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Fr. André Michaux



JOURNAL OF ANDRÉ MICHAUX, 1793-1796

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## JOURNAL OF ANDRÉ MICHAUX

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1793, I took leave of Citizen Genet, Minister of the Republic of France to the United States<sup>1</sup> and started from Philadelphia on the same date at ten o'clock at night to avoid the great heat, and to travel by Moonlight. The 16th, being in company with . . . humeau and . . . Leblanc,<sup>2</sup> we journeyed 40 miles.

The 17th, passed by Lancaster and made 35 Miles.

The 18th, passed by Carlisle . . . Miles and slept at Chipesbourg [Shippensburg].

The 19th we slept at Strasbourg . . . Miles.

Sunday the 20th, we started from Strasbourg, a small town situate at the foot of the Mountains; one of our horses having fallen sick we traveled only 21 Miles; observed *Magnolia acuminata*, *Azalea octandra*, *Kalmia*

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<sup>1</sup> Edmond Charles Genet (Genest) was born at Versailles about 1765. His father was a diplomat who was interested in English literature, and who welcomed the American coterie in Paris to his home. Henrietta Genet, later Madame Campan, was first lady of honor to Queen Marie Antoinette; her brother was chosen at the early age of twenty-four, secretary — later, *chargé d'affaires* — to the French embassy at St. Petersburg. His dispatches thence were of so republican a tone, that in 1792 he was commissioned minister of the new French republic, to Holland; but late in the same year was chosen for the mission to the United States, where he arrived April 8, 1793. His career in America is well known. After his commission was revoked, Genet became a naturalized American citizen, married a daughter of Governor Clinton of New York, and died at Jamaica, Long Island, in 1834.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Humeau and Le Blanc appear to have been agents of Genet, assisting in this revolutionary movement. Nothing is known of the former. Le Blanc was a citizen of New Orleans, well-affected to the French revolutionary cause. He was to have been made mayor of New Orleans, when that city should fall into the hands of the revolutionists. See American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, pp. 1049, 1050.—ED.

*latifolia*, *Fagus castanea*, *Fagus pumila*, *Pinus 2-folia*, *3-folia*, *Strobus*: *Abies Canadensis*; *Quercus castaneaeifolia* etc. *Juglans nigra*.

The 21st of July started from Wells's tavern, crossed the Juniata river . . . and noticed *Rhododendron maximum*, *Hydrangea frutescens*, *Trillium erectum*; slept at Bedford. 21 Miles.

The 22nd. Started from Bedford and breakfasted at a place 4 miles distant where the Pittsburg Road divides into two. We took the right hand road; the Rain compelled us to stop and sleep only twelve Miles from Bedford.<sup>3</sup>

The 23rd we made 24 Miles and passed the summit of the Alleghanys.

The 24th we made 25 Miles.

The 25th we passed by Green'sburg and made 31 Miles.

The 26th Rain; we made only . . . Miles.

The 27th, we made 19 Miles and arrived in Pittsburgh. Total 32<sup>4</sup> Miles from Philadelphia.

The 28th visited Mr. H. Brackenridge.<sup>5</sup>

The 29th herborised; recognized on the banks of the Monongahela, *Dracocephalum Virginianum*,<sup>6</sup> *Bignonia radicans*, *Crotalaria alba*? These plants grow on

<sup>3</sup> For a description of the left-hand or southern branch of the road, known as "The Old Glade," see Harris's *Journal*,<sup>o</sup> *post.*— ED.

<sup>4</sup> Evident error; perhaps 320 was intended.— C. S. S.

The distance in reality by this route was somewhat less than this.— ED.

<sup>5</sup> Hugh H. Brackenridge was at this time the most prominent lawyer in Pittsburg, whither he had come in 1781, after graduating at Princeton and serving as chaplain in the regular army. Brackenridge was a Scotch-Irishman, and a Democrat in politics; therefore he sympathized with the uprising known as the Whiskey Rebellion, and wrote a work in its defense, although his influence had been exercised to moderate its excesses. Gallatin defeated him for Congress in 1794; but later he took his place upon the bench of the state supreme court, and served with great ability until his death in 1816.— ED.

<sup>6</sup> *Physostegia Virginiana*, Benth.— C. S. S.

the banks of the river which are submerged when the waters are high.

The 30th of the same, recognized a Plant of the Genus *Ziziphora* . . . *Cunila pulegioides*? *floribus tetandris*; *Teucrium Canadense*, *Eupatorium aromaticum*, *Sigesbeckia* . . .; *Verbenae* several species.

The 1st of August, herborised and recognized *Cassia Marylandica*; *Monarda didyma*; *Sanicula Marylandica*; *Triosteum perfoliatum*; *Sicyos angulata*; *Acer rubrum*, *saccharum*; *Campanula*, . . .; *Cercis Canadensis*; *Menispermum Canadense*; *Actaea spicata*; *Tilia Americana*; *Urtica divaricata*; *Arum triphyllum*; *Celtis occidentalis*; *Panax quinquefolium*; *Staphylea trifoliata*; *Azarum Canadense*; *Rhus typhina*, *glabra*, *vernix*; *copallinum*, *radicans*, *toxicodendron*; *Clinopodium vulgare*, *incanum*.

The 2nd of August recognized *Aristolochia siphon* or *macrophylla*; *Panax quinquefolium*; *Lobelia siphilitica*; *Convallaria* many species; *Veronica* . . . *Ozalis stricta*.

The 3rd and 4th of August herborised: *Cacalia* 2 species, *Phryma leptostachia*; *Leontice thalictroides*; *Lobelia siphilitica*, *inflata*, *cardinalis*; *Eupatorium perfoliatum*, *maculatum*, *odoratum et celestinum*; *Actaea spicata*; *Podophyllum peltatum*; *Azarum Canadense*; *Hydrophyllum Canadense*; *Trillium cernuum*; *Panax quinquefolium*; *Aristolochia Siphon*; *Menispermum* . . .; *Sambucus Canadensis fructu nigro*; *Sambucus* . . ., *fructu rubro foliis tomentosis*; *Tilia Americana*; *Laurus Sassafras*, *benzoin*; *Robinia pseudocacia*, *Juglans oblonga*, *Juglans hiccory*; *Plantanus occidentalis*; *Acer rubrum*, *saccharum*; *Ulmus* . . .; *Hamamelis* . . ., *Cynoglossum* 3 species; *Vitis vulpina*; *Dioscorea fructu*

<sup>1</sup> *Hedeoma pulegioides*, Pers.— C. S. S.

*injero; Teucrium Canadense; Scrophularia Marylandica; Dracocephalum Virginianum; Dianthera . . . , Sophora foliis ternis stipulis lato-lanceolatis floribus coeruleis vexillo corollâ brevior; Mimulus ringens; Bignonia radicans; Cercis Canadensis; Fagus sylvatica Americana; Circaea Canadensis; Urtica inermis; Erigeron Canadense; Cornus florida; Rubus odorata, Rubus occidentalis; Penthorum sedoides; Cephalantus occidentalis; Polygonum aviculare, hydropiper, amphibium, scandens; Sanguinaria Canadensis.*

On the 6th of August I saw on the bank of the Monongahela river opposite Pittsburgh a Coal mine at the entrance of which there seems to be a thickness of 15 feet of that mineral without admixture; sometimes a ferruginous tint can be distinguished between the different layers. In several spots soft rocks are to be found which seem good for use as whet-stones for large tools; they seem to me to consist of a combination of sandy, clayey and ferruginous particles with particles of mica in very rare instances.

The soil in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh is generally clayey, the calcareous rocks or stones of a brown color, consisting of much muddy clay. The soil between the two rivers on which Pittsburgh is built, is alluvial; stones rounded and worn by the rolling of torrents have even been found in the earth, dug up while sinking wells at a depth of more than 30 feet.

The 9th of August, when I was ready to start, the conductor of the Boat on which I had embarked my baggage came to tell me that he was waiting for the Boats destined to convey the troops, especially as the Boat seemed too deeply laden for that Season when the Waters are low; there was an appearance of Rain.

The 10th the river seems to be falling.

The 11th, 12th and 13th we remained, awaiting the departure.

The 13th three Boats arrived from the Illinois belonging to Mr. Vigo.<sup>8</sup> They were manned by about 30 French Canadian or Illinois oarsmen.

A Frenchman who has resided in America for 14 years and whose business consists in shipping supplies of flour to New Orleans, told me that he would give me Letters for Illinois addressed to the Commandant of the Post of St Louis. He is at present settled in Pittsbourgh and his name is Audrain.<sup>9</sup> This Audrain is said to be in partnership with one Louisière or Delousière who was exiled from France for having been concerned in the plot to deliver Havre to the combined English and Spanish fleets. This Louisière is at present absent from Pittsbourgh. There is another Frenchman residing in Pittsbourgh, Mr Lucas de Pentareau, an excellent Democrat, now absent. He passes for an educated man with legal knowledge.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Col. Francis Vigo was a Sardinian, who came to Louisiana in the Spanish army. Settling at St. Louis as a trader, he embraced the cause of American independence, rendering substantial aid in many ways to George Rogers Clark, in the latter's Illinois campaigns. Vigo took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and later settled at Vincennes, where he died in poverty in 1836. His just claims upon the government were not settled until thirty years after his death.—ED.

<sup>9</sup> A Spanish document of this period complains of Audrain as having misappropriated funds for his contracts, also charges him with being a radical republican, receiving all the patriots at his house, where dinners were given and toasts drunk to the downfall of monarchy. See *American Historical Association Report*, 1896, p. 1049.

The commandant at St. Louis was Captain Don Zenon Trudeau, who held the office from 1792-99.—ED.

<sup>10</sup> This Frenchman was known in Pittsburg as J. B. C. Lucas, and was appointed associate judge of Allegheny County in 1800. His Democratic principles were so strong that he brought about the impeachment of his colleague, Judge Addison, a well-known Federalist.—ED.

Pittsburgh is situated at the confluence of the two rivers, Monongahela and Allegany; These two rivers unite and form the Ohio or Belle Rivière. There are a great many more houses on the Monongahela river than on the Alleghany. The number of houses is about 250 and it increases considerably every year. The ditches are still to be seen that served as the entrenchment of the Fort built by the French and called Fort Duquesne. The English, since that time, had built another almost beside it at the angle formed by the junction of the two rivers. It was built of brick and the Americans are demolishing it to use the bricks in building the houses that are being erected every day at Fort Pitt.<sup>11</sup>

The Americans have a Fort of Palisades situated behind the town on the bank of the Allegany River; it serves as a Depot for the arrival of the troops that are being sent against the Savages and as a Magazine for the Munitions sent there from Philadelphia.<sup>12</sup>

Wednesday the 14th of August, started from Pittsburgh and slept at a distance of two miles only on the point of a small island on which I found *Acer negundo, rubrum, saccharum; Evonimus capsulis glabris*.<sup>13</sup>

The 15th recognized at 20 Miles from Pittsburgh *Pavia*

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<sup>11</sup> The writer here uses the term "Fort Pitt" as the name of the town; the brick fortification which was being demolished was the one known by that name, built by Stanwix in 1759-61. It stood between the rivers, below Third, West, and part of Liberty streets. A redoubt, built in 1764 as a part of these works, is still standing, and has been restored by the Pittsburg chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, whom it serves as a museum. See *Frontier Forts of Western Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1896), ii, pp. 99-159.— ED.

<sup>12</sup> Fort Fayette, a stockade erected in 1792 for protection against the Indians. It stood about a quarter of a mile above Fort Pitt, on the present Penn Street, at the crossing of Garrison Avenue.— ED.

<sup>13</sup> *E. atropurpureus*, Jacq.— C. S. S.



*lutea*, *Panax quinquefolium*; A Bryonia plant *monoica calyce 5-fido, corolla 5 partita floribus masculis spicatis axillaribus floribus femineis quoque axillaribus germine instructo spinis innocuis*.<sup>14</sup> Our journey covered 28 Miles.

The 16th at 7 o'clock in the morning we crossed the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia. The line is marked by cutting down the trees on a width of about . . . feet on the right and left of the Ohio or Belle Rivière and this place is 45 miles from Pittsburgh. In the evening of the same day arrived at Buffalo Creek. *79 Miles from Pittsburgh.*

The 17th passed by Willing [Wheeling] 92 Miles from Pittsburgh;<sup>15</sup> this place is inhabited by about 12 families as is also Buffalo Creek [Wellsburg]. Owing to the contrary wind we traveled only 30 Miles.

Sunday August 18th 1793, saw several flocks of wild Turkeys; wind contrary.

The 19th we made *50 Miles*. There are no settlements between Willing and Marietta, a small Town situate at the mouth of the Muskingum river. We slept at the

<sup>14</sup> This is probably his *Sicyos lobata* (*Echinocystis lobata* of Torr. and Gray) which, according to the *Flora*, was detected by Michaux "in *occidentalibus Pennsylvaniae, juxta fluvium Ohio*." The "*corolla 5 partita*" is retained by Richard in his description.— C. S. S.

<sup>15</sup> Wheeling was founded upon land taken up by Col. Ebenezer Zane in 1770. During Lord Dunmore's War a stockade was built at this place, called Fort Fincastle; later, the name was changed in honor of Patrick Henry, first governor of the state of Virginia. Fort Henry was thrice besieged during the Revolution—in 1777, 1781, and 1782. Many romantic incidents are told of these events; most notable, that of the sortie for additional powder, successfully executed by Elizabeth Zane. Colonel Zane laid out the place in town-lots in 1793; two years later, the Virginia legislature incorporated it. In 1797 Wheeling became the seat of Ohio County; and early in the nineteenth century appeared likely to surpass Pittsburg in prosperity, and as an important emporium for Western trade.— ED.

place called Fort Harmar, situate opposite Marietta on the right bank of the Muskingum river.<sup>16</sup> *Dianthera americana*.

The 20th we spent the day there.

The 21st, we passed by Little Kanhaway,<sup>17</sup> Belpré, and Belleville 34 Miles.

The 22nd we saw no settlements. Recognized *Polymnia canadensis*; *Acer rubrum foliis inferne glaucis*; *Acer negundo*, *Acer saccharum*, *Acer foliis rugosis nervis sublanuginosis*; *Annona triloba*, *Pavia lutea*, *Platanus occidentalis*.

The 23rd passed Great Kanhaway,<sup>18</sup> 4 miles before arriving at Galliapolis on the opposite bank.

The 23rd we arrived at the settlement of Galliapolis situate on the left bank of the Belle rivière. The houses are all built of squared logs merely notched at the ends instead of being Mortised (Log-house).<sup>19</sup>

The 24th remained over, visited doctor Petit who inspired me with the greatest respect by his good sense, his knowledge and his virtue. It seemed to me that humanity is the only thing that keeps him attached to that unfortu-

<sup>16</sup> The site for Fort Harmar was chosen by Gen. Richard Butler (1785), on his journey to Cincinnati to make peace with the Miami Indians. A detachment under Major Doughty began building the fort — named in honor of Gen. Josiah Harmar — in the autumn of this year; its completion in 1786 afforded protection to the frontier inhabitants of Virginia. Two years later (1788), the Ohio Company of Associates — New England veterans of the Revolution — came out under the leadership of Gen. Rufus Putnam, and began the settlement of Marietta, “the Plymouth Rock of the West.” — ED.

<sup>17</sup> For the Little Kanawha, see Croghan’s *Journals*, vol. i of this series, note 98. — ED.

<sup>18</sup> For the Great Kanawha and its historical associations, see Croghan’s *Journals*, vol. i of this series, note 101; also Thwaites, *On the Storied Ohio*. — ED.

<sup>19</sup> For the history of this French settlement on the Ohio, see *Journal of F. A. Michaux*, *post*. — ED.

nate colony.<sup>20</sup> Out of the 600 persons who came there to settle, only about 150 remain.

Sunday the 25th started from Gallipolis; at a distance of 35 Miles recognized *Iresine celosioides* on the banks of the belle rivière where they are submerged by the great inundations. Passed a small river called Gay [Guyandotte]. We saw no habitations; 40 Miles.

The 26th, saw no habitations; passed the river Scioto . . . Miles.<sup>21</sup>

The 27th, saw a Settlement of several houses at the place called Three Islands, ten miles before arriving at Lime Stone;<sup>22</sup> these Settlements are considered the first belonging to Kentucky. We reached Lime Stone toward evening.<sup>23</sup>

Limestone is considered the Landing place or Port of Kentucky. Goods are landed there that are sent from Philadelphia for Danville, Lexington etc. A small town founded six years ago at a distance of 4 Miles on the Lexington road, is called Washington and is very flourishing being situate in very fertile land.

<sup>20</sup> Jean G. Petit was the most prominent man of this settlement, acting both as physician and judge.— ED.

<sup>21</sup> For a description of the Scioto, and its early historical importance, see Croghan's *Journals*, vol. i of this series, note 102; also Thwaites, *On the Storied Ohio*.— ED.

<sup>22</sup> The Three Islands were noted landmarks in the early history of Kentucky. Kennedy and his company encamped there in 1773, but the settlement was in a dangerous location, as this was near an Indian crossing place. In 1791, twenty men were told off to garrison the settlement. The upper island was near Brush Creek, in Ohio. Only one island remains at this place.— ED.

<sup>23</sup> Limestone (now Maysville) was long the chief river post for Kentucky, but was not early settled owing to its exposure to Indian attacks. Bullitt and the McAfees were there in 1773; Simon Kenton settled farther up on Limestone Creek in 1776. The same year, George Rogers Clark landed at this place the powder provided by Virginia for the protection of the Kentucky settlements. The first blockhouse was built on the site of Limestone in 1783; four years later, the town was incorporated by the Virginia legislature.— ED.

The 28th, visited Colonel Alexander D. Orr.<sup>24</sup>

The 29th I left the two Companions who had come with me from Philadelphia. They continued their journey to Louisville while I went on by way of the inland Settlements. Colonel D. Orr offered me his Company to go with him to Lexington whither he proposed to go in a few days.

The 30th and 31st herborised while waiting until horses could be procured for the journey to Lexington. *Guilandina dioica*; *Fraxinus (quadrangularis)*; *Gleditsia triacanthos*; *Serratula praealta*; *Eupatorium aromaticum*, *Crepis Sibirica?* etc.

Sunday 1st of September 1793. Dined at Colonel Lee's.<sup>25</sup>

The 2nd dined with . . . Fox and prepared my baggage for departure.

The 3rd the journey was put off until the Following day. The soil in the vicinity of Washington is clayey and blackish, very rich. The stones are of an opaque bluish calcareous Substance, full of petrifications of sea-shells. The bones of those monster animals supposed to

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<sup>24</sup> Alexander D. Orr was representative in Congress for Kentucky, from its admission and through the fourth Congress (1792-97). A Virginian by birth (1765), he removed to Mason County at an early period, and had much influence in his neighborhood, where he lived as a planter until his death, June 21, 1835. Michaux's visit to Colonel Orr is probably significant of the fact that Orr was interested in the former's mission.—ED.

<sup>25</sup> Gen. Henry Lee was one of the earliest settlers in Mason County. Coming to Kentucky as a surveyor in 1779, six years later he established Lee's Station, near Washington — one of the earliest in northeastern Kentucky. Lee was Kentucky delegate in the Virginia house of burgesses (1788), a member of the convention that adopted the federal constitution, and later member of the Danville conventions for organizing the State of Kentucky; his political influence, therefore, was important. Unlike many of the pioneers, he prospered in business and amassed a considerable fortune, dying on his estate in 1845.—ED.

be Elephants are found in the neighborhood.<sup>26</sup> It is to be presumed that those bones belonged to marine Individuals, judging by the great abundance of debris of marine bodies collected in those places.

The 4th started from Washington; passed by a place where the soil is impregnated with saline substances and whither the Buffaloes used to go in great numbers to lick the particles of Salt continually exuding from the surface of the Soil. There are at this spot springs whose water is bitter, putrid, blackish and full of mephitic air which frees itself at the slightest movement of the soil by the bubbles appearing on the surface of the spring as one approaches. The people living in the neighborhood erect ovens with kettles and extract Salt by the evaporation of the water.<sup>27</sup> We traveled 33 Miles.

The 5th we made 27 miles and, at an early hour, reached Lexington,<sup>28</sup> the chief town amongst the Settlements of the State of Kentucky. We passed a small Settlement, looked upon as a town and called Paris, the capital of Bourbon county.<sup>29</sup> It contains about 18 houses.

<sup>26</sup> For the history of Big Bone Lick, see Croghan's *Journals*, vol. i of this series, note 104.—ED.

<sup>27</sup> This was either May's Lick, in Mason County, or the Lower Blue Licks, in Nicholas County. It is evident that the buffalo had nearly disappeared from this region, where less than thirty years before Croghan had found them in such vast numbers. Butricke (*Historical Magazine*, viii, p. 259) says that in 1768 they were scarce above the Scioto River. The last buffalo was killed in the Great Kanawha Valley, about twelve miles below Charleston, West Virginia, in 1815.—ED.

<sup>28</sup> There is some doubt thrown upon the commonly-accepted statement that the first cabin at Lexington was built in 1775, and the place named in honor of the opening battle of the Revolution, news of which had just been received. The permanent settlement was not made until 1779; the following year the town was made county seat of the newly-erected Fayette County, and itself incorporated in 1782.—ED.

<sup>29</sup> Paris was laid out in 1786, the first court of Bourbon County being held there in 1787. Two years later, it was incorporated by the Virginia legislature as Hopewell; the present designation was adopted in 1790.—ED.

There are farming Establishments along the road and travelers now go without danger from Lime Stone to Lexington, a distance of Sixty six miles from one place to the other. *66 Miles.*

The 6th visited two persons residing in Lexington for whom I had Letters of introduction.

The 7th herborised . . .

Sunday 8th of September was obliged to remain being unable to hire a horse.

The 9th left Lexington, went through portions of forest lands with very scattered Plantations. Crossed the Kentuckey river the banks of which are very close to one another; when the waters are low there is a height of more than 100 feet from the bank of the river to the level of the lands bordering on it and through which it runs. I am told that in flood-time it rises to a height of 40 feet in one day. On arriving there one would think himself between two ranges of very steep Mountains but in fact it is merely a torrent or a river whose Bed has been deeply worn. The rocks on the banks are of a calcareous nature. Several shrubs and Plants, natives of Carolina, grow on the cliff with a southern exposure being secured and protected from cold by the favorable situation offered by the great depth of the bed of the river.

The 10th arrived in Danville<sup>30</sup> and visited several persons for whom I had Letters: Colonel Barbee etc, Capt. Peter Tardivau, a witty man<sup>31</sup> etc. etc.

<sup>30</sup> Danville was laid off as a town by Walker Daniel in 1781, and rapidly rose to importance, being the centre of political activity and the seat of the conventions in which statehood for Kentucky was agitated (1785-92). After the admission of Kentucky as a state, Frankfort was chosen capital, and the importance of Danville declined.— ED.

<sup>31</sup> Joshua Barbee was born in Virginia, and after serving in the Revolution removed to the vicinity of Danville, early in the Kentucky settlement. He was militia officer in 1791, a member of the political club of Danville, and o-

The 11th, visited General Benjamin Logan whose house is situate 12 Miles from Danville. I confided to him the Commission entrusted to me; He told me he would be delighted to take part in the enterprise but that he had received a Letter a few days previously from J. Brown<sup>82</sup> which informed him that negotiations had been begun between the United States and the Spaniards respecting the navigation of the Mississipi and the Creek Indians; That a messenger had been sent to Madrid<sup>83</sup> and that any one of the United States that would venture

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the state legislature. A man of wealth and prominence, his family became intimately associated with Kentucky history. He died in 1839.

Pierre Tardiveau was a French merchant who had an extensive business in the West, and connections in Bordeaux. With his partner, Honoré, he carried on trade with New Orleans, and made frequent trips thither. Tardiveau embarked in Genet's enterprise, and was appointed interpreter in chief by Michaux, who appears to have used him to communicate with agents in New Orleans. See Claiborne, *Mississippi* (Jackson, 1880), pp. 152, 153; also American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, pp. 952, 1026, 1096. Tardiveau removed to Louisiana when it came under American dominion.— ED.

<sup>82</sup> John Brown, one of Kentucky's most prominent public men, was born at Staunton, Virginia, in 1757, and while a student at Princeton joined the Revolutionary army as aid to Lafayette. At the close of the war he removed to Kentucky, was its first representative to the old Congress (1787-89); then to Congress under the Constitution (1789-92), where he was employed in securing the admission of Kentucky as a state. Upon that event (1792), Brown was sent to the United States Senate, of which he remained a prominent member until 1805. He was a personal friend of Washington, Jefferson (with whom he studied law), and Madison, and when he died in 1837 was the last survivor of the Congress of the Confederation. Brown was cognizant of Michaux's plans, and evidently sympathized with them, having been interested in previous separatist movements for Kentucky. See Butler, *Kentucky*, and John Mason Brown, "Political Beginnings of Kentucky," *Filson Club Publications* No. 6. Brown gave letters of introduction to Michaux. See American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, pp. 982, 983, 1010.— ED.

<sup>83</sup> Brown refers here to the embassy of Carmichael, and the negotiations entered into by him and Pinckney, the minister at Madrid, that ultimately led to the treaty of 1794.

The Creek Indians lay south of the United States territory in West Florida, and were believed by the Westerners to be incited to attacks upon Americans by the Spanish authorities of this province and of Louisiana.— ED.

to act in a hostile manner against the Spaniards before the return of the first of December next, would be disapproved by the federal Government; That he was going to start the following day for his Establishment of Boulskine [Bullskin] Creek and that, after I should have conferred with General Clark, he hoped the latter would, in consequence of what I should communicate to him, make arrangements for further conferences together<sup>34</sup> etc. etc.

The 12th returned to Danville.

The 13th Visited (his Excellency) the Governor of the State of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby;<sup>35</sup> visited the hills called

<sup>34</sup> Michaux went to what was known as St. Asaph's, or Logan's Station, in Lincoln County, to see the well-known pioneer and Indian fighter, Gen. Benjamin Logan. Next to Clark, Logan was, doubtless, the best known person in Kentucky, and had been chosen by Genet as second in command of the expedition. That he afterwards decided to enter upon this affair, seems evident from his letter to Clark of December 31, 1793, in *American Historical Association Report*, 1896, p. 1026. Logan was a Scotch-Irishman, born in Virginia in 1743. When but fourteen his father died, and he was left as eldest son of the family. Having removed to Holston, he was out with Bouquet in 1764, and ten years later in Lord Dunmore's War. Locating his station in Kentucky in 1775, he brought out his family the following year, and sustained many Indian attacks as well as led several aggressive campaigns against the savages. As county lieutenant he was a safeguard for the new settlements, and was revered and respected by all his neighbors. Having served in the legislature and the convention that drew up the Kentucky constitution, he died at his home in Lincoln County in 1802.—ED.

<sup>35</sup> There was no better-known character in the West, than Governor Shelby. Born in Maryland in 1750, the family were of pioneer stock, and early moved to Western Virginia, where young Shelby was sheriff (1771), and lieutenant under his father, Evan Shelby, at the Battle of Point Pleasant (1774). The next year he surveyed in Kentucky, and then returned to the Holston to engage in the Revolutionary struggles. To his forethought is attributed the success of the battle of King's Mountain, after which he served in the North Carolina legislature. Removing to Kentucky in 1783, Shelby was welcomed as a hero by the new community, and made the first governor of the State. He served a second term during the War of 1812-15, reinforcing Harrison at a critical juncture for the Western division of the army. Refusing the portfolio of war, offered by Monroe in 1817, Shelby retired to his farm in Lincoln County, where he died in 1826. Michaux carried letters to Shelby; see *American Historical Association Report*, 1896, pp. 983, 984. On Shelby's later attitude toward the expedition, see *ibid.*, pp. 934, 1023, 1040, *note.*—ED.



Knob Licks;<sup>36</sup> Saw several Plants especially in the salt lands enclosed in the interior of the territory of Kentucky. *Andromeda arborea*.

The 14th left Danville for Louisville, lodged with Cumberland 19 Miles from Danville.

Sunday 15th of September 1793, 22 Miles from Danville found a sort of *Tragia*, a *monoecian* Plant, fructification in the manner of the *Euphorbias*. Shortly before reaching Beardstown recognized the rocks and stones of calcareous substances possessing all the forms of the Madrepores. The tops of the Mountains (hills) one has to cross, 3 or 4 Miles before reaching Beardstown, consist entirely of these petrified madrepores. Recognized many Plants not found elsewhere: *Fagara* of the State of New York; *Rhamnus* (*Carolinian*) and *Rhamnus* . . . etc etc. The neighborhood would be very interesting for a Botanist to visit. Dined at Beardstown<sup>37</sup> and slept 6 miles further. 31 Miles.

The country between Beardstown and Louisville possesses no interest for a Botanist.

The 16th arrived at Louisville having traveled by the new road.<sup>38</sup> 29 Miles. In all 79 Miles from Danville.

<sup>36</sup> Knob Licks, Lincoln County, was formed as a settlement in 1776 by Governor Shelby. De Pauw, one of the French agents, resided here. See American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, pp. 977, 1002, 1023, 1102-1106. The Knobs were a peculiar formation of detached hillocks.— ED.

<sup>37</sup> Beardstown (Bardstown) was an important settlement in early Kentucky history, established (1788) near the Salt River in what is now Nelson County, and named for the proprietor, David Baird. It is now a small village, although still the county seat.— ED.

<sup>38</sup> For the founding of Louisville, see Croghan's *Journals*, vol. i of this series, note 106. The old road from Bardstown to Louisville went via the Salt Works (Shepherdsville, Bullitt County), and was reckoned at forty-five miles. See Speed, "Wilderness Road," Filson Club *Publications* (Louisville, 1886), p. 17. The new road was more direct, went across country from Bardstown, and joined the old about ten miles below Louisville.— ED.

The 17th of September visited General Clarke. I handed him the Letters from the Minister and informed him of the object of my Mission. He told me that he was very eager for the Undertaking but that, although he had written so long ago, he had received no answer and thought it had been abandoned.<sup>39</sup> I told him that his Letter had fallen into other hands and that the Minister had received it only indirectly after his arrival in Philadelphia. He informed me that a fresh circumstance seemed to oppose an obstacle to it.<sup>40</sup>

The 18th remained at Louisville and herborised.

The 19th returned to visit General Clarke . . .

The 20th started from Louisville, passed by General Clarke's<sup>41</sup> and passed on to sleep near Salt river.

The 21st passed by Beardstown. *Evonimus ramulis quadrangulis capsulis muricatis.*<sup>42</sup>

Sunday September 22nd arrived once more at Danville at 5 o'clock in the evening. Wrote to Minister Genet the same day by the Philadelphia Post.<sup>43</sup>

The 23rd I rested.

The 24th started for Lexington and slept at the Kentucky river crossing.

The 25th found that my horse had wandered away. I slept at an inn where there was no Stable; my horse

<sup>39</sup> For the letters of Genet and Clark, see American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, pp. 967, 986.— ED.

<sup>40</sup> In Clark's letter to Genet, he seems to indicate that this obstacle was the leaking out of the secret, by which intimations might reach the Spaniards. Possibly he refers to the Spanish mission which caused Logan's hesitation; see *ante*, note 33; also American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, p. 1007-1009.— ED.

<sup>41</sup> The home of Clark's father, with whom he resided, was known as "Mulberry Hill," situated in the environs of Louisville.— ED.

<sup>42</sup> *E. Americanus, L.*— C. S. S.

<sup>43</sup> On the early mail routes, see Speed, *Wilderness Road*, pp. 65-68.— ED.

jumped over the fence and I spent the whole day looking for him.

While so engaged I saw on the sandy beaches: *Iresine celosioides*; *Mollugo verticillata*; On the rocks; *Heuchera Americana*; *Asplenium rhyzophorum*; *Pteris nova*; *Parietaria* . . . ; *Hydrangea arborescens*. On the limestone mountains: *Serratula* 2 unknown species; *Cuphea viscosa*; *Didynamia gymnosperma novum genus*; *Didynamia angiosperma novum genus*. On the bank of the Dickson river, *Dirca palustris*; *Sophora floribus coeruleis*. In the shady forests etc: *Acer foliis argenteis an rubrum?* *Acer saccharum*; *Fraxinus foliolis subintegrifolia*, *Fraxinus foliolis serratis ramis quadrangularis*; *Gleditsia triacanthos*; *Guilandina dioica*, *Robinia pseudo-acacia*; *Evonimus ramulis subrotundis, capsulis laevibus*.

The 26th of September 1793, Rained all day; slept at a mile from Kentucky river at the house of . . . Hogan<sup>44</sup> who was kind enough to lend me a horse for nothing to go in search of mine.

The 27th arrived at Lexington distant only 20 Miles from the crossing of Kentucky river called Hickman junction.<sup>45</sup>

The 5th of October started from Lexington.

Sunday the 6th of the same arrived at Danville. The same day wrote to Citizen Minister Genet.

The 7th took lodgings at Puvit's<sup>46</sup> and received my baggage.

<sup>44</sup> James Hogan was a pioneer of Kentucky who settled at Bryan's Station before 1779, and took a leading part in its defense against Indians (1781). He was granted (1785) by the Virginia legislature the right to maintain a ferry across the Kentucky River.— ED.

<sup>45</sup> The principal ferry on the road from Danville to Lexington was at the mouth of Hickman's Creek, so named in honor of the first Baptist preacher in Kentucky, Rev. William Hickman.— ED.

<sup>46</sup> See letter of this date, written by Michaux to Clark (American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, p. 1010), in which he gives his address at "M<sup>rs</sup> Isham Prewitt, Jefferson County, near Danville."— ED.

The 10th Sent a Messenger to Louisville.<sup>47</sup>

The 13th Sunday returned to Lexington and came back on Sunday the 20th, to Danville. Not having received general Clark's answer I was unable to take advantage of the Post to write to the Minister at Philadelphia.

The 21st received General Clark's answer.<sup>48</sup>

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The 10th of November 1793, Year 2 of the French Republic, left Danville for Philadelphia after visiting Colonel George Nicholas<sup>49</sup> near Danville. He laid stress upon the plan he had proposed to me the previous day regarding the Navigation of the Mississipi. Namely: That the Naval Forces of the Republic should seize the Mouth of the Mississipi, declare that the Country belonged to them by right of Conquest and invite the Americans of the Western Country to take advantage of the freedom of Navigation. Then, if the Spaniards situated higher up the river molested the Vessels carrying the provisions conveyed by the Americans, the latter would have the right to repel Constraint and force by force.

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<sup>47</sup> The original letter sent by this messenger is in the Wisconsin Historical Library (Draper MSS., 55 J 5), and is printed in *American Historical Association Report*, 1896, p. 1013.—ED.

<sup>48</sup> This reply is given in *American Historical Association Report*, 1896, pp. 1007-1009. The break in the manuscript of Michaux's diary is occasioned by the completion of one blank book and the commencement of another.—ED.

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas was one of a famous coterie of Virginia constitutional lawyers. Born in 1743, the son of a distinguished lawyer, Robert Cary Nicholas, he served as captain in the Revolution, and at its close qualified for the bar. His services in the Virginia convention which adopted the federal constitution, were important. Shortly after its close he removed to Kentucky, and there aided in the adoption of its state constitution, which is reputed to have been drawn up by his hand. Upon the formation of the state government, he was chosen first attorney general. Nicholas adopted a moderate position in regard to Western politics; the scheme here outlined, seems characteristic. In 1799 he was appointed law professor in Transylvania University, but died during the same year.—ED.

Thus the Spanish Government would have no reason to complain of the United States having broken through inasmuch as the country would be reputed in the possession of the French Republic.

Slept at Crab orchard distant from Danville 22 Miles.

The 11th of November 1793, started from Crab Orchard in company with 12 persons who had assembled at that place to pass through the Woods inhabited and frequented by the Savages. The tract between Crab orchard and Houlston settlement is 130 Miles wide and is called The Wilderness.<sup>50</sup> Slept at Longford Station. 10 Miles.

The 12th slept at Modnell Station 28 Miles.

The 13th slept at Middleton station. 28 Miles.

The 14th crossed low, swampy places where the water was brown and stagnant. Six miles from Middleton Post and 18 miles before reaching the top of Cumberland Gap, saw a climbing fern covering an area of over six acres of ground near the road.<sup>51</sup> At this season when the Frost had produced ice from 3 to 4 lines thick, this plant was not at all injured by it. In this territory are two places, one called Flat lick and the other Stinking Creek.

Saw near the Carcass of a Stag the . . . Raven (*Corvus corax*). Davissas station 2 miles to the<sup>52</sup> . . . Cumberland Gap<sup>53</sup> 26 Miles.

<sup>50</sup> Michaux returned to Philadelphia by the well-known "Wilderness Road," the chief means of exit from Kentucky. Parties frequently waited at Crab Orchard — the western terminus in Lincoln County — until enough had gathered to act as protection against the Indians. See Speed, "Wilderness Road," Filson Club *Publications*, No. 2 (Louisville, 1886); also Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, vol. vi.—ED.

<sup>51</sup> *Lygodium palmatum*, Swz.—C. S. S.

<sup>52</sup> Three words are here frayed away in the manuscript of the Journal.—C. S. S.

<sup>53</sup> Cumberland Gap, in southeastern Kentucky, emerging into Tennessee, was explored in 1750 by Dr. Thomas Walker, who named both mountains and river in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, son of George II.—ED.

The 15th of November traveled through parts of very high Mountains in the midst of which we crossed Clinch river and slept at Houlston Station<sup>54</sup> in the house of one . . . 27 Miles.

The 16th followed the bank of the Houlston river and slept at the house of . . . Amis Esquire, three Miles from Hawkin Court house.<sup>55</sup> 26 Miles.

Sunday the 17th the Rain compelled me to remain in a small Cabin near the North fork of Houlston 25 Miles.

The 18th my horse was so tired owing to the rapidity of the journey and the bad roads across the Wilderness that I was obliged to stop after a Journey of only eleven Miles. 11 Miles.

The 19th started at daybreak. At the foot of the house where I lodged, the Kentuckey road divides,<sup>56</sup> the right one leads to Burke court house in North Carolina passing by the Mouth of Wataga river; the other leads to Abington court house, the first town of Virginia. As my horse was still tired, I made only 20 miles.

The 20th I made 15 Miles; arrived at Abington.<sup>57</sup>

The 21st I slept 22 Miles from Abington near Seven Miles Ford, the middle Branch of the Houlston.

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<sup>54</sup> The Clinch and Holston rivers are upper waters of the Tennessee, in southwestern Virginia and northeastern Tennessee. The settlements in these valleys were among the first on the west-flowing streams. See map in Turner, "State Making in the Revolutionary Era," in *American Historical Review*, i, p. 74.—ED.

<sup>55</sup> Both of these stations are mentioned in an early journal; see Speed, *Wilderness Road*, p. 21. The first was the seat for Hawkins County, Tennessee.—ED.

<sup>56</sup> The forks of the road was at the junction of the north and south forks of the Holston River, near the present town of Kingsport, Sullivan County, Tennessee.—ED.

<sup>57</sup> Abingdon, originally known as Wolf Hills, was one of the earliest settlements in the Valley of Virginia, and the seat of Washington County. It was established as a town in 1778. It is still the county seat, and a station on the Norfolk & Western Railway.—ED.

The 22nd of November 1793 crossed Seven Miles ford. The Holston river consists of three principal Branches, namely: North fork, Seven Miles fork and South fork of Holston river.

In the space of six miles after crossing that little river, observed on the northern Hills bordering several small rivers the *Pinus abies canadensis*, *Thuja occidentalis*, *Rhododendron maximum* and also *Magnolia acuminata* in places where the soil is very rich: *Fagus chinquapin*; clayey soil, ferruginous Quartz rocks, Slates rare and lime Stones sometimes interveined with white Quartz; grey Squirrel (forgot to mention that, in passing Abington, saw a Tortoise 8 inches in diameter petrified in a black calcareous substance like the Rocks abounding in the territory) Our day's journey was 23 miles.

The 23rd of November slept in the house of a German. During the night my horses strayed away. Between Abington and With Court house<sup>58</sup> among the Mountains *Abies canadensis* and *Thuja occidentalis*.

Sunday the 24th, passed by With Court house and at about 18 Miles in the steep Mountains observed *Pinus Strobus*, *Pinus foliis ternis* (pitch pine) *Pinus foliis geminis* . . . , *Pinus abies canadensis*, *Rhododendron maximum*, *Kalmia latifolia*, *Gaultheria procumbens*, *Epigea repens*: In more arid places, *Fagus chinquapin*, *Fagus castanea americana*, *Fagus sylvatica americana*, *Andromeda arborea*, *Hypericum Kalmianum*. Among the damp rocks or those watered by the streams; Rocks of silex and also of agate slightly transparent.

From Seven Miles ford to With Court house 36 Miles.

<sup>58</sup> Wytheville, near the centre of the county of that name, and its county seat.— ED.

The 25th crossed the ferry called Peper's ferry<sup>59</sup> on the New River and afterward crossed from the West to the East side of the Alleghanies; slept on a branch of James river called Catawba which flows eastward while the New River flows West of the Mountains.

The 26th continued on my way to Botetort Court house 30 miles.

The 27th passed by Botetort Court house<sup>60</sup> and by the south Branch of the James River 12 miles from Botetort.

The 28th passed by Lexington<sup>61</sup> 40 miles distant from Botetort and by the north branch of James river to one Mile from Lexington. *Thuja occidentalis*, *Pinus Strobus*.

The 29th of November, remained in Mac Dowall's house;<sup>62</sup> my horse's leg was so swelled that he could not walk.

The 30th journeyed 27 miles.

Sunday the first of December 1793 passed by Stanton, a small and rather flourishing town situate 120 Miles from Richemont and 75 Miles from Botetort.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The early route through the Virginia Valley crossed New River at Ingles's Ferry, a short distance west of Blacksburg, Montgomery County. A new road shortened the distance and crossed the New River about five miles farther up the stream, at a ferry operated by the pioneer family of Pepper. They are alluded to in the Draper MSS., Wisconsin Historical Library, 1 QQ 97.—ED.

<sup>60</sup> Botetourt Court House, now Fincastle, the seat of Botetourt County (established in 1769), was laid off as a town in 1772 on land donated for the purpose by Israel Christian. It was named for the ancestral seat of Lord Botetourt, an early governor of Virginia.—ED.

<sup>61</sup> Lexington was established by law in 1777 as county seat for Rockbridge, then newly-formed out of Augusta and Botetourt. See *ante*, note 28.—ED.

<sup>62</sup> Col. James McDowell, who lived near Fairfield, Rockbridge County, was a descendant of the Scotch-Irish settler, Capt. John McDowell, who came to the valley as a surveyor in 1737, and was killed in the first Indian fight therein (1742).—ED.

<sup>63</sup> The present roads through the Valley of Virginia follow the course described by Michaux, passing through the same towns. Staunton is one of the earliest towns of the region, having been settled in 1732 by John Lewis, a Scotch-



The 2nd passed by Rockyham or Rockytown<sup>64</sup> 20 miles distant from Stanton.

The 3rd passed by Woodstock,<sup>65</sup> another small town 37 Miles from Rockytown. Between Stanton and Woodstock the country is mountainous, the soil rather fertile, of a clayey nature, with calcareous rocks called Blue limestone; *Quercus rubra, alba; Fagus chinquapin* and *Pinus foliis geminis, conis squamis rigidis et aculeatis*. Three miles before reaching that town, on the North of a Hill on the road, *Thuja occidentalis, Pinus foliis geminis, Juniperus Virginiana*.

The 4th started from Woodstock, passed by Newtown.<sup>66</sup>

The 5th passed by Winchester,<sup>67</sup> 35 Miles from Woodstock, formerly called Miller'stown.

Irishman, whose sons Andrew and Charles were among the most prominent borderers. Andrew commanded the Sandy Creek expedition in 1756; and at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, where Charles was slain. Staunton was laid out as a town in 1748, at the "Beverly Mill Place," but was not established by act of legislature until 1761.— ED.

<sup>64</sup> This town is generally known as Harrisonburg, from its founder, Thomas Harrison (1780). The county of Rockingham was erected in 1778, and held its first court at the house of Daniel Smith, which was two miles north of Harrisonburg.— ED.

<sup>65</sup> The upper or northern portion of the Valley of Virginia was first settled by German emigrants from Pennsylvania. Woodstock was laid off as a town by Jacob Miller, and established by law in 1761.— ED.

<sup>66</sup> Newtown, or Stephsburg, was founded by Lewis Stephens on the site of his father's first claim. Peter Stephens came to Virginia in 1732, with Joist Hite, an early settler of the northern portion of the Valley. His son established the town in 1758, it being called Newtown to distinguish it from the older Winchester. Newtown is now a small hamlet, without a post-office.— ED.

<sup>67</sup> Winchester was built upon Lord Fairfax's grant in 1752. In 1738 there were two cabins at this place, which was then called "Shawnee Springs," and was the frontier outpost in that direction. The population was a mixture of Germans and Scotch-Irishmen. Col. James Wood is accredited with the foundation of the town of Winchester.— ED.

The 6th passed by Charlestown<sup>68</sup> 22 Miles from Winchester. Passed by Harspur ferry<sup>69</sup> across the Potomack river 8 miles from Charleston and entered Maryland.

The 7th passed by Fredericktown<sup>70</sup> 20 Miles from Harspur ferry (Potomack river) and 50 miles from Winchester.

Sunday the 8th passed by Woodberry and Littletown<sup>71</sup> 35 Miles from Fredericktown.

The 9th passed by Hanover, formerly MacAllister-town<sup>72</sup> 42 miles from Fredericktown and by Yorktown 18 Miles from *MacAllistertown now Hanovertown*.

The 10th passed by the Susquehanna river and entered

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<sup>68</sup> Charlestown, in what was then Berkeley County, but now the seat for Jefferson County, West Virginia, was laid off (1786) upon his own land by Col. Charles Washington, brother of the general, and christened from his own Christian name.— ED.

<sup>69</sup> Harper's Ferry takes its name from the first settler, Robert Harper, who formed part of the German emigration of 1734. Washington perceived the strategic importance of this place, and recommended it as the site of a national arsenal.— ED.

<sup>70</sup> Frederick City, Maryland, was laid out in 1745 by Patrick Dulany, and named in honor of the sixth Lord Baltimore. The first house, however, was not erected on this site until 1748, when it became the seat of the newly-erected Frederick County. Most of the early settlers were Germans, with an admixture of Scotch-Irish. At Frederick the road from Virginia crossed the National Road from Baltimore to Wheeling.— ED.

<sup>71</sup> Woodsboro is a small village in Frederick County, Maryland. Littlestown, in Adams County, Pennsylvania, was laid out in 1765 by one of the early German settlers of the region, called Peter Klein (Little). It was frequently called Petersburg in the earlier days. It is now a small station on the Fredericksburg branch of the Pennsylvania Railway.— ED.

<sup>72</sup> Hanover, York County, Pennsylvania, was laid out upon a tract granted by Lord Baltimore to John Digges in 1728. The proprietors of Maryland claimed this region, and Digges settled a number of German immigrants upon his tract of 10,000 acres, which was known as "Digges's Choice." A Scotch-Irishman, Richard McAllister, emigrated thither about 1749 and acquired great influence over the German settlers of the neighborhood, where he kept a store and tavern. He laid out the town and named it Hanover in 1763 or 1764.— ED.

Pennsylvania eleven miles from Yorktown.<sup>73</sup> Passed Lancaster 12 miles from Harris ferry on the Susquehanna river and 24 miles from York.<sup>74</sup>

The 11th of December 1793 traveled 30 Miles.

Thursday the 12th, arrived in Philadelphia 66 miles from Lancaster.

The 13th visited Citizen Genet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

The 14th Visited Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Rittenhouse<sup>75</sup> and . . .

Sunday the 15th; Recapitulation of the journey, namely:

From Danville to Lincoln . . . .	12 miles
From Lincoln to Crab Orchard . . . .	10
From Crab Orchard to Langford Station . . . .	10
From Langford to Modrell Station . . . .	28
Modrell to Middleton Station . . . .	28
Middleton to Cumberland Gap . . . .	24
Cumberland to Davisses Station . . . .	2
Davisses to Houlston . . . .	27
Houlston to Hawkin Court house . . . .	22

<sup>73</sup> Michaux is mistaken in placing the Pennsylvania boundary so far north, as he had entered that state before reaching Littlestown. This territory, however, had been in dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland, but was settled by the running of Mason and Dixon's line in 1763. York was not settled on the lands of the Penn estate until 1741, when there were 2,000 settlers within the bounds of what is now York County. The town became an incorporated borough in 1785.—ED.

<sup>74</sup> For the early history of Harris Ferry, see Post's *Journals*, vol. i of this series, note 73.—ED.

<sup>75</sup> Dr. Daniel Rittenhouse was one of America's best known scientists. Born in Pennsylvania in 1732, his talent for mathematics early manifested itself, and he became a clock and instrument maker, and finally an astronomer of much repute. He held important positions in the new State of Pennsylvania, was its treasurer (1777-89), also first director of the United States mint. Rittenhouse was employed to settle the boundary between Virginia and his own state, and during 1784-85 was in service in the field, directing the running of the line. He succeeded Franklin as president of the American Philosophical Society in 1790, retaining the office until his death in 1796.—ED.

Hawkin to . . . Amis . . . .	3 miles
Amis to North Fork of Houlston . . . .	25
North fork to Carolina fork . . . .	31
From the fork to Abington formerly Washington Court House in Virginia . . . .	15
From Abington to Seven Mile ford . . . .	} 60 <sup>76</sup>
From seven Mile ford to With Courthouse . . . .	
From With Court house to Peper ferry . . . .	33
From Peper ferry to Botetout Court house . . . .	50
From Boteton to James River South fork . . . .	12
From James river South fork to Lexington . . . .	28
From Lexington to Stanton . . . .	35
From Stanton to Rockytown . . . .	20
From Rockyham to Woodstock . . . .	37
From Woodstock to Winchester . . . .	35
From Winchester to Charleston . . . .	22
From Charleston to Harpur ferry or Potomack . . . .	8
From Potomack to Fredericktown . . . .	20
From Fredericktown to Littletown . . . .	35
From Littletown to Hanover formerly MacAlis- ter . . . . .	7
From Hanover to Yorktown . . . .	18
From York to Susquehanna, Harris ferry . . . .	11
From Susquehanna to Lancaster . . . .	12
From Lancaster to Philadelphia . . . .	66
	Total
	746 Miles
From Danville to Lexington . . . .	33 Miles
From Danville to Louisville <sup>77</sup> . . . .	84 "
_____ . . . . .	

<sup>76</sup> The manuscript is so frayed that the figures for these two distances are destroyed. The footing requires 60 M. for the two.— C. S. S.

<sup>77</sup> Michaux remained in Philadelphia until February 9, 1794, chiefly occupied with his botanical pursuits, and in getting his accounts audited. Proceed-

The 30th Germinal in the 3rd year of the French Republic One and Indivisible (Sunday 19th of April 1795 old style) started to go and herborise in the high Mountains of the Carolinas and afterward to visit the Western territories. Plants seen before arriving at Monk's corner: *Heuchera* . . . , *Vicia* 2 species, *Smilax herbacea erecta*, *Melampodium?* ! . . . *Polygonum necessaria*, *Silene Virginica*, *Phlox lanceolata* then in flower, *Valeriana*. Slept at 45 Mile House.

The 10th Floreal (20th of April,) around forty five Mile house, *Valeriana*; 3 Miles before reaching Neilson's ferry *Gnaphalium dioicuin*, *Uvularia?* On the said 20th of April a new tree of the Santee river, elm-leaved, *fructus muricati capsula muricata*, *semen unicum subovatum*.<sup>78</sup>

These seeds were then almost ripe; *Celtis occidentalis* flowers . . .<sup>79</sup> and lower male flowers.

Slept 77 Miles from Charleston.

The 21st of April noticed on the Santee High-hills: Phlox with white flowers and Phlox with pink flowers, two different species, very small Phlox with lance shaped leaves; Saw in the neighborhood of Monk's corner *Lupinus hirsutus* in flower. Dined with D<sup>r</sup> . . . ; slept at Statesboroug.

The 22nd passed by Cambden; five miles beyond, a new *Kalmia*; it was not yet in flower. Slept 10 Miles beyond Cambden.

ing south on horseback, he arrived at Charleston March 14, 1794, where he consulted with the French consul, Mangourit, concerning the Florida portion of the expedition against French territory. See American Historical Association Report, 1897, pp. 569-679. Upon the collapse of this project, Michaux undertook a botanizing tour to the mountains of North Carolina, from July 14, to October 2, 1794. Upon his return, he had an attack of fever for "more than six weeks," and passed the remainder of the winter in arranging his garden and classifying his plants.—ED.

<sup>78</sup> *Planera aquatica*, Gmel. (*P. Gmelini*, Michx.).— C. S. S.

<sup>79</sup> A word here is illegible in the manuscript.— C. S. S.

The 23rd of April passed by Flat rock, by Hanging rock Creek and slept at Cane Creek, Lancaster county, in the house of a Mr May; my horse strayed away during the night and following his traces it was found that he had passed by Mr Lee's.

The 24th I was obliged to look for him all day. Mr Lee also sent his son and his negro to search for him. He procured me a Horse to go on my quest and afterward invited me to lodge with him; he overwhelmed me with civilities.<sup>80</sup>

The 25th, the horse came to Mr Lee's house of his accord. Plants on the creek: *Dodecatheon Meadia*, *Asarum Canadense*, *Claytonia Virginica*, *Erythronium dens-leonis*.

Sunday 26th of April, started from Cane Creek, passed by Land'sford on the Catawba river. But the real road is from Cane Creek, ask for Colonel Crawford's house or Plantation on the Waxsaw, then pass MacClean Hands ferry on the Catawba; Thence straight to the Iron works called Hill's Iron Works operated by Colonel Hill.<sup>81</sup>

Thus from Cane Creek to Waxsaw . . . Miles;  
From Waxsaw to Iron Works, York county . . .

The 27th passed Iron Works about 32 miles from Cane Creek.

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<sup>80</sup> Probably this was Thomas Lee, son of a Revolutionary patriot, and usually a dweller in Charleston. In 1792, however, he married and afterwards lived for some time on his estate in the up-country. Born in Charleston in 1769, he was admitted to the bar in 1790, and later was assistant judge (1804-16), and United States district judge (1823-39). He was one of the most prominent South Carolinians of his day.— ED.

<sup>81</sup> These were the most important iron-works in the state; their owner had invented an improved water-blast, and had a forge, furnace, rolling mill, and nail factory.— ED.

The 28th passed by Armstrong<sup>82</sup> ford on the south branch of the Catawba, 12 miles from Iron Works.

The same day passed by the dwelling of Bennet Smith where there is a . . . Magnolia, 12 Miles from Armstrong ford.

The 29th passed by Lincoln,<sup>83</sup> 12 Miles from Bennet Smith's and 36 miles from Iron Works.

Thursday 30th of April passed by the dwelling of Old man Wilson<sup>84</sup> 9 miles from Lincoln and 6 Miles from Robertson's. Reached Morganton<sup>85</sup> 30 Miles from Robertson.

The 1st of May spent the day at Morganton and herborised in the neighborhood.

The 2nd spent the day at Colonel Avery's,<sup>86</sup> 4 miles from Morganton.

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<sup>82</sup> Col. Martin Armstrong was a Revolutionary soldier in command of the local militia, and much engaged in the war against the Tories. After the battle of King's Mountain, he took over the command from Benjamin Cleveland.—ED.

<sup>83</sup> Lincolnton is the seat of Lincoln County, which was originally part of Tyrone. The name was changed in 1779 in honor of the patriot leader, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. This entire region was a centre of agitation for independence; and in 1780 a fierce battle between Whigs and Tories was fought at Ramsour's Mills, near Lincolnton.—ED.

<sup>84</sup> Probably this was Capt. Zaccheus Wilson, a Scotch-Irish resident of this region who migrated thither from Pennsylvania between 1740 and 1750. Wilson was an ardent patriot, a member of the Mechlenburg convention in 1775, of the provincial congress of the state the following year, and a captain at King's Mountain in 1780. In 1796 he followed his brother David to Tennessee, where he lived until his death in 1823 or 1824.—ED.

<sup>85</sup> Morganton is the oldest town in the mountainous district of North Carolina, having been founded during the Revolution, and named in honor of Gen. Daniel Morgan. The settlers of this region were largely Scotch-Irish, who had emigrated from Pennsylvania by way of the Valley of Virginia.—ED.

<sup>86</sup> Col. Waightstill Avery was of New England origin, born in Connecticut in 1743. At the age of twenty-three he was graduated at Princeton, and after studying law in Maryland removed to North Carolina in 1769. He was very influential in the upper country, a member of the Mechlenburg convention of 1775, and of the state provincial congress the following year. After a campaign

Sunday 3rd of May started for the Mountains; at a distance of 14 Miles from Burke is Wagely's house.

The Lineville Mountains at whose foot this house is situated, abound in *Magnolia auriculata*. They were then in flower. From Wagely's to Captain Young's is 8 Miles.

The 4th of May left Young's. The distance to Ainsworth's is 2 Miles but by going to the right one reaches the foot of a very high Mountain 3 Miles from Young's. The summit is 5 Miles from Young's.

From the summit of the Mountain at Young's to Bright's, called Bright's Settlement, the distance is 3 Miles and from Bright's to Davin Port's 2 Miles, making 10 Miles in all from Young's to Davin Port's.<sup>87</sup>

The 5th of May herborised in the vicinity of the dwellings of Davin Port and Wiseman.

The 6th started for the Mountains, namely: Round [Roan] Mountain and Yellow Mountain; Toe River flows between these Mountains. All the *Convallaria* were in flower as well as the *Podophyllum diphyllum* and *umbellatum*.

Sunday 10th of May 1795 returned from the Mountains to the dwelling of Davin Port.

against the Cherokees, he was commissioned to negotiate a treaty with this tribe in 1777. During the war Colonel Avery was in active service as a militia officer; at its close he settled four miles from Morganton, calling his plantation "Swan Ponds." Five times Burke County sent him to the state legislature, and in 1796 to the senate. Andrew Jackson challenged Avery to a duel in 1788, but later became his firm friend. He died about 1821.—ED.

<sup>87</sup> Michaux followed the well-known Bright's trace, by which communication was maintained between the settlements of East Tennessee and those of Western North Carolina. Over this road came the men who won the victory at King's Mountain in 1780. Bright's place is now in the possession of the Avery family. Martin Davenport resided at a noted spring not far from Toe River, in Mitchell County, North Carolina. He was a well-known Whig; his son William became a man of prominence, several times representing his county in the state legislature.—ED.



The 11th herborised on the Mountains facing the dwelling. The distance to the summit of the Bleue Ridges at the part called Rompback is about 3 Miles; on the first Mountains are to be seen in very great abundance the *Azalea foliis apice glandulosis*, *Azalea lutea*. There is no other Azalea on the Hills surrounding the dwellings of Davin Port and Wiseman but this yellow-flowered species: That on the River banks is generally that with carnation flowers and that with white flowers.<sup>88</sup>

The 12th ascended the summit of the Blueridges, *Rhododendron minus* in flower, *Cypripedium Luteum*.

The 13th of May started to continue my journey. At Noon arrived at the foot of Yellow Mountain 10 Miles. In the evening came to sleep at the house of John Miller 12 Miles from the Mountain. Thus there are 22 Miles from Davin Port's to Miller's; at a distance of half a mile one commences to cross Doe River.

The 14th followed and crossed Doe river 27 times. It is dangerous when the waters are high. Slept at the house of Colonel Tipton,<sup>89</sup> 20 Miles from Miller's.

The 15th passed by Johnsboroug<sup>90</sup> 10 Miles from Colonel Tipton's dwelling and 84 Miles from Burke Court house. Slept at the house of Anthony Moore near Noley-chukey river. During the night my horse strayed away.

<sup>88</sup> *Rhododendron arborescens*, Torrey.— C. S. S.

<sup>89</sup> Col. John Tipton was one of the noted pioneers of Tennessee. Born in Virginia, he early removed to Eastern Tennessee, and was engaged in the defense of the frontier. Upon the inauguration of the state of Franklin, Tipton joined the North Carolina party, and a fierce factional struggle ensued, which culminated in the arrest of Colonel Sevier by Tipton's agency. Tipton lived east of Jonesborough, on Sinking Creek.— ED.

<sup>90</sup> Jonesborough is the oldest town in Tennessee, having been founded in 1779 and named in honor of Willie Jones, Esq., an active patriot of Halifax, North Carolina, and a warm friend of the Western counties. Jonesborough was the first capital of Washington District, and is still the seat of Washington county.— ED.

The 16th, Sunday 17th, & 18th were spent in searching for my horse.

The 19th bought another horse for the price of fifty Dollars from an inhabitant of Noley Chukey river named . . . Earnest, a neighbor of one Andrew Fox. The *Magnolia tripetala* abounds on the banks of Noley Chukey.

Wednesday 20th of May, passed by Green Court house 27 Miles from John's Borough and the road to Kentuckey, taking the right hand and passing by . . . ferry on the Holston river. Continuing straight on the road leads to Knoxville. By going to the left a little before Green the road leads to Frenchbroad.<sup>91</sup> The distance from John Borough to Green Court house is 27 Miles.

The 21st passed by Bull's Gap 18 Miles from Green.<sup>92</sup>

The 22nd passed by Iron Works<sup>93</sup> 30 Miles from Bull's gap. The distance to the river called Houlston river is only four miles. Two miles from Iron Works is a Rock of mineral, pieces whereof on being crushed and reduced to powder dye cotton red; this mineral is boiled etc.

The 23rd as my horse was injured I was obliged to remain a Mile from Iron Works on Mossy Creek at the house of one Newman. Near his house ( $\frac{1}{2}$  mile) is to be found the mineral that I take to be Antimony.

Sunday 24th, arrived at Colonel King's on the Houl-

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<sup>91</sup> Greene Court House is now Greeneville, seat of Greene County. From here two roads branch off, that to the right toward Cumberland Gap and Kentucky; that to the left through Newport and Sevierville, along the French Broad Valley. Michaux took, as he says, the right hand road, leaving it, however, beyond Russelville, and continuing by this upper and less frequented road to Knoxville.— ED.

<sup>92</sup> Bull's Gap is a pass in Bay's Mountain, between Jefferson and Greene counties, named probably for Captain Bull, an early pioneer.— ED.

<sup>93</sup> This was one of the earliest forges in Tennessee; it was in Jefferson County, not far from Mossy Creek.— ED.

ston river at the place called Macby ferry<sup>94</sup> 15 Miles from Iron Works.

The 25th crossed the ferry and arrived at Knoxville 15 miles from Macby ferry, the residence of the Governor of the Western territories, 110 Miles from Johnsborough.<sup>95</sup> Plants and Trees of the Territory of Knoxville and of the neighboring country: *Quercus prinus saxosa*; *Quercus prinus humilis*; *Quercus rubra*; *Quercus proemorsa*; *Quercus tomentosa*; *Quercus pinnatifida*; *Quercus alba* . . . *Ulmus viscosa*; *Ulmus fungosa*; *Fraxinus* . . . *Diospiros Virginiana*; *Liquidambar styraciflua*; *Juglans nigra*, *alba* or *oblonga*, hiccory pignut. *Platanus occidentalis*; *Nyssa aquatica*; *Fagus castanea americana*; *Fagus pumila*; *Fagus sylvatica americana*; *Magnolia acuminata*; *Betula alnus americanus*; *Cercis Canadensis*; *Cornus florida*; *Evonimus latifolius*, *Evonimus Americanus*; *Podophyllum peltatum*; *Jeffersonia*; *Sanguinaria Canadensis*; *Trillium sessile*.

Remained the whole week at Knoxville and herborised in the vicinity while awaiting a sufficiently numerous caravan to pass through the Wilderness.

Sunday 31st of May received notice that twenty five

<sup>94</sup> McBee's Ferry, crossing the Holston in the northwestern corner of Knox County, was a well-known landmark of this region.— ED.

<sup>95</sup> Knoxville was settled by James White in 1787, and at first called White's Station. In 1791 a town was laid out, named in honor of General Knox, which after the establishment of territorial government became the capital. The first governor of the territory was William Blount, who was born in North Carolina in 1749, and was active both in the War of the Regulators (1771), and in the Revolution. Blount was a member of the North Carolina legislature and later of the national constitutional convention. Washington appointed him governor of Southwest Territory, and on the admission of Tennessee as a state he was chosen first state senator. For intriguing with foreign emissaries he was impeached, and expelled from the Senate. The people, however, showed their confidence by choosing him to the state senate (1797). He died in Knox County in 1800.— ED.

armed travelers were on the point of arriving at Knoxville.

Monday 1st of June 1795, old style, the journey was again put off.

Thursday 4th of June started from Knoxville and slept 15 miles away at captain Camel's at the place called Camel [Campbell] station.

Friday the 5th, slept at the place called West Point on Clinch river, a Post of soldiers guarding the frontiers of the territory,<sup>96</sup> 25 Miles from Camel station.

The 6th started and crossed the river in a Scow or ferry connected with West point station. Our journey covered 10 miles. The Travelers consisted of 15 armed men and more than thirty women and children.

Sunday 7th of June crossed the Mountains called Cumberland Mountains, 22 Miles.

The 8th continued our march in the Mountains 23 Miles. *Magnolia petalis basi purpureis*.<sup>97</sup>

Tuesday 9th of June 1795, alternately ascended and descended the Mountains. In the bottom lands *Magnolia tripetala* in abundance, 25 Miles.

The 10th arrived at the Cumberland River, 10 Miles, and slept beyond the 20th Mile.

The 11th arrived at Blodsoe Lick or Blodsoe station,<sup>98</sup> 20 Miles. 120 Miles in all of the Wilderness.

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<sup>96</sup> Fort Southwest Point, as it was usually called, was erected in 1792 at the junction of Clinch and Holston rivers, near the present town of Kingston, as an outpost on the road to Western Tennessee, and a protection against the Cherokee Indians. As late as 1803 travellers found it safer to go in company through this wilderness. See journal of F. A. Michaux, *post.*—ED.

<sup>97</sup> Probably *M. macrophylla*, Michx. In the *Flora*, it is described as only growing "in regionibus occidentalibus fluvio Tennessee trajectis."—C. S. S.

<sup>98</sup> Isaac Bledsoe was one of a party of hunters who discovered this lick (near Gallatin, in Sumner County) as early as 1771. He removed hither in 1779 and founded a station; he was also one of the framers of the Cumberland

Slept at this place where there is food for men and Horses.

Friday the 12th, came one mile to Colonel Winchester's;<sup>99</sup> slept there two nights to rest myself and my Horse.

Sunday the 14th herborised.

The 15th came to the house of a resident near Cumberland River, Mr. Jackson;<sup>100</sup> soil fertile. Oaks, *Quercus prinus*: *Quercus rubra*, *Quercus glandibus magnis, capsulâ includentibus*, called Overcup White Oak.<sup>101</sup> *Quercus tomentosa*,<sup>102</sup> *Quercus praemorsa*. 25 Miles.

The 16th arrived at Nashville 12 Miles.

Total 197 Miles from Knoxville to Nashville, the capital of the Cumberland Settlements on the Cumberland river.<sup>103</sup>

Association, and a faithful adherent of Robertson. His brother, Col. Anthony Bledsoe, who had a reputation as a leader in the Holtson settlement, later removed to Cumberland, and was an able second in command on Indian expeditions, especially that against the Chickamaugas in 1787. He was killed by Indians at Bledsoe's Station in 1788. The spring at this place is now called "Castilian Springs."—ED.

<sup>99</sup> Gen. James Winchester, born in Maryland in 1752, served in the Revolution, after which he removed to Tennessee, and settled not far from Gallatin, in Sumner County. He served in the territorial and state militia, and in 1812 was appointed brigadier-general in the regular army, superseding Harrison in command of the Western division. Captured at the River Raisin, he was exchanged in 1814, resigned the following year, and died at his home in Tennessee in 1826.—ED.

<sup>100</sup> Michaux's remark indicates the obscurity of Andrew Jackson at this early period of his history. He then lived upon a plantation called Hunter's Hill, thirteen miles from Nashville, not having removed to the "Hermitage" (two miles beyond) until 1804.—ED.

<sup>101</sup> *Quercus macrocarpa*, Michx.— here first mentioned.— C. S. S.

<sup>102</sup> *Q. bicolor*, Willd.— C. S. S.

<sup>103</sup> Nashville was founded by James Robertson, who in 1779 came overland from the settlements of Eastern Tennessee. Donelson's party, which went via the rivers, did not arrive until April of the following year. Being beyond the jurisdiction of any state, the settlers drew up a compact under which they lived until the organization (1783) of Davidson County as a part of North Carolina. The town, named for the patriot General Nash, was until 1784 called Nash-

The 17th visited various persons, Daniel Smith,<sup>104</sup> Colonel Robertson,<sup>105</sup> Captain Gordon, [G. M.] Deaderick, Dr White, Thomas Craighead<sup>106</sup> etc. etc.

Herborised on the following days.

Trees of Nashville Territory:

*Quercus prinus*; *Quercus phellos latifolia*; *Quercus pinnatifida*; *Quercus foliis lyratis subtus tomentosis calycibus maximis margine laciniatis glandibus includentibus Vulgo*; Over cup White Oak;<sup>107</sup> *Quercus rubra*; *Quercus tomentosa*; *Acer saccharum*, *Acer negundo*, *Acer rubrum*; *Juglans nigra*, *oblonga*, *hiccory*: *Platanus occidentalis*; *Liquidamber styraciflua*; *Ulmus viscosa jungosa*;<sup>108</sup> *Carpinus Ostrya americana*; *Rhamnus Alaternus latifolius*, *Rhamnus frangula*?<sup>109</sup> *frutex pruniifera*; *Juniperus Virginiana*. Banks of Cumberland river *Philadelphus ino-*

borough. Nashville was incorporated in 1806. The legislature met at this city in 1812-16 and after 1826, but the city was not made the permanent capital until 1843.—ED.

<sup>104</sup> See description of visit to Daniel Smith, brother-in-law of Andrew Jackson, in *Journal of F. A. Michaux, post.*—ED.

<sup>106</sup> Gen. James Robertson, the founder of West Tennessee, was born in Virginia in 1742, but removed to North Carolina at an early age, and was one of the first settlers of Watauga. In 1774 he took part in Dunmore's War, defended the Watauga fort in a siege in 1776, and three years later removed with a party to the Cumberland. This settlement was maintained only by heroic exertions, and the courage and wisdom of Robertson in his dealing with the Indians. In 1790, Washington appointed him brigadier-general and Indian commissioner. He died in the Chickasaw country in 1814.—ED.

<sup>106</sup> These were all prominent early settlers of Cumberland. Captain Gordon was commander in several Indian affrays, notably the Nickajack expedition, and served under Jackson in 1813. Thomas Craighead was the first clergyman in Nashville, where he arrived in 1785 and built a school-house at Spring Hill. He was an especial friend of Andrew Jackson, whose wife was a member of his church (Presbyterian).—ED.

<sup>107</sup> *Q. lyrata*, Nutt.—C. S. S.

<sup>108</sup> *Ulmus fulva*, Michx.—C. S. S.

<sup>109</sup> *Rhamnus Caroliniana*, Gray.—C. S. S.

*dorus*; *Aristolochia siphomentosa*,<sup>110</sup> *Mimosa erecta-herbacea*; *Mirabilis*<sup>111</sup> *clandestina seu umbellata seu parviflora*; *Hypericum Kalmianum grandiflorum*.<sup>112</sup>

Soil of Nashville clayey, rocky, limestone Rocks somewhat similar to the Kentucky formation, position of the Rocks horizontal, occasionally Quartz Veins in the Rocks, abounding in marine petrifications.

Sunday 21st of June 1795, killed and skinned some birds.

Birds: Robin, Cardinal, *Tetrao* (grouse), *Lanius Tyrannus* rare, Quantities of the Genus *Muscicopa*; few species of the Genus *Picus*: Wild Turkeys. Quadrupeds: Musk-rat, Beaver, Elk, dwarf Deer, Bears, Buffalos, Wolves, small grey Squirrels.

Minerals: soil clayey. Limestone Rocks always in a horizontal position; impure Slate, flocks of schistus; Petrifications of land and fresh-water shells.

Monday 22nd of June 1795 (Old style) 4th of Messidor in the 3rd year of the Republic, started from Nashville for Kentucky; passed by Mansko's Lick,<sup>113</sup> 12 miles from Nashville; slept at Major Sharp's<sup>114</sup> 29 Miles from Nashville.

<sup>110</sup> *A. tomentosa*, Sims.— C. S. S.

<sup>111</sup> *Oxybaphus nyctagineus*, Sweet. (*Allionia nyctaginea*, Michx.).— C. S. S.

<sup>112</sup> Probably *Hypericum aureum*, Bartram.— C. S. S.

<sup>113</sup> Mansco Lick was in the northeastern part of Davidson County, named for its discoverer, Kasper Mansco (Mansker), who was one of the party of Long Hunters in 1769. On his adventures, see Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, i, pp. 147 ff.— ED.

<sup>114</sup> Major Sharp had formerly lived in Washington County, Virginia, whence he had gone out to serve at the battle of King's Mountain. He removed to Kentucky soon after the Revolution, and later settled in the Barrens. His son, Solomon P. Sharp, born in 1780, became one of the most noted Kentucky lawyers and political leaders, serving in the thirteenth and fourteenth Congresses, a friend and adherent of Calhoun. He was assassinated in the midst of a brilliant career.— ED.

The 23rd crossed the Barren oaks and slept at [Drake's] Creek. There is no house in the interval. The Soil produces only black oaks. 30 Miles.

The 24th passed by Big Barren River. The man who keeps the Ferry is well supplied with provisions.<sup>115</sup> The distance is 3 Miles from [Drake] Creek.

Crossed the Barrens and slept on the ground without a fire and without allowing my horse to graze at large through fear of the Savages.

The 25th passed by Little Barren River, the first house 43 Miles from Big Barren River. Afterward passed by Green River 6 Miles from Little Barren River.

The 26th passed by Roland [Rolling] fork, head of Salt River, 30 Miles from Green River.

The 27th arrived at Danville 35 Miles from Roland old fork.

From Nashville to Danville, the oldest town in Kentucky 117 Miles.

Sunday 28th of June rested.

The 29th skinned three striped Squirrels (*Sciurus striatus*)

The 30th herborised.

Wednesday 1st of July 1795 visited several residents.

The 2nd continued rain.

The 3rd put my old Collections in order.

The 4th

Sunday 5th of July<sup>116</sup>

Sunday 12th of July dined with the Governor of the State of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby.

Thursday 16th of July 1795 left Danville.

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<sup>115</sup> This was Andrew McFadden, who settled a station and ferry at this point in 1785, and was a well-known character of that region.— ED.

<sup>116</sup> A part of one leaf of the Journal is here left blank.— C. S. S.



The 17th passed by Beardston forty three Miles from Danville.

The 18th arrived at Stanford's near Man's Lick.<sup>117</sup>

Sunday 19th remained to await my Baggage.

The 20th remained, and being obliged to stay, watched the Process of manufacturing Salt. The Wells for getting the salt water are dug to a depth of about . . . feet. Muddy clay is met with to a depth of . . . feet. Then . . . feet of slatey rock. When the rock is pierced the salt water is found at a depth of more than . . . feet. This slate burns in the fire as if impregnated with bitumen or entirely made up of that substance. Bones of those great marine bodies that are rather frequently met with on the banks of the Ohio have been found in the impure clay that was dug up to reach the slatey rock.

The 21st of July, arrived at Louisville, 40 Miles from Beardstown.

The 22nd and 23rd remained and herborised.

The 24th returned to Manslick, 16 Miles from Louisville.

The 25th returned to Louisville.

Sunday 26th of July herborised.

Plants in the neighborhood of Louisville: *Quercus cerroides*,<sup>118</sup> *Quercus rubra*; *Quercus alba*; *Quercus prinus*; *Liriodendron*; *Fagus castanea*, *Fagus sylvatica*; *Rhus foliis alatis dioique*; *Hibiscus*<sup>119</sup> *foliis hastatis calyce exteriori lacinis subulatis flore pallide roseo*.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Mann's Lick was a salt station before 1786; it was on the road from Shepherdsville to Louisville, on the southern border of Jefferson County.— ED.

<sup>118</sup> Probably some form of *Quercus alba*, Michx.— C. S. S.

<sup>119</sup> *Hibiscus militaris*, Cav. (*H. hastatus*, Michx.).— C. S. S.

<sup>120</sup> Here follow to the end of this part of the Journal separate memoranda on loose sheets.— C. S. S. We omit these.— ED.

Saturday first of August made ready to leave for the Wabash and the Illinois.

Sunday the 2nd I was invited to dine with a Frenchman named La Cassagne,<sup>121</sup> a resident of Louisville for more than 15 Years.

Trees, shrubs and Plants of Louisville territory:

*Liriodendron tulipifera*; *Platanus occidentalis*; *Acer rubrum foliis inferne argenteis*; *Fagus sylvatica americana*; *Quercus rubra*; *Quercus alba*, *Quercus praemorsa*,<sup>122</sup> *Quercus prinus*, *Quercus cerroides*,<sup>122</sup> *Tilia americana*; *Juglans nigra*, *Juglans alba*, *Juglans hiccory*, (*Juglans pacane* rare); *Gleditsia triacanthos*, *Guilandina dioica*.

Sunday 9th of August 1795, started from Louisville and slept at Clarksville,<sup>123</sup> two miles from Louisville on the opposite Bank of the Ohio.

The 10th we set out and arrived at Post Vincennes situate on the Wabash River on Thursday the 13th of August in the evening.<sup>124</sup> The distance is considered to be one hundred and twenty five Miles. On the day of our arrival we crossed a River about 20 miles before reaching Post Vincennes and although the Waters were then very low we were on the point of making a Raft for the Country is not inhabited along this Road. Of all the

<sup>121</sup> Michael Lacassagne was one of the richest and most prominent merchants of Louisville; he enjoyed the confidence of the community, and was a member of the Kentucky convention of 1787.—ED.

<sup>122</sup> It is not clear what species are here referred to. *Q. praemorsa* is probably *Q. macrocarpa*, and *Q. cerroides* some form of *Q. alba*, although later in the journal it is spoken of as an overcup oak.—C. S. S.

<sup>123</sup> Clarksville, named in honor of Gen. George Rogers Clark, was intended as the metropolis of the Illinois grant of 150,000 acres, which was made by the Virginia legislature in 1783 to the officers and soldiers of the Illinois regiment which had served with Clark. A board of trustees was established for the town, and a few of the former officers settled here; but the place did not thrive, and is now but a suburb of New Albany.—ED.

<sup>124</sup> For the early history of Vincennes, see Croghan's *Journals*, vol. i of this series, note 113.—ED.

Journeys I have made in America in the past 10 years this is one of the most difficult owing to the quantity of Trees overturned by storms, to the thick brushwood through which one is obliged to pass; to the numbers of Flies by which one is devoured, etc.

The 14th, 15th and Sunday the 16th of August I was obliged to rest having arrived almost ill. My horse, while trying to jump over the trunk of a large fallen tree, fell and threw me a great distance and I suffered for several days from an injury to the lower part of the Chest on the left side because the trigger of my gun had struck there.

The 17th spent a portion of the day herborising on the banks of the Wabash River.

I continued herborising on the following days.

The 18th of August 1795

List of Plants observed on the Wabash:

No. 1 — *Verbena*<sup>125</sup> *urticifolia caule erecto, paniculis divaricatis, bracteis flore brevioribus, floribus albis.*

No 2 — *Verbena*<sup>126</sup> . . . , *caule erecto, paniculis fastigiatis erectis, bracteis et calycibus pilosis, floribus purpureo-ceruleis.*

No 3 — *Verbena*<sup>127</sup> *caule erecto, paniculis rectis foliis ovatis, tomentosus, duplicato-serratis.*

No 4 — *Verbena* . . .

No 5 — *Verbena*<sup>128</sup> *caule repente, foliis pinnatifidis, bracteis longissimis.*

*Silphium perfoliatum, Silphium connatum, Silphium laciniatum, Silphium grandifolium, Silphium trifoliatum, Silphium pinnatifidum. Andropogon muticum; Holcus?*

<sup>125</sup> *V. urticifolia*, L.— C. S. S.

<sup>126</sup> *V. hastata*, L. ? — C. S. S.

<sup>127</sup> *V. stricta*, Vent. (*V. ringens*, Michx.)— C. S. S.

<sup>128</sup> *V. bracteosa*, Michx.— C. S. S.

. . . ; *Poa* . . . ; *Quercus cerroides* Chêne frisé, Overcup White Oak; *Quercus latifolia* Chêne à latte Ram's Oak; *Quercus* . . . *Polygonum aviculare staminibus* 5, *Stylis* 3; *Polygonum aviculare majus staminibus* 5, *Stylis* 3. *Trifolium? pentandrum majus*; *Trifolium? pentandrum floribus purpureis*; *Sanicula*<sup>129</sup> *marylandica* or [called] Racine à Becquel by the Illinois French and Sakintépouah by the Pians<sup>130</sup> Savages: A decoction of the root is a sovereign remedy for several diseases and for long-continued venereal diseases.

Sunday 23rd of August 1795 started from Post Vincennes situated on the Wabash River for the Illinois on the Mississippi. We journeyed six Miles and camped on the bank of a Little River [Embarras]. I had no other company than a Savage and his wife. I had hired the Savage for ten Dollars and promised him two Dollars more to induce him to carry all my baggage on his horse.

The 24th we made about 25 Miles; the Savage was ill and was obliged to stop more than three hours before sunset.

The 25th crossed several Prairies. Observed a new species of *Gerardia*.<sup>131</sup> Stalk commonly simple, oval leaves opposite one another, sessile, axillary flowers purpurine flowers.

The 26th the Provision of meat was consumed. The Savage stopped very early, finding a favorable spot for hunting. Moreover heavy Rain fell about three o'clock in the afternoon. An hour after camping the Savage came back laden with a Bear cub and with the two hams

<sup>129</sup> *Spigelia?* — C. S. S.

<sup>130</sup> The Piankeshaw tribe of Indians, a branch of the Miami nation that dwelt around Vincennes.— Ed.

<sup>131</sup> *G. auriculata*, Michx.— C. S. S.

of another and much older one. We boiled the kettle twice and had enough to satisfy us. We roasted what remained.

The 27th the Savage killed two Stags. We halted very early to dry the Skins and to eat, for the Savage and his wife ate five meals a day. Moreover, they regaled themselves with the marrow of the bones which they ate raw; for, being unable to carry away the meat, they contented themselves with a piece of the animal's loins.

The 28th of August 1795. Just as I was eager to see Game the 1st and 2nd day, so was I afraid to see it then owing to the waste of time. I was all the more anxious to proceed that it rained every day. I had already been obliged once to dry at a fire my baggage that had been wet through especially four books of Botany and Mineralogy I had with me, as I had been unwilling to expose them to the hazards of the River and had sent by way of the Mississippi two Trunks containing grey Paper, Powder, Lead, Alum, Boxes for collecting Insects, and all the articles required for making Collections of Plants, Animals, Insects and Minerals.

Sunday 30th of August arrived at the village of Kaskaskia<sup>132</sup> situated two mile from the Mississippi river

<sup>132</sup> The French villages in Illinois resulted from the plans of La Salle; the earliest grew up about Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois River. In 1700, the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians removed to the river bearing their name, the Jesuit missionaries and traders followed, and the village at this place began. The inhabitants were chiefly descendants of the *coureurs des bois*, intermixed with Indian blood. The Jesuit plantation at Kaskaskia consisted of two hundred and forty arpents of land, well-cultivated and stocked with cattle, containing also a brewery. When the Jesuits were suppressed, the buyer, Beauvais, raised eighty-six thousand weight of flour from a single harvest. The French dominion came to an end in 1765 (see Croghan's *Journals*, vol. i of this series). Kaskaskia was captured from the English in 1778 by George Rogers Clark, and the American régime was instituted by John Todd, under appointment from Virginia. See Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 250-279.—ED.

and half a mile from the Kaskaskia River. It is inhabited by former Frenchmen under the American Government. The number of families is about forty five. It is agreeably situated but the number of inhabitants had decreased; nothing is to be seen but houses in ruins and abandoned because the French of the Illinois country, having always been brought up in and accustomed to the Fur trade with the savages, have become the laziest and most ignorant of all men. They live and the majority of them are clothed in the manner of the Savages. They wear no breeches but pass between their thighs a piece of cloth of about one third of an ell [in length] which is kept in place before and behind above the hips by a belt.

The 31st of August herborised.

Tuesday the first of September continued my herborising; also on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of the same.

The 5th started for the village called Prairie du Rocher about 15 miles distant from Kaskaskia.<sup>133</sup> Passed by the village of St Philippe abandoned by the French and inhabited by three families of Americans.<sup>134</sup> This village is 9 Miles from Prairie du Rocher.

The 6th arrived at Kaskia [Cahokia]<sup>135</sup> near the Mississippi . . . Miles from Prairie du Rocher.

<sup>133</sup> Prairie du Rocher was a small French village situated upon a grant made to Boisbriant (about 1725) by the Mississippi Company, and by him transferred to his nephew Langlois, who maintained seigniorial rights therein until the establishment of American government.—ED.

<sup>134</sup> St. Philippe was founded upon Regnault's grant. Pittman (*Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi*, London, 1770), says that when he visited it (1766) there were sixteen houses, a small church, and one inhabitant, dubbed "captain of the militia," who had twenty slaves, many cattle, and a mill.—ED.

<sup>135</sup> Cahokia was probably the oldest settlement in the Illinois, although Kaskaskia disputes its priority. A mission of the Séminaire des Missions Etrangères was founded among the Tamaroa and Cahokia Indians about 1698, and a French village sprang up around the place. In 1714 there was a large

The 7th herborised and visited the neighborhood of Kaskia.

The 8th started to return to Kaskaskia and arrived there on the 9th.

The 10th continued herborising in the vicinity of Kaskaskia Village until the 13th of the same month.

Sunday the 13th of September crossed over with a savage guide to the south bank of the Kaskaskia River and continued to herborise there until the 18th of the same month.

The 18th and 19th Rained continually. Put my Collections in order and gave my horse a rest.

Sunday the 20th . . .

Kaskaskia 45 families; Prairie du Rocher from 22 to 24 families. St. Philippe 3 American families. Fort de Chartres in ruins.<sup>136</sup> Kaskias 120 families. Americans at Corne de Cerf and at Bellefontaine<sup>137</sup> 35 families. St Louis flourishing<sup>138</sup> . . . Prairies and hills.

accession of renegade *coureurs des bois*. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (Madison, 1902), xvi, pp. 331, 332. After the English acquired the Illinois, many inhabitants migrated from Cahokia to St. Louis.—ED.

<sup>136</sup> Fort Chartres was the most considerable fortification built by the French in the western part of America. The original fort was constructed in 1720 by Boisbriant, commandant in Illinois for the Company of the Indies. In 1756, the stronghold was rebuilt in stone, being described as an irregular quadrangle with port-holes for cannon, houses, barracks, magazines, etc. For a contemporary description, see Pittman, *Settlements on the Mississippi*, pp. 45, 46. After 1765, Fort Chartres was garrisoned by the English; but in 1772 the erosion by the river caused a portion to collapse, and the fort was abandoned. For its present condition, see Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, pp. 241-249.—ED.

<sup>137</sup> The earliest American settlements in Illinois were made by soldiers of Clark's army. Bellefontaine, in the present Monroe County, was the centre for American life. More American families were reported a few years previous to this. Probably the Indian wars and the allurements of the Indian trade had caused some dispersal.—ED.

<sup>138</sup> St. Louis was founded by Pierre Laclède in April, 1764. He had secured a license from the French governor of Louisiana to trade upon the upper Missis-

Friday 2nd of October started to go by land to the place where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi. Owing to the difficulty experienced in crossing the Kaskaskia river we traveled only 12 Miles.

The 3rd and Sunday the 4th Rained and we crossed several prairies. Traveled about 27 Miles.

The 5th passed more Prairies intersected by strips of Forest. My guide killed an Elk called Cerf by the Canadians and French of Illinois. This animal is much larger (twice as large) than the dwarf Deer of the United States of which there is an abundance also in the Illinois country and which the French of these countries call Chevreuil. Its antlers are twice the size of those of the European Stags. Below each of its two eyes is a cavity which keeps closed but, by separating the two sides like eyelids, one can insert a finger to the depth of an inch. This cavity seems intended for the purpose of secreting some kind of humor. In fact on opening the cavity I found a substance of the form and consistency of a hare's dropping but of the size of an acorn. This animal has canine teeth in the upper and lower jaw like those of horses, called fangs. The hunters say that this animal is always very fat. In fact this one was exceedingly so. Traveled about 32 Miles.

The 6th entered the forests and crossed several rivers. Traveled . . . miles.

Mississippi and the Missouri. Upon arriving in the Illinois country, the previous November, he chose the site for his new settlement, and spent the winter at Cahokia making arrangements. Meanwhile the news of the transfer of Canada and the Illinois to the British had arrived. Under the impression that France had retained the left bank of the Mississippi, many Illinois settlers removed thither with Laclède. St. Louis flourished under Spanish dominion, but was known by its neighbors as "Pain Court" (Scant-bread) because its inhabitants devoted more time to fur-trading than to agriculture. It was not until transferred to the United States (March, 1804) that the career of St. Louis as a city began.—Ed.



The 7th of October 1795 my guide killed a Buffalo which he considered to be about four years old. It seemed to weigh over nine hundred pounds. As it was not very fat my guide told me it was very common to see animals at that age weighing over twelve hundred pounds. It seemed larger than any Oxen in France and to surpass them in length and size.

Thursday the 8th saw another Buffalo thirty toises from our Road. We stopped to look at it. It walked very slowly but after a couple of minutes it stopped and, recognizing us, ran away with extraordinary speed. On the same day arrived at Fort Cheroquis otherwise called Fort Massac by the Americans.<sup>139</sup> 125 Miles.

The 9th of October 1795 herborised on the bank of the Mississipi: *Platanus Liquidamber Bonducs*, pekan Nut-trees, hiccory Nut-trees, called by the French Noyers durs; prickly Nuts (by the French Noyer amer) round Nuts. White Oak, *Quercus alba*, *Quercus rubra ramosissima*, *Quercus cerroides* (by the French chène frisé and by the Americans overcup White Oak) *Quercus prinus*, *Quercus integrifolia*<sup>140</sup> or *Quercus foliis junioribus omnibus et adultis semper integerrimis margine undulatis apice setaceis*. This species of oak abounds in the Illinois Country. It loses its leaves later than the other

<sup>139</sup> For definition of *Toise*, see *post*, note 163.

Fort Massac had been erected by the order of General Wayne in 1794, in order to check the expedition which Michaux went to Kentucky to promote. It was on the site of an old French post, which had been erected in 1757 by Aubry, governor of Illinois. He first named it Fort Ascension, and proceeded thence to reinforce Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio. After the evacuation of that fortress (1758), the Illinois troops dropped down to this place, and renamed it Fort Massac, in honor of the Marquis de Massiac, minister of marine. When the French surrendered the Illinois, the British neglected to fortify this place, although recommended to do so by their engineers. Accordingly Clark marched hither overland to his capture of Illinois.—ED.

<sup>140</sup> *Q. imbricaria*, Michx.—C. S. S.

species of Oak. The French inhabitants call it *Chêne à lattes*. In Lower Carolina it is rather rare but keeps its leaves until the month of February or March. It seems to resemble the green Oak from which it differs in the shape of its acorns.

*Nyssa montana* rather rare; *Gleditsia triacanthos*; *Robinia pseudoacacia* (by the French *fevier*). The *Gleditsia triacanthos* is called *fevier épineux* and the *Guilandina dioica* Gros *fevier* and the seeds *Gourganes*. Note. On the Illinois river is a species or variety of *Guilandina dioica* whose seeds are twice as big as those on the Banks of the Mississippi, Cumberland etc. *Liana Rajanioides*; *Anonymos*<sup>141</sup> *ligustroides*; *Vitis*<sup>142</sup> *monosperma*, this species is found along the Rivers and not in the interior of the forest; I saw it on the Kaskaskia River, on the Mississippi in the vicinity of fort Massac, on the Tenasse river, but it completely covers the banks of the Cumberland river from its mouth to a distance of 45 Miles.

Sunday 11th of October 1795 started with a Guide to ascend the Cumberland (Shavanon) river<sup>143</sup> in a Canoe. The rain compelled us to return.

Tuesday the 13th hired two men at a dollar a day each to ascend the Rivers of the Territory of the Cheroquis Savages. Started from fort Cheroquis or Fort Massac. The distance is six Miles to reach the mouth of the Tenasse River called by the French of Illinois Chero-

<sup>141</sup> *Forestiera acuminata*, Poir. (*Adelia acuminata*, Michx.).— C. S. S.

<sup>142</sup> *Vitis riparia*, Michx., or more probably, in part, at least, *V. palmata*, Vahl. (*V. rubra*, Michx. in herb), a species which is often monospermous, and which was discovered by Michaux in this region and merged by him with his *V. riparia*.— C. S. S.

<sup>143</sup> The Cumberland River was usually known as the Shawnese River on early maps. Doubtless this Indian tribe had dwelt thereon when first met by white explorers.— ED.

quis River.<sup>144</sup> This river is very great and very wide. After ascending it about six miles we saw the tracks of a Bear on the bank. We stopped and entered the wood when we came upon a she Bear with cubs. The dog pursued the Mother, the cubs climbed a tree; I killed one and the guides killed the two others. We passed the night at that place.

The 14th very heavy Fog; we made only 5 Miles. Rain began to fall about noon.

The 16th paddled or rowed about ten Miles owing to a heavy Wind that began by a storm the previous evening and continued a part of the day. We camped opposite an Island or Chain of Rocks running nearly across the River. Nevertheless there is a channel on the south Bank that is fairly deep and sufficient for the passage of large boats.

Banks of the Cherokee river (Tennessee): *Platanus*; *Juglans pacana*, *Hiccori*, pignut; *Liquidambar*; *Quercus rubra*, *prinus*; *Anonymos carpinoides*; *Anonymos ligustroides*;<sup>145</sup> *Betula austrolis* grey-bark Birch,<sup>146</sup> which is found throughout America from Virginia to the Floridas; it differs from the *Betula papyrifera*; *Bignonia catalpa*; *Ulmus*; *Fraxinus*; *Vitis rubra* or *monosperma*; *Gleditsia triacanthos*; *Diospiros*; *Smilax pseudochina*; *Bignonia crucigera*, *radicans*; *Rajania* . . . *Dioecia* 8-dria; *Populus Caroliniana*, by the French Creoles Liard, and by the Americans Cotton tree. (Note: The Canada Poplar is called by the Canadians Tremble and by the English of Canada Quaking Aspen); *Acer rubrum*, *sac-*

<sup>144</sup> So called because it took its rise in the Cherokee territory. See Weiser's *Journal*, vol. i of this series, note 33.— ED.

<sup>145</sup> *Forestiera ligustrina*, Poir. (*Adelia ligustrina*. Michx.).— C. S. S.

<sup>146</sup> *Betula nigra*, L. (*B. lanulosa*, Michx.).— C. S. S.

*charinum, negundo: Anonymos ligustroides; Anonymos ulmoides.*<sup>147</sup>

(The 22nd of June 1795, according to the Gazette the Agents of the French Republic were recognized by President Washington

Philip Joseph Letombe, Consul General

Théodore Charles Mozard, Consul at Boston

Jean Anthony Bern Rosier, Consul at New York

Léon Delaunay, Pennsylvania

Louis Etienne Duhait, Maryland)<sup>148</sup>

The 15th October 1795 herborised.

The 16th descended the river and camped at the mouth of the Shavanon River called Cumberland river by the Americans eighteen Miles from fort Massac; killed a Canada Goose called by the French Canadians and Illinois French Outarde; killed two water-Hens an American kingfisher, an American pelican.

The 17th ascended the River about ten Miles; there were numbers of wild Turkeys on the banks; the Rowers and I killed five from the Canoe in passing, without landing.

The 18th continued on our way toward the upper part of the River.

The 19th descended the river.

Tuesday 20th of October 1795 returned to Fort Cheroquis or Fort Massac.

Trees and Plants in the neighborhood on the Banks of the Ohio.

<sup>147</sup> *Planera aquatica*, Gmel.— C. S. S.

<sup>148</sup> The interpolation of these names in the journal at this point, would appear to indicate that the news of the appointments consequent upon the arrival of the new French minister, Adet (June 1, 1795), had just reached Michaux; also that his interest in political affairs was still active, and that other motives may have led him to this country under feint of herborizing.— ED.

*Platanus occidentalis*, by the Americans Sycamore and by the Illinois French cottonier; *Populus*, by the Americans Cotton tree and by the Illinois French, Liard; *Celtis occidentalis*, by the Americans Hackberry tree and by the French Bois inconnu; *Liquidambar styraciflua*, by the French of Louisiana Copalm and by the Americans . . .

A Frenchman who traded among the Cheroquis Savages cured himself of the Itch by drinking for ten days a decoction of Chips of that tree which he called Copalm and which is the true *Liquidambar*; *Gleditsia triacanthos*, fevier (bean-plant) by the French and sweet locust by the Americans.

*Guilandina dioica*.<sup>140</sup>

Sunday 25th of October 1795 *Spiraea trifoliata* is a purgative used by the Savages and by the Illinois French. They call it Papiconah. In the neighborhood of Fort Cheroquis is found also the Geranium called herbe or rather Racine à Becquet which is given for chronic Diseases during several weeks; *Veronica virginica* called by the French herbe à quatre feuilles (four-leaved grass) is often added.

Sunday first of November I was obliged to defer my departure, my Horse not having been found.

Friday the 6th my Horse was brought back to the Fort and I at once made ready to start for the Illinois. Started the same day and journeyed about 18 Miles.

The 7th the Rain began early in the morning and continued all day. Remained camped under a Rock where I had stopped the previous day with my Guide.

Sunday the 8th traveled through woods and Hills.

The 9th, the same.

<sup>140</sup> A blank of five days in the Journal occurs here.— C. S. S.

The 10th arrived toward evening at the Prairies.

The 11th crossed the Prairies.

The 12th toward evening Re-entered the Woods once more and slept 7 Miles from Kaskaskia river.

The 13th arrived before breakfast at Kaskaskia about 130 Miles from Fort Massac.

The 13th of November I rested.

Sunday the 14th went out to hunt Canada Geese.

The 15th put my Collections of seeds in order.

The 16th same occupation.

The 17th I went Hunting.

Thursday 18th started for Prairie du Rocher

The 19th Duck Hunting.

The 20th Goose Hunting.

Sunday 22nd paid visits.

The 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th visited the Mountains of Rock bordering on the inhabited Country; Opossums, Raccoons, aquatic Birds etc.

Sunday 29th of November went to the Village of St Philippe called the Little Village.

The 30th visited Fort de Chartres.

Tuesday the 1st of December started for Kaskaskias and remained there.

The 2nd and 3rd of the same Made arrangements with Richard<sup>150</sup> to go by water to Cumberland.

The 4th returned to Prairie du Rocher.

The 5th prepared to start. Stuffed a white-headed wild Goose.

The 6th started once more for Kaskaskias.

The 7th confirmed once more in my opinion that the Second Bark of *Celtis occidentalis* (called in the Illinois

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<sup>150</sup> A habitant named Pierre Richard is listed as a head of family at Kaskaskia in 1783, and again in 1790.— Ed.

country Bois connu and toward New Orleans Bois inconnu) is an excellent remedy for curing jaundice; a handful of the roots or leaves of *Smilax sarsaparilla* is added to it; it is used for about eight days as a decoction.

The 8th of December 1795. The French Creoles call the species of *Smilax* found in the Illinois country, Squine. Only the thorny species grows there; it loses its leaves in the Autumn. The other species is herbaceous and climbing.

The 9th of December. The root of *Fagara* as a decoction is a powerful remedy for curing disease of the Spleen. I have no doubt that the root of *Zanthoxylum clava-Herculi* can be used for obstructions of the liver and Spleen.

The 10th: *Bignonia Catalpa*,<sup>151</sup> by the French Creoles Bois Shavanon; *Cercis canadensis*, Bois noir (black wood); *Liriodendron tulipifera*, Bois jaune (yellow wood); *Nyssa*, Olivier (olive). In making Wheels for vehicles the workmen use the Wood of *Padus Virginiana* for the felloes, Elm for the Naves and white oak for the Spokes.

The 11th of December. Confirmed once more in my opinion that the root of *Veronica Virginiana*, vulgarly known as Herbe à quatre feuilles (four-leaved grass), used as a decoction for a month, is effective for the cure of venereal Diseases. Four or five of the roots are boiled. As this beverage is purgative the strength of this Ptisan must be increased or reduced by putting more or less according to the effect it has on one. It is sufficient for the first days that the bowels be relaxed and looser than usual; it is not unusual that the bowels be moved 3 or 4 times the first day.

I was informed at Illinois that Mackey a Scotchman

<sup>151</sup> This, doubtless, is *C. speciosa*, Warder, the only indigenous species in this region.— C. S. S.

and Even a Welshman, started at the end of July 1795 from St Louis to ascend the Missouri in a 4 oared Barge. They are aided by a Company whereof Charles Morgan, a creole from the Islands, is Manager.<sup>152</sup>

December the [12th] 1795.

Sunday the 13th made my preparations for the journey to Cumberland.

The 14th started for Cumberland; passed the Salt spring on Spanish territory. Observed *Tagetoides*. Learned the news of the peace between France and Spain. Slept six miles from the Salt spring. Observed on the banks of the Mississippi river *Equisetum* which the French creoles call Prêle. This Plant has here a circumference of nearly one inch and the stalk is 4 feet high.

The 15th passed Cape St Côme<sup>153</sup> at the foot of which the Mississippi makes an angle. Fish is caught here in abundance; the distance from Kaskaskia is eighteen Miles. Camped at Girardeau<sup>154</sup> 17 leagues from Kaskaskia.

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<sup>152</sup> The principal fur-trading company at St. Louis had been formed in 1794 by a union of all the traders at the suggestion of the governor, Trudeau; at its head as manager was placed Jacques Clanmorgan (Ch. Morgan is a misprint for Clanmorgan), who had for some time been in business in St. Louis, but did not sustain an honorable reputation. He, however, succeeded in interesting in his enterprises, a rich merchant of Canada, named Todd, and probably the Scotchman and Welshman were his factors. See Billon, *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1886), pp. 283 ff.—ED.

<sup>153</sup> Cape St. Cosme has been corrupted into Cape Cinque Hommes, in Perry County, Missouri. It was originally named for Jean François de St. Cosme, a Canadian Seminary priest who made a voyage down the Mississippi in 1700, and was a missionary to the Illinois and Natchez. A few years later, he was assassinated on the lower Mississippi by a band of savages, upon whom Bienville later avenged his death. The term "Cap St. Cosme" is found on a map of 1758.—ED.

<sup>154</sup> Cape Girardeau was settled in 1794, the first house having been built by a Frenchman. The later settlement, however, was almost exclusively American; by 1803 there was a population of twelve hundred.—ED.



The 16th continued for 6 hours with Hills and Rocks on the shores of the river, then low land. We camped at the place where the Belle Rivière [Ohio] falls into the Mississippi. On the opposite bank was camped Governor Don Gayoso, Governor of Natchez and upper Louisiana.<sup>155</sup> He sent a Boat to find out who we were and, learning that I was a passenger, he came to see me. He told me the news of the Peace between France and Spain. He offered me his services. The distance from Cape Girardeau to the Mouth of the Belle Rivière is eighteen leagues and in all 35 leagues from Illinois.

The 17th camped at a distance of about 7 leagues.

The 18th arrived near Fort Massac; seven leagues.

The 19th camped opposite the Mouth of the River Cheroquis or Tenasse.

Sunday the 20th passed by la Pacanière; this is an extensive Swamp on the North West side bordered by Pekan Nut-trees situate opposite or rather a little before entering the Cumberland River.

The same day Sunday 20th of December, entered the River Shavanon or Cumberland River the mouth of which is six long leagues from Fort Massac. Slept two leagues above the Mouth.

The 21st rowed about 8 leagues.

The 22nd rowed about 7 leagues, and slept at the great Eddy which is considered to be at a distance of forty five miles from the mouth.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos was educated in England and married an American. During his governorship at Natchez he was employed by Carondelet in intrigues with the inhabitants of Kentucky; he had come north at this time for a conference with Sebastian, and to communicate with Wilkinson. In 1797 he was made governor-general of Louisiana, and died two years later, after a dinner given at New Orleans in honor of Wilkinson.— Ed.

<sup>156</sup> The town of Eddyville, Lyon County, Kentucky, was founded at this eddy in 1799.— Ed.

The 23rd we camped above the Isle aux Saules (Willow Island); rowed about 12 Miles or 4 leagues.

The 24th remained in camp. Rained all day. The River which was very easy to navigate until today, rose considerably and flooded the woods.

The 25th Rain continued to fall mixed with hail. Remained in Camp.

The 26th Remained in camp on account of the rising of the river whose current was too strong.

Sunday 27th of December 1795. rowed about 4 Miles only owing to the difficulty of rowing against the current of the river. Camped at the mouth of Little River.

The 28th crossed to the opposite bank. The current was as rapid as on the previous days and compelled us to camp. White frost.

The 29th it again Rained heavily. Remained in camp.

The 30th the River having overflowed and flooded all parts of the woods, we shifted camp and returned to the Little river; we ascended it until we came to a Hill high enough to relieve us from the fear of being flooded. Rain.

The 31st the weather became clear, the wind shifted to the North but the river continued to overflow its banks. Most of us went hunting wild Turkeys.

Friday first of January 1796. Wind from the north; Frost; the River rose one inch during the night.

In the vicinity of Little river, the Country has Hills scattered here and there. Soil clayey, very rich Mould, Rock consisting of Silex very slightly ferruginous. Blue Limestone.

Animals: Raccoons, dwarf Deer, Opossums, Buffaloes, Bears, grey Squirrels, Beaver, Otter, Musk-rats (these three species very rare).

Birds: Ravens, Owls of the large species, Cardinals, blue Jays; green Parroquets with yellow heads of the small species; Jays with red heads and throats.

Trees and Plants: *Liriodendron*; *Liquidambar*; yellow chestnut Oak, red Oak; *Annona*; horn-bean.

The 2nd of January, still remained in camp at the same spot. Weather cloudy. The River fell two inches only.

Sunday the 3rd Heavy wind. *Nyssa montana* is called by the French Creoles Olivier Sauvage and by the Kentucky Americans Black Gum tree and by the Pennsylvania Americans Tupelo. Having nothing to do I made ink with gall nuts which I gathered on the Oaks in the vicinity of the spot where we were camped. It was made in less than five minutes and will serve me as a sample. In the neighborhood of Little river *Liriodendron*; *Liquidambar*; *Carpinus ostrya*; *Ulmus fungosa*; *Padus Virginiana minor*; *Laurus benzoin* etc.

The 4th rowed about 4 or 5 Miles. Camped near rather high Hills consisting of shifting soil and rolled boulders. *Carpinus ostrya*; *Ulmus fungosa*; *Padus Virginiana minor*; *Philadelphus inodorus*; *Nyssa montana*, by the Americans Black gum; *Acer rubrum*; *Viscum parasite*; *Fagus Americana* and *Orobanche Virginiana* a parasite on the roots of the *Fagus Americana*; *Betula spuria*<sup>157</sup> called by the French Bouleau bâtard.

Tuesday 5th of January 1796 we rowed 7 Miles and camped opposite Diev Island 12 Miles from Little River.

The 6th the snow that fell during the night had cooled the weather. Steep limestone Rocks from the place where we were camped continuing for about a Mile on the east bank. Rowed about 8 Miles.

The 7th The River fell 19 inches during the night;

<sup>157</sup> *B. nigra*, L.— C. S. S.

as the frost had lowered the water this led us to hope that it would be easier to row against the current of this river which is naturally hemmed in between Hills. Rowed about 8 Miles.

The 8th the river fell 19 inches during the night. Passed by the Island of the boundary line between Cumberland and Kentucky.

Plants on the Banks: *Platanus occidentalis*; *Betula australis* or *spuria*; *Acer rubrum*; *Ulmus Americana*; *Fraxinus*; *Salix* on the low Islands; *Anonymos ligustroides*. Rowed about 10 Miles.

The 9th the river fell nearly five feet during the night. We rowed about ten Miles.

Sunday 10th of January the River fell 4 feet during the night. Continual Rain and Snow. Passed Yellow Creek 16 Miles before reaching Clark's ville. Passed Blowing grove (?) 13 Miles before reaching Clark's ville. Rocks and Hills. Passed Dixon Island (?) 10 Miles before reaching Clark's ville and at present the most remote Settlement of Cumberland territory. This Settlement consists of fifteen families who established themselves there three months ago. The chief place of this settlement is called Blount's borough or Blount's ville.

The 11th Rained all the previous night and a portion of the day. Passed by a chain of Hills and by a rock called Red painted rock on the right side of the River that is to say on the north bank of the river 2 Miles from Clark's ville. Afterwards passed by the red river whose mouth is likewise on the north side and a quarter of a mile from Clark's ville. Finally arrived at Clark's ville.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Clarksville was one of the oldest settlements of Cumberland, having first been occupied (1780) by the Renfroe and Turpin families. As an advanced outpost it was attacked many times by Indians, the latest onslaught having occurred in 1794. The other settlements which Michaux mentions

The 12th of January 1796, remained at Clark's ville on account of the river rising.

The 13th Doctor Brown of Carolina who had come to found this new town Blount's borough 10 Miles above Clark's ville, was at the latter place.<sup>159</sup>

The 15th bought a horse at the price of one hundred Dollars.

The 16th departed; my horse ran away and I caught him 6 Miles from Clark's ville at the Mill, 10 Miles.

Sunday the 17th dined 10 Miles from Nashville at Ebneston's a quarter of a Mile from the Mill at the house of an old Pennsylvanian, an educated man well informed as regards foreign news.<sup>160</sup> Slept at Crokes 18 Miles from Ebneston. The Widow Martin lives near there and her house is better for travelers.

The 18th passed the Ridges, 15 Miles, without seeing any houses as far as White Creek. Old Stumps<sup>161</sup> lives 5 miles from White Creek.

The 19th started from Stump's and arrived at Nashville 5 Miles.

Total from Clark's ville to Nashville 54 Miles by land and 70 Miles by water.

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were, as he says, of quite recent origin — incident upon the close of the Indian war (1795), and the inrush of settlers over the new wagon road made this same year to the Cumberland.— ED.

<sup>159</sup> The entry for the 14th is omitted in the original publication.— ED.

<sup>160</sup> Capt. John Edmeston was a well-known Indian fighter and leader of the militia. An expedition against the Chickasaws, organized by him in 1792, was forbidden by Robertson, because of negotiations pending with this warlike tribe.— ED.

<sup>161</sup> "Old man" Frederick Stumps was a German, who early made improvements on White Creek, north of Eaton's Station. His flight of three miles to the latter station, with Indian pursuers close at his heels, was one of the traditions of the settlement.— ED.

From St Louis to Kaskaskias . . . .	94	
From Kaskaskias to the place where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi . . . .	95	Miles
From there to fort Massac . . . .	45	Miles
From there to the mouth of the Cumberland river . . . . .	18	Miles
From there to Clark's ville on the red river	120	Miles
From there to Nashville . . . . .	60	Miles
	<hr/>	
Total 432 Miles	432	

(Prices at Nashville): Dinner 2 shillings, Breakfast or supper 1 shilling 4 pence;  $\frac{1}{2}$  Quart of Whiskey 1 shilling. Hay and maize for Horse 2 shillings. The whole is six Shillings for one Dollar.)

The 20th, 21st, and 22nd remained at Nashville.

The 23rd started from Nashville and journeyed  $29\frac{3}{4}$  Miles; lodged with Major Sharp.

Sunday the 24th of January 1796 arrived at a Creek at a distance of 29 Miles near which one Chapman keeps lodgings at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Miles; MacFaddin on Big Brown [Barren] keeps a ferry and lodgings. Total  $32\frac{1}{2}$  Miles.

The 25th Rain and Snow.

The 26th Started for Green river. The ground was covered with snow, the Roads rough and my horse fell lame. I was obliged to walk. I made 12 miles. I was unable to light a fire because the trees and wood were all frosted. I spent the night nearly frozen. About 2 o'clock the Moon rose and I resolved to return to MacFaddin's where I arrived at 10 o'clock in the morning.

The 27th being overcome by cold and weariness, having traveled afoot, having eaten nothing since the morning

of the previous day and not having slept during the night, the toes of my right foot became inflamed. I bathed my feet in cold water several times during the following night and no sores resulted therefrom but for several days the toes were numb and as if deprived of sensation.

The 28th I was compelled to go a distance of seven Miles to get my horse shod and I went to sleep at Mr. Maddisson's whose plantation was close by.

The 29th of January 1796 I started very early in the morning as I had 38 Miles to travel without coming to an inn or other habitation. I had been received with all the civility that can be expected from a man who has had a higher education than the other inhabitants of the country. This Mr Maddisson was a Virginian and a relative of the celebrated Madison, Member of Congress. This gentleman was a true Republican in his principles and I spent a very interesting and very pleasant evening at his house.<sup>162</sup> His wife surpassed him in offering me every service that hospitality could suggest, which is seldom met with in America except in the case of persons better educated than the common people. That Lady suggested that I should wear heavy woollen socks over my shoes. She herself cut me out a pair and I was so surprised at the comfort I derived from them on the following days that I resolved never to travel in the season of snow and frost without taking the precaution to have

<sup>162</sup> This was George Madison, brother of Bishop Madison of Virginia. Born about 1763, he served in the Revolution while yet a boy, and enlisting in the regular army was wounded at St. Clair's defeat (1791), and again the following year. Shortly after this visit of Michaux, Madison was appointed state auditor, and removed to Frankfort, where he held the office for twenty ensuing years. In 1812 he served as major in the army, was captured at Raisin River, and sent as prisoner to Quebec. Upon his exchange, he was received in Kentucky with great rejoicing, and elected governor (1816), but died during the first year of his term.—ED.

a pair in my Porte Monteau. In the evening I came to a place three Miles from Green river and slept at the house of one Walter; I slept on the floor and my horse in the open air; but I was accustomed to this.

The 30th I crossed the Green river ferry in the morning. The cold was excessive and such as had not been felt for Many years. At 9 Miles I passed by Bacon Creek and the Cabin of a man but recently settled there and who was unprovided with everything, even Maize, needed for the sustenance of his household. At 22 Miles from Green River is the House of one Ragon and I hurried on to reach some better habitations before night. 26 Miles from Green River I perceived a House 200 toises<sup>163</sup> from the Road situate on the bank of a Creek. The inhabitant was a German who had been settled there only a year; he had a good stable, was well supplied with fodder of wheat, straw, and Maize leaves for my horse, and I ate Wheat bread for the first time since I had left Illinois. My supper consisted of bread and milk and I found myself very well treated. The name of my host was George Cloes; a German by Birth; his house is situated on the South fork of Nolin river.

Sunday the 31st passed by Huggins mill<sup>164</sup> on Nolin river (good lodgings); at a quarter of a Mile the road on the right hand leads to Beardston. At 2½ Miles the new cut road is straight. At 9 Miles passed by Rolling fork and 4 Miles further slept at Mr. Scoth's on Bech fork.

Monday 1st of February 1796 passed by Dr Smith's

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<sup>163</sup>A toise is a French linear measure equivalent to 6.395 English feet.— ED.

<sup>164</sup>This mill was at the site of the present town of Hodgenville, seat of Larue County. Abraham Lincoln was born about two miles south of this place, when Larue was still part of Hardin County — ED.



house 8 Miles from Beech fork and by Mackinsy 9 Miles from Beech fork. From Mac Kinsy to Long Lake 6 Miles. From Longlake to Sheperdston on Salt river 4 miles.<sup>165</sup> From Shepperdston to Standeford 9 Miles (good inn). From Standeford to Prince Old station 8 Miles. From Prince to Louisville 6 Miles.

The 2nd started from Prince's and arrived at Louisville.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Miles before arriving measured a *Liriodendron tulipifera* on the left hand road whose size was twenty two feet in circumference, making more than seven feet in diameter. (Correspondent of Monsieur La Cassagne and St. James Bauvais at New Orleans Monsieur Serpe Trader at New Orleans.<sup>166</sup> Correspondent of Monsieur La Cassagne at Philadelphia Geguir and Holmes, Merchants, Philadelphia. Prices: Dinner 1 shilling 6 pence; Supper and Breakfast 1 shilling 6 pence; Lodging 9 shillings;  $\frac{1}{2}$  quart of Brandy 2 shillings 3 pence; Horse per day on hay and maize 3 shillings 9 pence.)

The 3rd, 4th and 5th remained at Louisville, being occupied in gathering together the Collections I had left with one La Cassagne.

The 6th I saw General Clarke and he informed me of the visit of Colonel Fulton who had come from France a few months previously.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Shepherdsville, the seat of Bullitt County, was incorporated as a town in 1793. Its site was at the falls of Salt River, and it was an important station in early Kentucky history.—ED.

<sup>166</sup> Gayoso mentions one Sarpy, a rich merchant of New Orleans, as concerned in the plot against Louisiana (1793). Another merchant, Beauvais, was similarly involved. Consult American Historical Association *Report*, 1896, p. 1049.—ED.

<sup>167</sup> Samuel Fulton, a native of North Carolina, who had lived for some time among the Creek Indians, was agent for Clark in settling his accounts with the French government. He arrived from France late in 1795, and Michaux's

Sunday the 7th breakfasted with General Clarke's Father whose house is 4 miles from Louisville. I wanted to obtain more ample information regarding Lieutenant-Colonel Foulton. I was told that he was to proceed to Philadelphia immediately after having gone to Georgia. That he was to embark for France and hoped to return to America at the end of this summer 1796. The same day, I started to return to Nashville. Slept at Standeford. 14 Miles from Louisville. (Supper 1 shilling, Bed 6 pence. Hay for the horse for the night 1 shilling. Maize 8 quarts 1 shilling 4 pence.)

Monday 8th of February 1796. (Breakfast 1 shilling) Passed by Sheperdston 9 Miles from Standeford. Maize for horse 3 quarts, 9 Pence, Virginia money, as in all parts of Kentuckey and Cumberland.) Passed by Long lake, where Salt is made as well as at Sheperdston and slept at Mackinsy's 7 Miles from Longlake.

In swampy places in the vicinity of Longlake: *Quercus alba*; *Quercus cerroides*; *Fraxinus* . . . ; *Nyssa*; *Laurus benjoin*; *Sassafras*; *Mitchella repens*; *Fagus sylvatica americana*.

On the hills: *Pinus*<sup>168</sup> *foliis geminis conis oblongis minoribus squamis aculeis retrocurvis*. Saw planks of this tree at the house of an inhabitant; the wood seemed to me almost as heavy as that of the three leaved Pine of Carolina. Tar is also made of it in this part of Kentucky.

The 9th I started very early in the morning from Mackinsy's. I had been very well received there that is to say he gave me a supper of boiled Pork; the same for

testimony was relied upon to secure the affidavits necessary to obtain recompense from the French republic. See *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, i, p. 463. Consult, also, *American Historical Association Report*, 1896, pp. 1047-1065.—ED.

<sup>168</sup> Probably *Pinus inops*, Ait.—C. S. S.

breakfast. My horse fared very well on Maize fodder and in a Stable that was not muddy like all those in America when one lodges with Americans or with Irish.

I paid 3 shillings, being 1 shilling 6 pence for my horse and as much for myself. I had paid 5 shillings for my lodging the previous night and had not been so well satisfied. As the daughter of this house was the smartest of any I had ever seen in America I gave her a quarter of a Dollar and the old man offered me a stuffed Tongue but I thanked him, not being fond of salt meat.

It began to rain an hour after I started but I was fortunate enough to pass Beechford and Rollingford. 13 Miles from Mackinsy's.

I was obliged to stop at the house of an inhabitant a Mile and a half from the crossing and the Rain compelled me to pass the night there.

In the neighborhood there is *Liriodendron* with yellow wood and in some parts *Liriodendron* with white wood. The inhabitants prefer the yellow variety.

Wednesday 10th of February 1796, I had supped the previous evening on Tea made from the shrub called Spice-wood. A handful of young twigs or branches is set to boil and after it has boiled at least a quarter of an hour sugar is added and it is drunk like real Tea. There was no Milk at the time and I was told that Milk makes it much more agreeable to the taste. This beverage restores strength and it had that effect for I was very tired when I arrived. This shrub is the *Laurus Benjoin* Linn. The Illinois French call it Poivrier and the hunters season their meat with some pieces of its wood.

In the vicinity grows a plant<sup>109</sup> of the *Orchis* family whose leaf remains all winter. There are seldom two;

<sup>109</sup> *Aplectrum hyemale*, Nutt.— C. S. S.

the form is oval, furrowed, entire; the root bears two or three very viscous bulbs. It is used in the Country to mend broken crockery. It is called *Adam and Eve*. This plant is more common in the rich low lands of the territory West of the Allegany Mountains. I have also seen it in Lower Carolina but it is very rare there. It is not rare in Illinois.

Rain continued to fall all day and I was obliged to spend the night in a house near Nolin Creek because the river had overflowed its banks.

The 11th arrived at Huggins's 12 Miles from Rollinford.

The 12th passed through a Country covered with grass and Oaks which no longer exist as forests, having been burned every year. These lands are called Barren lands although not really sterile. The grasses predominate: *Salix pumila*, *Quercus nigra* and *Quercus alba* called Mountain White Oak. *Gnaphalium dioicum* also grows there in abundance. It is called by the Americans White Plantain.

The same day 12th of February 1796 passed by Bacon Creek, a new settlement 19 Miles from Huggins Mill and arrived at Green river 9 Miles from Bacon Creek. Slept 3 Miles further on at the house of one Walter.

The 13th of February traveled 37 Miles without seeing a House through the lands called Barren lands. The *Salix pumila* that grows there in abundance is the same as that which is very common in the Illinois prairies as one leaves Vincennes Post to go to Kaskaskia. Slept beyond the Big Barren river

Sunday the 14th traveled about 30 Miles. In all the Houses the children were suffering from Hooping Cough. This disease probably results from a simple Cold but the

reprehensible system of living continually on salt and smoked meat fried in the pan produces those acrid humors that render expectoration more difficult.

The 15th traveled 27 Miles and arrived at Nashville. Supper, bed and breakfast 2 shillings.

The 16th started to go and visit Colonel Hays<sup>170</sup> a wealthy inhabitant to whom I had been recommended the previous year by Governor Blount, Governor of the Country known under the name of Western territories, South west of the Ohio. This Country, which is estimated to have 60 Thousand inhabitants, in consequence of the considerable annual immigration and of the rapid increase of population, has just been erected into a State governed by its own representatives under the new name of the *State of Tennessee* from the name of a very large river that runs through the whole Houlston Country, the Cumberland Country, the Country of the Cheroquis Indians and other adjacent countries. This large river falls into the Ohio 9 Miles above fort Massac. It was known by the French, who were the first to discover the Countries in the interior of North America, under the name of Cheroquis River and it is so designated on the French Maps. I met at Colonel Hays's several inhabitants of the neighborhood who came to confer upon current matters in connection with the election of new civil and military Officers.

The 17th and 18th of February 1796 remained at Colonel Hays' on account of bad weather.

The 19th concluded the bargain for the purchase of a

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<sup>170</sup> Col. Robert Hays, a brother-in-law of Andrew Jackson, was born in North Carolina, and served in the Revolution, being captured at Charleston. He removed to Cumberland in 1784, was first United States marshal of Tennessee, muster-master-general for Jackson in 1813, and died at his home near Nashville in 1819.—ED.

Horse to convey the baggage, Collections of Plants, Birds and other Things I had brought from Illinois and recently from Kentuckey. Returned the same day to sleep at Nashville.

The 20th spent the entire day in getting my collections together and in packing them. Saw some French voyageurs who spend all their lives in the Trade with the Savages and asked the Terms on which I could obtain a Guide to go up the Missouri river. One of them named . . . told me he would willingly engage for a year for the sum of 500 dollars in furs that is to say 1000 dollars in money; another asked me 2000 dollars in money.

Sunday the 21st prepared for my journey.

The 22nd had my two horses shod.

The 23rd started and after making two Miles was obliged to return on account of . . .

The 25th started to return to Carolina and slept 10 Miles away at the house of Colonel Mansko, a declared enemy of the French because, he said, they have killed their King. Although I had not dined I would not accept his supper believing that a Republican should not be under obligations to a fanatical partisan of Royalty. I was greatly mortified that the night and the rain should compel me to remain in his House. But I slept on my Deer skin and paid for the Maize he supplied me with to cross the Wilderness.

The 26th

Sunday 28th of February 1796 stopped ten miles from the river on account of the Rain and because the Creeks had overflowed their banks.

The 29th in the evening crossed the Creeks and slept in the Wood near the road at a place where Reeds or Canes were growing in abundance. This species of

grass which grows abundantly in many places which have not been settled, is destroyed when completely eaten by Cattle; Swine also destroy it by rooting in the earth and breaking the roots. The stalk is sometimes as thick as a goose quill, but in the rich lands bordering on the rivers and between the mountains, some stalks are as much as 2 and even three inches in diameter; the height is sometimes from 25 to 30 feet. This grass is ramose but it seldom bears fruit in the territory of Kentucky, in that of Tennessee or in that of the Carolinas. This grass begins in the southern and maritime portion of Virginia. Further South as in the Carolinas, in the Floridas and in Lower Louisiana, this grass is found in abundance.<sup>171</sup>

Snow fell throughout the night and on the following morning my two Horses that had been tied had their legs swelled in consequence of the cold and of the continually muddy roads over which I had traveled the previous day.

The 1st of March 1796 arrived at Fort Blount situated on the Cumberland River.<sup>172</sup> Snow continued to fall during a part of the day.

The 2nd remained over in order to pull young Shoots of a new Sophora<sup>173</sup> I had remarked in the vicinity of Fleen's [Flinns] creek about 12 Miles from the Fort.

<sup>171</sup> *Arundinaria macrosperma*, Michx.— C. S. S.

<sup>172</sup> Fort Blount was not a pioneer stronghold, but one erected by the government shortly before Michaux's visit, for protection of the settlers against the Cherokees. It was on the north bank of Cumberland River, in the southwestern part of Jackson County, about midway between the Eastern and Western Tennessee settlements.— ED.

<sup>173</sup> *Cladrastis tinctoria* Raf., discovered here by Michaux, although not included in his *Flora*. A letter written by Michaux to Governor Blount suggesting the value of the wood of this tree as a dye wood, was, according to the younger Michaux, published in the *Knoxville Gazette*, on the fifteenth of March, 1769. [See his journal, *post.*]— C. S. S.

Snow covered the ground and I was unable to get any young Shoots but Captain Williams, the young [officer] stationed in the Fort cut down some trees and I found some good seeds.

I also pulled up some roots of those trees to replant them in my garden in Carolina.

The same day I had occasion to write to Governor Blount.

The 3rd of March continued my journey; crossed Fleen's Creek several times. Saw again the small bulbous umbelliferous plant I had remarked some days previously. Toward evening the road was less muddy.

The 4th arrived at the Mountains called Cumberland mountains.

The 5th passed several Creeks and Rivers on which is an abundance of a climbing Fern of the genus . . .<sup>174</sup>

The land through which these rivers flow is less fertile than the territory of Nashville or Cumberland settlement and two-leaved Pines are found there in abundance.

Sunday 6th of March 1796 arrived at West Point on the Clinch River.

The 7th slept at a distance of 15 Miles near the junction of the Houlston river with that called Tenessee.

The 8th arrived at Knoxville.

The 9th Dined with Governor William Blount.

The 10th took my lodgings in the house of Captain Louné near the Cumberland river.<sup>175</sup>

The 11th herborised on the opposite bank bordered by steep rocks covered with *Saxifrage*, *bulbous umbellifera* etc.

<sup>174</sup> *Lygodium palmatum* Swz.— C. S. S.

<sup>175</sup> The Looneys were a prominent family in the early history of East Tennessee. Captain David Looney was militia officer during the Revolution and the Indian wars.— ED.



The 12th continued to herborise.

Sunday the 13th, Visited Captain Richard, Commandant of the garrison.

The 14th herborised; saw in bloom, *Anemone hepatica*; *Claytonia Virginica*; *Sanguinaria*.

Saw a new genus of Plant designated by Linnaeus *Podophyllum diphyllum* and discovered some years ago in Virginia while passing by Fort Chissel. This Plant is less rare in the fertile lands of Kentuckey and Cumberland. It is found in the neighborhood of Knoxville. Dr Barton<sup>176</sup> called it *Jeffersonia* in a description he gave of this Plant after seeing the flower of the Shoots I had brought back to Philadelphia in the hands of the Botanist Bartram.<sup>177</sup> The time when the plant flowers in the neighborhood of Knoxville is about the 10th of March.

The 15th received the Letter from Governor Blount in answer to that I had written him respecting the discovery of a new *Sophora* in the neighborhood of fort Blount. Started the same day and slept at a distance of 7 Miles. Paid 2 shillings 3 pence for Supper and for Maize and fodder for the Horses. Bundle of fodder 2 pence.

The 16th of March 1796 slept a mile from Iron Works at the house of Mr Rice, Lawyer, 30 Miles from Knoxville.

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<sup>176</sup> Dr. Benjamin S. Barton was one of the best known scientists and naturalists of his day, as well as a skilful physician. Born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he was educated in Europe and took up practice in Philadelphia. In 1789, he was made professor of botany and natural history in the University of Pennsylvania; he was vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, and member of other learned organizations. He was designated to edit the scientific data of Lewis and Clark's expedition, but died before accomplishing this (1815).—ED.

<sup>177</sup> William Bartram, son and co-worker of John Bartram, one of America's first naturalists, was born in Pennsylvania in 1739. He devoted his life to the study of botany, travelling extensively for the discovery of plants. His headquarters were at the botanical gardens near Philadelphia.—ED.

Observed in bloom: *Ulmus viscosa*, *Acer rubrum* ♂ flower on one individual and ♀ flower on another tree.

The 17th slept near Bull's gap 30 Miles from Iron Works.

The 18th passed by Lick creek and by Green court house 18 Miles from Bull's gap.

The 19th passed by Johnsborough 25 Miles from Green [ville]. Several merchants are established at Johnsborough who obtain their goods from Philadelphia by land.

Sunday the 20th started from Johnsborough. Saw in passing Mr Overton of Kentuckey,<sup>178</sup> Major Carter of Wataga<sup>179</sup> at whose house I had lodged several years previously with my son, and Colonel Avery.

Sunday 20th of March 1796 saw in bloom *Corylus americana*, ♀ flower having the Styles or Stigmas of a purpurine color. *Ulmus viscosa geminis aureis floribus* 4-5-6-andris, *stigmatibus purpureis*.

*Acer rubrum* ♂ flower on one individual and ♀ flower on another. Slept at Colonel Tipton's 10 Miles from Johnsborough.

The 21st remarked that the Mountains were covered in several places with *Sanguinaria*, *Claytonia* and *Ery-*

<sup>178</sup> John Overton was one of the best-known jurists of Tennessee. Born in Virginia, he early emigrated to Kentucky, whence he removed to Nashville, about the time Jackson began his career. He became Jackson's partner and warm friend. From 1804-10 he was judge of the superior court, and of great service in adjusting land titles; the next five years (1811-16) Judge Overton served on the supreme bench of the state. He was one of the early proprietors of Memphis; and died near Nashville in 1833.—ED.

<sup>179</sup> John Carter was the foremost man of the early Watauga settlement. Coming from North Carolina, he had the prestige of family and a superior education, and was chosen head of the new community, serving efficiently in many capacities. He was concerned in the State of Franklin movement, and was frequently called out at the head of the militia, on Indian expeditions. Carter County was named for him, and he had therein a large estate.—ED.

*thronium* with spotted leaves. These Plants were in bloom. *Magnolia acuminata et curiculata*; *Rhododendron*; *Kalmia*; *Pinus abies canadensis*, *Pinus strobus*; *Azalea* etc. etc. grow in abundance at the foot of those Mountains. Arrived at Lime Stone cove and slept at Charles Collier's 18 Miles from Colonel Tipton's.

The 22nd crossed Iron Mountain and arrived at night at David Becker's, 23 Miles without seeing a house.

The 23rd started from Becker's on Cane Creek to Rider's 6 Miles; from Rider's to Widow Nigh's 7 Miles; from Nigh's to Samuel Ramsey's 2 Miles; from Ramsey's to David Cox's on Paper Creek 4 Miles and from Cox's to Young's 1 Mile; from Sam Ramsey's to Davinport's 8 Miles.<sup>180</sup> Total 23 Miles. Slept at Davinport's. Remarkd the *Salix capreoides* in flower on the banks of the streams.

The 24th visited the high Mountains opposite Davinport's house; pulled up several hundred Shoots: *Azalea lutea fulva*; *Anonymos azaleoides*. *Rhododendron minus* etc.

The 25th of March 1796. Saw in flower the *Corylus cornuta*,<sup>181</sup> *amentis* ÷ *geminis quandoque solitariis squamis ciliatis*; *antheris apice ciliates*, *stylis coccineis*.

This species flowers about 15 days later than the species of *Corylus americana* found in all the Climates of North

<sup>180</sup> Michaux returned across the mountains by a different route from the one by which he went out. The northern or upper road over Yellow Mountain appears to have been the more frequented; the lower road, over the Iron Mountain range and down the Nolichucky, the more direct. See the younger Michaux's account (*post*) of the difficulties of this route, when he passed over it six years later. Limestone Cove was probably at the mouth of Limestone Creek, a tributary of the Nolichucky on the western or Tennessee side of the mountain. Cane and Paper Creeks are small tributaries of the Nolichucky, on the eastern or North Carolina grade of the mountains.— Ed.

<sup>181</sup> *C. rostrata*, Ait.— C. S. S.

America even in lower Carolina in the neighborhood of Charleston. The *Corylus cornuta* is found only on the highest mountains and in Canada. *Corylus americana amentis* ♂ *solitariis squamis externe tomentosis margine nudâ*; *floris* ♀ *stylis coccineis*.

The 26th herborised and pulled Shoots of shrubs and fresh Shoots to transport them to the garden of the Republic in Carolina.

Sunday 27th of March . . .

The 28th prepared and packed my Collection of fresh Mountain Plants.

The 29th started from Davinport's and slept at the house of . . . Young. Violet with dentate reniform leaves, villous petiole and yellow flower in full bloom on the banks of streams and very cool places.

The 30th continued my journey and by mistake took a road to the right leading to Wilkes [County]. Another *Viole lutea scopus foliosus foliis hastatis* in flower in cool places and also less damp places. This one is a little more tardy than the previous one.<sup>182</sup>

The 31st arrived at Colonel Avery's and slept at Morganton or Burke Court house.

Friday 1st of April 1796, started from Morganton. Slept at Robertson's, formerly Henry Waggner's, 30 Miles from Morganton.

The 2nd of April *Epigea repens* in full bloom as on previous days; on several individuals all the female flowers were without rudiments of Stamens while on other individuals all the flowers were hermaphrodites. Arrived at noon at the house of Christian Reinhart near Lincoln. Remained all day to pull shoots of the *Spiraea tomentosa* that grow in swampy spots.

<sup>182</sup> *V. hastata*, Michx.— C. S. S.

Sunday 3rd of April arrived at Bennet Smith's 12 Miles from Lincoln; remained all day to pull shoots of a new *Magnolia*<sup>183</sup> with very large leaves, auriculate, oblong, glaucous, silky, especially the young leaves; the buds very silky; Flowers white Petals with a base of a purple color. Stamens yellow etc. Along the Creek on the bank of which this *Magnolia* grows I also saw the *Kalmia latifolia*, *Viola lutea*, *joliis hastatis*; *Ulmus viscosa* then in process of fructification; *Halesia*; *Stewartia pentagyna*.

The 4th started and crossed Tuck-a-segee ford on the Catawba<sup>184</sup> river 10 Miles from Bennet Smith's. Took the road to the left instead of passing by Charlotte and slept 11 Miles from Catawba river.<sup>185</sup>

The 5th of April 1796 at a distance of 12 Miles took once more the road leading from Cambden to Charlotte.<sup>186</sup>

Took Shoots of *Calamus aromaticus* that grows in damp places in the neighborhood of Charlotte and of Lincoln. *Rhus pumila*. Slept near Waxsaw Creek in South Carolina about 35 Miles from Tuck-a-Segee ford.

The 6th at the house of Colonel Crawford near Waxsaw Creek: anonymous Plant with leaves *quaternate*, *perfoliate*, *glabrous*, *entire*. This same Plant grows in the Settle-

<sup>183</sup> *M. macrophylla*, Michx.— C. S. S.

<sup>184</sup> Tuckasegee Ford is between the present Gaston County and Mechlenburg, about ten miles west of Charlotte.— ED.

<sup>185</sup> Note: before passing the ford, I dined with . . . Alexander, a very respectable man from whom I have received many courtesies.— MICHAUX.

It is impossible to determine from this allusion, which of the numerous Alexander family Michaux visited. The Alexanders of Mechlenburg were noted as patriotic, God-fearing, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had a large share in the Revolutionary War in their country. Abraham presided at the Mechlenburg Convention (1775), of which Adam and John McKnitt Alexander were both members.— ED.

<sup>186</sup> When one does not wish to pass by Charlotte in going to Lincoln, he must inquire twelve or fifteen miles before reaching these, for the route to the left which passes by Tuckasegee Ford.— MICHAUX.

ments of Cumberland and in Kentucky. *Frasera foetida*.<sup>187</sup>

Passed by Hanging Rock; the distance from Waxsaw to Hanging Rock is 22 Miles. To go to Morganton or Burke Court house one should not pass by Charlotte, but take the Road to the left 3 ½ Miles from Hanging Rock.

About 20 Toises after leaving the fork of the two roads (one of which leads to Charlotte) one sees the *Anonymus*<sup>188</sup> shrub with a red root which has the appearance of the *Calycanthus*. This shrub is the one I saw in the vicinity of Morganton. Slept near Hanging Rock.

Thursday 7th of April 1796 arrived at Cambden; five or six Miles before arriving there pulled Shoots of a new *Kalmia* seen some years previously. The distance from Hanging Rock to Cambden is 26 Miles.

Friday 8th of April started from Cambden, passed by State's borough 22 Miles from Cambden and slept at Manchester 30 Miles from Cambden.

The 9th my Horses strayed away during the night, having broken the Fence within which they were placed.

In the streams: *Callitriche americana*; *fructificatio simplex, axillaris sessilis, Calyx 2-phyllus, stamen unicum; filamentum longum, latere geminis germen duplex? styli duo longitudine staminis, stigmata acuta.*

*Silene* . . . *calyx 5-fidus cylindricus, corolla Petala 5 (or 5-partita usque ad basim) unguibus angustis, laciniis planis apice obtusis; Stamina 10 basi corolla inserta;*

<sup>187</sup> It has been suggested that this may refer to *F. Caroliniana*, Walt. (*F. Walleri*, Michx.).— C. S. S.

<sup>188</sup> It is not at all clear what shrub Michaux refers to in this entry. Mr. Canby, to whom several of the doubtful points in the Journal have been referred, and whose knowledge of the plants of the Allegheny region is now unrivaled, suggests that Michaux may have found *Darbya*. There is nothing in his herbarium to indicate that he ever saw that plant, which was found, however, by M. A. Curtis not far from Morganton.— C. S. S.

*Germen oblongum. Styli tres; stigmata acuta; Capsula unilocularis, semina plura numerosa, flores rosei.*<sup>189</sup>

Started in the afternoon and slept at 15 Miles having crossed 10 Miles of sand called Santee High Hills in the space of which observed *Phlox*; *Silene* . . . ; *Dianthus* . . . in flower; *Lupinus perennis et pilosus* in flower.

Sunday 10th of April 1796 arrived at the Santee River at the place called Manigault ferry; before arriving there observed *Verbena (aubletia?)* and on the banks of the Santee, *arbor Anonymus* whose fruit (*muricatis*) covered with soft points, was almost ripe.<sup>190</sup> Manigault ferry is 28 Miles from Manchester.

Two miles further on one takes the road to the right called Gaillard road which is shorter than the ordinary road but muddy in winter. Slept at the house of the Widow Stuard 18 Miles from Manigault ferry. Tavern dirty and without a supply of fodder for Horses.

The 11th started very early; at a distance of 5 Miles remarked *Lupinus perennis* and *Lupinus pilosus* in flower. Distance from Charleston 40 to 43 Miles. Arrived at the garden of the Republic 37 Miles from the Widow Stuard's that is to say 47 Miles from Charleston.

Recapitulation of the journey from Illinois to Charleston.

From St Louis of the Illinois to Kaskias . . . . .	4 Miles
To the village of St Philippe . . . . .	45
To the Prairie du Rocher . . . . .	9
To Kaskaskias . . . . .	45
To the junction of the Mississipi and Belle Rivière . . . . .	95

<sup>189</sup> Probably *Silene Pennsylvanica* as suggested by Mr. Canby, or *S. Baldwinii*, as suggested by Mr. Meehan. In both of the species the petals are sometimes rose colored.— C. S. S.

<sup>190</sup> *Planera aquatica*, Gmelin.— C. S. S.

To Fort Massac . . . . .	45 Miles
To the Junction of the Cumberland and Belle Rivière . . . . .	18
To Clark's ville on the red river . . . . .	120
To Nashville . . . . .	60
To Bloodshed's lick <sup>101</sup> . . . . .	30
To Fort Blount on the Cumberland river . . . . .	40
To West Point on the Clinch river . . . . .	90
To Knoxville on the Houlston river . . . . .	40
From Knoxville to Iron Works . . . . .	30
To Bull's gap . . . . .	30
To Green's ville . . . . .	25
To John's borough . . . . .	25
To Colonel Tipton's . . . . .	10
To Limestone cove . . . . .	18
To David Becker's beyond the Mountain called Iron mountain . . . . .	23
From Backer's to Young's . . . . .	20
To Morganton or Burke . . . . .	22
To Robertson's . . . . .	30
To Lincoln . . . . .	16
To Tuck a Segee . . . . .	22
To Wax Saw Creek . . . . .	35
To Hanging Rock . . . . .	22
To Cambden . . . . .	26
To Manchester . . . . .	30
To Manigault ferry . . . . .	28
To Charleston . . . . .	70
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	1123 Miles
	374 1/3 leagues

<sup>101</sup> Bledsoe's Lick. A pioneer told Lyman C. Draper that this was often called "the Bloody Ground," because so many whites were there killed by Indians—note in Draper MSS., Wisconsin Historical Society, 3 XX 18.—ED.









