccasins to walk across.

Clemmons objected to Beagle shooting at them, as he was old and clumsy, and would surely fall a prey to them. The Indians did not go more than twenty rods up the river when they came in contact with the other three men. They fired upon them before the whites saw them. Covalt was wounded; he and Fletcher ran together for about a hundred yards, when he told Fletcher to make his escape, as he was shot through the breast and must fall. He fought them as long as he had strength, but soon the tomahawk did its deadly work. They scalped him, and took his rifle and powder horn, but threw his tomahawk away, which was found twenty years after by Levi Buckingham, and identified by the initials of his name upon it, and is still said to be in possession of his descendants in Illinois.

The other four got safely to the fort, and rallying their little band, went and recovered Covalt's mutilated body. Captain Abraham Covalt soon fell a victim to the bloodthirsty savages. He had determined to build a house for his family outside the station, and while he, two of his sons, and Joseph Hinkle, were making shingles near the fort they were attacked by the Indians. Hinkle's head was nearly severed from his body. Captain Covalt was shot, and ran some distance, when he fell across a log with his arm under his head, and was soon despatched by the hatchet, and his scalp taken. At the same time Mr. Newal, another of the party, was killed. The bodies were brought to the fort and buried, where their graves may still be seen.

Mrs. Joseph Jones, a daughter of Abraham Covalt, who was in the fort at the time, then fifteen years old, died some years since; before her death she left the following interesting reminiscences of Captain Covalt's family and the station, corroborating the above statement.

Although differing as to dates with other publications, it is the most complete history of Covalt's Station ever given to the public. It will be

seen that she dates the landing of her father and his party at the mouth of the Little Miami, on the 19th of January, 1788, ten months earlier than that of Major Benjamin Stites, November 18, 1788. We give it, however, as she left it, and as we received it from her daughter, Mrs. Hickoff, and her grand-daughter, Mrs. Hopkins, now residing at the Sixteen-Mile Stand, on the Montgomery Turnpike, Hamilton County, Ohio. This has never been published before.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS.

I will call the attention of the reader to the early days of seventeen hundred and eighty-eight (1788). The 1st day of January of that year, I left Pennsylvania for Ohio, then called the Indian country, in company with Captain Covalt (who was my father) and seven other families; they were Robert McKinney, J. Pittman, J. Webb, J. Hutchens, David Smith, Z. Hinkle, T. Covalt and their families. It was with regret, not unmixed with pleasure, that we left our pleasant homes to contend with the red men who then inhabited this Western country. We moored our boats at Columbia on the 19th of January. We did not have the gay steamer that now plies the wide waste of waters, but the simple flat boat of our own construction. Captain Covalt had two boats, one fifty-five, the other forty feet long; the family occupied one, the other for his stock and farming implements, for he came prepared for the wild woods. He had some twenty head of cattle, swine and sheep and seven horses, the best that had ever come to the West. We met with very few incidents of interest on our voyage, with the exception of one of our boats becoming stranded on the ice, and that filled our hearts with fear and terror. But with the united exertions of the men in the different boats we soon pursued our perilous voyage. As I have said, we landed on the nineteenth (19) of January. We then erected a tent on the banks of the Little Miami, in which place we remained for one week, while the men were erecting a temporary dwelling; when it was completed they came for their families. We then moved to our new house, which was some seven miles from our tent, and one mile below where the town of Milford now stands. The first night that we stayed in our new homes there were forty-five in number. A fort was soon erected, which consisted of seventeen dwelling houses and four block houses. It was called Covalt's Fort. He was the proprietor of it and owned the land; his first purchase consisted of six hundred acres of land. My father soon built a mill; he brought the mill stones and a millwright, whose name was Hinkle. This was the first mill in the Miami purchase. During this time we had not been molested but once by the Indians; five days after we landed we had five of our horses stolen, valued at one hundred dollars apiece.

The sound of the axe was heard in the thick wood, to fell the sturdy oak and remove the wide spreading branches from off the ground and prepare it for the summer crop. We were unmolested during the summer. In the fall they came into the neighborhood but they did but little damage. They killed one hog and roasted it and stole a horse from Mr. Baty. The Indians were pursued and one of them overtaken; he had creased the horse so badly that he could not travel very fast. The Indians had a rope over his shoulder and was pulling it along. When the white men got near enough three of them felled him to the ground. They scalped him and took his gun, tomahawk, cap and knife, and brought them to the fort. Abraham Covalt and Abel Cook were chosen as their hunters to supply the inhabitants of the fort with game. This was a perilous mission. During the winter and spring the soldiers were often called out to repulse the red foe, who would come so near to the fort that we could hear the noise and confusion at the camp for two or three days at a time. Well do I remember one night whilst we were milking and the sentinels were guarding us some of the cattle ran against the fence and pushed off the boards. There were two Indians concealed behind the fence. They made their escape and when they arrived at their towns they told the prisoners what had happened and how they had acted.

About this time the Indians became very troublesome. They attacked Dunlap's Station (now Colerain), and told the soldiers that they had taken Covalt's Fort, and had sent a company to take the fort at Cincinnati, and that they might as well surrender for they were bound to take the fort; but they had a brave commander, one who was not frightened by their savage threats of cruelty. They fought with great bravery to defend their rights. Their commander was Lieutenant Hartshorn. During the siege he put his cap on a staff, and elevated it above his place of concealment. The savages fired at it, and it fell to the ground. The savages raised their well-known whoop, and filled the air with their hideous cries. By this time Captain Covalt had sent to Cincinnati for a reinforcement, which was sent to their relief, for had the Indians attacked it again before relief had come the besieged must have fallen a prey to the tomahawk and scalping knife. In June, 1788, a company of five men went out on a hunting expedition; they were A. Covalt, R. Fletcher, L. Buckingham, J. Beagle, and Clemens. After they had gone a short distance from the fort, Covalt said, "Boys, the Indians are not far off, we had better return to the fort, and apprise them of the approach of the Indians, so they can repulse them before they come any nearer." Still they did not see the Indians, but they started for the fort. The hunters had separated from each other; Beagle and Clemens were together; when they came to Shawnee Run they saw two Indians sitting on the bank of the creek taking off their moccasins to wade over to the other side. Beagle wanted to shoot at them, but Clemens

said, "No, I am old and clumsy, and can't run, and I must become a prey to their savage cruelty." Beagle did not shoot. The Indians did not go more than twenty yards up the ravine when they came in contact with the other three men. The Indians fired before the white men saw them. Covalt was wounded. Fletcher and he ran together about a hundred yards, when Covalt said, "For God's sake, Fletcher, make your escape, for I am a dead man." He was shot through the breast, but he did not expire immediately after he fell. He had fought the Indians as long as he had strength; he had received several wounds in the face, and the tomahawk soon did its work of death. They took his rifle and powder horn, but he threw away his tomahawk, which was found some twenty years after by his companion, Levi Buckingham. Thus ended the life of one of as brave sons of Pennsylvania as ever inhaled the morning air. He was as undaunted as a lion, and as active as the deer that bounds through the forests. In his deportment he was gentle and affable; he was beloved by all who knew him. He was twenty-one years of age when he fell a victim to the savage foe. He left many friends to bemoan his loss. The other four hunters got to the fort safe, and they soon called their little band together to go in search of Covalt. They brought him to the fort to pay their last tribute of respect to so brave a man. They did not pursue the foe, their number being too small to be divided. In about a month from the time spoken of the Indians were again seen prowling about the bank of the Miami. Abel Cook had been on a visit to his friends at Columbia, and on his return home to Covalt's Station, the Indians attacked and killed him. He was alone. His companions at the fort soon found him, and interred his body by the side of his hunting companion, with whom in life he roamed the dreary forests. We were not molested again until March of 1789, when they again invaded the Little Miami Valley. Captain Covalt wishing to live a more retired life, had got the timber ready for his house, but the farming was not completed. He, with two of his sons and Joseph Hinkle, were making the shingles when they were attacked by the Indians. Hinkle was not shot, but his head was half cut off with the tomahawk and then scalped. Captain Covalt was wounded in two places; one ball passed through his breast, the other through his arm. He told his sons to make their way to the fort, that he was wounded. He ran with axe in hand, about a hundred yards and fell across a log with his arm under his head; the scalping knife soon robbed it of the auburn locks that clustered around his noble brow, but his spirit had ascended to the God who gave it.

I will now invite you back to the year 1743, to Captain Covalt's native place. He was born in New Jersey, near Great Egg Harbor, and was a resident of that place until he was eighteen years of age. He then embarked on board a ship to fight for his country's cause. He was at the

storming of Martinico. In a short time afterwards he returned to his native place. There he became acquainted with a lady by the name of Lois Pendleton, on whom he bestowed his fondest affections, which were duly reciprocated by her, and they were joined in wedlock bands by the Reverend Mr. Fuller, in Bonbrook, New Jersey. After he was married he left the place of his nativity for Bedford County, Pennsylvania. There he was duly elected a Captain, which office he filled during the Revolutionary War. After the war was closed he came to this Western country to seek out a good location and then return for his family. He made the purchase previously spoken of, then returned to Pennsylvania to make preparations to move. He was blessed with six sons and four daughters. All of his children came with him to endure the trials of the Western wilds. But alas! he was cut down in the midst of life. He was a man who feared God with all his house, and his prayers and alms were held in remembrance. Well might the widow's heart bleed at the loss of so good a husband, and the children mourn at the loss of so kind a parent, when they beheld him weltering in his gore. They brought him to the fort, there to pay the last tribute of respect to one so noble and brave. They buried his remains on his own farm, where his grave can be seen to this day. This is but a small sketch of his life and character. The inmates of the fort were like sheep without a shepherd. They knew not what to do. Their leader was gone. His widow survived him until the year 1838, when she died at the advanced age of one hundred years. She was a true child of God. She was blessed with her mental powers to the last.

After the death of Captain Covalt the Indians did not invade our borders again until 1790. In November, 1791, General St. Clair called out the soldiers to battle, all that could be spared from every station. I do not remember the number that went from Covalt's Station. They were commanded by Lieutenant Spears. Our number was then decreased so much that we were obliged to leave the fort. After St. Clair's defeat we all retired to Jarret's (Garard's) Station and did not return until February, 1792. Then we got a reinforcement again and returned to our own fort.

Through the summer the Indians were very troublesome. The Indians took three of the most efficient men prisoners. Their names were Beagle, Coleman and Murphy. They were taken to Detroit and Beagle and Murphy were sold to the British, but they would not part with Coleman; when he parted from his companions he wept like a child, for he knew his doom—it was to be burned at the stake. Beagle returned in three months. Murphy never returned, and Coleman was never heard of after he parted from his companions. Beagle said that when they were taken prisoners that they were not more than a quarter of a mile from the fort. The Indians did not shoot at them but caught and bound them. Murphy was the sentinel.

Beagle would not have been taken, but as he was running he caught his foot under a grapevine and fell. The savages were like the panther when in pursuit of prey; the moment he fell they sprang upon him and bound him. Not being content with their prisoners they killed a soldier by the name of Gocky, but his loss was not regretted; it was supposed that he was a traitor. The soldiers being always in readiness at the report of guns started in the direction of the sound in pursuit of the Indians. The savages saw them coming; they ran around the hill and attacked the fort, knowing that the soldiers would have to return to the fort to protect it. They shot several bullets in the gate of the fort. I was the one that shut the gate, the men all being absent. But there were none injured. The Indians still continued to prowl around the banks of the Miami and in the immediate vicinity of the fort. Not long after the invasion of the fort, Major Riggs and T. Covalt crossed the Little Miami; Covalt in search of his horses and Riggs to hunt pawpaws. On their return home Covalt stopped to look for the horse tracks; Riggs stepped in the path before him; in a moment the report of rifles was heard and Riggs fell. Covalt wheeled and ran to the river, where he was met by the soldiers.

In the winter of the same year, the men had been grinding at the mill; one night they returned to the fort, and that night the Indians came to the mill and emptied the grain out of the sacks on to the floor. Then they took down some tobacco, that had been hung up to dry, and crushed some of it among them, when they took the rest and sat down to stem it, and wait the approach of the miller. But the miller was detained until late, and thus saved his life. S. Gerston was the miller. They did no other damage at this time, with the exception of killing one cow. About this time General Harmar called the soldiers of the different stations together to go to the river, St. Marie's, to assist in burying those who were left dead on the field of battle after St. Clair's defeat. I heard those say, who were in the battle, that the day before the battle there were 1,600 men, and of those but 900 returned to their homes. One of those who was there, said that on the morning of the battle, before daybreak, the Indians raised the war cry, which filled the soldiers' hearts with animation and courage. Their courage was soon tested. They fought like brave men, and fell in a glorious cause. When the word retreat was passed around, it caused their hearts to quake with fear; they ran in every direction amidst the shower of rifle balls. As one of the soldiers and his companion were ascending a hill, his companion was shot dead, and fell at his feet. He said that if he ran fast before, he ran faster afterwards. That was the last he saw of the Indians. Of all that left Covalt's Station but one returned. They left in great hopes of conquering the foe, but they never returned. The one that returned was Cheniah Covalt.

In the spring of '92 a company of men were hired by the government to treat with the Indians. They were William Smalley, and Truman, and his servant, I. Jerred, and one Flinn. William Smalley had been a prisoner with the Indians for eleven years. Before Smalley and his company got to the Indian towns, they were overtaken by two Indians, who said they would pilot them to their towns. When night came on the Indians said there were three white men, and but two Indians, that they must tie one of them; (the other two had got separated from the three; unthoughtedly they consented, and they tied the hands of the servant. Truman being overcome with fatigue, wrapped himself in a blanket, and went to sleep. The Indians now had the advantage of the white men. They killed Truman and his servant. Smalley ran to make his escape. The Indians called to him to come back; he said they would kill him; they said "No!" to come back. He came back and asked them what they killed the other men for. They said they wanted the money, and if they went to the towns they would get but little, and now they had it all. Smalley went with them to the towns. He expected to fall a victim to their savage cruelty, but to his great joy there he met with his old brother Indian, who sent him back to the station. Jarred and Flinn were never heard of after they left their comrades. In October the Indians invaded our neighborhood again, and took one young man whose name was Pelsler prisoner. The men were plowing in the field about two hundred yards from him when he was taken, but they were not attacked.

We lived quite peaceably through the winter and until the spring of '94. The inhabitants had begun to build their houses and improve their farms, and live like free men again; but this peace was of but short duration.

The first notice that we had of their approach, two of the men had been at Columbia and were on their return to the fort, when the Indians attacked them. One of them, Jennings, was wounded, but he arrived at the fort. The other one, whose name was Crist, went to the Round Bottom fort to apprise them of the approach of the Indians; being apprised so soon of the approach of the Indians, they did but little damage. This was their last invasion. Old General Wayne soon compelled them to bury the hatchet and retire in peace. Now the inhabitants began to disperse, and the woodman's axe was heard in every direction. The wilderness of Ohio became the home of some of Pennsylvania's bravest sons. Much has been said concerning the settling of Ohio: some have stated that half a century ago Cincinnati was a wilderness, but they have been wrongly informed. In 1791 there were twenty-five small cabins and the garrison; and then Covalt's Fort had been erected three years.

If this should at any time fall into the hands of friends of old pioneers, I

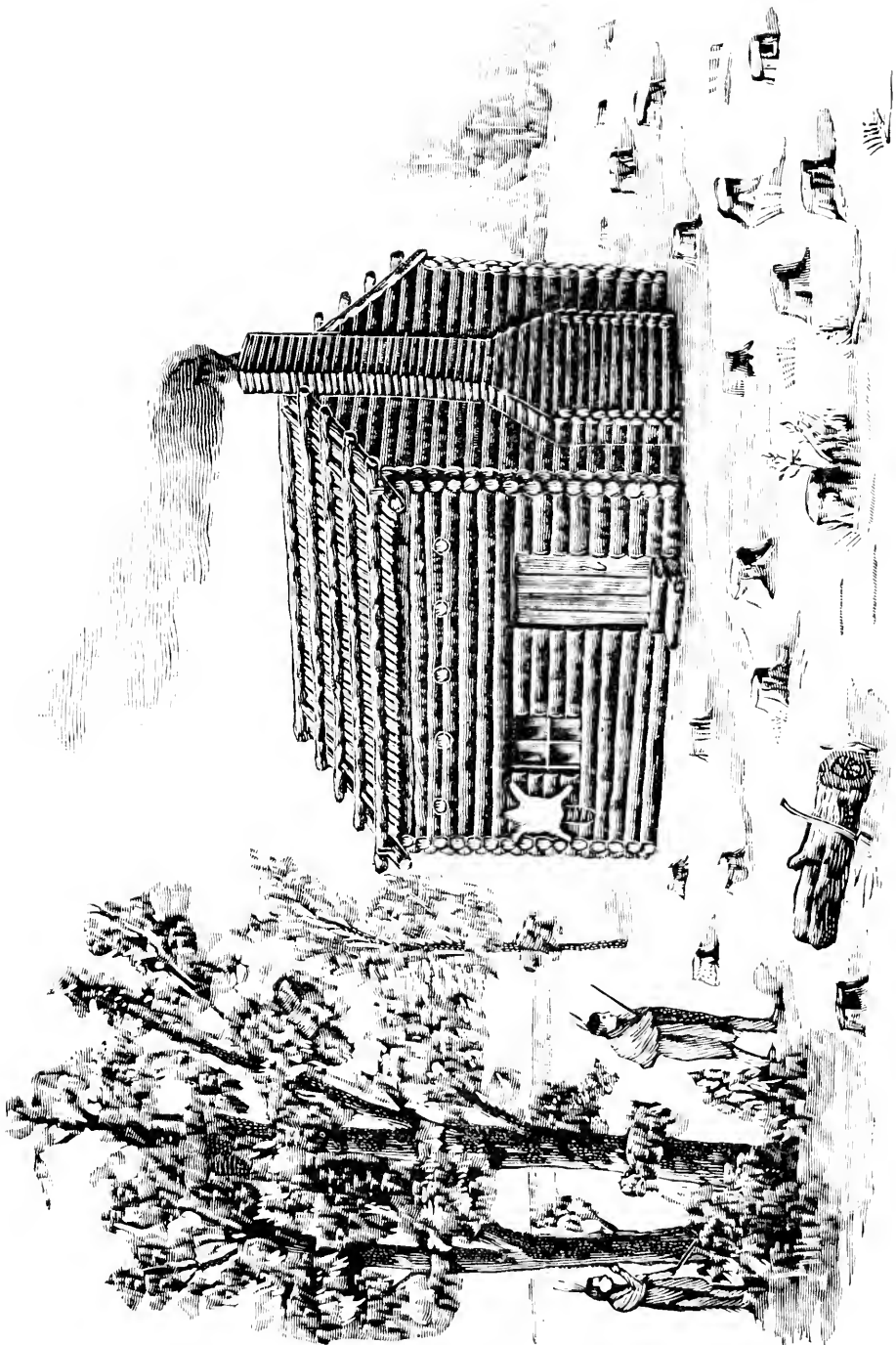
hope they will think of the many hairbreadth escapes and trials of their forefathers, and consider it an honor, to be known as their descendants.

The writer of this was Mary Covalt, the daughter of Captain Covalt. She was but fifteen years old when she left Pennsylvania. She was married in 1792, four years after she came to Ohio, to Joseph Jones, of Pennsylvania. She was married by the Reverend John Smith, he being the first Baptist preacher that was in the Territory. The next Baptist preacher was the Reverend Daniel Clark. Her parents had letters of dismission from the Muddy Creek Baptist Church of Pennsylvania. Captain and his lady did not attend the organization of the church at Columbia, there being no way of conveyance, and they had their horses stolen. Mrs. Jones was also a member of the Baptist Church. She was baptized at Harmer's Run, by the Reverend James Lyons. She has resided some twelve miles northwest of the old fort ever since her marriage until the time of her decease, which was some six years ago.

Such is the story of one of the mothers of the West. A lady whose excellence of character, piety, and intelligence is proverbial among the pioneers of Hamilton County. As has been stated, she differs in date from some others, especially as to the first settlement on the Little Miami—antedating Major Stites' arrival near *ten months*; but that there were settlements in Hamilton County prior to his landing at Columbia on November 18, 1788, we have the testimony of Reverend Thomas Hinde, a very intelligent and reliable pioneer, in a letter published in Cist's Cincinnati of 1854.

Reverend John Hindman says that a party consisting of William West, John Simons, John Seft, and Mr. Carlin, with their families, left Washington County, Pennsylvania, in March, 1785. They landed at Limestone (Maysville) where they laid by two weeks. "The next landing we made was at the mouth of the Big Miami; we were the first company to land at that place. Soon after we landed the Ohio River raised and covered all the bottoms at its mouth; therefore, we went over to the Kentucky side and cleared thirty acres of land. Sometime in May or June, 1785, we went up the Big Miami to make what we called improvements, so as to secure a portion of the land, which we selected out of the best and broadest bottoms between Hamilton and the mouth of the river. We proceeded up where Hamilton now is, and made improvements wherever we found bottoms finer than the rest, all the way down to the mouth of the Miami. I then went up the Ohio again to

Buffalo, but returned the same fall and found Generals Clark, Butler, and Parsons at the mouth of the Big Miami, as commissioners to treat with the Indians. Major Finney was there also. I was in company with Symmes when he was engaged in taking the meanders of the Miami River, at the time John Filson was killed by the Indians."



LOG CABIN PALACE OF THE WEST

CHAPTER XIII.

HOUSES, CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF THE PIONEERS—DIFFICULTY OF PROCURING PROVISIONS—CURRENCY.

THE dwellings of the pioneers of the West were cabins built of unhewn logs with the bark on. At each end of the logs a notch was cut on one side; the other side was hewn off so as to fit in the notch. Poles were pinned lengthwise on top for rafters, upon which the clapboards were laid, and held in place by weight poles extending from one end to the other; the lower one was held in place by wooden pins driven into the cross log at the top of the cabin; the others were laid at regular distances to the top and kept in place by blocks extending from one to the other at each end. The floors (if they had any) were of puncheon boards, split from logs and hewn with the broad axe, and laid upon the joists, which were also logs. The doors were also of puncheon boards. If the floors were fastened to the joists it was with wooden pins, as were also the doors fastened to the batton. Nails were scarce and too high to be obtained by all. The chimney was built of logs and sticks plastered with clay, and usually occupied the greater part of one end of the cabin. Windows were small, and most frequently covered with paper greased with bear's grease, as few could afford to buy glass even when it could be had. Doors were hung on wooden hinges and fastened with a wooden latch, which was raised by a string.

Their furniture was frequently, indeed generally, of the rudest kind. For tables a puncheon board with split sticks of wood, one at each corner for legs. Chairs, the old fashioned split bottom, and as substitutes stools and benches or blocks of wood were often used. Bowls and spoons were made of wood, and gourds answered the purpose of tin cups and dippers, and when cut off at the neck served as bottles. Their cooking utensils were few and simple—a Dutch oven, skillet and teakettle, and one or two pots of pot metal to hang over the fire on the old fashioned crane. Their buckets were made of wood with wooden hoops.

The clothes which they had brought from the East were replaced by those made of home-spun linsey-woolsey or tow-linen and the skins of wild

animals; 'coon and bear skins furnished the men with caps instead of hats, and moccasins took the place of shoes. Every house had its little spinning wheel and the big wheel on which was spun the flax, the tow and wool that were woven into cloths for garments on the old fashioned loom, by the mothers and daughters of that day. They spun their own yarn then, but it was different from the yarns we often hear spun in these more prosperous times. Their clothes were of a color exceedingly unpopular in Northern States more recently. Their dye stuff was the bark of butternut, and fortunate, indeed, were they who could procure dye stuffs of different colors wherewith to stripe their cloths.

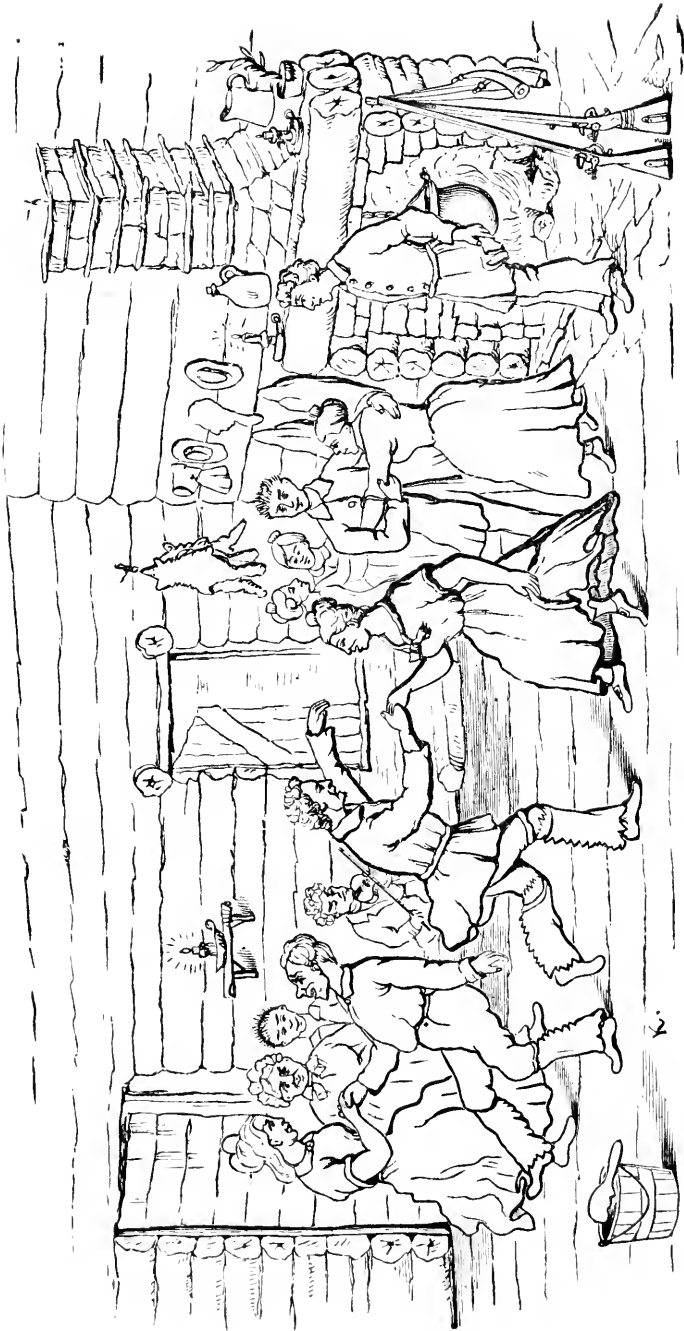
The sick were kindly nursed by the neighbors, and when death entered the cabin of a pioneer every one possible went to the funeral, and the corpse was not borne to the grave on elliptic springs, in a gilded hearse at a 2:40 gait, but reverently carried to the grave on a bier by the pioneers themselves.

All their deprivations and inconveniences were borne cheerfully, and there was as much and more real happiness in the rude cabins of the first settlers than can be found in many of the more pretentious and palatial residences of the present time. There was a mutual dependence upon one another, which all recognized, and a confidence between neighbors rarely found at the present time. They were ever ready to assist one another, and had their enjoyments as well as their hardships.

If a neighbor was sick or short-handed, and his crops needed harvesting, every one turned out with his sickle and rake to save it. If a cabin or barn was to be raised, an afternoon was appointed and all were invited to the frolic. So with corn huskings and quiltings and wood choppings; no one thought of asking pay for such assistance—it was gratuitously and cheerfully given. Plenty of "Old Monongahela" and a good supper was always on hand, and at night the young people gathered in for their share of the fun, the young ladies clad in their home-spun and coarse shoes, and the young men in hunting shirts and coonskin caps, buckskin breeches and moccasins, while a darkey perched on a barrel in the corner of the room tuned his violin and struck up an "Old Virginia Reel" that would set all to dancing on the loose puncheon floor. They

"Danced all night, till broad daylight,
And went home with the girls in the morning."

As the settlements were composed principally of old revolutionary



A LOG CABIN DANCE IN THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST.

soldiers, they never forgot to celebrate the Fourth of July, but regularly met, with their families, at some chosen spot on that day, and heard from some one of their number the Declaration of Independence read, and the story of the seven years' struggle recounted. On such occasions the feast was free—a time of jubilee for all—and, while the young men enjoyed themselves at games, wrestling, shooting at marks, or foot racing, the old heroes would talk their battles over again, while they sipped their whisky punches. The celebration closed frequently with a frolic or dance at night. At a later date they had "Independence Balls," as the following invitation shows:

INDEPENDENCE BALL.

The honor of Mrs. S——'s company is solicited at a Ball to be held at the Columbian Inn, on Friday evening next, at 7 o'clock, in commemoration of the Birthday of American Independence.

MANAGERS.

FRANCIS CARR,
P. A. SPRIGMAN,
N. LONGWORTH,

I. C. SCOTT,
T. C. BAKER,
W. IRWIN, JR.

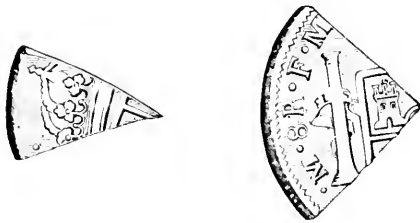
June, 30, 1812.

Moccasins were substituted for shoes. The men usually dressed in linsey-woolsey hunting shirts, buckskin breeches, moccasins, and 'coon or bear skin caps; the women in linsey-woolsey, home-made stockings, and coarse shoes; sun bonnets answered the purpose of head dresses. Shoemakers traveled from one settlement to another, with their kits on their backs, and schoolmasters boarded round from one family to another during the school session, which was usually in the winter only, as the children—both girls and boys—were needed in the fields to work during the summer.

Their supply of provisions soon gave out after landing, and as they began the settlement in the autumn, they could not raise crops until the next summer. Flour could only be obtained from a chance boat from the Upper Ohio or Monongahela, and the price was so exorbitant that few could afford to purchase it. They were, therefore, compelled to live on the wild game, which fortunately abounded in the forests around them; deer, wild turkey, and bears; and in Kentucky buffalo were plenty. Meal could be had from Lexington, and other settlements in Kentucky, but the only means of transportation was on pack-horses, and they were very scarce

in the settlement; or in canoe by the Licking River, and this was navigable only in high water during the spring and summer, and at all times dangerous. Three of the pioneers went in a canoe up the Licking to procure breadstuff. The Licking was high, and in passing a bend in the river, the canoe struck a tree, and the men were precipitated into the stream; one swam ashore, another caught on and climbed a tree, but Noah Badgely, one of the first settlers, attempted to make shore, and was drowned. The one on the tree remained two days before taken off. Such were the deprivations of the pioneers for two years after they landed. The women and children would go to Turkey Bottom, above Columbia, and dig up bear grass roots, boil and dry, and pound them into a substitute for flour for various baking purposes.

The money the pioneers brought with them was soon gone, and they



substituted the skins of animals. A rabbit skin was a five-penny bit (6¼ cents); a coon skin, an eleven-penny bit (12½ cents); a fox skin, twenty-five cents; a deer skin, fifty cents; and these peltries passed as currency, with which they bartered for dry goods, etc.

It was not an unusual thing to see the mothers and daughters of the west coming to town on horseback, with a bundle of peltries tied to their saddles, and a basket of eggs, or bucket of butter, to trade with John Bartel, the first merchant in the city, for store goods. His store was where the old Spencer House stands, at the corner of Front and Broadway. Pins and needles were used for smaller change by the merchants.

What would the young ladies, aye, even the older ones, of our country think of coming to Shillito's or Pogue's at the present day in the manner illustrated to do their shopping? And yet it was through such deprivations and hardships the sturdy pioneers built up our great west, and our beautiful city. All honor to their memories. The next currency intro-



STILLMAN-CO.

A PIONEER MOTHER GOING TO JOHN BARTLE'S STORE IN CINCINNATI TO DO HER SHOPPING.

duced after the 'coon skin was the sharp shin, and oblong. When the troops first arrived at Fort Washington they were paid in Spanish silver dollars; these the pioneers cut into four quarters, and finally into eighths for change, and they were called sharp shins. A smith cut the dollars for them, and to pay himself, he, after a while, cut them into five quarters, and kept one, and each passed for twenty-five cents for some time. But when merchants took them to Philadelphia to pay for goods, they were sent to the mint to be re coined, and the trick was discovered, as they were twenty per cent. short. The sharp shin was succeeded by the oblong. These were three dollar United States notes, made of that denomination to pay the soldiers, as their pay was three dollars a month.

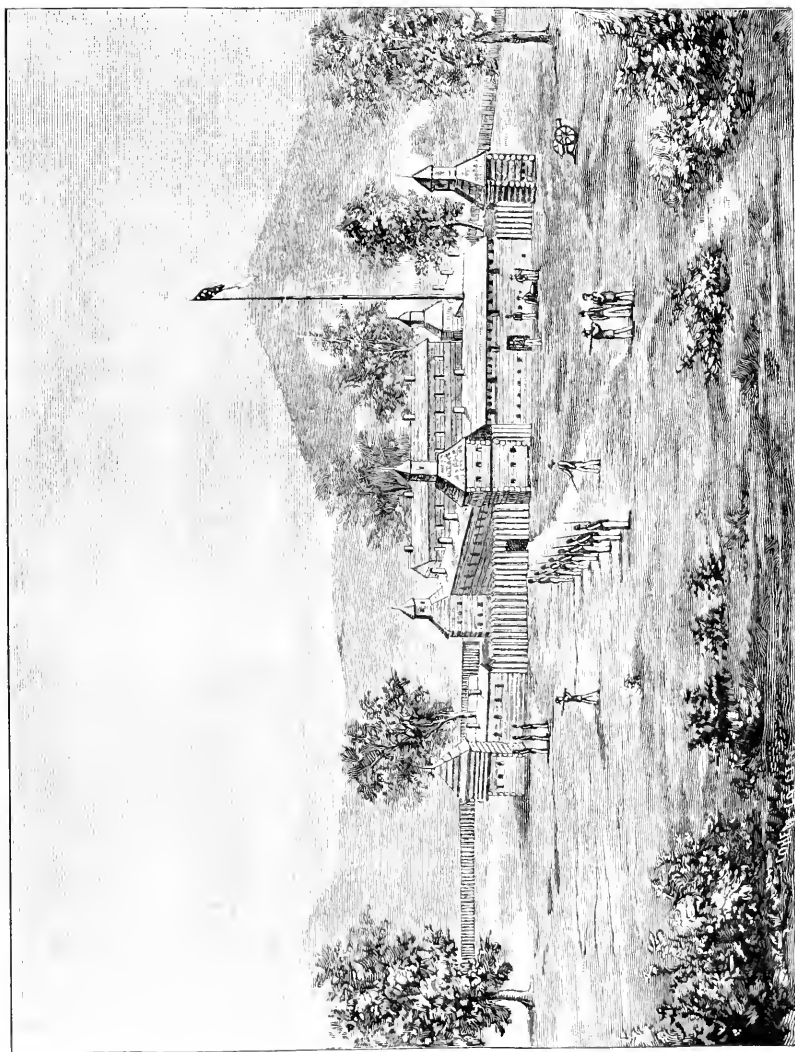
CHAPTER XIV.

MAJOR DOUGHTY ORDERED TO LOSANTIVILLE WITH TROOPS TO PROTECT SETTLERS AND ERECT FORTIFICATIONS—GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, GOVERNOR NORTHWEST TERRITORY, ARRIVES JANUARY 1, 1790—GREAT REJOICING ON HIS ARRIVAL—CONSTITUTES HAMILTON COUNTY—APPOINTS CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICERS—PROCEEDS TO VINCENNES.

IN the meantime, by the urgent representations of the settlers at Columbia, Losantiville and North Bend, concerning the dangers by which they were surrounded, the government directed Major Doughty to proceed to Losantiville with troops and erect fortifications, where he arrived about the 1st of June, 1789, in command of Captain Strong's, Pratt's, Kingsbury's and Kearsay's infantry and Captain Ford's artillery. On his arrival he immediately constructed four stockades on the bank of the river, between Broadway and Ludlow Streets, and began the construction of Fort Washington on Third Street, between Broadway and Ludlow Streets, on the 16th of August, on a Government reservation of fifteen acres, which he completed in the latter part of November, sending out in the meantime an increased number of troops to North Bend, Columbia and Covalt's. General Harmar arrived at Fort Washington with 320 men, composed of Captain Wyly's and Major Fountain's battalions of regular troops, on the 29th of December, 1789.

On the 1st day of January, 1790, General St. Clair, then Governor of the Northwest Territory, arrived amidst great rejoicings of the inhabitants. He came down on a flatboat and was met at the landing and escorted to Fort Washington by the military and citizens, whilst a salute of fourteen guns was fired by the artillery.

A story is related of General St. Clair to the effect that when he arrived near Losantiville, and standing on the roof of the boat looking at the town of cabins, he asked: "What in h—l is the name of this town anyhow?" And well might he ask, for there was no such word as Losantiville in any known language.



LIEUTENANT WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON DRILLING RECRUITS AT FORT WASHINGTON, 1792.
Fort erected 1789, on Third Street, between Broadway and Ludlow, Cincinnati, Ohio. Torn down, March 17, 1808.



On the 2d of January the citizens and military gave him a grand banquet, when he changed the name of the town to Cincinnati, in honor of the society of that name, composed of ex-officers of the Revolutionary Army, of which he was a conspicuous and prominent member. This society had been so called in honor of the Roman patriot Cincinnatus, who had left his plow to take up arms in defense of his country, and when that was accomplished laid aside his sword and returned to his farm again, and many of the soldiers of the Revolutionary Army had done the same. The society was organized to keep in remembrance the scenes of their struggle for independence, and to keep alive the friendships then formed, and to care for the widows and orphans of their deceased fellow-officers.

On the 2d of January, 1790, General St. Clair issued his proclamation, erecting the "County of Hamilton," in honor of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, the name having been suggested by Judge Symmes, describing its boundaries as follows:

"Beginning at the confluence of the Ohio and Little Miami Rivers, and down the said Ohio River to the mouth of the Big Miami, and up said Miami to the Standing Stone Forks, or branch of said river, and thence with a line to be drawn due east to the Little Miami River, and down said Little Miami River to the place of beginning."

On the same day Commissioners for the County Court of Common Pleas and General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, for said County, were granted by the Governor. William Goforth, William Wills and Wm. McMillan were appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Justices of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and quorum of said Court; and Benjamin Stites, John Stites Gano and Jacob Topping were commissioned Justices of the Peace. Israel Ludlow, Prothonotary to the Court of Common Pleas and Clerk of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace of the County. Israel Ludlow, James Flinn, John Stites Gano and Gurshom Gard were commissioned Captains, and Francis Kennedy, John Ferris, Luke Foster and Brice Virgin, Lieutenants; and Scott Traverse, Ephraim Kibby, Elijah Stites and John Dunlop were appointed Ensigns of the First Regiment of the Militia of Hamilton County. Francis Kennedy resigned, and Scott Traverse was appointed Lieutenant, and Robert Benham, Ensign in place of Scott Traverse, promoted to Lieutenant.

Having completed the organization of Hamilton County by the appoint-

ment of these civil and military officers, for the protection of the citizens, and making Cincinnati the county seat, Governor St. Clair left for Fort Vincennes to conciliate the savages, if possible, who were manifesting a very hostile spirit, and to organize the territory west of Hamilton County.

Here it may be proper to refer briefly to the causes which led to the hostilities of the Indians, and to give an account of the campaign of Harmar and St. Clair, more especially as Cincinnati became the headquarters where the military, for the protection of the northwest, rendezvoused, and from which they started on the several expeditions against the Indians.

The campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, are so intimately connected with the history of Cincinnati, that upon their issues not only the fate of the settlements between the two Miamis, but all others in the northwest, as well as in Kentucky, depended. Moreover, the greater part of the able-bodied male inhabitants of Cincinnati, Columbia, Covalt Station, and North Bend, were engaged in these several expeditions, and half of them were killed. The difficulties, those best acquainted with the Indian character apprehended would arise out of the second treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, Fort McIntosh in 1785, Fort Finney (Big Miami) in January, 1786, and at Fort Harmar in 1788, began to manifest themselves as soon as it was apparent permanent settlements were being established on the northwest of the Ohio.

The Indians claimed that at neither of these treaties were all the nations interested represented, and that at best they were only treaties of peace, and not for transfers of titles to their land, and if any such pretended transfers had been made, they were not binding on the nations not represented.

The Miamis, and other tribes, were particularly hostile to the conditions of these treaties, because, as they said, they had not been consulted, and were not bound to yield the lands north of the Ohio. They wanted the Ohio to be a perpetual boundary between the red and white man, and would not agree to sell a foot north of it. They declared that such was the feeling of their young men, that they could not be restrained from making war upon the "Long Knives," and again to renew the bloody attacks on the settlements and emigrants in Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky.

On entering upon the responsible duty of Governor of the Great North-west Territory, General St. Clair was authorized and required :

“ To examine carefully into the real temper of the Indians ;

“ To remove, if possible, all causes of controversy with them, so that peace and harmony might exist between them and the United States.

“ To regulate the trade with them.

“ To use his best efforts to extinguish the rights of the Indians to lands eastward to the Mississippi, and northward to the forty-first degree of latitude.

“ To ascertain, as far as possible, the names of the real head men and leading warriors of each tribe, and to attach these men to the United States.

“ To defeat all combinations between the tribes by conciliatory means.

“ To organize the territory next west of Hamilton County.”

To carry out the above instructions Governor St. Clair and Secretary Winthrop Sargent descended the river to (then) Clarksville, at the falls of the Ohio, on their way from Cincinnati to Vincennes. From there he sent a messenger to Major Hamtranck, commanding at Vincennes, with speeches to be forwarded to the Indians at the Wabash, who were all beginning to manifest considerable hostility towards the whites.

Shortly after he and Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Territory, proceeded on their way along the Indian trail to Vincennes, and whilst he was organizing the Territory, Major Hamtranck was engaged personally in the effort to conciliate the Wabash Indian tribe. He employed Antoine Gamilon, an intelligent French merchant of Vincennes, to carry messages of the Government to the Indians. He started on the fifth day of May, 1790, and visited all the Indian villages on the Wabash and as far east as Kekionggoy, the Miami village at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's Rivers (now Fort Wayne). The result of his expedition was not successful, and it was found that a severe chastisement was the only means of suppressing their murderous attacks upon the settlements.

CHAPTER XV.

HARMAR'S CAMPAIGN—GENERAL HARMAR WAS ORDERED TO TAKE COMMAND OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS

WHEN the Indians saw the whites intrenching themselves in forts and block houses, cabins being erected, the forests falling beneath the stroke of the woodman's axe, and the game, their principal means of support, fleeing as civilization advanced, their range circumscribed, and that they were cut off from their cherished and most favorite hunting grounds, such shrewd and far seeing minds as Cornstalk, Logan, Cornplanter, Little Turtle, Brant, and other great chiefs, could not fail to understand that every fort and block house, indeed, every cabin erected and occupied by the white man, and every patch that was cleared and cultivated, but too plainly pointed to the fact that if permitted to exist and multiply, would inevitably and speedily result in the ejection of the red man from his native land and hunting grounds, and that ere long he would be compelled to leave the scenes of his childhood and the graves of his fathers, a wanderer in a strange land, far toward the setting sun, or exterminated.

To the most casual observer it was evident that the two races could not live in harmony together whilst it was the policy of the one to clear and cultivate the land and introduce civilization; and the determination of the other to keep the country a wilderness, in its pristine state, and to maintain the customs and habits of savage life.

Man, civilized or untutored, instinctively loves the land in which he was born as the child loves the mother; and no race of men were ever more attached to their native lands and homes than the North American Indians, who left them only when overpowered.

It was this love of country—in civilized life called patriotism—so strong in the Indian heart, that made him dread the encroachments of the white man, and was the underlying cause of that determined and persistent hostility, which all the exertions and tact of the American Government

could not allay. To the red man it was a contest for life, home, country, and his own wild, unrestrained liberty.

“To them the deep recess of shady groves,
 Or forest where the deer securely roves,
 The fall of waters, and song of birds,
 And hills that echo to the distant herds,
 Are luxuries excelling all the glare
 The world can boast and her chief favorites share.”

A grand conference of all the western tribes had been held at Chilli-cothe in 1782, to determine what measures should be adopted to secure them in the possession of their lands. It was alleged at the time that the design was to unite all the warriors of the several tribes into one grand army, and thus united, to march upon the settlements west of the Alleghenies and utterly destroy all the white inhabitants, sparing neither age nor sex, leaving nothing to indicate that settlements had been made, save the ashes of pioneer cabins and the mutilated remains of their inhabitants.

That the important question to be considered at this conference was the annihilation of the whites in the West is a well established fact, but the plan adopted to accomplish the cruel purpose was different from what was then supposed, and it is extremely doubtful whether it ever was contemplated to unite their forces into one army. In the very nature of things it would have been impossible. Their precarious mode of living, depending principally upon hunting for subsistence, would have rendered it impossible to accumulate a sufficient amount of provisions to subsist such an organization through a protracted campaign, even if their improvident habits would have permitted it. Of these facts their chiefs were fully aware, and instead of uniting their tribes they divided into two great marauding parties; the one to strike Kentucky, the other the settlements in Western Pennsylvania and Western Virginia, with the tomahawk and scalping knife. It has already been shown how fearfully they carried out their designs, keeping the borders in a distressingly disturbed state up to the time settlements were made on the northwest side of the Ohio in 1788.

The government was just going into operation. Weak financially, but patriotically strong and hopeful, it found it necessary to protect its western territories. The appeals of the pioneers were irresistible, and for this purpose a detachment of 320 regular troops were enlisted in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia and placed under the command of General Josiah

Harmar, to proceed to the western frontiers to erect necessary fortifications.

General Harmar had been a Colonel in the Revolutionary Army, where he served with credit to himself and benefit to the cause of independence.

Overtures of peace had been exhausted, treaties were disregarded and the settlers were daily victims of the ruthless barbarities of the savages. It became evident that nothing but a severe chastisement would give peace to the frontiers.

A force of 1,133 drafted militia and volunteers from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky was also placed under his command in 1790.

The regulars consisted of two battalions, commanded respectively by Major Wyly's and Doughty, and a company of artillery, under Captain Furguson, with three brass field pieces of ordnance. Colonel Hardin was in command of the militia in which Colonel Trotter, of Kentucky, and Paul, of Pennsylvania, Majors Hall and McMullen held subordinate commands. The orders to General Harmar were to march on the Indian towns adjacent to the lakes and inflict such signal punishment as would in the future protect the infant settlements from the depredations from which they had so long suffered. The whole plan had been devised by Washington, and it is not easy to conceive why he should have selected such men as Harmar and St. Clair, who were destitute of the training necessary to become successful Indian fighters, whilst he could have found many soldiers in Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Virginia, such as Lewis, Clark, Boone and Logan, competent in every way, already distinguished in Indian warfare, ready and eager at any moment to enter upon such service. It is the more surprising, as by his own training and experience in Indian fighting, and knowledge of the West before the Revolutionary War, he learned much practically of the Indian character. St. Clair and Harmar, it is true, had been brave and efficient officers in the struggle for independence, but neither had that peculiar knowledge necessary to successfully conduct a campaign against the savages, which could only be gained by experience in dealing with the wily foes, they were soon to meet. The Western men desired to be led by men of their own selection, and were dissatisfied in being placed under the command of a regular officer. They had not forgotten Braddock's defeat.

General Harmar arrived in Cincinnati on the 29th of December, 1789, and took command of Fort Washington.

He had been stationed at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, waiting for the militia force and army supplies from the upper country, and the completion of Fort Washington, which Major Doughty, with 146 men from Fort Harmar, had been detached in June to construct.

From the period of his arrival at Fort Washington to September, 1790, he had been engaged in providing for the protection of the settlement in the Miami Purchase, and in making arrangements for the grand expedition towards the lakes, against the Indians, should it become necessary. On the 26th of that month Colonel Hardin started on the campaign with the militia, and was followed on the 30th by General Harmar with the regular forces. His orders of march and encampment will be found in the journal of Lieutenant Armstrong.

On the 14th Colonel Hardin was detached with one company of regulars and 600 militia, in advance of the main body, being charged with destruction of the towns in the forks of the Maumee. On the arrival of the advance troops, they found the towns abandoned by the Indians, and the principal one burned—the main body marching on the 14th ten miles, and on the 15th eight miles, in a northwest course; on the 16th the army made nine miles, and on the 17th it crossed the Maumee River to the village, and formed a junction with Hardin at the Omee (Miami) villages. The Indians had seven villages in the vicinity of the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers, which form the Maumee River.

The first was the Miami village, so called after the tribe of that name, sometimes called the Omee village, a contraction of Ou Miami, given by the French traders, who resided there in large numbers. It was situated in the fork of the St. Joseph and Maumee. 2d. A village of the Miamis, containing thirty houses, Kikioge, where Fort Wayne, Indiana, is now situated, in the forks of the St. Mary and Maumee. 3d. Chillicothe, a name signifying "town," a village of the Shawnees, below on the north bank of the Maumee, containing fifty-eight houses. Opposite this was another containing eighteen houses, of the same tribe. The Delawares had two villages, about three miles from its mouth, opposite each other; they contained forty-five houses, and another, on the east side of the St. Joseph, two or three miles from its mouth, of thirty-six houses.

The day of Harmar's junction with Hardin, two Indians were discovered by a scouting party, as they were crossing the prairie; the scouts pur-

sued them, shot one of them, the other escaping. A young man named Samuel Johnston, seeing the Indian was not dead, attempted to shoot him again, when the Indian partly raised his rifle, and shot Johnston through the body, inflicting a mortal wound.

The same night the Indians succeeded in driving through the lines between fifty and one hundred horses, and bore them off, to the no small mortification of the whites. The same day, October 17, the troops were employed in searching in the hazel thickets for hidden treasure. A large quantity of corn was found buried in the earth. On the evening of this day, Captain McClure, and a Mr. McClary, fell upon a stratagem, peculiar to backwoodsmen, to entrap the enemy. A horse was taken a short distance down the river undiscovered; they fettered him, and unstrapped the bell, concealing themselves within easy rifle range. An Indian, attracted by the tinkling of the bell, came cautiously up, and began to untie the horse, when McClure shot him. The report of the gun alarmed the camp, and many soldiers rushed out to the spot to see what it meant. A young Indian, taken prisoner at Loramie, was brought to see the Indian just killed, and pronounced him to be "Captain Punk," great man, Delaware chief. The army burned all the houses in the village, and destroyed about 20,000 bushels of corn, found hidden in various places; much of it burned. Considerable property belonging to the French traders was also destroyed in the general conflagration.

On the 18th of October the main body of the troops was moved to Chillicothe, the principal town of the Shawanees, General Harmar having previously detached a party of thirty regulars and one hundred and eighty militia in pursuit of the Indians, who had retired westward across the St. Joseph after they had destroyed Omee town, Captain John Armstrong commanding the regulars and Colonel Trotter, of the Kentucky militia, commanding the entire force. They failed to overtake the main body, cutting off only a few stragglers, and being signaled by the firing of a six-pounder, returned to camp late in the evening. The next morning the same force was ordered out under the command of Colonel Hardin. They pursued the same direction in search of their enemy, and finding himself in their neighborhood, he detached Captain Faulkner, of the Pennsylvania militia, to form on his left, which he did at such a distance that his company was of no assistance in the engagement which followed. Hardin's command

moved forward to what they discovered to be the encampment of the savages, which was flanked by a morass on either side, as well as by one in front, which was crossed with great promptness by the troops, now reduced to less than two hundred, who, before they had time to form, received a galling and unexpected fire from a large body of concealed savages. The militia immediately broke and fled, despite all the efforts of the officers to rally them, fifty-two of them being killed in a few minutes. The enemy pursued until Major Fountaine, who had been sent to hunt up Captain Faulkner and his company, returning with them, compelled the Indians to retire, and the survivors reached camp in safety. The regulars, under Armstrong, bore the brunt of this affair, one Sergeant and twenty-five privates being killed on the battle-ground out of thirty men. They were thrown into disorder by the militia breaking through their ranks and flinging away their arms without firing a shot, while they were endeavoring to maintain their position. The Indians killed nearly one hundred men.

The strength of the savages has been variously stated. Marshall, in his life of Washington, puts it at seven hundred, whilst Lieutenant Armstrong, a regular officer, and an active participant in the fight, who would not under the circumstances be liable to underestimate their forces, as twenty-five out of thirty of his men were killed, says it was about one hundred. The great strength of the Indians was in their well chosen position and in the panic of the militia, who formed numerically the principal force against them.

The terrible slaughter took place near where the Goshen road crosses Eel River, about twelve miles from the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana. Captain Armstrong broke through the pursuing Indians and plunged into the deepest of the morass referred to, where he remained, to his chin, all night, in the water, with his head hidden by a bunch of high swamp grass. In this position he was compelled to listen to the savage orgies of the Indians through the night over the dead bodies of the brave men.

As day approached the Indians retired to rest, and Armstrong, chilled to the last degree, extricated himself from the swamp, but found himself obliged to kindle a fire in a ravine, into which he crawled, having his tinder box, watch, and compass still on his person. By the aid of the fire he recovered his feelings and use of his limbs, and at last reached the camp in safety. For some years bayonets were found on the spot and bullets were

cut out of the trees in such quantities as to fully attest the desperate character of this engagement.

On the 21st the army left Chillicothe on its return to Fort Washington, marching eight miles that day, when the scouts, who had been scouring the country, came in and reported that the Indians had re-occupied the "Omee" village lying in the junction of St. Joseph and Maumee Rivers. Colonel Hardin, anxious to wipe out the stain of the defeat of the 19th, asked permission to once more attack the enemy, and Colonel Harmar, equally anxious to efface the stigma resting upon the American Army, detached Colonel Hardin with orders to surprise the savages and bring on an engagement. His force consisted of three hundred militia and sixty regulars, under command of Major Wylys. He arrived at the "Omee" town early on the morning of the 22d of October. He divided his force into two divisions; the left, under McMullen, was to form down the St. Mary River and cross at the ford and rest until daylight, and cross the St. Joseph and commence the attack on the Indians in front who had encamped out near the ruins of their town. The right division, under Hardin and Wylys, were to proceed to "Harmar's Ford" on the Maumee, where they were to remain until McMullen's party had reached the river, and commenced the attack, which was to be the signal for them to cross the Maumee and attack the Indians in the rear.

Owing to the ignorance, but more probably the treachery of the guides, McMullen's command lost its way in the thickets through which they had to pass, and, although traveling all night, they did not reach the ford until daylight.

As soon as the Indians, who had been encamped about the ruins of their town, discovered Hardin's men they began to rally for the fight, the alarm spreading and they rushing in. Colonel Hardin discovering that unless he crossed immediately he would be compelled to do it in the face of superior numbers, and expecting every moment to hear of McMullen's men in his rear, gave the order to cross, and by the time two-thirds of his men had passed over the battle began.

The engagement which ensued was extremely severe. The desperation of the savages surpassed anything previously known, except at Point Pleasant in 1774, and the greater part throwing down their arms, rushed on the bayonets, tomahawks in hand, thus rendering everything useless but the

rifles of the militia, carrying rapid destruction everywhere in the advance. While this carnage was going on the rifles of the remaining Indians were employed in picking off the officers. Major Wylys and Fountaine, both brave and valuable officers, fell directly after the battle began, the former pierced with eighteen balls. Fifty-one of sixty of Wylys' regulars shared his fate, and the other divisions suffered severely in both killed and wounded.

Major McMullen came up with his division whilst the battle was raging, but could not turn the tide, but succeeded in enabling the discomfited troops to retire in comparatively good order. Whatever may be said of the command of the militia in the affair of the 19th, they behaved with great gallantry in this battle and received the thanks of General Harmar in the following order, issued on the 22d at the camp, eight miles from the ruin of the Maumee town:

“The General is exceedingly pleased with the behavior of the militia in the action of this morning. They have laid very many of the enemy dead upon the spot. Although our loss is great, still it is inconsiderable in comparison to the slaughter among the savages. Every account agrees that upwards of one hundred warriors fell in the battle; it is not more than man for man, and we can afford them *two* for *one*. The resolution and firm determined conduct of the militia this morning has effectually retrieved their character in the opinion of the General. He knows they *can* and *will* fight.”

This was putting the best face on the disaster, and his incompetency for the position he held. With a force, within eight miles of the enemy, strong enough to annihilate them, to content himself with sending out detachments, to be successively destroyed, whilst three-fourths of his army remained inactive within hearing of the battle, not permitted to go to the rescue of their comrades, does not seem to be very conclusive evidence of a great military genius. As well might he have kept the rest of his army at Fort Washington.

He appears to have been fully consoled for the loss of his brave officers and men, who fell by the savage tomahawk and scalping knife, by the reflection expressed in his general order, that the Americans could afford to lose two for one of the enemy. There appeared no good reason why the whole force should not have been brought into action; and yet the “Court of Inquiry,” in 1791, justified all his acts and conduct of the campaign. But those who

participated in this campaign, and the country generally, viewed it in a different light. It has even been claimed, by some historians, that the American troops were not defeated, and, as a proof of this, their regular retreat, and the destruction of the towns and provisions of the enemy, are cited as conclusive evidence that they were not defeated; but when it is remembered that both the attacks of the 19th and 22d were repulsed by the Indians with terrible slaughter, and both detachments were compelled to fall back to the main body, leaving two-thirds of their number on the field of battle, slaughtered, where their bones lay bleaching for four years afterwards, until General Wayne had them gathered and buried, and that the savages followed close on the heels of the army to the immediate vicinity of Fort Washington, without another effort on the part of General Harmar to attack or drive them back, it may well be said that Harmar might have exclaimed:

“One more such victory, and I am undone!”

Generals who are victorious, are not apt to be superseded in command; yet Harmar was superseded, and relieved by General St. Clair, and, although he and Colonel Hardin demanded a “Court of Inquiry” into their conduct, by which they were justified, he left Fort Washington soon after his return to that post, and lived until 1803 in comparative obscurity, on the Schuylkill River, above Philadelphia, where he died.

Viewing his campaign dispassionately at this distant period, now almost a hundred years since it occurred, when the passions of those who might have been prejudiced against him in the regular army, or the efforts of partisans, who would endeavor to justify his conduct in the war, have passed away, and comparing it with the campaigns of Clark, Boone, and Kenton, it can not but be regarded as a most disastrous defeat; scarcely less so than that of Braddock.

The savages so considered it, as was evidenced by their continued predatory and murderous incursions into the settlements, which immediately followed. In justification of his retreat without giving battle to the enemy with his whole force, it has been said, he had no confidence in the militia, by reason of the enmity that existed between them and the regular troops. Yet he complimented them in no measured terms in his order of the 22d for their gallantry in the battle of that morning, and surely no troops ever fought more bravely in the face of almost certain destruction than this

same militia, and none were more justly entitled to the confidence of their commander.

General Harmar could not be accused of cowardice; he had proved his courage on many a bloody field during the Revolutionary War, and had the entire confidence of President Washington and General St. Clair. Still, to say the least of it, his management of the campaign was inexplicable.

The defeat of Harmar—for it was nothing else—alarmed the settlers, especially on the northwest of the Ohio, and a considerable number left Losantiville, Columbia, and North Bend, and settled in Kentucky, and many on their way by river to join settlements in Ohio passed on to the Kentucky River for settlements in that State. It was seen, therefore, that something more efficient must be done, else the settlements in Ohio would be abandoned. General St. Clair was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces to be raised. Great hopes were entertained that he would inflict such punishment upon the savages as would give perfect security to the pioneers and their families, but, as we shall see, it was a vain hope.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST CHURCHES ORGANIZED.

HARD and exposed as their lives appeared to be the early settlers did not forget or neglect their religious duties, nor that other handmaid of civilization, the education of their children.

Religious services were held and schools were taught in the block houses.

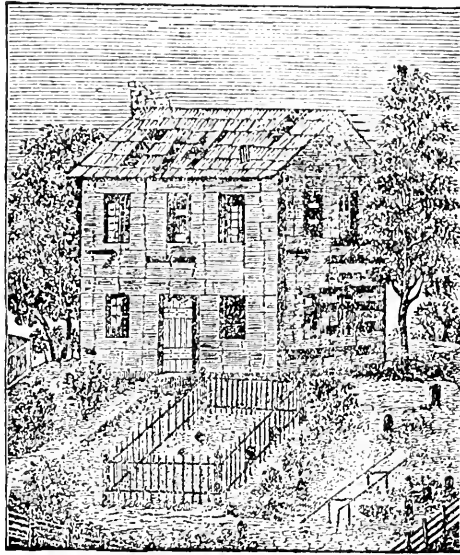
The Baptist Church at Columbia was the first organized in the county, on the 20th day of March, 1790, at the house of Benjamin Davis, and the first sermon preached by Rev. David Jones, in the block house built by Major Benjamin Stites. There were six Baptists in his party when he landed.

The names of those who were present were Benjamin Davis, Mary Davis, Isaac Ferris, J. Reynolds, Amy Reynolds, John Ferris, Thomas C. Wade, John S. Gano and Elizabeth Ferris.

Isaac Ferris was chosen Deacon and John S. Gano Clerk.

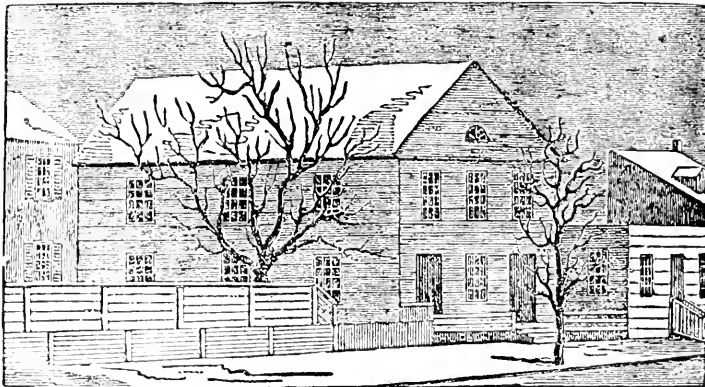
On the 20th of June three more were added to the Church by baptism—Elijah Stites, Rhoda Stites and Sarah Ferris.

They endeavored to prevail upon Rev. Stephen Gano to become their pastor, but he had not emigrated permanently to the West, and declined. Rev. John Smith was chosen pastor, but was compelled to return East to settle up his affairs, and while absent Rev. Daniel Clark, from Whately Church, Greene County, Pa., supplied this place while absent, and preached for them for about five years. In 1791 fifteen were added to the Church by letter and two by baptism. On the 11th day of February, 1792, it was resolved to build a meeting-house, and five trustees were appointed. Benjamin Stites gave a lot to the Baptists of Columbia Township upon which to build their meeting-house. It is the old burying ground at the upper end of Columbia, upon which the first house was built, and still belongs, according to the deed, to the Baptists of Columbia Township; but the old Church



FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH AT COLUMBIA.

The above cut has been generally accepted as representing the first house of worship in the County at Columbia; but O. M. Spencer, in his reminiscences, says this was the second; that the first house erected on the same spot was a rough log house, and that this represents the second built. (See Howe's History of Ohio). The late Zaddock Williams, of Mt. Lookout, has frequently told the author that the first was a log cabin where he attended church with his father's family.



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, FOURTH AND MAIN.

has long since been torn down, and the graves of the pioneers are all that remain to tell of the days long gone.

“A sacred band;
They take their sleep together, while the year
Comes with its early flowers to deck their graves,
And gathers them again as winter frowns.”

It is a burning shame, and an everlasting disgrace to their descendants, that they have not long since erected a monument over their graves, on this sacred spot. It is a stigma they should wipe out at once by erecting one on the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement, and unveil it on the 18th of November next.

When the old church was built those who attended were required to carry their rifles with them to protect themselves from the savages, and whilst services were being held in the church sentries were pacing their beats around it.

The next religious society was the First Presbyterian Church.

In laying out the town of Cincinnati the proprietors dedicated in-lots Nos. 100, 115, 139 and 140 to church and school purposes. The succeeding year Rev. David Rice, of Kentucky, organized a religious society of the Presbyterian faith and order, which proceeded to occupy the premises thus set apart, but found themselves at that day too feeble, even with such aid as they could obtain in the town, to build a church edifice; the only use, therefore, for some time made of the premises was that of a graveyard. Meetings for worship were held at a *horse mill*, on Vine street, below where Third street has since been opened, being then the foot of the hill, and, also, occasionally at private houses.

John Smith, of Columbia, then a Baptist preacher, better known since as one of the early Senators from Ohio in the United States Senate, and implicated in Aaron Burr's memorable project, occasionally preached to the society.

In 1791 a number of the inhabitants formed themselves into a company to escort the Rev. James Kemper from beyond the Kentucky River to Cincinnati. They accompanied him hither, and on his arrival a subscription was set on foot to build a meeting-house. Before this time the trees upon a portion of the lot at the corner of Fourth and Main streets had been partially cleared, and within a small circle, seated upon the logs, the people

met for worship, in the open air, with their rifles by their sides. In 1792 the meeting-house was erected, and the whole four lots were inclosed with a post and rail fence. The timber for the building was taken from the spot upon which it was erected. The subscription paper for the erection of the church is still in existence. It is dated January 16, 1792. It is headed as follows:

We, the subscribers, for the purpose of erecting a house of public worship in the village of Cincinnati, to the use of the Presbyterian denomination, do severally bind ourselves and executors firmly and by these presents the several sums of money and commutations in labor, respectively annexed to our names, to be paid to John Ludlow, Jacob Reeder, James Lyon, Moses Miller, John Thorpe, and William McMillan, or either of them, their heirs or administrators, trustees appointed for the business of superintending the building aforesaid, payments to be made as follows: One-third part of our several subscriptions to be paid so soon as the timbers requisite for the aforesaid building may be collected on the ground where the said house is to be built; another third when the said house is framed and raised; and the other third part when the aforesaid house may be under cover and weatherboarded.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, on the day affixed to our names.

Here follow the names of the subscribers, which are given that we may cherish the memory of the generous dead and furnish an example to the living.

John Ludlow,	Thomas Brown,	Elias Waldron,
Moses Miller,	John Darrah,	John Bartle,
John B. Smith,	Moses Jones,	William Miller,
Joel Williams,	Jacob Reeder,	Matthew Deary,
Jeremiah Ludlow,	John Thorpe,	Samuel Martin,
John Cutter,	David E. Wade,	Francis Kennedy,
Cornelius Miller,	Levi Woodward,	James Lyon,
Samuel Pierson,	James Dement,	William McMillan,
James Kemper,	Joseph Lloyd,	James Brady,
Wm. Miner,	Abram Bosten,	William Woodward,
S. Miller,	Daniel Bates,	Richard Benham,
William Harrison,	Isaac Bates,	Nehemiah Hunt,
Asa Peck,	James Miller,	Gabriel Cox,
Samuel Dick,	John Lyon,	Benj. Fitzgerald,
Matthias Brant,	Margaret Rusk,	John Adams,
David Logan,	Robert Hind,	Seth Cutter,
Alex. McCoy,	Joseph Shaw,	James McKane,

James Blackburn,	Samuel Williams,	Benj. Valentine,
James Wallace,	James Lowry,	Robert Benham,
Thomas Ellis,	Joseph Spencer,	Samuel Kitchell,
Benjamin Jennings,	James Cunningham,	Jabesh Wilson,
Reuben Roe,	Robert Caldwell,	David Long,
Thomas McGrath,	Dan'l Shoemaker,	David Hole,
Henry Taylor,	John Gaston,	Isaac Felty,
James Richards,	John Cummins,	Jona Davies,
H. Wilson,	James Burg,	John Blanchard,
Jonas Seaman,	M. McDonough,	W. Elwes,
Elliott & Williams,	William Peters,	John Dixon,
Thomas Gibson,	H. Marks,	Winthrop Sargent,
Thomas Cochran,	Samuel Gilman,	John Wade,
J. Mercer,	J. Gilbreath,	Joshua Shaylor,
James Reynolds,	James Wilkinson,	W. M. Mills,
James McKnight,	Mahlon Ford,	Ezekiel Sayre,
Daniel C. Cooper,	J. Mentzies,	Daniel Hole.
Israel Ludlow,	James Kremer,	
Richard Allison,	Matthew Winton,	

In 1792, as stated, the first church edifice was built. This was a plain frame, about thirty by forty, roofed and weatherboarded with clap boards, but neither lathed, plastered nor ceiled. The floor was of boat plank, laid loosely upon sleepers. The seats were formed by rolling in the necessary number of logs, which were placed at suitable distances, and covered with boards, whip-sawed for the purpose, at proper spaces for seats. There was a breastwork of unplanned cherry boards, which served for a pulpit, behind which the clergyman stood on a plank supported by blocks.

The congregation were required to attend with rifles, under penalty of a fine of seventy-five cents, which was actually inflicted on John S. Wallace, formerly auditor of this county, who had left his rifle at home through forgetfulness. Others also, doubtless, incurred fines on this account.

As a specimen of the manner in which the clergyman of that day were sustained is annexed an original receipt:

Received, February the 14th, 1794, of Mr. McMillan, Esq., the sum of three dollars, it being for Mr. Kemper's salary for the year '94, as an subscriber. Received by me, CORNELIUS VAN NUYS.

On the 11th of June, 1794, another subscription was circulated for the purpose of further finishing the Presbyterian meeting-house in Cincinnati, and also for paling the door yard and fencing in the burying ground, to be paid to the same persons named as trustees.

To this paper, in addition to those who had already subscribed to build the meeting-house, and who again contributed to its completion, we find the names of—

Ezra F. Freeman,	David Zeigler,	C. Avery,
Oliver Ormsby,	Job Gard,	Robert Mitchell,
Martin Baum,	G. Zeatman,	John Brown,
Joseph Prince,	Andrew Park,	John Riddle,
Patrick Dickey,	A. Hunt & Co.,	Peter Kemper.

When the property was dedicated by the proprietors they held the equitable title only; the government held the legal estate, but had contracted with John Cleves Symmes to convey to him a large tract of land, which included the plat of Cincinnati, the proprietors claimed under Symmes. In 1794 the President of the United States issued a patent to Symmes, who was thus invested with the legal estate; and afterward, on the 28th of December, 1797, conveyed the lots to Moses Miller, John Thorpe, John Ludlow, James Lyon, Wm. McMillan, David E. Wade and Jacob Reeder, trustees for the Presbyterian congregation of Cincinnati.

The church building was removed in 1864 to Vine, below Fifth Street, and became what was known for many years here as "Burke's Church."

It was substituted by a large brick building, which stood until a few years since, and was then replaced by a splendid edifice occupied by the First Presbyterian Society at this time.

HOSPITALITY OF PIONEERS.

Hospitality was one of the characteristics of the pioneers of the West; their houses and tables were free to all. If the good pioneer mother could set a table before her husband or guest with hot Indian corn bread and fried venison, buffalo, or bear meat, or roast wild turkey and a cup of milk, it was considered most bountifully supplied. The meal was baked into bread in various ways. There was the "Johnny Cake," baked on a board, generally about three feet long and one wide, upon which the corn dough was placed and the board set before the fire, leaning against a stone; or the *thick pone* or *corn dodger* baked in the "*Dutch Oven*," and frequently the *hoe cake*, baked on the *hoe* set before the fire like the "Johnny Cake" board; and the ash cake, the dough being placed between cabbage leaves and covered with hot ashes. Later they had "*bake-ovens*" built of *cat* and *clay*

on boards raised from the ground. In this the pies and wheat bread, if they had any flour, were baked.

Their laws were simple, plain, and efficient. There was no difficulty in enforcing them, as at present with the Sunday Law. The punishment consisted in tying the culprit to a post and inflicting a certain number of lashes on the bare back, or a coat of tar and feathers, being then driven through the streets and from the town. For the milder offenses against the morals of the public a ducking in the Ohio River or some pond, or being rode on a sharp rail through the streets; and when a case was decided upon, the laws were enforced stringently and efficiently. They had no police court juries to interfere with the execution of the laws.

“Monongahela whisky” has been mentioned several times, but it must not be inferred from this that the pioneers were addicted to an excessive use of it. It is true that it was to be found in almost every house, and when neighbors called, if the old decanter, often with a cob stopper, was not set out, together with a pitcher of cold spring or well water, and a bowl of maple sugar, it was considered a slight. In the harvest field it was considered a necessity to keep the heat from injuring the harvesters. In the winter the hunters carried it to keep the cold from being injurious.

On the rough mantlepiece it was not unusual to see a bottle of “tansy bitters” on one end, of which the whole family took a tablespoonful every morning to give them an appetite; on the other end was a bottle of “Rue bitters,” of which the children were given a spoonful at night to keep worms away.

Many kinds of bitters were made to be taken in sickness and always with “Old Monongahela.” The men took their dram in the morning as an antifogmatic to keep off chills, at noon as an appetizer, at night as a night-cap to make them sleep; and yet, while it was so universally used, a drunken man was rarely seen, and only at such places as the “little muster” of the militia on the first Monday in May, or the “big muster” on the third Monday in May, or at elections, were men seen drunk. Some few, however, would get tight whenever they could get sufficient quantities.

Old Jonas D. was a dear lover of “Old Monongahela,” and generally kept a good supply on hand, buying it by the barrel. On one occasion Jonas went into a store, where he usually dealt, and told the merchant that he wanted a barrel of whisky; it was at that time selling at sixteen dollars a

barrel. "What?" said the merchant. "Jonas, you certainly do not want another barrel of whisky for your own use; it is not three months since you bought the last one?"

"That's all right, Robert, it ain't three months, but what in the deuce is a *barrel of whisky* in a family where there *is no cow?*" But he was an exception. The whisky was rye and pure, and must be seven years old at least before it was considered fit to use. Seven-year old whisky was not made as it is at the present day—in twenty-four hours; no adulterating drugs were used. Sometimes they used burnt dried peaches to give it a flavor and good color, and they always charred the inside of the barrel.

At vendues the auctioneer would cry out the bids made on the article up for sale, and when near the time for knocking down—to induce another bid—would cry the bid and say a "dram to the next bidder," which not unfrequently got another bid.

When corn was to be husked it was gathered with the husks on and piled in a long rick and a rail placed across the pile as near the middle as possible. Two captains were chosen, and they chose alternately from the neighbors present (everybody in the vicinity went to the frolic), and the forces were martialed on both sides and the work begun, and the side that finished his end first was the victor and got the *bottle*, and he who husked the first red ear of corn was privileged to kiss the prettiest girl in the party. The young ladies attended these gatherings for the dance after the corn was husked and supper over.

Another occasion where it was an important article was when a couple was married; they did not take a trip East, but stayed at home, and the day after the wedding at the bride's house what was called an *in-fair* took place at the home of the groom, instead of a reception as now after an Eastern trip. They went generally on horseback, and when approaching the home of the groom several young men "run for the bottle," riding over hills, hollows and fences at breakneck speed, and the first to arrive at the home of the groom was handed the bottle and rode back in triumph, holding aloft his prize to treat the bride and groom.

CHAPTER XVII.

ST. CLAIR APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND—HIS UNFORTUNATE CAMPAIGN.

THE terrors and the annoyance of Indian hostilities still hung over the western settlement. The call was loud and general from the frontier for ample and efficient protection. Congress placed the means in the hands of the Executive. Major-General Arthur St. Clair was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces to be employed in the meditated expedition. The objects of it were to destroy the Indian settlements between the Miamis; to expel them from the country, and establish a chain of posts which should prevent their return during the war. This army was late in assembling in the vicinity of Fort Washington. They marched directly towards the chief establishments of the enemy, building and garrisoning in their way the two intermediate forts, Hamilton and Jefferson. After the detachments had been made for these garrisons the effective force that remained amounted to something less than two thousand men. To open a road for their march was a slow and tedious business. Small parties of Indians were often seen hovering about their march; and some unimportant skirmishes took place. As the army approached the enemy's country, sixty of the militia deserted in a body. To prevent the influence of such an example Major Hamtranck was detached with a regiment in pursuit of the deserters. The army, now consisting of one thousand four hundred men, continued its march. On the third day of November, 1792, it encamped fifteen miles south of the Miami village. Having been rejoined by Major Hamtranck, General St. Clair proposed to march immediately against them. Half an hour before sunrise the militia was attacked by the savages and fled in the utmost confusion. They burst through the formed lines of the regulars into the camp. Great efforts were made by the officers to restore order, but not with the desired success. The Indians pressed upon the heels of the flying militia and engaged General Butler with great intrepidity. The action became warm and general, and the fire of the assailants passing round both flanks of the first line, in a few minutes was poured with equal

fury in the rear. The artillerists in the center were mowed down; and the fire was more galling, as it was directed by an invisible enemy, crouching on the ground, or concealed behind trees. In this manner they advanced toward the very mouths of the cannon, and fought with the infuriated fierceness with which success always animates savages. Some of the soldiers exhibited military fearlessness, and fought with great bravery; others were timid, and disposed to fly. With a self-devotion, which the occasion required, the officers, generally, exposed themselves to the hottest of the contest, and fell in great numbers in desperate efforts to restore the battle. The commanding general, though he had been for some time enfeebled with severe disease, acted with personal bravery, and delivered his orders with judgment and self-possession. A charge was made upon the savages with the bayonet, and they were driven from their covert, with some loss, a distance of 400 yards; but as soon as the charge was suspended they returned to the attack. General Butler was mortally wounded, the left of the right wing broken, and the artillerists killed almost to a man. The guns were seized, and the camp penetrated by the enemy. A desperate charge was headed by Colonel Butler, although he was severely wounded, and the Indians were again driven from the camp, and the artillery recovered. Several charges were repeated, with partial success. The enemy only retreated, to return to the charge flushed with new ardor. The ranks of the troops were broken, and the men pressed together in crowds, and were shot down without resistance. A retreat was all that remained to save the remnant of the army. Colonel Darke was ordered to charge a body of savages that intercepted their retreat; Major Clark with his battalion was directed to cover the rear. These orders were carried into effect, and a most disorderly flight commenced. A pursuit was kept up four miles, when, fortunately for the surviving Americans, the natural greediness of the savage appetite for plunder called back the victorious Indians to the camp, to divide the spoils. The routed troops continued their flight to Fort Jefferson, throwing away their arms on the road. The wounded were left here, and the army retired upon Fort Washington.

In this fatal battle thirty-eight commissioned officers, and 593 non-commissioned officers and privates, twenty-one commissioned officers, many of whom afterwards died of their wounds, and 242 non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded.

The savage forces in this fatal engagement were led by a celebrated chief, Little Turtle, who had been trained to war under the British, during the Revolution. So superior was his knowledge of tactics that the Indian chiefs, though extremely jealous of him, yielded the entire command to him, and he arranged and fought the battle with great combination of military skill. Their forces amounted to four thousand, and they stated the Ameri-



THAYANDANECA (Brant).

cans killed at six hundred and twenty, and their own at sixty-five, but it was undoubtedly much greater. They took seven pieces of cannon, two hundred oxen, and many horses. The chief at the close of the battle bade the Indians forbear the pursuit of the Americans, as he said they had killed enough

General Scott, with one thousand mounted volunteers from Kentucky, soon after marched against a party of the victors, at St. Clair's fatal field. He found the Indians rioting in their plunder, riding the oxen in the glee of triumph, and acting as if the whole body was intoxicated. General Scott immediately attacked them. The contest was short but decisive. The Indians had two hundred killed on the spot. The cannon and military stores remaining were retaken, and the savages completely routed. The loss of the Kentuckians was inconsiderable.

The reputation of the Government was now committed to the fortunes



MISHEKENOGHUA (Little Turtle).

of war. Three additional regiments were directed to be raised. On the motion in Congress for raising these regiments, there was an animated and even a bitter debate. It was urged on one hand that the expense of such a force would involve the necessity of severe taxation; that too much power was thrown into the hands of the President; that the war had been badly managed and ought to have been entrusted to the militia of the West, under their own officers; and with more force they urged that no success could be of any avail so long as the British held those posts within our acknowledged limits, from which the savages were supplied with protection, shelter, arms,

advice and instigation to the war. On the other hand the justice of the cause as a war of defense and not of conquest was unquestionable. It was proved that between 1783 and 1790 no less than fifteen hundred people of Kentucky had been massacred by the savages or dragged into a horrid captivity, and that the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia had suffered a loss not much less. It was proved that every effort had been made to pacify the savages without effect. They showed that in 1790, when a treaty was proposed to the savages at the Miami, they refused to treat, and then asked thirty days for deliberation. It was granted. In the interim, they stated that not less than one hundred and twenty persons had been killed and captured, and several prisoners roasted alive; at the end of which, however, they refused any answer at all to the proposition to treat. Various other remarks were made in defense of the bill. It tried the strength of parties in Congress, and was finally carried.

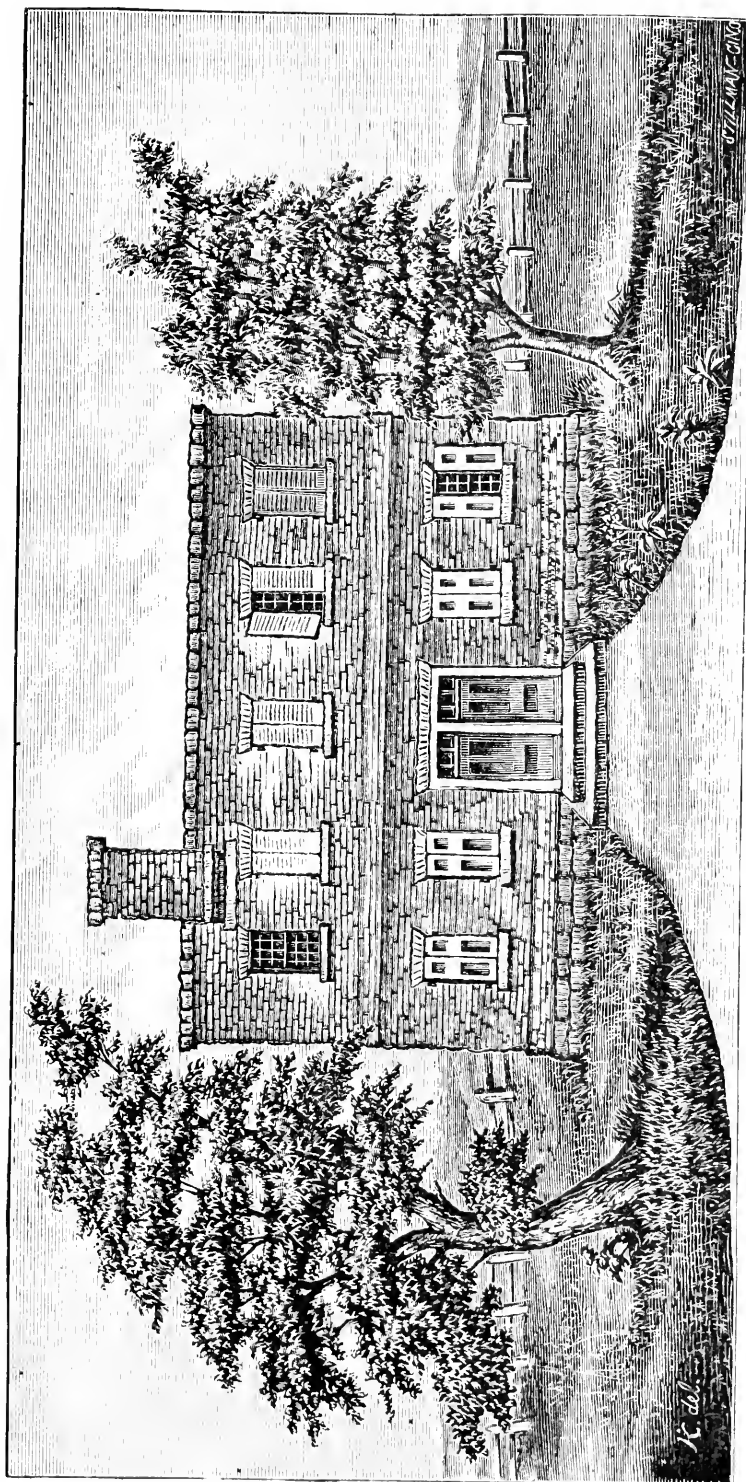
General St. Clair resigned, and Major Anthony Wayne was appointed to succeed him. This officer commanded the confidence of the Western people, who confided in that reckless bravery which long before procured him the appellation of "Mad Anthony." There was a powerful party who still affected to consider this war unnecessary, and every impediment was placed in the way of its success which that party could devise. To prove to them that the Government was still disposed to peace, two excellent officers and valuable men, Colonel Hardin and Major Truman, were severally dispatched with propositions of peace. They were both murdered by the savages. These unsuccessful attempts at negotiation, and the difficulties and delays naturally incident to the preparation of such a force, together with the attempts that had been made in Congress to render the war unpopular, had worn away so much time that the season for operations for the year had almost elapsed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EFFECT OF ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT—ST. CLAIR REFUSED A COURT OF INQUIRY, AND COMPELLED TO RESIGN—WAYNE APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND.

THE defeat of St. Clair was the most terrible reverse the American arms ever suffered from the Indians. Even the defeat of Braddock was less disastrous. Braddock's army consisted of 1,200 men and eighty-six officers, of whom 714 men and sixty-three officers were killed or wounded. But the comparative losses of the two engagements represent very inadequately the crushing effect of the defeat of St. Clair. An unprotected frontier of a thousand miles, from the Allegheny to the Mississippi, was at once thrown open to the attack of the infuriated and victorious savages. The peace enjoyed for the several preceding years had wrought a great change in the western settlements. The Indian hunters of the Revolutionary War had laid aside their arms and habits, and devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil; the block houses and forts, around which the first settlers had gathered, were abandoned, and cabins, clearings, and hamlets were scattered in exposed situations all along the border. Everywhere the settlers, unprotected and unprepared, were expecting in terror the approach of the savages, and everywhere abandoning their homes, or awaiting in helpless despair the burnings, massacres, and cruelties of Indian war. The extent of the consternation that pervaded the border may be inferred from the tone of the memorials of the people of the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the governors of those States.

“In consequence,” says a committee of the citizens of Pittsburgh, “of the late intelligences of the fate of the campaign to the westward, the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburgh have convened, and appointed us a committee for the purpose of addressing your Excellency. The late disaster of the army must greatly affect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but that the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers, than they ever did before, for success will give confidence, and secure allies.”



ST. CLAIR MANSION, CORNER MAIN AND EIGHTH STREETS.



“The alarming intelligence lately received,” says the people of Western Virginia, “of the defeat of the army in the western country, fills our minds with dreadful fears and apprehensions concerning the safety of our fellow-citizens in the country we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse to your Excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties, for the request we are now compelled to make. In the course of last year upwards of fifty of our people were killed, and a great part of our country plundered, notwithstanding the aid afforded by the Pennsylvanians, who joined the Virginians for our defense.

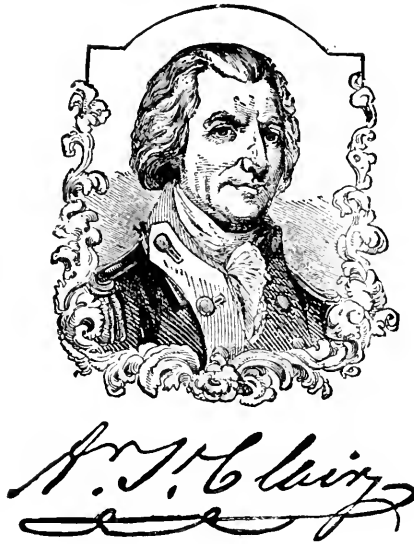


GENERAL WAYNE.

The success of the Indians in their late engagement with General St. Clair, will, no doubt, render them more daring and bold in their future incursions and attacks upon our defenseless inhabitants—those adjoining the county of Harrison, extending a hundred miles, covering the county of Monongalia—and we conceive that not less than sixty or seventy men will be sufficient to defend them. Through you, sir, we beg leave to request their assistance.”

The popular clamor against St. Clair was loud and deep. In military affairs the blame is most always attached to misfortune; for the greater number of those who judge have no rule to guide them but the event. Misconduct is ever inferred from the want of success, and the greatest share

of blame always falls upon the principal officer. Thus it was in the case of St. Clair. He had suffered a great reverse, and was, therefore, accused by the public voice of great incompetency. Aware of the public odium under which he laid, he asked from the President the appointment of a Court of Inquiry, to investigate his conduct. But the request was denied, because there were not officers enough in the service, of the proper rank, to constitute such a court. He then offered to resign his commission on condition that his conduct should be investigated; but the exigencies of service would not admit of delay, and his request was again refused, and the Presi-



dent informed him that neither request could be granted, nor could he be permitted to remain as commander of the western army.

The true causes of the disaster have been made the subject of much controversy. The Secretary of War, in his report on the state of the frontiers, affirms that the principal causes of the failure of the expedition were the deficiency of good troops according to the expectation in the earlier part of the year, the want of sufficient discipline according to the nature of the service and the lateness of the season.

The want of discipline and experience in the troops doubtless contributed to, but did not occasion the disaster; of their bravery there can be no doubt.

The battle began at six o'clock and lasted till about half-past nine, and the troops, though exposed to a destructive fire from a foe so placed that they could not efficiently return it, nevertheless behaved with all the resolution and coolness it was possible for them to exhibit under the circumstances of the case. They were not overwhelmed, as St. Clair supposed, by superior numbers. The army consisted of more than fourteen hundred men; the Indians, according to the best accounts, did not exceed a thousand. They, however, fought with desperate valor, and at a great disadvantage from the nature of the ground and from the facilities the forest afforded for their favorite mode of attack. They were led, too, by the greatest chieftain of that age. It has been the received opinion that the leader of the confederated tribes on that fatal day was Little Turtle, the chief of the Miamies; but from the family of that celebrated warrior and statesman, it is ascertained that Joseph Brant, with one hundred and fifty Mohawk braves, was present and commanded the warriors of the wilderness.

The true reasons then of the disaster of the day were, doubtless, the surprise of the army and the consequent confusion and flight of the militia who were first attacked. Had the attack been expected, the troops prepared, all chance of confusion avoided, and had the officers who commanded been obeyed, with all the disadvantages of raw troops, the event might have been, probably would have been, wholly different. The militia, as St. Clair says, were a quarter of a mile in advance of the main army, and beyond the creek; still further in advance was Captain Slough, who, with a volunteer party of regulars, went out to reconnoitre; and orders had been given Colonel Oldham, who commanded the militia, to have the woods thoroughly examined by the scouts and patrols, as Indians were known to be hanging about the outskirts of the army. In all this St. Clair seems to have done his entire duty, as far as sickness would permit him; could he have attended in person to the details of the command it would have been better. As St. Clair had resigned his position it became a very difficult question for the President to select a person suitable in all respects to take charge. General Morgan, General Wayne, General Scott of Kentucky, Colonel Darke and General Henry Lee were all thought of. Of them General Wayne was chosen, although his appointment caused, as General Lee, then Governor of Virginia, wrote Washington, "extreme disgust" among all orders in the Old Dominion. But the President had selected Wayne not hastily nor through

“partiality or influence,” and no idle words affected him. In turn General Wayne moved westward to Pittsburg, and proceeded to organize the army destined to be the ultimate argument of the Americans with the Indian confederations. Through the summer of 1792, the preparation of the soldiers was steadily attended to. “Train and discipline them for the service they are meant for,” said Washington, “and do not spare powder and lead so the men be made marksmen.”

In December the forces now recruited and trained were gathered at a point about twenty miles below Pittsburg, on the Ohio River, called Legionville; the army itself having been denominated the legion of the United States, divided into four sub-legions, and provided with legionary and sub-legionary officers. Meantime, at Fort Washington (Cincinnati) Wilkinson had succeeded St. Clair as commandant, and in January had ordered an expedition to examine the field of the late disastrous conflict. This body reached the point designated on February 1, 1792, and in a letter of Captain Buntin to St. Clair appears the following passage:

“In my opinion,” says Captain Buntin, “those unfortunate men who fell in the enemy’s hands with life were used with the greatest torture, having their limbs torn off; and the women have been treated with the most indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person’s arm driven through their bodies. The first I observed when burying the dead, and the latter was discovered by Colonel Sargent and Dr. Brown. We found three whole gun carriages. The other five were so much damaged that they were rendered useless. By the General’s orders pits were dug in different places and all the dead bodies that were exposed to view or could be conveniently found, the snow being very deep, were buried.”

Five independent embassies asking peace were sent to the inimical tribes, and every possible effort made to show them that the United States wished to do full justice to the red man; but the victories they had gained over Harmar and St. Clair, and the intrigues of the British agents, closed their ears to all propositions of peace, and all were rejected in one form or another. Freeman, who left Fort Washington on the 7th of April; Truman, who left it May 22d for the Maumee, and Colonel Hardin, who, on the same day, started for Sandusky, although bearing flags of truce, were all murdered, and General Putnam who left Marietta on the 26th of June, and was at Fort Washington on the 2d of July, and from there proceeded to Fort Knox and

Vincennes, met such of the Wabash chiefs as could be got together. He left Fort Washington on the 17th of August, and on the 27th of September he met thirty-one chiefs, representing the Weas, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, Peorias, Illinois, Pattowattamies, Musquitoes, Kickapoos and Eel River Indians, and concluded a treaty of peace and friendship.

Putnam was the only one who reached his destination and returned alive.

CHAPTER XIX.

ATTACK ON DUNLAP'S STATION.

WE give the personal narrative of Wiseman, as a matter of preference, in his own words, from Cist's Cincinnati, 1859:

I was born February 10, 1770, in St. Mary's County, Maryland, and on the Chesapeake Bay, where I resided for some years of my minority. In 1786 I left in company with my elder brother, Robert, to reside in Hagerstown. In the fall of 1790, I enlisted in the United States service, in Captain Alexander Truman's company, who afterward lost his life while bearing a flag of truce to the Indians. I had been at the residence of Dr. Jacob Schnebly, and found Captain Truman enlisting soldiers to go to the West. I had long contemplated a visit to that land of promise, and thought I could never see it under more favorable circumstances than presented themselves at this time. I accosted the Captain, therefore, and inquired of him if he did not want another soldier? He replied that it was out of his power to take me, for he had neither arms, ammunition nor clothing for another recruit. I was about withdrawing when he called me back and told me that he had a great mind to take me anyhow in my citizens' clothes, and that I should be supplied with rations from his own table. He promised, also, that if I would behave myself as I ought, he would be a father to me. I agreed to this arrangement and started with the rest, reaching Cincinnati in December, 1790. We reported ourselves at Fort Washington on our arrival to General Harmar, who commanded that post. As one of the youngest men in the army, I was soon put on active duty. The settlers at Dunlap Station, on the Great Miami, had complained to General Harmar of Indian depredations, and even massacre, and asked a detachment for their protection, being in momentary expectation of an attack from the savages. David Gibson, one of the settlers, had been taken prisoner, and Thomas Larrison and William Crum chased at the peril of their lives into the fort or station, and the inhabitants hardly dared venture out after their cows, as they strayed off into the woods. Accordingly, General Harmar dispatched Lieutenant Kingsbury with a party of thirteen soldiers, of which I was one, acting as orderly sergeant. A larger body was detached as an escort to see us safe to the station. We all marched on foot and reached our post without accident or adventure. Our escort returned without loss of time to Fort Washington.

The settlement had been made, originally, by John Dunlap, who called it Colerain, after the town in Ireland from which he came. He laid it out as a town into lots, but at the time I refer to had left the place. It appeared afterward that he had no title to the land, and eventually the settlers lost what they had bought. The settlement or station was, however, known by his name, although Colerain subsequently became, as it still remains, the name of the township in which the ground lies. The fort or station consisted of a few cabins, lying in a square of perhaps an acre or more. These had been built for convenience sake facing each other, and with the roofs, of course, sloping outward; the very reverse of what they should have been for efficient defense. The outer edges of these were so low that it was not uncommon for the dogs, which had been shut out, to spring from adjacent stumps on to the roof, and thence sideways into the enclosure. At the corners of the square block houses had been constructed, and pickets, very weak and insufficient for defense against a resolute and active enemy, filled up the intervening spaces, inclosing the whole. There were but eight or ten persons, besides the regulars, capable of bearing arms, and the entire number of the fort, exclusive of the soldiers, did not exceed thirty souls.

We reached our destination in the latter part of January, 1791. One of the first services at the station we were called on to perform was to chop down the trees immediately adjacent, which had been recently girdled, and which Lieutenant Kingsbury judged would afford advantage to an enemy in his approach. The underbrush had already been cleared out and burnt. These trees were cut down, chopped up, and intended to be rolled or carried into heaps and burned, so that we should have ample and open space to watch as well as oppose any attack that might be made. But the Indians did not give us the necessary time to carry our purpose into effect. This was our employment up to the beginning of February.

On Saturday evening, the 5th of that month, one Sloan, who, with his party, had been surveying the neighborhood, was attacked by what he called "a scattering party of Indians," who killed one of his men, took another one prisoner, and wounded Sloan himself, who, with the remaining member of his party, sought to make his way to Fort Washington. But, wearied and faint with the loss of blood, and his wounds beginning to bleed afresh, he concluded to seek the nearer shelter to be afforded by our small stockade. We had no reason to apprehend the attack that was meditated upon it, and so secure was our little garrison that on the next—Sunday—morning, Lieutenant Kingsbury sent out four or five of our number to bury the dead man. In this feeling of perfect security, and with true soldierly hospitality, Kingsbury had yielded the narrow accommodations of his own quarters to Sloan, and having none for himself passed the night in lively and jocose conversation with us in our quarters. About day-dawn on Monday he

went out for a moment, and we immediately heard him clapping his hands and crying "Indians! Indians!"

We imagined this to be merely a ruse of our commander to put us on the proof, since we supposed that the sentinel himself should have given the alarm. Nevertheless, we sprang instantly to arms, without waiting, some of us, to put on our attire. For myself, I went out with nothing on but my shirt, and ran into the mill-house, a small building, in line with and not far from the block house. This had no chinking or daubing. This notion of mine was prompted by curiosity entirely, for never having hitherto seen an Indian, I was most anxious to look upon the red man. To my unaccustomed vision the whole face of the earth appeared, at first, to be covered with them, and their peculiar head-gearing of feathers and pigment, and the horrid jingling of the deer hoofs and horns tied around their knees, presented a spectacle of great interest, so much as to make me forget, for the moment, that they were enemies and had invested us with a hostile intent. I perceived that they had surrounded our small fortress entirely on the land side, their flanks resting on the banks of the stream, on either side of us. Resting on my musket, I took a lengthened gaze at them, not for a moment thinking of firing at them. I had been here but a few minutes before one of the men, McVickar, came also into the mill-house. The Indians perceiving him, fired at and wounded him in the arm. Until that moment, I suppose, I had remained unseen by them; but now I began to receive some of their attention. A musket ball, which came through the interstices of the logs, whistling over my head, striking and upsetting a bowl of corn from a shelf above me, made me think it not expedient to remain longer there, even to satiate my curiosity. I made my way back to the block house and put on the remainder of my clothes. As soon as this was done, each man was disposed by the commander to the best advantage. My station was at the corner of one the pickets, near the southeast corner of the block house, at a port-hole, where, for all that day and the ensuing night, without being once relieved, I was to watch our enemy and do him all the harm in my power. By the time I had taken my position, the Indians mostly had made the shelter of the logs we had left lying for them, and now commenced a parley. Abner Hunt, the member of Sloan's party, who had been taken prisoner on Saturday, with his arms pinioned behind him, was placed on a log three or four rods from the pickets, while Simon Girty, who held the cord by which he was bound, lay sheltered behind the log. Kingsbury was mounted on a stump, and leaned on or over the pickets, not more than ten feet from the port-hole where I was stationed, and I was thus cognizant of all that passed between them. It is not necessary to detail all this. Enough, that no promise of quarter could be drawn from the assailing party, at least nothing definite, and therefore nothing could for a

moment suggest to the commander, or a single individual of the besieged, the idea of surrender. It was indicated in the course of the parley that Simon Girty was in command, that his brother George was also present, along with Blue Jacket and some other chiefs; that they had present some five hundred Indians, and that some three hundred more were in the neighborhood, and that scouts were out and guarding all the way between us and Fort Washington, cutting off all hope of communication or relief from that quarter. The parley continued, I suppose, for two hours, at least. Each man of our little garrison had been ordered to fire when he could take aim, and in execution of this order, every Indian who, during the parley, incautiously left the shelter he had taken, was made to repent it. I know that during the period I discharged my musket five or six times, and I recollect that we were cautioned not to waste ammunition, inasmuch as we had only twenty-four rounds per man in the fort. Girty complained of this mode of holding a treaty, when Kingsbury, with a big oath, and in a loud voice, swore he would punish the first man that fired a gun, but immediately added to us in a tall whisper, "Kill the rascals, if you can!" At the conclusion he told Girty that if they were five hundred devils, he would never surrender to them, and jumped down from his position. A tremendous volley of musketry from our foe immediately involved us all in smoke. This sport continued till late in the afternoon, when they informed us, by Hunt, that they were only drawing off for a while for refreshment, but that by the time the moon went down, they would return and put every one to the tomahawk. We continued at our posts awaiting the event. The only refreshment we had during the whole time of the siege was a few handfuls of parched corn, which the girls, Sarah Hahn and her sister, Salome Hahn, Rebecca Crum, and another, by name Birket, brought round to us from time to time. We had not even a drop of water, none being in the fort, and access to the river being deemed hazardous in the presence of so numerous a foe. The moon went down about half an hour to an hour after sunset, and our assailants were as good as their word, at least in returning to the onset. They gave us several rounds of musketry; then setting fire to the brushwood we had so carefully provided, they possessed themselves of firebrands, which, to the number, I suppose, of more than five hundred, they projected, by means of their bows, into our stockade and upon the roofs of our buildings, intending to set them on fire. This mode of attack continued to be used until midnight without success, when they drew off to a short distance to execute upon their prisoner, Hunt, the vengeance that at parley they had denounced against him in the event of our failing to surrender. The scene of this horrid cruelty was between the fort and the artificial embankment, still to be seen, but which was then covered by the primeval forest trees. Here they stripped him naked, pinioning his out-

stretched hands and feet to the earth, kindling a fire on his naked abdomen, and thus, in lingering tortures, they allowed him to die. His screams of agony were ringing in our ears during the remainder of the night, becoming gradually weaker and weaker till toward daylight, when they ceased.

At about daylight the Indians returned to the fort and renewed their volleys of musketry. A little after sunrise there was afforded to us the only relief we had hitherto experienced. It was merely a change of our stations. Those who, up to this time, were in the open air were allowed to change places with those in the block houses, to resume our watchful vigilance at port-holes under its shelter, and near the remains of a decaying fire, which served to warm somewhat our chilled limbs. Into this block house, the largest building within the stockade, were gathered besides all the non-combatants of the garrison, numbering women and children, in all perhaps twenty-five or thirty. Taking my station at my port-hole here, I soon discovered an Indian standing sheltered by a small tree, who, at nearly the same time, saw that I had discovered and was watching him. He made use of various artifices, hoping to draw my fire and escape, but I was wary and attentive to him and determined not to be balked. He honored me with five or six shots without success. While my attention was thus engaged by my man, Lieutenant Kingsbury also entered the block house. He was immediately assailed by the cries and screams of the women and children, and by the anxious inquiry: "What shall we do; is there no hope?" His response was, as I recollect: "Ladies, we must all suffer and die together. I know of no means of relief!" He began to state, in further explanation, that he had tried all his men and tempted them with the offer of a pecuniary reward to go to Fort Washington to give the alarm and bring relief, but all in vain, as none would go. This declaration excited my attention, and, as one of the small garrison, I knew that I had not before heard of the matter, and I therefore immediately subjoined: "Why, Mr. Kingsbury, you have not tried me!" "True," said he, "I had forgotten you; will you go?" he eagerly inquired. "If you will I will give you two half joes." "Not a cent, sir!" was my response. And the only condition I made was that he should parade the rest of the garrison in front of the block house to see me either safely cross the river or be killed or wounded in attempting it, as fortune or providence would order it. To this he immediately assented, and went to make a verbal correction and to change the date of the letter he had already prepared to dispatch.

I suppose I was prompted to make the offer of myself at the moment for this forlorn hope, as it were, by the cries of the women and children I had just heard. However, I had no preparation to make, and the men were drawn up and I was ready. This was probably between seven and ten o'clock in the morning. The canoe was drawn up on the beach, so as to

require some little assistance readily to get it off. I do not recollect who rendered me this assistance, which was to be done by being somewhat exposed to the fire of the besiegers, but Mr. Hahn answers me now that it was himself—then a boy of fourteen years—and his father, who gave me their aid for this purpose. But at length I was in the boat alone, using my most active exertions in setting myself, by means of a pole, across the stream. I had need to be in a hurry, for I was in the presence of five hundred hostile Indians, who were honoring me with their attention in the shape of a leaden shower of bullets, some of which whistled by me and spent their force in the water, and some struck and shattered, in a small measure, my frail “dug-out,” though, happily, none touched or injured my person. I reached the opposite shore, where I waited long enough to draw the canoe partly on the beach, when I seized my musket and put myself, as soon as possible, under the shelter of the underwood and took my course down stream. I had been told that about two miles below the station there was a ripple where I could easily recross but if I missed that—since I could not swim—I should be obliged to make my way to Symmes’ Station at the mouth of the river, where I would be as far away from Fort Washington as at Colerain.

When I had gone, as I supposed, about two miles, I sat down and took a wary and cautious reconnoissance in every direction, to see, if I might, some of the scouts that Girty told us were occupying the country between us and Fort Washington. After satisfying myself that there were none near me, I stripped myself, and attempted to wade the river. I found the water at neck deep, and growing deeper still, when I was obliged to desist. I made a like attempt at two other places, but with similar success, in the cold water, filled, as the river was, with mush ice, when I concluded I had no alternative but to go to Symmes’. But, luckily, about two hundred yards from where I made my last abortive attempt to wade, I discovered the ripple, and was enabled to cross where the water was not more than knee deep. Without further obstruction, or being intercepted by Indians, I reached Fort Washington about 4 o’clock in the afternoon, where my Captain, Truman, accompanied me to General Harmar’s headquarters, and I delivered my letters. Captain Truman responded to General Harmar’s questions, who I was, and to what company I belonged, with pride, as his, and that I was the youngest soldier in the army. An exorbitant dram of brandy, which Captain T. forced me to take, and a hearty meal, for which I had an appetite whetted by a long fast, as well as great exertion, having refreshed me, the General again sent for me, and inquired if I would return with the party to be sent to the relief of the station. I consented on condition of being permitted to go mounted. This appeared reasonable, and was promised me. But since reinforcements were wanted, of a few militia from Columbia, I was permitted to take a night’s rest.

Early in the morning, on a good horse, I accompanied the body, under the command of Colonel Strong, which reached Colerain between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. We found that Girty and the Indians were in full retreat; having raised the siege some hour or two before. Colonel Strong pursued them two or three miles up the river, and came up with them just as the last raft of the Indians were crossing the stream. As it was impossible to continue the further pursuit, they escaped.

The remains of the unfortunate Hunt, shockingly mangled and charred, had been, meanwhile, buried by the garrison.

CHAPTER XX.

ATTACK ON WHITE'S STATION.

AS has already been stated, the defeat of Harmar, and especially of St. Clair, caused the greatest alarm all along the border, and especially at Marietta, and the Miami country, including Cincinnati, Columbia, and North Bend. Many of the citizens had been killed in these two battles, and there was not an adequate force at either place to defend the citizens should the Indians make a concentrated attack. It was exceedingly dangerous to leave these block houses; and three of them had been furiously attacked in Hamilton County: White's Station, at Carthage; Fort Garrard, near, and a little below the Union bridge, on the Little Miami; and at Round Bottom, on the Muskingum above Marietta. It was necessary very soon after the settlement had been made, to erect block houses for the protection of the settlers. Fort Washington, erected by the government, was a great protection to Cincinnati, for the Indians soon concluded they could not destroy it. Black Fish, a celebrated chief, stood upon Mt. Adams and viewed Fort Washington, at the corner of Third and Broadway, and after taking a careful look at it, said: "Too strong! Too strong! Indian no take that;" and it was never attempted. There were several others erected in the county—Covalt's, just below Milford; Girard's, below Union bridge; Fort Miami, at Columbia; Colerain, on the Big Miami; also, at North Bend; at Montgomery; White's, at Carthage, and one on Walnut Hills, on Kemper Lane, near Windsor Street, built by the Rev. James Kemper. The most serious attacks were those made upon Colerain Fort and White's Station.

ATTACK ON WHITE'S STATION.

The whole male force about the station at the time consisted of seven men and a boy—Captain Jacob White, Anderson Goble Daniel Flinn, and his two sons, Stephen and Benjamin, both full-grown men; Anderson Pryor, Lewis Winans, and Providence, the son of Captain White, then but ten years of age. John M. Wallace, who resided in a cabin on the north bank of the creek, was at the time on a visit with his family at Cincinnati. The

widow of Moses Pryor, with her three small children, were residing with her brother-in-law, Andrew Pryor, opposite the station. About 5 o'clock in the evening the dogs belonging to the station kept up a continuous barking on the hill, near the residence since of William R. Morris. Andrew Goble, supposing the dogs had treed a 'coon, proposed to go into the woods and get it, but Captain White thinking it possible that there were Indians about, objected to any one going out. Goble, however, would not listen to his advice, and went alone. He had gone but a short distance from the station or block house when he was fired upon, and fell pierced by a number of balls. The Indians then came out from their cover. They rushed down the hill with their accustomed war whoop, and as they approached the station observed Mrs. Pryor's little girl, about four years old, playing on the opposite bank of the creek. They at once fired at it, and it fell mortally wounded. The mother, with her three children, who were the only occupants of the cabin, on the opposite side of the creek (all the other inmates having gone over to the station on a visit), heard the firing and went to the door of the cabin just in time to witness the fatal shot that struck her child. Her second child, a boy between two and three years old, being sick, she was holding in her arms, while her babe was lying asleep in a cradle. On seeing her little girl fall, she put down the boy, and went out under the fire of the Indians and bore the child into the house, only, however, to find it silent in death.

The savages then opened fire upon the little block house, which was promptly returned, and the crack of the rifle was incessant for half an hour. There were a number of surplus guns in the station, and the women were kept busy loading, while the men were thus enabled to keep up an almost constant fire, which made their number appear much larger. Captain White told the women to place his hat upon a pole and run it through the roof of the block house, and for a short time it drew the fire of the savages.

The Indians, numbering about thirty men, sheltered behind trees at some distance from the block house, came down the hill still closer with furious yells, as if intending to carry it by storm. They were led by a large and powerful chief, who approached the block house, and whilst in the act of climbing over the fence was shot and fell inside of the enclosure. When the rest of the band saw their leader fall they retreated back into the woods, and

kept up an irregular fire for more than an hour and left. In the early part of the engagement several Indians crossed the creek above and came down behind the three cabins on the opposite bank from the station, in one of which Mrs. Pryor and her children resided. On finding her little girl dead beyond hope, Mrs. Pryor became so distressed that for a time she lost sight of all danger and gave herself up to grief; but the peril was so great there was no time for sorrow. On going to the cabin door she saw an Indian approaching only a short distance away. She first thought of grasping both of her children, the sick boy and the babe, and flying to the block house. A glance convinced her, however, that what was to be done must be done quickly, and looking at both, she snatched up her sick boy, with a hope that the other, being only a babe, the savages would spare it, and ran with all speed for the station, the Indians in full pursuit. She took the shortest course, and on coming to the creek plunged into the water up to her waist, crossed the stream and reached the station in safety with her sick boy, and was compelled to remain in her wet garments until morning.

Soon after the attack was made Andrew Pryor was dispatched to Fort Washington for aid. He reached the fort about midnight, and returned with ten dragoons, each carrying behind him an infantryman. They hastened to the relief of the little station, but the savages had left before their arrival. On going over to the cabins, they found the savages had taken Mrs. Pryor's babe from the cradle and dashed its brains out against a stump near the cabin door. The soldiers followed the trail for several miles, but did not overtake them.

They had entered all three of the cabins, ripped open the beds, turned out the feathers, and filled the ticks with clothing, coverlets, blankets, household goods, and other valuables, and carried them away.

Their huge chief had fallen inside the enclosure, and putting a rope around his neck, he was drawn to the block house; and it was said he was seven feet high, and that he was skinned, wholly or partially, and razor strops were made of the skin of his back, one of which it is said yet remains in the possession of one of the pioneer families of Hamilton County.

There was another station in Springfield Township called Tucker's Station, and another called Pleasant Valley Station. These stations and block houses became an absolute necessity to protect those who went into the country to clear farms and raise produce. No one was safe to live in a

cabin away from a block house. When the men went out to work in the morning, some worked whilst others stood guard, and the women were left in the block houses to do the cooking, spinning, weaving, and to make the clothing for the family; and were all instructed in the use of the rifle to enable them to protect themselves and children, if attacked in the absence of the men. It may be asked why they ventured into the country away from the towns? This question can be easily answered: they had come to the West to seek homes for themselves and families, and provision was so scarce that they must produce more to feed their families. As has been already stated the first year of the settlement of Columbia, Cincinnati, and North Bend, no corn or other produce was raised. The troops at Fort Washington and other forts and block houses had largely increased the population to be supplied, and the settlers as well as the troops were compelled to subsist almost entirely on wild game and roots, such as bear grass and other bulbous roots.

CHAPTER XXI.

MOBS, RIOTS AND MURDERS BY INDIANS IN CINCINNATI AND VICINITY.

WHILST these attacks were made on block houses and stations in the County of Hamilton, and the settlers murdered, Cincinnati was not exempt from such troubles. Although there were no police officers in Cincinnati during the past century, and many lawless spirits existed in the community, the force of public sentiment, always strongest when the population is not so large that individuals can hide themselves in a crowd, sufficed, in the early years of Cincinnati, promptly to suppress those popular outbreaks, which, in later years, have for the moment defied the public authorities.

The first disturbance of this sort occurred on the 12th of February, 1792. Lieutenant Thomas Pasteur, belonging to the garrison at Fort Washington, having quarreled with John Bartle, who kept a store where the Spencer Hotel, at the corner of Broadway and Front, now stands, decoyed him on a pretence of business to the garrison, and falling on him there in the presence of his myrmidons beat him very severely. Bartle prosecuted him for the outrage, and his attorney, Mr. Blanchard, exhibited the lieutenant on the trial in a light so contemptible as to draw on himself the indignation of the latter and a visit of a sergeant and thirty private soldiers to inflict personal chastisement on the lawyer and all who might be disposed to defend him or his cause.

An affray took place on Main Street, in and about McMillan's office, between Front and Second Streets, between the military and some of the citizens, eighteen in number, in which McMillan, who was a magistrate, with Colonel John Riddle, were particularly active, and drove the soldiers off.

The interference of the military naturally created great excitement, and General Wilkinson, then in command at Fort Washington, reduced the sergeant to the ranks, and would have inflicted further punishment had it

not clearly appeared that the party acted under orders. He also issued the following general order:

HEADQUARTERS, FORT WASHINGTON, }
February 13, 1792. }

The riot in the town of Cincinnati yesterday, and the outrage committed by a party of soldiers on the person of a magistrate of this territory, is a dishonor to the military and an indignity to the National Government, which demands that the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the perpetrators. Although the Commandant cannot admit the idea that any gentleman in commission who wears the garb of honor could be instrumental or accessory to this flagitious transaction, yet the circumstances of a sergeant and twenty or thirty men from the same company, leaving the garrison in a body, as has been represented to the Commandant, carries with it an aspect of premeditation, and may subject the officer commanding such company to undue suspicions and censures. To avert such consequences in future, and to restrain the licentious habits of the soldiery, the Commandant calls for the firm co-operation and support of his officers, and orders that all duties beyond the walls of the garrison, whether for water, wood or provisions, must be done by detachment, under a non-commissioned officer, who shall be answerable for the conduct of such detachment. No private is to pass the gateway on any other pretence without a special commission from the commanding officer. The Commandant laments that he should be reduced to the necessity of exerting so rigid a system of police, but he considers it indispensably necessary, not only to the good of the service but the honor of the corps.

By order,

JOHN WADE,
Ensign, Post Adjutant.

Lieutenant Pasteur was tried at the General Quarter Sessions the succeeding year and was sentenced to a fine of three dollars for the assault.

There was only one more disturbance here of the public peace during the past century.

In the spring of 1794, and while General Anthony Wayne was marching north to meet and chastise the hostile Indians, and erecting military forts in his line of advance to protect the country in his rear, a detachment of volunteers from Kentucky, accompanied by some hundred, more or less, friendly Indians from the Mississippi region, encamped for a few days in the vicinity of Cincinnati, preparatory to pushing forward to reinforce the army of the North.

These Indians were encamped on Deer Creek, on the spot now occupied by Ryan's pork house. They brought with them a young woman, who

had been taken captive in some border incursion into Western Pennsylvania. It was supposed she had relatives in Cincinnati, which did not prove to be the case. But there were two or three individuals who knew her friends in Pittsburg, being themselves of that neighborhood; and one of them succeeded in ransoming her from the Indians by the payment of a barrel of Monongahela whisky. The exchange occurred at a tavern on Broadway, just above Bartle's store, and the Indians, who had been drinking while the barter was pending, had a thorough frolic of it when put in possession of the whisky. Next day, a large share of the liquor having been drank, they became dissatisfied with the exchange, and were for retaking the girl by force of arms. This was resisted, of course, peaceably, but firmly, by those into whose custody she had passed, who were Irishmen from Pennsylvania, with several of their countrymen, and other individuals resident there. The girl had been secreted, so that the Indians could not discover her retreat. At this period the east side of Broadway commenced at a point about twenty or thirty feet from Bartle's corner, opposite it, widening so rapidly that at the distance of half way to Cromwell's corner, Second and Broadway, the street was wider than even at present, its east side being occupied with the various artificer shops belonging to the garrison. The Indians came down Broadway to the number of perhaps fifty, and at the narrow part of the street were met and confronted by their opponents; but after the stones, or rocks, as they were called, lying about had been picked up and thrown, the Irish contrived to gather up shillalabs, and, although greatly inferior in numbers, drove their enemies up Broadway clear to the hill. Isaac Anderson, a well known citizen of that day, who had been taken captive in Laughery's defeat, and always bore a grudge against the whole race of red skins, was in the thickest of this fight. Captain Prince, who commanded the garrison at that period, sent out a detachment of the troops to quell the disturbance, but it was all over by the time they reached the ground.

The row of log cabins on the east side, in front of which this engagement took place, received from the circumstance the name of Battle Row, which it retained, until 1810, when these houses were pulled down to make way for the buildings put up by John H. Piatt.

The girl was afterward restored to her friends in Pennsylvania, and was still living at comparatively a recent date.

In 1791 William Harris went, in company with Colonel John Riddle, to clear ground for a corn field. It comprehended in its bounds the ground on Plum Street, south of the corporation line, Washington Park. "We had a small dog with us. One day, the 21st of May, we had been at work as usual, and had sat down to rest at the foot of a large tree, when, hearing a slight rustling through the spicewood bushes, I told Harris there were Indians at hand. He laughed at the idea. I hissed the dog on, who bounded into the bushes, barking at a great rate, and returned in a short time with his tail and ears down, and manifesting other symptoms of fear. We then sprang up and made a circuit through the bushes, so as to get between the Indians, if there were such there, and the town. In this way we had just regained the path, several rods below where we were, when we heard them crossing it near the spot we had left. We hurried into Cincinnati as fast as possible, and found soon after that Benjamin Van Cleve had been shot at, and Joseph Cutter, who was at work with him clearing an out-lot, captured and carried off by the Indians. Cutter was never more heard of. The lot they were working in cornered with Colonel Riddle's, near a spot in the Miami Canal, which is crossed by a high bridge opposite Mason Street."

A party from Cincinnati made immediate pursuit with a dog, which made out the trace. Cutter had lost one of his shoes, so that his tracks could be readily observed in the marshy bottoms along the water course. The Indians were followed upon full run until dark, when the pursuit was given up. It was afterward ascertained that the savages had halted two miles further out and encamped for the night. The pursuit was resumed next day, but to no purpose.

On the 1st of June of the same year, Van Cleve having returned to the occupation of his out-lot, and working there in company with two others, the Indians again made their appearance. The party took to flight, making their way to the settled parts of Cincinnati. Two of them made their escape, but Van Cleve, who had passed them in the race, and at the time was three hundred yards or more in advance, was intercepted at a fallen tree top, by an Indian who sprang on him from behind the ambuscade. Van Cleve was seen to throw the savage and the Indian to plunge a knife twice or thrice into the side of his antagonist, but, perceiving the approach of the whites, he hastily stripped off the scalp and made his escape to his party in the rear. When the two fugitives got up, Van Cleve was entirely lifeless.

The same day a party from the garrison, consisting of Sergeant Hahn, a corporal, and a young man who lived in Colerain, started to Dunlap's Station on the Miami. They were engaged in driving a cow out to that post, and had imprudently fastened a bell to her neck. On his way the Sergeant called on Riddle and paid him three dollars on account of a blacksmithing bill he owed for some time. He said, "You had better pay me more, the Indians will get the rest." "Never fear," was his careless reply. In the course of two hours afterward he had a bullet put through him, his scalp taken, and the residue of his money carried off.

These were the last instances in which a savage rifle was fired within the present limits of Cincinnati, later depredations being connected with the bow and arrow, which enabled them to destroy cattle while prowling through the streets by night, which frequently occurred, without creating an alarm. On one of these visits they shot an arrow with a stone head into an ox with such force that it went entirely through the carcass. Stealing horses from this time until Wayne arrived, in 1793, constituted the principal injury inflicted by our red brethren upon their white neighbors in Cincinnati.

Colonel Biddle said that he had taken his jug out with him to the lot, and was determined that the Indians should not have it; when he ran into the bushes to get it, the Indians passed him, and he always said that he believed that his "old brown jug saved his life."

In the month of August, 1791, a man named Fuller, with his son William, a lad sixteen years of age, or thereabout, was in the employ of John Matson, Sr., and in that capacity the Fullers accompanied Matson, a brother of his, and a neighbor, George Cullum, to the Big Miami to build a fish dam in its waters, at a place about two miles from North Bend. Old Fuller sent his son, toward night, to take the cows home, and for several days the neighborhood turned out to hunt him, suspecting that he had been taken by the Indians.

No trace of him was, however, obtained, nor anything heard of him for nearly four years, when Wayne's treaty afforded an opportunity for those who had relatives captured by the Indians, to ascertain their fate. Old Fuller, under the hope of learning something respecting his son, accompanied a party to Fort Greenville, and spent a week making inquiry among the Indians present, but to no purpose. One day, being in conversation

with Christopher Miller, one of Wayne's spies, and who had been taken captive himself in early years and brought up among the Indians, he was describing his son's personal appearance, as being heavy built, cross-eyed, and a little lame, when Miller exclaimed: "I can tell you where he is." He then went on to say that he had himself made him a prisoner; that he knew where he was, and if he would come back in three weeks, he would produce him there. Fuller returned accordingly, and obtained his son, who accompanied him home.

CAPTURE OF OLIVER SPENCER.

On the 7th day of July, in the afternoon, Jacob Light, a Mr. Clayton, Mrs. Coleman, and young Oliver Spencer, thirteen years of age, and one of the garrison soldiers, started in a small canoe to Columbia. The soldier was very drunk, and made the canoe give a lurch, and he tumbled out, but as the water was not deep reached the shore, and laid down under the willows. Young Spencer becoming afraid, got out and walked along the shore, while Light poled the canoe, and Clayton used the paddle to help propel it along. Light remarked that the soldier would be good food for the Indians. Scarcely had he spoken before their ears were saluted with the sharp crack of two rifles fired by two Indians on the shore. Clayton was shot, and fell into the river, and Light was wounded by the ball striking the paddle and glancing, striking him in the arm. Mrs. Coleman was sitting in the middle of the canoe. One of the Indians scalped Clayton. Light jumped in the river and made for the Kentucky shore, and Mrs. Coleman jumped in the water, preferring death by drowning to capture by Indians; and, as was the fashion then, had on heavy quilted undershirts, which buoyed her up, and, finding she did not sink, paddled with her hands down the river to Deer Creek, where she landed, and holding to the willows on Deer Creek bank, crossed it, and went to a friend's on Front Street, where she obtained a change of clothing.

The Indians seized young Spencer, and saying, "Squaw, drown!" Parties on the Kentucky shore hearing the guns, ran down to the river, alarmed the red skins, and they made over the hills with him, and took him to their town on the Maumee, where he remained for eight months, until his father ransomed him for \$125, and brought him back to Cincinnati, where he resided for many years, a prominent citizen, and died there.

CHAPTER XXII.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WASHINGTON ENSIGN OF FIRST REGIMENT UNITED STATES INFANTRY—REPORTS TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR AT FORT WASHINGTON—WAYNE ORGANIZES LEGION OF THE UNITED STATES—WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF "FALLEN TIMBERS" ON THE MAUMEE—TREATY OF PEACE AT GREENVILLE, OHIO, WITH THE INDIANS—END OF SIX YEAR'S INDIAN WAR—COLONEL ELLIOTT KILLED.

JUST as the defeated, dispirited remnants of St. Clair's army were straggling into Cincinnati, an event transpired which was destined to have a powerful influence, not only on the settlements in the Miami country, and of Cincinnati, but on the destiny of the whole Northwest, and that was the arrival at Fort Washington of William Henry Harrison as an ensign of the First Regiment United States Infantry, November, 1791. It is not necessary in this place to more than briefly refer to the active and efficient part he took in the battles which finally gave peace to the Western country. Having reported to General St. Clair, he immediately devoted himself to the acquisition of such information and perfection in military tactics as would prepare him to successfully perform such duties as might be assigned him.

The first important duty entrusted to him was the command of a convoy of twenty men, detailed to deliver stores to Fort Hamilton by pack-horses. It was a responsible and hazardous duty, in exceedingly inclement weather. The country was overrun with savages, who, since the disastrous defeat of St. Clair, were hanging around all the settlements and followed the fragments of the army to the very walls of Fort Washington; nevertheless, young Harrison promptly accepted the trust and so successfully performed the duties to the satisfaction of the General that he was publicly thanked.

In 1793 General Wayne, quick to see military talent, appointed him his second aid, and in his report of the battle of the "Fallen Timbers," to the Secretary of War, especially commended him for his gallantry and efficiency; and after the peace of Greenville in 1795, when the army returned to Fort

Washington, having been promoted to Captain, he was placed in command of the fort.

The successful career of young Harrison from an ensign of the First Regiment United States Infantry in 1791, to the Presidential chair in 1840, will be noticed as this work progresses, as his whole life was so intimately



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connected with the growth and prosperity, not only of Cincinnati but of the Northwest.

Many persons were murdered by the savages between Cincinnati and Fort Hamilton. In 1794 Colonel Elliott, a contractor for Wayne's army, was coming from Hamilton to Cincinnati, accompanied by his servant. He was a very large man, weighing, it is said, more than three hundred pounds,

and wore a large wig. When some four miles from Fort Hamilton, on what is now the Winton Road, he was shot and killed by a party of Indians. His servant fled back to Hamilton, followed by the Colonel's horse. One of the Indians, said to have been a chief, ran to scalp him. Seizing the hair, and about to apply the scalping knife, the wig came off; he looked at



TECUMSEH.

it with astonishment for a moment, and exclaimed, "D—n lie." The next day a party came out to recover the body, and having placed it in a coffin, were about to start for Cincinnati, when a volley was fired and the servant fell almost in the very spot his master had fallen the day before, from Colonel Elliott's horse, which he was riding, the horse again running back to Fort Hamilton. The body was afterward brought to Cincinnati and

buried in the burying ground of the First Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Fourth and Main Streets, and afterward removed to the Twelfth Street burying ground (Washington Park), by his son, over which he erected a monument. It has since been removed to Spring Grove Cemetery, where it now lies.

As has been stated, General Wayne spent the winter of 1792-93 at Legionville, near Pittsburg, in collecting and organizing his army.

On the 30th of April, 1793, the Army moved down the Ohio River to Cincinnati, and encamped about where Fifth and Mound Streets intersect, and was called "Camp Hobson's Choice," because, as the river was very high, covering the bottoms, this was the only spot out of water suitable for the encampment. The large mound at that point was within the lines and about the center of the camp. General Wayne had some eight feet cut from the top of it, on which he put a sentry box. From it the whole vicinity could be observed.

Here General Wayne directed all his energies to drilling and disciplining his troops, and cutting roads and collecting supplies through the Indian country, and in making preparations for an immediate and active campaign, should the efforts of the Government then being made to conclude a lasting peace with the hostile tribes be unsuccessful.

On the 5th of October he addressed the following letter to General Knox, the then Secretary of War:

"Agreeably to the authority vested in me by your letter of the 17th of May, 1793, I have used every measure in my power to bring forward the mounted volunteers of Kentucky, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence with his Excellency, Governor Shelby, and Major-General Scott upon this interesting occasion. I have even adopted their own proposition by ordering a draft of the Militia. Add to this that we have a considerable number of officers and men sick and debilitated from fevers and other disorders incident to all armies. But this is not all; we have recently been visited by a malady called the influenza, which has pervaded the whole line in a most alarming and rapid degree. Fortunately this complaint has not been fatal except in a few instances, and I have now the pleasure of informing you that we are generally recovering, or in a fair way; but our effective force will be much reduced. After leaving the necessary garrisons at the several posts, which will generally be composed of sick and

invalids, I shall not be able to advance beyond Fort Jefferson with more than twenty-six hundred regular effectives, officers included. What auxiliary force we shall have is yet to be determined; at present their numbers are only thirty-six guides and spies and three hundred and sixty mounted volunteers.

“This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately to save the frontiers from impending savage fury. I will therefore advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check by exciting jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their own women and children until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect.

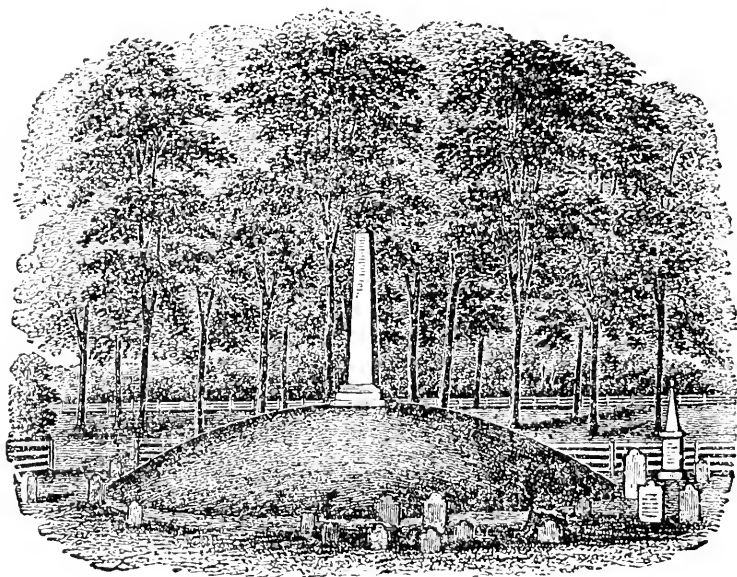
“The present apparent tranquility on the frontiers and at the head of the line is a convincing proof to me that the enemy is collecting in force to oppose the legion, either on its march, or some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in.”

On the 23d of October he wrote again from his camp on the Great Miami, six miles beyond Fort Jefferson:

“I have the honor to inform you that the legion took up its line of march from ‘Hobson’s Choice’ on the 7th instant, and arrived at this place in perfect order and without a single accident at ten o’clock on the morning of the 13th, when I found myself arrested for want of provisions.

“Notwithstanding this defect I do not despair of supporting the troops in our present position, or rather at a place called Stillwater, at an intermediate distance between the field of St. Clair’s battle and Fort Jefferson. The safety of the western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation, all forbid a retrograde maneuver, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, until the enemy are compelled to sue for peace. The greatest difficulty which at present presents itself is that of furnishing a sufficient escort to secure our convoys of provisions, and other supplies from insult and disaster, and at the same time retain a sufficient force in camp to repel the attacks of the enemy, who appear to be desperate and determined. We have recently experienced a little check to our convoys, which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame before this reaches you. The following is the fact: Lieutenant Lowry, of the sub-legion, and Ensign Boyd of the first, with a command

consisting of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons belonging to the Quartermaster General's department, loaded with grain, and one of the contractor's wagons, loaded with stores, were attacked on the morning of the 17th instant about seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair by a party of Indians. Those gallant young gentlemen (who promised at a future day to be ornaments to the profession), together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates bravely fell after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, having been abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge.



MONUMENT TO LIEUTENANT LOWRY, NEAR EATON, OHIO.

The savages killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the roads, which have all been brought into camp without any other loss or damage except some trifling articles. (This was near Eaton, Ohio, where a monument was erected to these brave men.) A great number of men, as well as officers, have been left sick and debilitated at the several garrisons with influenza. Among others, General Wilkinson has been dangerously ill. He is now at Fort Jefferson, and on the recovery. I hope he will be soon sufficiently restored to take his command in the legion."

The approach of winter induced General Wayne to dismiss the Kentucky militia, and go into winter quarters with the regular troops, which he did by erecting Fort Greenville, near the site of the present town of Greenville, where he established his headquarters.

On the 23d and 24th of December a detachment was sent forward to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. They arrived upon the spot on Christmas day. Six hundred skulls were gathered up and buried. When the troops went to lay down in their tents they had to scrape the bones together and carry them out to make room to make their beds. Here they built Fort Recovery.

During the early months of 1794 General Wayne was steadily engaged in preparing everything for a severe blow when the time come. On the 26th of July General Scott, with some sixteen hundred mounted men from Kentucky, joined Wayne at Greenville, and on the 28th the legion moved forward. On the 8th of August the army was near the junction of Au Glaize and Maumee, at Grand Glaize, and proceeded at once to build Fort Defiance, where the rivers meet. The Indians had hastily abandoned their towns upon hearing of the approach of the army from a runaway member of the Quartermaster's corps, who was afterwards taken at Pittsburg. It had been General Wayne's plan to reach the headquarters of the savages, Grand Glaize, undiscovered; and in order to do this he had caused two roads to be cut, one toward the foot of the rapids (Roche De Bout), the other to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, while he pressed forward between the two; and this stratagem he thinks would have been successful but for the deserter referred to.

While engaged upon Fort Defiance the American commander received full and accurate accounts of the Indians, and the aid they would receive from the English and Canadian volunteers from Detroit and elsewhere, and considering the spirit of his troops, officers and men, regulars and volunteers, he determined to march forward, and settle matters at once.

Yet true to the advice given by Washington, he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawnees and had been taken prisoner on the 11th by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger offering peace.

Unwilling to waste time the troops moved forward on the 15th, and on the 16th met Miller returning with the message from the Indians to the effect that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize they would decide

for peace or war, to which Wayne replied **only by marching straight on**. On the 18th the legion had advanced **forty-one miles** from Grand Glaize, and being near the long looked for foe, began to **throw up some slight works** called Fort Deposit, wherein to place the **heavy baggage** during the expected battle. On that day five of Wayne's spies, among whom was **May**, the man who had been sent after Truman and had pretended to desert to the Indians, rode into the camp of the enemy; in attempting to **retreat again** his horse fell and he was captured. The next day, the day before the battle, he was tied to a tree and a mark was made over his heart and he was shot at as a target.

On the 19th the army still labored on the works. On the 20th at seven or eight o'clock, all baggage having been left behind, the white forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee; the legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier-General Todd, and on the other in the rear under Brigadier-General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet unknown whether the Indians decided for peace or war.

During this time the chiefs of the several tribes in council discussed the question of peace or war; but having been successful against Harmar and St. Clair they were for war, except Little Turtle, who had command of the Indians against Harmar and St. Clair. He advised against going to battle, saying: "You have been successful twice, but you cannot always expect to succeed; you have to fight an officer now who never sleeps; the night and the day to him are alike." They did not heed his advice.

After advancing about five miles Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood which extended for miles on its left and for a considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably caused by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare.

The savages were formed in three lines within supporting distances of

each other, and extending to near two miles at right angles with the river. General Wayne in his official report says: "I soon discovered from the weight of their fire and extent of their lines that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first, and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages with the whole of the mounted volunteers by a circuitous route; at the same time ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge so as not to give them time to load again. I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next to the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude, but such was the impetuosity of the first line of infantry that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion and by Generals Scott, Todd and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven in the course of an hour more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their number. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants; the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages with their allies abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle which terminated under the influences of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself upon the occasion:

"The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the generals down to the ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure and the most lively gratitude, among whom I must mention Brigadier-General Wilkinson and Colonel Hamtranck, the commandants of the right and left

wings of the legion. To those I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains DeButt and T. Lewis and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant-General Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press to victory.

“We remained three days on the banks of the Maumee, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of the garrison (British), who were compelled to remain quiet spectators of this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the house, stores and property of Colonel McKee, the British Indian Agent and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and savages.”

On the 14th of September the army marched from Defiance towards Miami village at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, which it reached on the 17th, and on the 18th General Wayne selected a site for a fort. On the 22d of October the fort was completed and garrisoned by a detachment under Major Hamtranck, who gave it the name of Fort Wayne, now the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana. During this period the army suffered much from sickness and want of provision—so much so that a pint of salt, it is said, was sold on the 24th of September for six dollars. On the 14th of October the mounted volunteers from Kentucky, who had become dissatisfied and mutinous, were moved to Fort Washington and immediately mustered out of the service and discharged. On the 28th of October the legion marched from Fort Wayne to Greenville, where the General again established his headquarters.

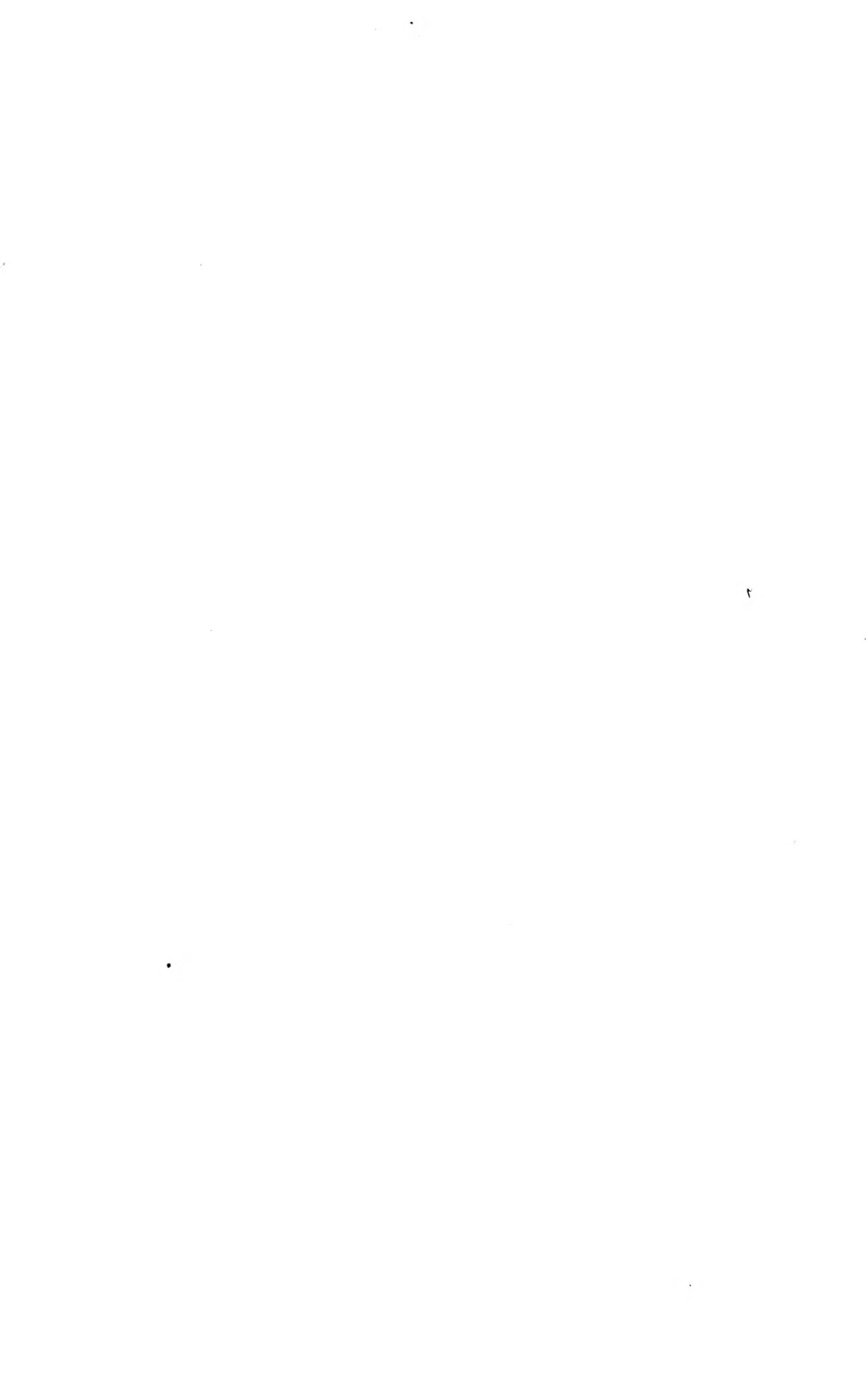
During the month of June the representatives of the northwestern tribes began to gather at Greenville, and on the 16th of that month Wayne met the Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and Eel River Indians, and the conference which lasted until the 10th of August commenced. On the 21st of June Buckingham arrived, and on the 23d the Little Turtle and other Miamis; on the 13th of July Tarke and other Wyandotte chiefs, and upon the 18th Blue Jacket, with thirteen Shawnees, and Masass with twenty Chippewas. The treaty then made is dated August 3, 1795, which closed the old Indian war of the west, which had lasted for six years. It was ratified by the Senate of the United States December 22, 1795. Thus ended

one of the most remarkable campaigns in the history of our country, not only for the ability with which it was conducted, but also in its results. It gave peace to the Northwest, subdued an enemy that for many years had prevented the peaceful settlement and development of one of the most fertile territories then known to man, and established an empire in itself. The pioneers could now leave the block houses and forts, and clear and cultivate the land, and literally "turn their swords into plowshares, and the spears into pruning hooks," and live in peace under the banner of civil and religious liberty guaranteed by that greatest of ordinances—of 1787—ever penned by man. Cincinnati, then but a village of ninety-five log cabins, and ten or twelve rough log houses, was soon to become the centre of a lucrative trade of an extensive and fertile territory on every side—its population scarcely five hundred, and composed of a large number who only awaited the result of Wayne's campaign to determine whether they remain, return east, or seek homes elsewhere, where they would be protected from savage barbarity. Wayne's campaign decided the issue, and resulted in the assurance of their safety and the rapid settlement of the territory northwest of the Ohio.

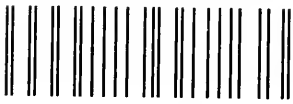
From this period dates the history of Cincinnati as a business place. All the privations, hardships and dangers suffered by the pioneers they endured with a heroism unparalleled in the history of any country. They have passed away and lie in the burying-grounds and battle-fields of the west, but their works live after them.

"Illustrious men! though slumbering in the dust,
You still are honored by the good and just.
Posterity will shed a conscious tear,
And pointing, say, 'There lies a pioneer.'"

The Cut of the First Presbyterian Church, page 88, represents it as it was when removed to Vine street, in 1814 instead of 1804.



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